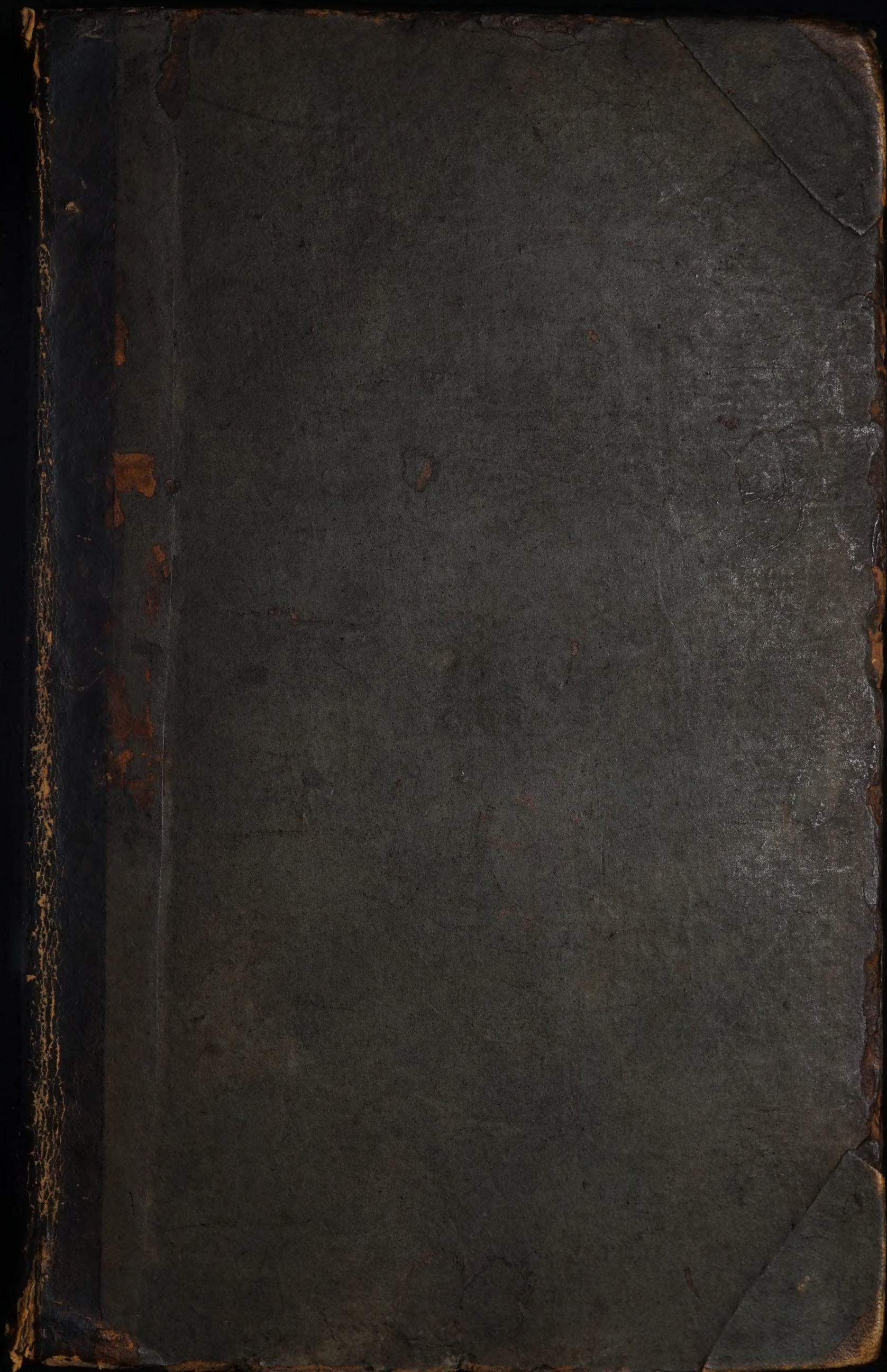




Purchar
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Pilgrimage
1625







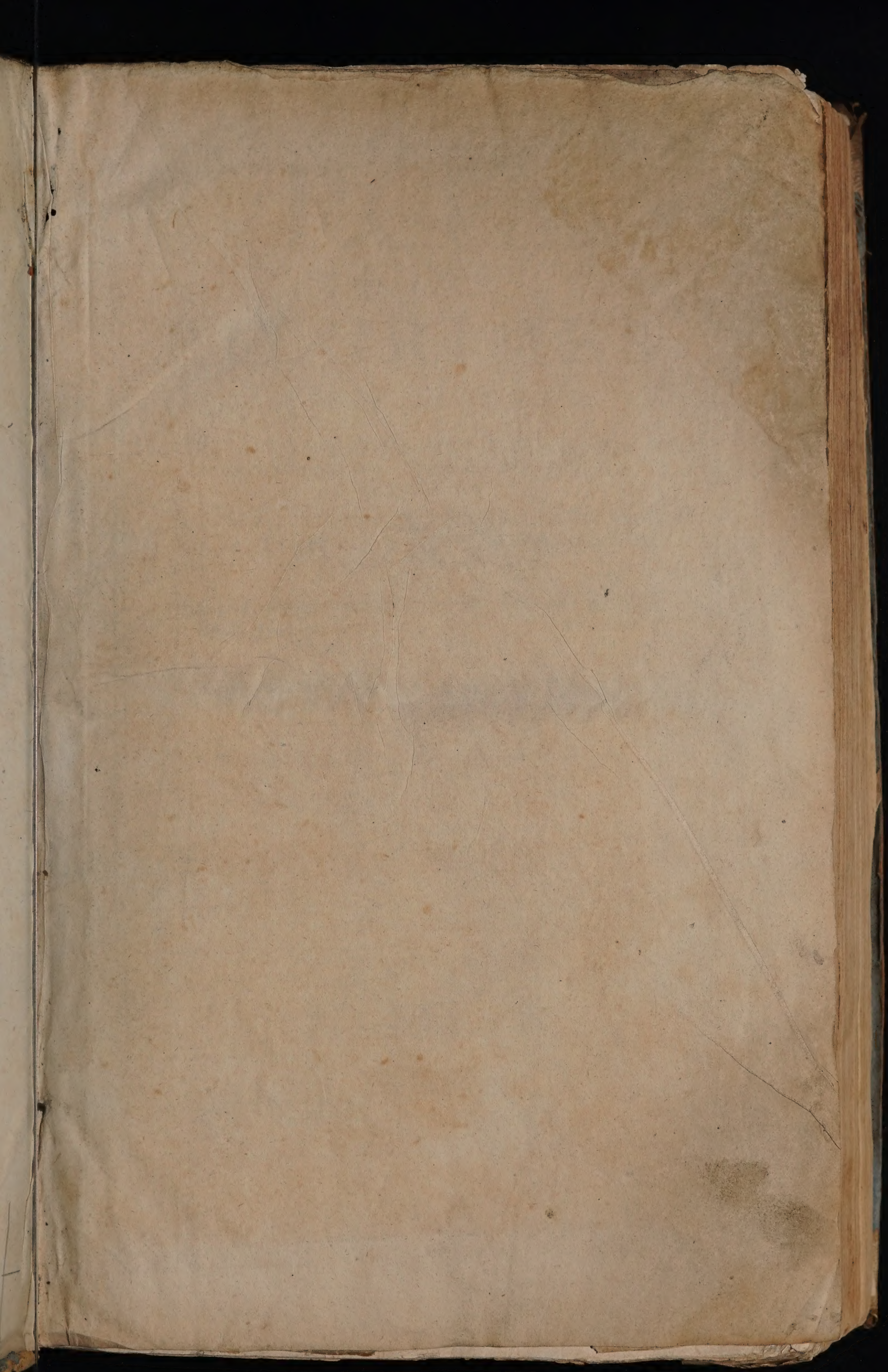
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This is Vol III of the
whole work

PURCHAS

HIS

PILGRIMES.

IN FIVE BOOKES.

The first, Contayning Peregrinations and Discoueries. in the remotest North and East parts of *ASIA*; called *TARTARIA and CHINA*.

The second, *Peregrinations, Voyages, Discoueries, of CHINA, TARTARIA, RVSSIA, and other the North and East parts of the World, by English-men and others.*

The third, *Voyages and Discoueries of the North parts of the World, by Land and Sea, in ASIA, EVROPE; the Polare Regions, and in the North-west of AMERICA.*

The fourth, *English Northerne Navigations, and Discoueries: Relations of Greenland, Groenland, the North-west passage, and other Arctike Regions, with later Russian OCCVRENTS.*

The fifth, *Voyages and Trauels to and in the New World, called AMERICA: Relations of their Pagan Antiquities and of the Regions and Plantations in the North and South parts thereof, and of the Seas and Islands adjacent.*

Unus Deus, Una Veritas.



LONDON

Printed by *William Stansby* for *Henry Featherstone*, and are to be sold at his shop in *Pauls Church-yard* at the signe of the *Rose*.

1625.

THE HISTORY OF THE

WEST INDIES

BY SAMUEL JOHNSON

The first, containing the History of the Discovery and Settlement of the West Indies, and the Islands adjacent to the same, from the first Discovery to the present Time.

The second, containing the History of the Discovery and Settlement of the West Indies, and the Islands adjacent to the same, from the first Discovery to the present Time.

The third, containing the History of the Discovery and Settlement of the West Indies, and the Islands adjacent to the same, from the first Discovery to the present Time.

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The Third Part.

OF THE

WEST INDIES

BY

JOHN JOHNSON, Printer, in the Strand, near St. Dunstons Church.



TO
THE RIGHT
HONORABLE, AND
RIGHT REVEREND
FATHER IN
GOD:
IOHN,

Lord Bishop of LINCOLNE, Lord Keeper
of the GREAT SEALE of
ENGLAND, &c.

Right Renerend and Honourable:



These PILGRIMS deliivering a Historie of the
World in their owne Trauels by Sea and Land,
not onely needed authoritie from the Ad-
miraltie, but fearing suspition of Riot with-
out warrantable assemblie, become humble
Sutors for your Lordships fauour. So shall
they in the approbation of both (to apply by
a warrant of *Ego dixi, diu estis*, the Patriarchs
mysticall Dreame to our Historicall purpose)

Gen. 28.12.

finde a *Scala Cæli* to ascend from the ground where they are prostrate
Petitioners, to the Princes Highnesse, whence authorised they may
again *descend* and become the Commons of Common Readers.
Order requires a *Medium* betwixt Princely Height and his Lowli-
nesse, whose function is also tearmed *Holy Orders*, as further tying
him to that equall inequality; wherein hee beseecheth your Lordship

THE EPISTLE

as by speciall Office and in proprietie to owne that which hee hath presumed to offer to the Prince in *Capite*, *Quemadmodum sub optimo rege omnia Rex imperio possidet, Domini dominio. Ad reges potestas pertinet, ad singulos proprietatis.*

Sence Benef. l. 7. cap. 4.

Many are the reasons which moued the Author to obtrude his **PILGRIMS** on your Lordship; because he is deeply obliged yours for former fauours, euen then when you were initiated in the Mysteries of Honour (learning by seruice to Command) in the Discipline of that Honorable worthy Lord Chancellor **E G E R T O N**! because some conceptions of this Worke were in your Honourable Iurisdiction of *Westminster*, whither lest some traduce *Trauellers* for *Vagrants*, they returne in hope of *Sanctuarie*, or not so much trusting to ancient Liberties, as your Lordships liberall respect to literate endeauours: because these *Trauellers* aduenturing the world, seeke like *Iacob* at his going and returne, a Reuerend Fathers *Blessing* and *Confirmation*. The Author likewise being called on for his promised *Europe*, submits himselfe to your Lordships Order, heere tendring of that debt, what hee is able in readie payment. The worke it selfe also being a Librarie in this kind, presents it selfe to your Honour, the Founder of two famous Libraries; one in *Westminster*, (where the Stones renued Fabrikes speake your magnificence) the other in that famous Nurserie of Arts and Vertue Saint **I O H N S** Colledge in *Cambridge*, which sometime knew you a hopefull Sonne, but now acknowledgeth your Lordship a happie Father, where also the Author first conceiued with this *Trauell*ing *Genius*, whereof without traueiling hee hath trauelled euer since. Learning, the Aduancer of your Honour, hath secured her welwillers not to bee reiected in whatsoeuer indeauours (*Scribimus indocti, doctiq.*) to aduance Learning. The greatnesse of Nature to goodnesse of Nature, varietie of Estates to a prime Pillar of State, the Historie of Religions to a Religious Prelate, of Antiquities to an Antiquarie, cannot bee altogether vnwelcome; that I mention not the dependance of *London* Ministers Liuiings (*fined* by the Times iniquitie) on your Lordships equall Sentence. These Causes haue moued, One hath inforced; these **PILGRIMES** are your Seruants, fitly so called *à Seruando*, saued by your Lordships hand when they were giuing vp the ghost, despairing through a fatall stroke of euer seeing light.

Aug. de (D. lib. 29. cap. 5.

Most humbly therefore, sue vnto your Honour, these **PILGRIMES** for acknowledgement, esteeming your Lordships Name in fore-front a cognisance of blest Libertie and best Seruice; now when *Ianus* sends many with gratefull emulations to present their acclamations of a *New Yeere*, presenting (a word rather then worthy Present) a world, yea, a New world, in great part one Age younger to mens knowledge then *America*, sometimes stiled by that Name. I had written other Causes of my addresse to your Honour, but dare not proceed to interrupt others more weightie; In all humble earnestnesse beseebeth, now in this Festiuall time, the Author with his **PILGRIMES** to finde Hospitall



PEREGRINATIONS
AND DISCOVERIES, IN THE
REMOTEST NORTH AND EAST
PARTS OF ASIA, CALLED
TARTARIA AND
CHINA.

THE FIRST BOOKE.

CHAP. I.

The Journall of Frier. WILLIAM DE RYBRVQVIS,
a French-man, of the Order of the Minorite Friars, vn-
to the East parts of the World, Anno
Dom. 1253.



O the most Excellent and most Christian Lord, Lewis,
by Gods grace the Renowned King of France, Frier
William de Rubruk, * the meanest of the *Minorites*
Order, wisheth health and continuall Triumph in
Christ.

It is written in the Booke of *Ecclesiasticus*, concer-
ning the Wiseman: *He shall trauell into forreine Coun-*
tries, and good and euill shall hee try in all things. The
very same Action (my Lord and King) haue I atchie-
ued: howbeit, I wish, that I haue done it like a wise
man, and not like a Foole: For many there bee, that
performe the same Action which a wise man doth, not
wisely but more vndiscreetly: of which number I feare
my selfe to bee one. Notwithstanding, howsoever I
haue done it, because you commanded mee, when I de-

* Master Hak,
had published
part of this
Author, but
the whole
worke being
found in Benet
Colledge Li-
brary in Cam-
bridg, I thought
fit to commu-
nicate it to the
World; it being
neuer publi-
shed, as I
thinke, in any
Language. I
begin with the
Tartars, as be-
ing knowne to
these parts be-
fore the *Chi-
nois*: yea, *China*
or *Mang* be-
came knowne
by them.
Eccles 39. v. 3.
Cassaria, or
Gasaria.

parted from your Highnesse, to write all things vnto you, which I should see among the *Tar-*
tars, and you wished me also that I should not feare to write long Letters, I haue done as your
Maiestie enioyned me: yet with feare and reuerence, because I want words and Eloquence suf-
ficient to write vnto so great a Maiestie. Bee it knowne therefore vnto your Sacred Maiestie,
that in the yeare of our Lord 1253. about the Nones of May, wee entred into the Sea of *Pon-*
sus, which the *Bulgarians* call the great Sea. It containeth in length (as I learned of certayne
Merchants) one thousand and eight miles, and is in a manner, diuided into two parts. About
the midst thereof are two Prouinces, one towards the North, and another towards the South.
The South Prouince is called *Synopolis*, and it is the Castle and Port of the *Soldan* of *Turkie*:
but the North Prouince is called of the *Latines*, *Gasaria*: of the *Greekes*, which inhabit vpon
the Sea shoare thereof, it is called *Cassaria*, that is to say, *Casaria*. And there are certayne head-
lands stretching forth into the Sea towards *Synopolis*. Also, there are three hundred miles of di-

B

stance

stance betweene *Synopolis* and *Cassaria*. Inſomuch that the diſtance from thoſe points or places
 to *Conſtantinople*, in length and breadth is about ſeven hundred miles: and ſeven hundred miles
 alſo from thence to the Eaſt, namely, to the Countrey of *Hiberia*, which is a Prouince of
Georgia. At the Prouince of *Gafaria* or *Cassaria*, wee arriued, which Prouince is, in a man-
 ner, three ſquare, hauing a Citie on the Weſt part thereof called *Kerſoua*, wherein *Saint Cle-*
ment ſuffered Martyrdome. And ſayling before the ſaid Citie, wee ſaw an Iſland, in which a
 Church is ſaid to be built by the hands of Angels. But about the miſt of the ſaid Prouince to-
 ward the South, as it were, vpon a ſharpe Angle or Point, ſtandeth a Citie called *Soldaia*, direct-
 ly againſt *Synopolis*. And there doe all the *Turkie* Merchants, which Traffique into the North
 Countries, in their Iourney outward, arriue, and as they returne home-ward alſo from *Ruſſia*,
 and the ſaid Northerne Regions, into *Turkie*. The foreſaid Merchants transport thither Er-
 mines and gray Fures, with other rich and coſtly Skinnes. Others carrie Clothes made of Cot-
 ton or Bombaſt, and Silke, and diuers kinds of Spices. But vpon the Eaſt part of the ſaid Prouince
 ſtandeth a Citie called *Matruga*, where the Riuer *Tanaïs* diſchargeth his ſtreames into the Sea
 of *Pontus*, the mouth whereof is twelue miles in breadth. For this Riuer, before it entreth in-
 to the Sea of *Pontus*, maketh a little Sea, which hath in breadth and length ſeven hundred
 miles, and it is in no place thereof aboue ſixe paces deepe, whereupon great Veſſels cannot faile
 ouer it. Howbeit the Merchants of *Conſtantinople*, arriuing at the foreſaid Citie of * *Matruga*,
 ſend their Barkes vnto the Riuer of *Tanaïs* to buy dried fiſhes, Sturgeons, Thoſſes, Barbils,
 and an infinite number of other fiſhes. The foreſaid Prouince of *Cassaria*, is compaſſed in with
 the Sea on three ſides thereof: namely, on the Weſt ſide, where *Kerſoua*, the Citie of *Saint*
Clement is ſituate: on the South ſide the Citie of *Soldaia*, whereat we arriued: on the Eaſt ſide
Maricandis, and there ſtands the Citie of *Matruga*, vpon the mouth of the Riuer *Tanaïs*. Be-
 yond the ſaid mouth ſtandeth *Zikia*, which is not in ſubiectiõ vnto the *Tartars*: alſo the peo-
 ple called *Sueni* and *Hiberi*, towards the Eaſt, who likewiſe are not vnder the *Tartars* Domini-
 on. Moreouer, towards the South, ſtandeth the Citie of *Trapeſunda*, which hath a Gouverneur
 proper to it ſelfe, named *Guydo*, being of the Linage of the Emperours of *Conſtantinople*, and is
 ſubiect vnto the *Tartars*. Next vnto that is *Synopolis*, the Citie of the Soldan of *Turkie*, who
 likewiſe is in ſubiectiõ vnto them. Next vnto theſe lyeth the Countrey of *Vaſtaci*, whoſe
 Sonne is called *Aſtar*, of his Grand-father by the Mothers ſide, who is not in ſubiectiõ. All the
 Land from the mouth of *Tanaïs* Weſt-ward as farre as *Danubius* is vnder their Iuriſdiction. Yea,
 beyond *Danubius* alſo, towards *Conſtantinople*, *Valakia*, which is the Land of *Aſſanus*, and *Bulga-*
ria minor, as farre as *Solonia*, doe all pay Tribute vnto them. And beſides the Tribute impoſed,
 they haue alſo, of late yeares, exacted of euery houſhold an Axe, and all ſuch Corne as they
 found lying on heapes. We arriued therefore at *Soldaia*, the twelfth of the Kalends of Iune. And
 diuers Merchants of *Conſtantinople*, which were arriued there before vs, reported that certayne
 Meſſengers were coming thither from the Holy Land, who were deſirous to trauell vnto *Sar-*
tach. Notwithſtanding, I my ſelfe had publiſhly giuen out vpon Palme Sunday within the
 Church of *Sancta Sophia*, that I was not your nor any other mans Meſſenger, but that I trauelled
 vnto thoſe Infidels according to the Rule of our Order. And being arriued, the ſaid Merchants
 admoniſhed me to take diligent heed what I ſpoke: becauſe they hauing reported mee to be a
 Meſſenger, if I ſhould ſay the contrary, that I were no Meſſenger, I could not haue free paſſage
 granted vnto me. Then I ſpoke after this manner vnto the Gouvernours of the Citie, or rather
 vnto their Lieutenants, becauſe the Gouvernours themſelues were gone to pay Tribute vnto *Baa-*
tu, and were not as yet returned. We heard of your Lord *Sartach* (quoth I) in the Holy Land,
 that he was become a Chriſtian: and the Chriſtians were exceeding glad thereof, and eſpecial-
 ly the moſt Chriſtian King of *France*, who is there now in Pilgrimage, and fighteth againſt the
Saracens, to redeeme the holy places out of their hands: wherefore I am determined to goe vnto
Sartach, and to deliuer vnto him the Letters of my Lord the King, wherein hee admoniſheth
 him concerning the good and commoditie of all Chriſtendome. And they receiued vs with
 gladneſſe, and gaue vs entertaynment in the Cathedrall Church. The Biſhop of which Church
 was with *Sartach*, who told me many good things concerning the ſaid *Sartach*, which after-
 ward I found to be nothing ſo. Then put they vs to our choice, whether wee would haue Carts
 and Oxen, or packe-horſes to transport our Carriages. And the Merchants of *Conſtantinople* ad-
 uiſed me, not to take Carts of the Citizens of *Soldaia*, but to buy covered Carts of mine owne,
 (ſuch as the *Ruſſians* carry their Skinnes in) and to put all our Carriages, which I would daily
 take out, into them: becauſe, if I ſhould uſe Horſes, I muſt be conſtrayned at euery baite to take
 downe my Carriages, and to liſt them vp againe on ſundry Horſes backes: and beſides, that I
 ſhould ride a more gentle pace by the Oxen drawing the Carts. Wherefore, contenting my ſelfe
 with their euill counſell, I was trauelling vnto *Sartach* two monethes, which I could haue done
 in one, if I had gone by Horſe. I brought with me from *Conſtantinople* (being by the Merchants
 aduiſed ſo to doe) pleaſant Fruits, Muſkadell Wine, and delicate Biſket bread to preſent vnto
 the Gouvernours of *Soldaia*, to the end I might obtayne free paſſage: becauſe they looke fauou-
 rably vpon no man which commeth with an empty hand. All which things I beſtowed in one
 of

of my Carts (not finding the Gouvernours of the Citie at home) for they told me, if I could carry them to *Sartach*, that they would be most acceptable vnto him. Wee tooke our Iourney therefore about the Kalends of Iune, with foure couered Carts of our owne, and with two other which we borrowed of them, wherein we carried our bedding to rest vpon in the night, and they allowed vs five Horses to ride vpon. For there were iust five persons in our company: namely, I my selfe and mine associate Frier *Bartholomew* of *Cremona*, and *Goset* the Bearer of these Presents, the man of God *Turgemannus*, and *Nicolas* my Seruant, whom I bought at *Constantinople*, with some part of the Almes bestowed vpon me. Moreouer, they allowed vs two men, which draue our Carts and gaue attendance vnto our Oxen and Horses. There bee high Promontories on the Sea shoare from *Kersona* vnto the mouth of *Tanais*. Also there are fortie Castles betweene *Kersona* and *Soldaia*, euery one of which almost haue their proper Languages: amongst whom there were many *Goths*, who spake the *Dutch* Tongue. Beyond the said Mountaynes towards the North, there is a most beautifull Wood growing on a Plaine full of Fountaynes and Freshets. And beyond the Wood there is a mightie plaine Champian, continuing five dayes Iourney vnto the very extremitie and borders of the said Prouince North-ward, and there it is a narrow *Isthmus* or neck-Land, hauing Sea on the East and West sides thereof, insomuch that there is a Ditch made from one Sea vnto the other. In the same Plaine (before the *Tartars* sprang vp) were the *Comanians* wont to inhabit, who compelled the fore-said Cities and Castles to pay Tribute vnto them. But when the *Tartars* came vpon them, the multitude of the *Comanians* entred into the fore-said Prouince, and fled all of them, euen vnto the Sea shoare, beeing in such extreme Famine, that they which were aliue, were constrained to eate vp those which were dead: and (as a Merchant reported vnto me who saw it with his owne eyes) that the liuing men deuoured and tore with their teeth, the raw flesh of the dead, as Dogges would gnaw vpon Carrion. Towardes the Borders of the said Prouince there bee many great Lakes: vpon the Bankes whereof are Salt-pits or Fountaynes, the water of which so soone as it entred into the Lake, becommeth hard Salt like vnto Ice. And out of those Salt-pits *Baatu* and *Sartach* haue great Reuenues: for they repayre thither out of all *Russia*, for Salt: and for each Cart loade they giue two Webbes of Cotton, amounting to the value of halfe an *Xperpera*. There come by Sea also many Shippes for Salt, which pay Tribute euery one of them according to their burthen. The third day after wee were departed out of the Precincts of *Soldaia*, wee found the *Tartars*. Amongst whom beeing entred, me thought I was come into a new World. Whose life and manners I will describe vnto your Highnesse as well as I can.

Frier Bartholomew
of Cremona.The necke of
Tanica Chet-
sonum.

The Tartars.

They haue in no place any settled Citie to abide in, neither know they of the Celestiall Citie to come. They haue diuided all *Scythia* among themselues, which stretcheth from the River *Danubius* euen vnto the rising of the Sunne. And euery of their Captaines, according to the great or small number of his people, knoweth the bounds of his Pastures, and where hee ought to feed his Cattell Winter and Summer, Spring and Autumne. For in the Winter they descend vnto the warme Regions South-ward. And in the Summer they ascend vnto the cold Regions North-ward. In Winter when Snow lyeth vpon the ground, they feed their Cattell vpon Pastures without water, because then they vse Snow in stead of water. Their houses wherein they sleepe, they ground vpon a round foundation of Wickers artificially wrought and compacted together: the Roofe whereof consisteth (in like sort) of Wickers, meeting aboue into one little Roundell, out of which Roundell ascendeth vpward a necke like vnto a Chimney, which they couer with white Felt, and oftentimes they lay Morter or white Earth vpon the said Felt, with the powder of bones, that it may shine white. And sometimes also they couer it with blacke Felt. The said Felt on the necke of their house, they doe garnish ouer with beautifull varietie of Pictures. Before the doore likewise they hang a Felt curiously painted ouer. For they spend all their coloured Felt, in painting Vines, Trees, Birds, and Beasts thereupon. The said houses they make so large, that they contayne thirtie foot in breadth. For measuring once the breadth betweene the wheele-ruts of one of their Carts, I found it to bee twentie feet ouer: and when the house was vpon the Cart, it stretched ouer the wheelles on each side five feet at the least. I told two and twentie Oxen in one Teame, drawing an house vpon a Cart, eleuen in one order according to the breadth of the Cart, and eleuen more before them: the Axle-tree of the Cart was of an huge bignesse like vnto the Mast of a Ship. And a fellow stood in the doore of the house, vpon the fore-stall of the Cart driuing forth the Oxen. Moreouer, they make certayne foure square Baskets of small slender Wickers as bigge as great Chests: and afterward, from one side to another, they frame an hollow lidde or couer of such like Wickers, and make a doore in the fore-side thereof. And then they couer the said Chest or little House with black Felt, rubbed ouer with Tallow or Sheeps Milke to keep the rain from soking through, which they deck likewise with painting or with feathers. And in such Chests they put their whole Household-stuffe and Treasure. Also the same Chests they doe strongly binde vpon other Carts, which are drawne with Camels, to the end they may wade through Riuers. Neither doe they at any time take downe the said Chests from off their Carts. When they

Chap. 2.
Of the Tartars,
and of their
houses.

The benefit of
a Painter in
strange Coun-
tries.

take downe their dwelling houses, they turne the doores alwayes to the South: and next of all they place the Carts laden with their Chests, here and there, within halfe a stones cast of the House: insomuch that the House standeth betweene two rankes of Carts, as it were, betweene two Walles. The Matrones make for themselves most beautifull Carts, which I am not able to describe vnto your Maiesty but by Pictures only: for I would right willingly haue painted all things for you, had my Skill beene ought in that Art. One rich *Moal* or *Tartar* hath two hundred, or one hundred such Carts with Chests. Duke *Baatu* hath sixteene Wiues, euery one of which hath one great house, besides other little houses, which they place behind the great one, being as it were Chambers for their Maidens to dwell in. And vnto euery of the said houses doe belong two hundred Carts. When they take their houses from off the Carts, the principall Wife placeth her Court on the West Frontier, and so all the rest in their order: so that the last Wife dwelleth vpon the East Frontier: and one of the said Ladies Courts is distant from another about a stones cast. Whereupon the Court of one rich *Moal* or *Tartar* will appeare like vnto a great Village, very few men abiding in the same. One woman will guide twenty or thirty Carts at once, for their Countries are very plaine, and they binde the Carts with Camels or Oxen, one behind another. And there sits a Wench in the fore-most Cart driving the Oxen, and all the residue follow on a like pace. When they chance to come at any bad passage, they let them loose, and guide them ouer one by one: for they goe a slow pace, as fast as a Lambe or an Oxe can walke.

Chap. 3.
Of their Beds,
Puppets, Ima-
ges and drink-
ing Pots.

Idols.

HAuing taken downe their houses from off their Carts, and turning the doores South-ward, they place the bed of the Master of the house, at the North part thereof. The womens place is alwayes on the East-side, namely, on the left hand of the good man of the house sitting vpon his bed with his face South-wards: but the mens place is vpon the West-side, namely, at the right hand of their Master. Men when they enter into the house, will not in any case hang their Quiuers on the womens side.ouer the Masters head there is alwayes an Image, like a Puppet, made of Fealt, which they call the Masters Brother: and another ouer the head of the good Wife or Mistris, which they call her Brother, being fastened to the wall: and aboue betweene both of them, there is a little leane one, which is, as it were the keeper of the whole house. The good Wife or Mistris of the house placeth aloft at her beds feet, on the right hand, the Skinne of a Kid stuffed with Wooll or some other matter, and neere vnto that a little Image or Puppet looking towards the Maidens and women. Next vnto the doore also on the womens side, there is another Image with a Cowes Vdder, for the women that milke the Kine. For it is the dutie of their women to milke Kine. On the other side of the doore next vnto the men, there is another Image with the Vdder of a Mare, for the men which milke Mares. And when they come together to drinke and make merrie, they sprinkle part of their Drinke vpon the Image which is aboue the Masters head: afterward vpon other Images in order: then goeth a Seruant out of the house with a cup full of Drinke, sprinkling it thrise towards the South, and bowing his knee at euery time: and this is done for the honour of the Fire. Then performeth he the like Superstitious Idolatry towards the East, for the honour of the Ayre: and then to the West for the honour of the water: and lastly, to the North in the behalfe of the Dead. When the Master holdeth a cup in his hand to drinke, before hee tasteth thereof, hee powreth his part vpon the ground. If he drinketh sitting on Horse-backe, he powreth out part thereof vpon the necke or mane of his Horse before he himselfe drinketh. After the Seruant aforesaid hath so discharged his cups to the foure quarters of the World, hee returneth into the house: and two other Seruants stand ready with two cups, and two basons, to carrie Drinke vnto their Master and his Wife, sitting together vpon a bed. And if hee hath more Wiues then one, shee with whom he slept the night before, sitteth by his side the day following: and all his other Wiues must that day resort vnto the same house to drinke: and there is the Court holden for that day: the gifts also which are presented that day, are layd vp in the Chests of the said Wife. And vpon a bench stands a Vessell of Milke, or of other Drinke and drinking cups.

Chap. 4.
Of their
drinkes, and
how they pro-
uoke one ano-
ther to drink-
ing.

They vse the
like custome in
Florida.

IN Winter time they make excellent drinke of Rice, of Mill, and of Honey, being well and high coloured like Wine. Also they haue Wine brought vnto them from farre Countries. In Summer time they care not for any drinke, but Cosmos. And it standeth alwayes within the entrance of his doore, and next vnto it stands a Minstrell with his Fiddle. I saw there no such Citerne and Vials as ours commonly bee, but many other Muscull Instruments which are not vsed among vs. And when the Master of the house begins to drinke, one of his seruants crieth out with a loude voyce, *Ha*, and the Minstrell playes vpon his Fiddle. And when they make any great solemne feast, they all of them clap their hands, and dance to the noyse of Musicke, the men before their Master, and the women before their Mistris. And when the Master hath drunke, then cries out his seruant as before, and the Minstrell stayeth his Musicke. Then drinke they all round both men and women, and sometimes they carowse for the victorie very filthily and drunkenly. Also when they will prouoke any man, they pull him by the Eares to the drinke, and so lug and draw him strongly to stretch out his throat clapping their hands, and dancing

dancing before him. Moreouer, when some of them will make great feasting and reioycing, one of the companie takes a full Cup, and two other stand, one on his right hand, and another on his left, and so they three come singing to the man who is to haue the Cup reached vnto him, still singing and dancing before him: and when he stretcheth forth his hand to receiue the Cup, they leape suddenly backe, returning againe as they did before, and so hauing deluded him thrice or foure times by drawing backe the Cup, vntill he be merrie, and hath gotten a good appetite, then they giue him the Cup, singing and dancing, and stamping with their feet, vntill he hath done drinking.

10 **C**ONCERNING their food and victuals, be it knowne vnto your Highnesse, that they doe, without all difference or conception, eat all their dead Carions. And amongst so many droues it cannot be, but some Cattell must needs die. Howbeit in Summer, so long as their Cosmos, that is, their Mares milke lasteth, they care not for any food. And if they chance to haue an Oxe or an Horse die, they drie the flesh thereof: for cutting it into thinne slices, and hanging it vp against the Sunne and the wind, it is presently dried without Salt, and also without stench or corruption. They make better Puddings of their Horses then of their Hogs, which they eate being new made: the rest of the flesh they reserue vntill Winter. They make of their Oxe skins great bladders or bags, which they doe wonderfully drie in the smoake. Of the hinder part of their Horse hides, they make very fine Sandals and Pantofles. They giue vnto fiftie or
20 an hundred men, the flesh of one Ramme to eate. For they mince it in a bowle with Salt and Water (other Sauce they haue none) and then with the poynt of a Knife, or a little Forke which they make for the same purpose (such as we vse to take roasted Peares and Apples out of Wine withall) they reach vnto euery one of the companie a morsell or twaine, according to the multitude of Guests. The Master of the house, before the Rams flesh be distributed, first of all himselfe taketh thereof, what he pleaseth. Also, if he giueth vnto any of the companie a speciall part, the receiuer thereof must eate it alone, and must not impart ought thereof vnto any other. Not being able to eate it vp all, hee carries it with him, and deliuers it vnto his boy, if hee be present, to keepe it: if not, hee puts it vp into his Saptargat, that is to say, his foure square Budget, which they vse to carrie about with them, for the sauing of all such prouision, & where-
30 in they lay vp their bones, when they haue not time to gnaw them thoroughly, that they may burnish them afterward, to the end that no whit of their food may come to nought.

*Chap. 5.
Of their food
and victuals.*

*Drying of flesh
in the wind.*

*Chap. 6.
How they
make their
drinke, called
Cosmos.*

Caracosmos.

Duke Baatu.

*Store of
Mares, and
Mares milke.*

THeir drinke, called Cosmos, which is Mares milke, is prepared after this manner. They fasten a long line vnto two posts standing firmly in the ground, and vnto the same line they tye the young Foales of those Mares, which they meane to milke. Then come the Dammes to stand by their Foales gently suffering themselves to be milked. And if any of them be too vnruely, then one takes her Foale, and puts it vnder her, letting it sucke a while, and presently carrying it away againe, there comes another man to milke the said Mare. And hauing gotten a good quantitie of this Milke together (being as sweet as Cowes milke) while it is new they powre into a great bladder or bag, and they beat the said bag with a piece of wood made for the purpose, hauing a Club at the lower end like a mans head, which is hollow within: and so soone as they beat vpon it, it begins to boyle like new Wine, and to be sowre and sharpe of taste, and they beate it in that manner till Butter come thereof. Then taste they thereof, and being indifferently sharpe they drinke it: for it biteth a mans tongue like the Wine of Raspes, when it is drunke. After a man hath taken a draught thereof, it leaueth behind it a taste like the taste of Almond-milke, and goeth downe very pleasantly, intoxicating weake braynes: also it causeth vrine to be auoyded in great measure. Likewise Caracosmos, that is to say, Blacke Cosmos, for great Lords to drinke, they make on this manner. First, they beat the said Milke so long till the thickest part thereof descend right downe to the bottome like the lees of white Wine, and that which is thinne and pure remayneth aboue, being like vnto Whay or white Must. The
40 said lees and dregs being very white, are giuen to seruants, and will cause them to sleepe exceedingly. That which is thinne and cleere their Masters drinke: and in very deede it is maruellous sweet and wholsome liquor. Duke Baatu hath thirtie Cottages or Granges, within a dayes iourney of his abiding place: euery one of which serueth him daily with the Caracosmos of an hundred Mares milke, and so all of them together euery day with the Milke of three thousand Mares, besides white Milke which other of his Subjects bring. For euen as the Husbandmen of Syria bestow the third part of their fruits, and carrie it vnto the Courts of their Lords, euen so doe they their Mares milke euery third day. Out of their Cowes milke they first churne Butter, boyling the which Butter vnto a perfect decoction, they put it into Rams skins, which they reserue for the same purpose. Neither doe they salt their Butter: and yet by reason of the long seething, it putrifeth not: and they keepe it in store for Winter. The churn-
60 milke which remayneth of the Butter, they let alone till it be as sowre as possibly it may be, then they boyle it, and in boyling it is turned all into Curds, which Curds they drie in the Sun, making them as hard as the drosse of Iron: and this kind of food also they store vp in Sachels

against Winter. In the Winter season when Milke fayleth them, they put the foresaid Curds (which they call *Gry-vr*) into a bladder, and powring hot water thereinto, they beat it lustily till they haue resolued it into the said Water, which is thereby made exceedingly lowre, and that they drinke in stead of Milke. They are very scrupulous, and take diligent heed that they drinke not faire Water by it selfe.

Chap. 7.
Of the beasts
which they eat
of their gar-
ments, and of
their manner
of hunting.

Our Falconers
vie the left fist.
Another
strange cu-
stome, which I
leaued to bee
scanned by
Falconers
themselves.

Great expence
of Wooll.

Chap. 8.
Of the fashion
which the Tar-
tars vse in cut-
ting their
haire, and of
the attire of
their women.

Great Lords haue Cottages or Granges towards the South, from whence their Tenants bring them Miller and Meale against Winter. The poorer sort prouide themselves of such necessities, for the exchange of Rams, and of other beasts skins. The *Tartars* slaues fill their bellies with thicke water, and are therewithall contented. They will neither eat Mife with long 10
tayles, nor any kind of Mife with short tayles. They haue also certaine little beasts, called by them, *Sogur*, which lie in a Caue twentie or thirtie of them together, all the whole Winter sleeping there for the space of sixe moneths: and these they take in great abundance. There are also a kind of Conies hauing long tayles like vnto Cats: and on the outside of their tayles grow blacke and white haire. They haue many other small beasts good to eat, which they know and discern right well. I saw no Deere there, and but a few Hares, but a great number of Roes. I saw wild Asses in great abundance, which be like vnto Mules. Also I saw another kind of beast, called *Artak*, hauing in all resemblance the bodie of a Ram, and crooked hornes, which are of such bignesse, that I could scarce lift vp a paire of them with one hand: and of these hornes they make great drinking cups. They haue Faulcons, Girfaulcons, and other Hawkes in great 20
plentie: all which they carrie vpon their right hands: and they put alwaies about their Faulcons neckes a string of Leather, which hangeth downe to the midst of their gorges, by the which string, when they cast them off the fist at the game, with their left hand they bow downe the heads and breasts of the said Hawkes, lest they should be tossed vp and downe, and beaten with the wind, or lest they should soare too high. Wherefore they get a great part of their victuals by hunting and hawking. Concerning their garments and attire, be it knowne vnto your Ma-
iestie, that out of *Cataya*, and other Regions of the East, out of *Persia* also, and other Countries of to South, there are brought vnto them Stuffs of silke, Cloth of gold, and Cotton cloth, which they weare in time of Summer. But out of *Russia*, *Moxell*, *Bulgaria* the greater, and 30
Pascatir, that is, *Hungaria* the greater, and out of *Kerfis* (all which are Northerne Regions, and full of Woods) and also out of many other Countries of the North, which are subiect vnto them, the Inhabitants bring them rich and costly skins of diuers sorts (which I neuer saw in our Countries) wherewithall they are clad in Winter. And alwaies against Winter they make themselves two Gownes, one with the furre inward to their skinne, and another with the furre outward, to defend them from wind and snow, which for the most part are made of Wolves skins, or Foxe skins, or else of Papions. And when they sit within the house, they haue a finer Gowne to weare. The poorer sort make their vpper Gowne of Dogs or of Goats skins. When they goe to hunt for wild beasts, there meets a great companie of them together, and enui-
roning the place round about, where they are sure to find some game, by little and little they ap-
proach on all sides, till they haue gotten the wild beasts into the midst, as it were into a circle, 40
and then they discharge their Arrowes at them. Also they make themselves Breeches of skins. The rich *Tartars* sometimes furre their Gownes with pelluce or silke shag, which is exceeding soft, light, and warme. The poorer sort doe line their clothes with Cotton cloth, which is made of the finest wooll they can picke out, and of the courser part of the said wooll, they make Felt to couer their houses, and their chests, and for their bedding also. Of the same wooll, being mixed with one third part of Horse haire, they make all their cordage. They make also of the said Felt coverings for their stooles, and caps to defend their heads from the weather: for all which purposes they spend a great quantitie of their wooll. And thus much concerning the attire of the men.

The men shaue a plot foure square vpon the crownes of their heads, and from the two for- 50
most corners they shaue, as it were, two seames downe to their temples: they shaue also their temples, and the hinder part of their head, euen vnto the nape of the necke: likewise they shaue the fore-part of their scalpe downe to their foreheads, and vpon their foreheads they leaue a locke of haire reaching downe vnto their eye-browes: vpon the two hindmost corners of their heads, they haue two lockes also, which they twine and braid into knots and so bind and knit them vnder each eare one. Moreouer, their womens garments differ not from their mens, sauing that they are somewhat longer. But on the morrow after one of their wo-
men is married, shee shaues her scalpe from the middest of her head downe to her forehead, and weares a wide garment like vnto the hood of a Nunne, yea larger and longer in all parts then 60
a Nunnies hood, beeing open before, and girt vnto them vnder the right side. For heerein doe the *Tartars* differ from the *Turkes*: because the *Turkes* fasten their garments to their bodies on the left side: but the *Tartars* alwaies on the right side. They haue also an ornament for their heads, which they call, *Botta*, beeing made of the barke of a Tree, or of some such other ligh-
ter

ter matter as they can finde, which by reason of the thicknesse and roundnesse thereof cannot be holden but in both hands together: and it hath a square sharpe spire rising from the top thereof, being more then a cubite in length, and fashioned like vnto a Pinnacle. The said *Botta* they couer all ouer with a piece of rich Silke, and it is hollow within: and vpon the midst of the said spire or square top, they put a bunch of Quils, or of slender Canes, a cubite long and more: and the said bunch on the top thereof, they beautifie with Peacockes Feathers, and stones also. Great Ladies weare this kind of ornament vpon their heads, binding it strongly with a certaine Hat or Coyfe, which hath a hole in the crowne, fit for the spire to come through it: and vnder the foresaid ornament they couer the haire of their heads, which they gather vp round together from the hinder part thereof to the crowne, and so lap them vp in a knot or bun-
 10 dell within the said *Botta*, which afterward they bind strongly vnder their throats. Hereupon when a great company of such Gentlewomen ride together, and are beheld a farre off, they seeme to be Souldiers with Helmets on their heads, carrying their Lances vpright: for the said *Botta* appeareth like an Helmet with a Lance ouer it. All their Women sit on horse-backe, be-
 striding their Horses like men: and they binde their hoods or gownes about their waistes with a sky-coloured Silke Skarfe, and with another Skarfe they gird it about their breasts: and they binde also a piece of white Silke like a Musler or Maske vnder their eyes, reaching downe
 20 vnto their breasts. These Gentlewomen are exceeding fat, and the lesser their noses be, the fairer they are esteemed: they dawbe ouer their sweet faces with grease too shamefully: and they neuer lye in bed for their trauell of child-birth.

THe duties of Women are to driue Carts: to lay their houses vpon Carts, and to take them
 downe againe; to milke Kine, to make Butter and *Gry-vr*, to dresse skinnes, and to sew
 them, which they vsually sew with thread made of sinewes, for they diuide sinewes in slender
 threads, and then twine them into one long thread. They make Sandals and Socks, and other
 Garments. Howbeit they neuer wash any apparell: for they say, that God is then angry, and
 that dreadfull thunder will ensue, if washed garments be hanged forth to dry; yea, they beate
 such as wash, and take their garments from them. They are wonderfully afraid of thunder: for
 30 in the time of thunder they thrust all strangers out of their houses, and then wrapping them-
 selues in blacke Felt, they lye hidden therein, till the thunder be ouer-past. They neuer wash
 their dishes or bowles: yea, when their flesh is sodden, they wash the platter wherein it must
 be put, with scalding hot broath out of the pot, and then powre the said broath into the pot a-
 gaine. They make Felt also, and couer their houses therewith. The duties of the Men are, to
 make Bowes and Arrows, Scirrops, Bridles and Saddles: to build Houses and Carts, to keepe
 Horses, to milke Mares, to churme Cosmos and Mares Milke, and to make bags wherein to put
 it: they keepe Camels also, and lay burchens vpon them. As for Sheepe and Goats, they tend
 and milke them, as well the Men as the Women. With Sheeps Milke thicked and salted, they
 dresse and tan their Hides. When they will wash their hands or their heads, they fill their
 40 mouthes full of Water, and spowting it into their hands by little and little, they sprinkle their
 haire, and wash their heads therewith. As touching marriages, your Highnesse is to vnderstand,
 that no man can haue a Wife among them till he hath bought her: whereupon sometimes their
 Maids are very stale before they be married, for their Parents alwaies keepe them till they can
 sell them. They keepe the first and second degrees of Consanguinitie inuiolable, as wee doe:
 but they haue noregard of the degrees of Affinitie: for they will marrie together, or by successi-
 on, two Sisters. Their Widowes marrie not at all, for this reason; because they beleene, that all
 who haue serued them in this life, shall doe them seruice in the life to come also. Whereupon
 they are perswaded, that euery Widow after death shall returne vnto her owne Husband. And
 here-hence ariseth an abominable and filthy custome among them; namely, that the Sonne mar-
 rieth sometimes all his Fathers Wiues except his owne Mother: For the Court or House of the
 50 Father or Mother, falleth by inheritance alwaies to the younger Sonne. Whereupon he is to
 prouide for all his Fathers Wiues, because they are part of his Inheritance as well as his Fathers
 possessions. And then if he will, he vseth them for his owne Wiues: for he thinkes it no iniqui-
 tie or disparagement vnto himselfe, although they returne vnto his Father after death. Therefore
 when any man hath bargained with another for a Maid, the Father of the said Damosell makes
 him a feast: in the meane while she fleeth vnto some of her Kinsfolkes to hide her selfe. Then
 saith her Father vnto the Bridegroom: *Loe, my Daughten is yours, take her wherefoeuer you can
 finde her.* Then he and his friends seeke for her till they can find her, and hauing found her, he
 must take her by force and carry her (as it were) violently vnto his owne house.

Concerning their Lawes, or their Execution of Iustice, your Maiestie is to bee aduertised,
 that when two men fight, no third man dare intrude himselfe to part them. Yea, the Fa-
 ther dare not help his owne Sonne. But he that goes by the worst, must appeale vnto the Court
 of his Lord. And whofoeuer else offereth him any violence after appeale, is put to death. But

Chap. 9.
 Of the duties
 inioyned vnto
 the Tartarian
 Women, and
 of their labors,
 and also of
 their marri-
 ages.

Chap. 10.
 Of their exe-
 cution of Iu-
 stice and Iudg-
 ment: and of
 their deaths
 he and burials.

he must goe presently without all delay : and he that hath suffered the iniury, carrieth him (as it were) captiue. They punish no man with sentence of death, vnlesse he bee taken in the deed doing, or confesseth the same. But being accused by the multitude, they put him vnto extreame torture, to make him confesse the truth. They punish murder with death, and Carnall copulation also with any other besides his owne. By his owne, I meane his Wife or his Maid Seruant, for he may vse his Slaue as hee listeth himselfe. Hainous theft also or felony they punish with death. For a light theft, as namely, for stealing of a Ram, the partie (not being apprehended in the deed doing, but otherwise detected) is cruelly beaten. And if the Executioner layes on an hundred strokes, hee must haue an hundred staues; namely, for such as are beaten vpon sentence giuen in the Court. Also counterfeit Messengers, because they feine themselues to be Messengers, when as indeed they are none at all, they punish with death. Sacrilegious persons they vse in like manner (of which kind of Malefactors your Maiestie shall vnderstand more fully hereafter) because they esteeme such to bee Witches. When any man dyeth, they lament and howle most pittifully for him : and the said Mourners are free from paying any tribute for one whole yeare after. Also, whosoever is present at the house where any one growne to mans estate lyeth dead, he must not enter into the Court of *Mangu-Can*, till one whole yeare be expired. If it were a child deceased, hee must not enter into the said Court till the next moneth after. Neere vnto the graue of the partie deceased, they alwaies leaue one Cottage. If any of their Nobles (being of the stocke of *Chingis*, who was their first Lord and Father) deceaseth, his Sepulchre is vnkowne. And alwaies about those places where they interre their Nobles, there is one house of men to keepe the Sepulchres. I could not learne that they vse to hide Treasures in the graues of their dead. The *Comanians* build a great Toombe ouer their dead, and erect the Image of the dead partie thereupon, with his face towards the East, holding a drinking Cup in his hand before his Nauell. They erect also vpon the Monuments of rich men, Pyramides, that is to say, little sharpe houses or pinacles: and in some places I saw mightie Towers made of Bricke, in other places Pyramides made of stones, albeit there are no stones to be found thereabout. I saw one newly buried, in whose behalfe they hanged vp sixteene Horse-hides, vnto each quarter of the world foure, betweene certaine high posts: and they set besides his Graue Cosmos for him to drinke, and flesh to eate: and yet they said that he was baptized. I beheld other kinds of Sepulchres also towards the East: namely, large floores or pauements made of stone, some round, and some square, and then foure long stones pitched vpright, about the said pauement towards the foure Regions of the world. When any man is sicke, he lyeth in his bed, and causeth a signe to be set vpon his house, to signifie that there lyeth a sicke person there, to the end that no man may enter into the said house: whereupon none at all visit any sicke partie but his seruant onely. Moreouer, when any one is sicke in their great Courts, they appoint Watch-men to stand round about the said Court, who will not suffer any person to enter within the Precincts thereof. For they feare least euill spirits or winds should come together with the parties that enter in. They esteeme of Soothsayers, as of their Priests.

Sepulchres.

Chap. XI.
Of our first
entrance a-
mong the Tar-
tars, and of
their ingra-
titude.

Duke Sartach.

And being come amongst those barbarous people, me thought (as I said before) that I was entred into a new world: for they came flocking about vs on horse-backe, after they had made vs a long time to awaite for them sitting in the shadow, vnder their blacke carts. The first question which they demanded, was, whether we had euer bene with them heretofore, or no? And giuing them answere that we had not, they began impudently to beg our victuals from vs. And we gaue them some of our Bisket and Wine, which wee had brought with vs from the Towne of *Soldania*. And hauing drunke off one Flagon of our Wine, they demanded another; saying, That a man goeth not into the house with one foote. Howbeit we gaue them no more, excusing our selues that we had but a little. Then they asked vs, whence we came, and whither we were bound? I answered them with the words aboue mentioned: that wee had heard concerning Duke *Sartach*, that hee was become a *Christian*, and that vnto him our determination was to trauell, hauing your Maiesties Letters to deliuer vnto him. They were very inquisitiue to know whether I came of mine owne accord, or whither I were sent? I answered, that no man compelled me to come, neither had I come, vnlesse I my selfe had bene willing: and that therefore I was come according to mine owne will, and to the will of my Superior. I tooke diligent heed neuer to say that I was your Maiesties Embassadour. Then they asked what I had in my Carts; whether it were Gold or Siluer, or rich Garments to carrie vnto *Sartach*? I answered, that *Sartach* should see what we had brought, when we were once come vnto him, and that they had nothing to doe to aske such questions, but rather ought to conduct me vnto their Captaine, and that he, if he thought good, should cause me to be directed vnto *Sartach*: if not, that I would returne. For there was in the same Prouince one of *Baatu* his Kinsmen, called *Seacati*, vnto whom my Lord the Emperour of *Constantinople* had written Letters of request, to suffer me to passe through his Territorie. With this answere of ours they were satisfied, giuing vs Horses and Oxen, and two men to conduct vs. Howbeit, before they would allow vs the foresaid necessities for our iourney, they made vs to awaite a long while, begging our bread for their

their young Brats, wondring at all things which they saw about our Seruants, as their Kniues, Gloues, Purfes and Points, and desiring to haue them. I excused my selfe that wee had a long way to trauell, and that we must in no wise so soone deprive our selues of things necessary, to finish so long a iourney. Then they said, that I was a very varlet. True it is, that they tooke nothing by force from me: howbeit they will beg that which they see very importunately and shamelesly. And if a man bestow ought vpon them, it is but cost lost, for they are thanklesse wretches. They esteeme themselves Lords, and thinke that nothing should be denyed them by any man. If a man giues them nought, and afterwards stands in need of their seruice, they will do right nought for him. They gaue vs of their Cowes Milke to drink, after the Butter was churned out of it, being very sowre, which they call *Apram*. And so we departed from them. And in very deed it seemed to me that we were escaped out of the hands of Diuels. On the morrow we were come vnto the Captaine. From the time wherein we departed from *Soldania*, till wee arrived at the Court of *Sartach*, which was the space of two moneths, we neuer lay in House or Tent, but alwaies vnder the starry Canopie, and in the open Aire, or vnder our Carts. Neither yet saw we any Village, nor any mention of building where a Village had beene, but the graues of the *Comanians*, in great abundance. The same evening our guide which had conducted vs, gaue vs some *Cosmos*. After I had drunke thereof, I sweat most extreamely for the noueltie and strangenesse, because I neuer dranke of it before. Notwithstanding, me thought it was very sauiory, as indeed it was.

ON the morrow after we met with the Carts of *Scacatai* laden with houses, and me thought that a mightie Citie came to meete me. I wondred also at the great multitude of huge Droues of Oxen; and Horses, and at the Flockes of Sheepe. I could see but a few men that guided all these matters: whereupon I inquired how many men hee had vnder him, and they told me that he had not aboue five hundred in all, the one halfe of which number we were come past, as they lay in another Lodging. Then the Seruant which was our Guide told mee, that I must present somewhat vnto *Scacatai*: and so he caused vs to stay, going himselfe before to giue notice of our comming. By this time it was past three of the clocke, and they vnloaded their houses neere vnto a certayne water: And there came vnto vs his Interpreter, who being aduertised by vs that we were neuer there before, demanded some of our victuals, and wee yielded vnto his request. Also hee required of vs some garment for a Reward, because hee was to interpret our Sayings vnto his Master. Howbeit, we excused our selues as well as we could. Then hee asked vs, what we would present vnto his Lord: And we tooke a flagon of Wine, and filled a Maund with Bisket, and a Platter with Apples and other Fruits. But he was not contented therewith, because we brought him not some rich garment. Notwithstanding, wee entred so into his presence with feare and bashfulnesse. Hee sate vpon his bed holding a Citron in his hand, and his Wife sate by him: who (as I verily thinke) had cut and pared her Nose betweene the Eyes, that she might seeme to be more flat and saddle-nosed: for she had left her selfe no Nose at all in that place, hauing anoynted the very same place with a blacke Oyntment, and her Eye-browes also: which sight seemed most vgly in our Eyes. Then I rehearsed vnto him the same words, which I had spoken in other places before. For it stood vs in hand to vse one and the same speech in all places. For we were well fore-warned of this circumstance by some which had beene amongst the *Tartars*, that we should neuer vary in our Tale. Then I besought him, that he would vouchsafe to accept that small gift at our hands, excusing my selfe that I was a Monke, and that it was against our profession to possesse Gold, or Siluer, or precious Garments, and therefore that I had not any such thing to giue him, howbeit he should receiue some part of our victuals in stead of a blessing. Hereupon he caused our Present to be receiued, and immediately distributed the same among his men, who were met together for the same purpose, to drinke and make merry. I deliuered also vnto him the Emperour of *Constantinople* his Letters: (this was eight dayes after the Feast of Ascension) who sent them forth-with to *Soldania*, to haue them interpreted there: for they were written in *Greeke*, and he had none about him that was skilfull in the *Greeke* Tongue. He asked vs also whether we would drinke any *Cosmos*, that is to say, Mares Milke: (For those that are Christians among them, as namely, the *Russians*, *Grecians*, and *Alanians*, who keepe their owne Law very strictly, will in no case drinke thereof, yea, they account themselves no Christians after they haue once drunke of it, and their Priests reconcile them vnto the Church, as if they had renounced the Christian Faith.) I gaue him answere, that wee had as yet sufficient of our owne to drinke, and that when our drinke fayled vs, we must be constrained to drinke such as should bee giuen vnto vs. Hee enquired also what was contayned in our Letters, which your Maiestie sent vnto *Sartach*? I answered: that they were sealed vp, and that there was nothing contayned in them, but good and friendly words. And he asked what words wee would deliuer vnto *Sartach*? I answered: the words of Christian Faith. Hee asked againe what these words were? For he was very desirous to heare them. Then I expounded vnto him as well as I could, by mine Interpreter, (who had no wit nor any vtterance of speech) the Apostles Creed. Which after hee had heard, holding his peace, he shooke his head. Then hee assigned vnto vs two men, who

Chap. 12.
Of the Court
of Scacatai, &
how the Chris-
tians drinke
no Cosmos.

A caueat right
worthy the no-
ting.

Superstition,
the Kingdome
of God is not
meate and
drinke.

who should giue attendance vpon our selues, vpon our Horses, and vpon our Oxen. And hee caused vs to ride in his company, till the Messenger whom he had sent for the Interpretation of the Emperours Letters, was returned. And so wee trauelled in his company till the morrow after Pentecost.

Chap. 13.
How the Alanians came vnto vs on Pentecost or Whitsun Eue.
* Or, Akas.

Cloth is the chiefe Merchandise in Tartarie.

Vpon the Euen of Pentecost, there came vnto vs certayne *Alanians*, who are there called *Acias*, being Christians after the manner of the *Grecians*, vting *Greeke* Bookes and *Grecian* Priests: howbeit, they are not Schismatikes as the *Grecians* are, but without acception of persons, they honour all Christians. And they brought vnto vs foddren flesh, requesting vs to eat of their meate, and to pray for one of their company beeing dead. Then I said, because it was the Euen of so great and so solemne a Feast Day, that wee would not eate any flesh for that time. And I expounded vnto them the Solemnitie of the said Feast, whereat they greatly reioyced: for they were ignorant of all things appertayning to Christian Religion, except only the Name of Christ. They and many other Christians, both *Russians*, and *Hungarians* demanded of vs, whether they might be saued or no, because they were constrained to drinke *Cosmos*, and to eate the dead carcases of such things, as were slaine by the *Saracens*, and other Infidels: Which euen the *Greeke* and *Russian* Priests themselves also esteeme as things strangled or offered vnto Idols: because they were ignorant of the times of Fasting, neither could they haue obserued them albeit they had knowne them. Then instructed I them aswell as I could and strengthened them in the Faith. As for the flesh which they had brought, wee reserued it vntill the feast day. For there was nothing to be sold among the *Tartars* for Gold and Siluer, but onely for Cloath and Garments, of the which kind of Merchandize wee had none at all. When our Seruants offered them any Coyne, called *Tperpera*, they rubbed it with their fingers, and put it vnto their noses, to try by the smell whether it were Copper or no. Neither did they allow vs any food but Cowes Milke onely, which was very sowre and filthy. There was one thing most necessary greatly wanting vnto vs. For the water was so foule and muddy, by reason of their Horses, that it was not meete to be drunke. And but for certaine Bisket, which was by the goodnesse of God remaining vnto vs, we had vndoubtedly perished.

Chap. 14.
Of a Saracen which said that he would be baptised: and of certaine men which seemed to bee Lepers.

Salt-pits.
Ten dayes
Iourney.

Vpon the day of Pentecost there came vnto vs a certaine *Saracen*, vnto whom, as he talked with vs, we expounded the Christian Faith. Who (hearing of Gods benefits exhibited vnto mankind, by the Incarnation of our Sauour Christ, and the Resurrection of the dead, and the Iudgement to come, and that in Baptisme was a washing away of sinnes) said, that hee would be baptised. But when wee prepared our selues to the baptizing of him, hee suddenly mounted on horse-back, saying, that he would go home and consult with his wife what were best to be done. And on the morrow after he told vs, that he durst in no case receiue Baptisme, because then he should drinke no more *Cosmos*. For the Christians of that place affirme, that no true Christians ought to drinke thereof: and that without the said liquor hee could not liue in that Desart. From which opinion, I could not for my life remoue him. Wherefore be it knowne of a certaintie vnto your Highnesse, that they are much estranged from the Christian Faith, by reason of that opinion which hath beene broached and confirmed among them by the *Russians*, of whom there is a great multitude in that place. The same day *Scacatai* the Captaine aforesaid gaue vs one man to conduct vs to *Sartach*, and two other to guide vs vnto the next Lodging, which was distant from that place siue dayes Iourney for Oxen to trauell. They gaue vnto vs also a Goate for victuals, and a great many Bladders of Cowes Milke, and but a little *Cosmos*, because it is of so great estimation among them. And so taking our Iourney directly toward the North, mee thought that wee had passed through one of Hell gates. The Seruants which conducted vs began to play the bold Theeues with vs, seeing vs take so little heed vnto our selues. At length hauing lost much by there Theeuery, harme taught vs wisdom. And then wee came vnto the extremitie of that Prouince, which is fortified with a Ditch from one Sea vnto another: without the bounds whereof their Lodging was situate. Into the which, so soone as wee had entred, all the Inhabitants there seemed vnto vs to be infected with Leprosie: for certayne base fellowes were placed there to receiue Tribute of all such as tooke Salt out of the Salt-pits aforesaid. From that place they told vs that we must trauell fifteene dayes Iourney, before we should find any other people. With them we dranke *Cosmos*, and gaue vnto them a basket full of Fruits and of Bisket. And they gaue vnto vs eight Oxen and one Goate, to sustayne vs in so great a Iourney, and I know not how many bladders of Milke. And so changing our Oxen, we tooke our Iourney which wee finished in tenne dayes, arriuing at another Lodging: neither found we any water all that way, but onely in certayne Ditches made in the Valleyes, except two Riuer. And from the time wherein wee departed out of the foresaid Prouince of *Gasaria*, we trauelled directly East-ward, hauing a Sea on the South-side of vs, and a waste Desart on the North, which Desart, in some places, reacheth twentie dayes Iourney in breadth, and there is neither Tree, Mountayne, nor Stone therein. And it is most excellent Pasture. Here the *Comanians*, which were called *Capthac*, were wont to feed their Cattell. Howbeit by the *Dutch-*

men they are called *Valani*, and the Province it selfe *Valania*. But *Isidore* calleth all that tract of Land stretching from the River of *Tanais* to the Lake of *Maotis*, and so along as farre as *Danubius*, the Countrey of *Alania*. And the same land continueth in length from *Danubius* vnto *Tanais* (which diuideth *Asia* from *Europe*) for the space of two moneths iourney, albeit a man should ride post as fast as the *Tartars* vie to ride: and it was all ouer inhabited by the *Comanians*, called *Capthas*: yea, and beyond *Tanais*, as farre as the River of *Edil*, or *Volga*: the space betweene the two which Rivers is a great and long iourney to bee trauelled in ten daies. To the North of the same Province lyeth *Russia*, which is full of wood in all places, and stretcheth from *Polonia* and *Hungaria*, euen to the River of *Tanais*: and it hath beene wasted all ouer by the *Tartars*, and as yet is daily wasted by them.

Valani.
The length of
Comania.
Russia.

They preferre the *Saracens* before the *Russians*, because they are Christians, and when they are able to giue them no more gold nor siluer, they drive them and their Children like flocks of Sheepe into the wilderness, constraining them to keepe their Cattell there. Beyond *Russia* lyeth the Countrey of *Prussia*, which the Dutch Knights of the order of *Saint Marie* Hospitall of *Ierusalem*, haue of late wholly conquered and subdued. And in very deede, they might easily win *Russia*, if they would put to their helping hand. For if the *Tartars* should but once know that the great Priest, that is to say, the Pope did cause the Ensigne of the Crosse to be displayed against them, they would flie all into their Desart and solitarie places. Wee therefore went on towards the East, seeing nothing but Heauen and Earth, and sometimes the Sea on our right hand, called the Sea of *Tanais*, and the Sepulchres of the *Comanians*, which appeared vnto vs two leagues off, in which places they were wont to burie their kindred altogether. So long as we were traueilling through the Desart, it went reasonably well with vs. For I cannot sufficiently expresse in words the irkesome and tedious troubles which I sustained, when I came at any of their places of abode. For our Guide would haue vs goe in vnto euery Captaine with a present, and our expences would not extend so farre. For we were euery day eight persons of vs spending our wayfaring prouision, for the *Tartars* seruants would all of them eate of our victuals. We our selues were five in number, and the seruants our Guides were three, two to drive our Carts, and one to conduct vs vnto *Sartach*. The flesh which they gaue vs was not sufficient for vs; neither could we find any thing to be bought for our money. And as we fate vnder our Carts in the coole shadow, by reason of the extreame and vehement heate which was there at that time, they did so importunately and shamelesly intrude themselves into our company, that they would euen tread vpon vs, to see whatsoeuer things we had. Hauiing list at any time to ease themselves, the filthie Lozels had not the manners to withdraw themselves farther from vs, then a Beane can be cast. Yea, like vile slouens they would lay their tailes in our presence, while they were yet talking with vs: many other things they committed, which were most tedious and loathsome vnto vs. But aboue all things it grieved me to the very heart, that when I would utter ought vnto them, which might tend to their edification, my foolish interpreter would say: you should not make me become a Preacher now; I tell you, I cannot nor I will not rehearse any such words. And true it was which he said, for I perceived afterward, when I began to haue a little smattering in the language, that when I spake one thing, hee would say quite another, whatsoeuer came next vnto his witleffe tongues end. Then seeing the danger I might incur in speaking by such an Interpreter, I resolved much rather to hold my peace, and thus we trauelled with great toile from lodging to lodging, till at the length, a few daies before the Feast of *Saint Marie Magdalene*, we arriued at the banke of the mightie River *Tanais*, which diuideth *Asia* from *Europa*, euen as the River *Nilus* of *Egypt* disioyneth *Asia* from *Africa*. At the same place where we arriued, *Baatu* and *Sartach* did cause a certaine Cottage to be built vpon the Easterne banke of the River, for a companie of *Russians* to dwell in, to the end, they might transport Ambassadors and Merchants in Ferrie-boates ouer that part of the River. First, they ferried vs ouer, and then our Carts, putting one wheele into one Liter, and the other wheele into another Liter, hauiing bound both the Liters together, and so they rowed them ouer. In this place our Guide played the foole most extreamely. For he imagining that the said *Russians*, dwelling in the Cottage, should haue provided vs Horses, sent home the Beasts which wee brought with vs, in another Cart, that they might returne vnto their owne Masters. And when we demanded to haue some beasts of them, they answered, that they had a priuiledge from *Baatu*, whereby they were bound to none other seruice, but onely to ferrie ouer Goers and Commers: and that they receiued great tribute of Merchants in regard thereof. Wee staid therefore by the said Rivers side three daies. The first day they gaue vnto vs a great fresh Turbut: the second day they bestowed Rye bread, and a litle flesh vpon vs, which the Purueyer of the Village had taken vp at euery house for vs: and the third day dried Fishes, which they haue there in great abundance. The said River was euen as broade in that place, as the River of *Sein* is at *Paris*. And before wee came there, wee passed ouer many goodly waters, and full of Fish: howbeit the barbarous and rude *Tartars* know not how to take them: neither doe they make any reckoning of any Fish, except it bee so great, that they may prey vpon the flesh thereof, as vpon the flesh of a Ram.

Chap. I.
Of our afflictions which wee sustained: and of the *Comanians* manner of buriall.
Prussia.

Extreame
heate in Sum-
mers.

Tanais.

The breadth of
Tanais.

This

He is much deceived.

About the beginning of August, the Tartars returne Southward.

This Riuer is the limit of the East part of *Russia*, and it springeth out of the Fennes of *Maoris*, which Fennes stretch vnto the North Ocean. And it runneth Southward into a certaine great Sea seuen hundred miles about, before it falleth into the Sea called *Pontus Euxinus*. And all the Riuer which we passed ouer, ran with full streame into those quarters. The foresaid Riuer hath great store of wood also growing vpon the West side thereof. Beyond this place the *Tartars* ascend no farther vnto the North: for at that season of the yeere, about the first of August, they begin to returne backe vnto the South. And therefore there is another Cottage somewhat lower where Passengers are ferried ouer in Winter time, and in this place we were driuen to great extremitie, by reason that we could get neither Horses, nor Oxen for any money. At length, after I had declared vnto them, that my comming was to labour for the common good of all Christians, they sent vs Oxen and Men; howbeit wee our selues were faine to trauell on foot. At this time they were reaping their Rye. Wheate prospereth not well in that soile. They haue the seed of Millium in great abundance. The *Russian* women attire their heads like vnto our women. They embroide their Safegards or Gownes on the outside, from their feet vnto their knees with partie-coloured or grey stuffe. The *Russian* men weare Caps like vnto the *Dutch* men. Also they weare vpon their heads certaine sharpe and high-crowned Hats made of Felt, much like vnto a Sugar-loafe. Then trauided we three daies together, not finding any people. And when our selues and our Oxen were exceeding wearie and faint, not knowing how farre off we should find any *Tartar*, on the sudden there came two Horses running towards vs, which we tooke with great ioy, and our Guide and Interpreter mounted vpon their backs, to see how farre off they could descrie any people. At length, vpon the fourth day of our iourney, hauing found some Inhabitants, we reioyced like Sea faring men, which had escaped out of a dangerous Tempest, and had newly recovered the Hauens. Then hauing taken fresh Horses, and Oxen, we passed on from lodging to lodging, till at the last, vpon the second of the Kalends of August, we arrived at the habitation of Duke *Sartach* himselfe.

Chap. 16.
Of the Dominion of Sartach, and of his Subiects.
The people of Moxel are Pagans.

The people called Merdui being Saracens.

The circuit of the Caspian Sea.

Kergu or Aas.

The Saracens called Lesgi.

He returneth by Derbens.

Chap. 17.
Of the Court of Sartach, and of the magnificence thereof.
Coiat, the Nestorian.

THE Region lying beyond *Tanais*, is a very goodly Countrey, hauing store of Riuer and Woods toward the North part thereof. There are mightie huge Woods which two sorts of people doe inhabit. One of them is called *Moxel*, being meere Pagans, and without Law. They haue neither Townes nor Cities, but onely Cottages in the Woods. Their Lord and a great part of themselves were put to the Sword in high *Germanie*. Whereupon they highly commend the braue courage of the *Almans*, hoping as yet to be deliuered out of the bondage of the *Tartars*, by their meanes. If any Merchant come vnto them, hee must prouide things necessary for him, with whom hee is first of all entertained, all the time of his abode among them. If any lyeth with another mans wife, her husband, vlesse he be an eye-witnesse thereof, regardeth it not: for they are not iealous ouer their wiues. They haue abundance of Hogs, and great store of Honie and Waxe, and diuers sorts of rich and costly Skins, and plentie of Faulcons. Next vnto them are other people called *Merclas*, which the *Latines* call *Merdui*, and they are *Saracens*. Beyond them is the Riuer of *Etilia*, or *Volga*, which is the mightiest Riuer that euer I saw. And it issueth from the North part of *Bulgaria* the greater, and so trending along Southward, disimboqueth into a certaine Lake, containing in circuit the space of foure moneths trauell, whereof I will speake hereafter. The two foresaid Riuer, namely, *Tanais* and *Etilia*, otherwise called *Volga*, towards the Northerne Regions, through the which we trauided, are not distant asunder aboue ten daies iourney, but Southward they are diuided a great space one from another. For *Tanais* descendeth into the Sea of *Pontus*: *Etilia* maketh the foresaid Sea or Lake, with the helpe of many other Riuer, which fall thereinto out of *Persia*. And wee had to the South of vs huge high Mountaines, vpon the sides thereof towards the said Defart, doe the people called *Cergis*, and the *Alani* or *Acas* inhabit, who are as yet Christians, and wage warre against the *Tartars*. Beyond them, next vnto the Sea or Lake of *Etilia*, there are certaine *Saracens* called *Lesgi*, who are in subiection vnto the *Tartars*. Beyond these is *Porta ferrea*, or the Iron gate, now called *Derbent*, which *Alexander* built to exclude the barbarous Nations out of *Persia*. Concerning the situation whereof, your Maiestie shall vnderstand more about the end of this Treatise: for I trauided in my returne by the very same place. Betweene the two foresaid Riuer, in the Regions through the which we passed, did the *Comanians* of old time inhabit, before they were overrun by the *Tartars*.

AND wee found *Sartach* lying within three daies iourney of the Riuer *Etilia*: whose Court seemed vnto vs to be very great. For he himselfe had six wiues, and his eldest sonne also had three wiues: euery one of which women hath a great house, and they haue each one of them about two hundred Carts. Our guide went vnto a certaine *Nestorian* named *Coiat*, who is a man of great authoritie in *Sartachs* Court. He made vs to goe very farre vnto the Lords gate. For so they call him who hath the Office of entertayning Ambassadors. In the euening, *Coiat* commanded vs to come vnto him. Then our Guide began to enquire what wee would present him withall, and was exceedingly offended, when hee saw that wee had nothing ready to present.

We

They are
 come as fair
 as day.
 The Tamar
 will be called
 More.
 Chap. 19.
 How sorrowful
 and wailing
 can and how
 No good come
 hence
 Christians
 This Historie
 of Presbyter
 Iohn in the
 North-east
 is
 alleged as
 largely exam-
 ined Master in
 his generall
 M. p.
 From whence
 the Turkey
 first
 istant.
 And Ocean Sea.
 N. p. m.
 Presbyter Iohn.

Chap. 18.
How they were
giuen in
charge to goe
vnto Baatu the
Father of Sar-
tack.

THE next morning betimes came vnto vs a certayne Priest, who was brother vnto Coiat, requesting to haue our boxe of Chrisme, because Sartach (as he said) was desirous to see it: and so we gaue it him. About Euentide Coiat sent for vs, saying: My Lord your King wrote good words vnto my Lord and Master Sartach. Howbeit there are certayne matters of difficultie in them, concerning which he dare not determine ought, without the aduice and counsell of his Father. And therefore of necessitie you must depart vnto his Father, leauing behind you the two Carts, which you brought hither yesterday with Vestments and Bookes, in my custodie: because my Lord is desirous to take more diligent view thereof. I presently suspecting what mischief might ensue by his couetousnesse, said vnto him: Sir, we will not onely leaue those with you, but the two other Carts also, which we haue in our possession, will wee commit vnto your custodie. You shall not (quoth he) leaue those behind you, but for the other two Carts first named, wee will satisfie your request. I said that this could not conueniently bee done: but needs we must leaue all with him. Then he asked, whether we meant to tarrie in the Land? I answered: If you thoroughly vnderstand the Letters of my Lord the King, you know that we are euen so determined. Then he replied, that we ought to bee patient and lowly: and so wee departed from him that Euening. On the morrow after he sent a Nestorian Priest for the Carts, and wee caused all the foure Carts to be deliuered. Then came the foresaid brother of Coiat to meet vs, and separated all those things, which we had brought the day before vnto the Court, from the rest, namely, the Bookes and Vestments, and tooke them away with him. Howbeit Coiat had commanded, that we should carrie those Vestments with vs, which we wore in the presence of Sartach, that we might put them on before Baatu, if need should require: but the said Priest tooke them from vs by violence, saying: thou hast brought them vnto Sartach, and wouldest thou carrie them vnto Baatu? And when I would haue rendred a reason, hee answered: bee not too talkatiue, but goe your wayes. Then I saw that there was no remedie but patience: for wee could haue no access vnto Sartach himselte, neither was there any other, that would doe vs Iustice. I was afraid also in regard of the Interpreter, least he had spoken other things then I said vnto him: for his will was good, that wee should haue giuen away all that we had. There was yet one comfort remayning vnto mee: for when I once perceiued their couetous intent, I conueyed from among our Bookes the Bible, and the Sentences, and certayne other Bookes which I made speciall account of. Howbeit, I durst not take away the Psalter of my Soueraigne Ladie the Queene, because it was too well knowne, by reason of the Golden Pictures therein. And so we returned with the two other Carts vnto our Lodging. Then came hee that was appointed to be our Guide vnto the Court of Baatu, willing vs to take our Iourney in all post-haste: vnto whom I said, that I would in no case haue the Carts to goe with me. Which thing he declared vnto Coiat. Then Coiat commanded, that wee should leaue them and our Seruant with him: And we did as he commanded. And so traouelling directly East-ward towards Baatu, the third day we came to Etilia or Volga: the streames whereof when I beheld, I wondred from what Regions of the North such huge and mightie waters should descend. Before we were departed from Sartach, the foresaid Coiat, with many other Scribes of the Court said vnto vs: doe not make report that our Lord is a Christian, but a Moal. Because the name of a Christian seemeth vnto them to be the name of some Nation. So great is their pride, that albeit they beleeue perhaps some things concerning Christ, yet will they not be called Christians, being desirous that their owne name, that is to say, Moal should be exalted aboue all other names. Neither will they be called by the name of Tartars. For the Tartars were another Nation, as I was informed by them.

They are
come as farre
as Volga.

The Tartars
will be called
Moal.

Chap. 19.
How Sartach,
and Mangucan,
and Ken-Can doe reuerence vnto Christians:
This Historie
of Presbyter Iohn in the
North-east, is
alleged at
large by Gerardus Mercator in
his generall
Map.
From whence
the Turkes first
sprang.
An Ocean Sea.
Nayman.
Presbyter Iohn.

AT the same time when the Frenchmen tooke Antioch, a certayne man named Con Can, had Dominion ouer the Northerne Regions, lying thereabouts. Con is a proper name: Can is a name of authoritie or dignitie, which signifieth a Diuiner or Sooth-sayer. All Diuiners are called Can amongst them. Whereupon their Princes are called Can, because that vnto them belongeth the gouernment of the people by Diuination. We doe read also in the Historie of Antiochia, that the Turkes sent for ayde against the Frenchmen, vnto the Kingdome of Con Can. For out of those parts the whole Nation of the Turkes first came. The said Con was of the Nation of Kara-Catay. Kara signifieth blacke, and Catay is the name of a Countrey. So that Kara-Catay signifieth the blacke Catay. This name was giuen to make a difference betweene the foresaid people, and the people of Catay inhabiting East-ward ouer against the Ocean Sea: concerning whom your Maiestie shall vnderstand more hereafter. These Catayans dwelt vpon certayne Alpes, by the which I trauelled. And in a certayne plaine Countrey within those Alpes, there inhabited a Nestorian shephard, being a mightie Gouernour ouer the people called Tayman, which were Christians, following the Sect of Nestorius. After the death of Con Can, the said Nestorian exalted himselte to the Kingdome, and they called him King Iohn, reporting ten times more of him then was true. For so the Nestorians which come out of those parts, vse to doe. For they blaze abroad great rumours, and reports vpon iust nothing. Whereupon they gaue out concerning Sartach, that he was become a Christian, and the like also they reported

ted concerning *Mangu Can*, and *Ken Can*: namely, because these *Tartars* make more account of Christians, then they doe of other people, and yet in very deed, themselves are no Christians. So likewise there went forth a great report concerning the said King *Iohn*. Howbeit, when I trauelled along by his Territories, there was no man that knew any thing of him, but onely a few *Nestorians*. In his Pastures or Territories dwelleth *Ken Can*, at whose Court Frier *Andrew* was. And I my selfe passed by it at my returne. This *Iohn* had a Brother, being a mightie man also, and a Shepheard like himselfe, called *Vut*, and he inhabited beyond the *Alpes* of *Cara Catay*, being distant from his Brother *Iohn*, the space of three weekes iourney. He was Lord ouer a certaine Village, called *Cara Carum*, hauing people also for his Subjects, named *Crit*, or *Merkis*, who were Christians of the Sect of *Nestorius*. But their Lord abandoning the worship of Christ, following after Idols, retaining with him Priests of the said Idols, who all of them are Worshippers of Devils and Sorcerers. Beyond his Pastures, some tenne or fiftene dayes iourney, were the Pastures of *Moal*, who were a poore and beggerly Nation, without Gouvernor, and without Law, except their Sooth-sayings, and their Diuinations, vnto the which detestable studies, all in those parts doe apply their minds. Neere vnto *Moal* were other poore people, called *Tartars*. The foresaid King *Iohn* dyed without Issue Male, and thereupon his Brother *Vut* was greatly enriched, and caused himselfe to be named *Can*: and his Droues and Flockes raunged euen vnto the Borders of *Moal*. About the same time there was one *Cyngis*, a Blacke-Smith, among the people of *Moal*. This *Cyngis* stole as many Cattell from *Vut Can*, as he could possibly get: insomuch, that the Shepheards of *Vut* complained vnto their Lord. Then prouided he an Armie, and marched vp into the Countrey of *Moal*, to seeke for the said *Cyngis*. But *Cyngis* fled among the *Tartars*, and hid himselfe amongst them. And *Vut* hauing taken some spoiles both from *Moal*, and also from the *Tartars*, returned home. Then spake *Cyngis* vnto the *Tartars*, and vnto the people of *Moal*, saying: Sirs, because we are destitute of a Gouvernor and Captaine, you see how our Neighbours doe oppresse vs. And the *Tartars* and *Moals* appointed him to be their Chieftaine. Then hauing secretly gathered together an Armie, hee brake in suddenly vpon *Vut*, and ouercame him, and *Vut* fled into *Cataya*. At the same time was the Daughter of *Vut* taken, which *Cyngis* married vnto one of his Sonnes, by whom she conceived, and brought forth the great *Can*, which now reigneth, called *Mangu-Can*. Then *Cyngis* sent the *Tartars* before him in all places where he came: and thereupon was their name published and spread abroad: for in all places the people would cry out: *Loe, the Tartars come, the Tartars come*. Howbeit, through continuall warres, they are now, all of them in a manner, consumed and brought to nought. Whereupon the *Moals* in deuour what they can, to extinguish the name of the *Tartars*, that they may exalt their owne name. The Countrey wherein they first inhabited, and where the Court of *Cyngis Can* as yet remaineth, is called *Mancherule*. But because *Tartaria* is the Region, about which they haue obtained their Conquests, they esteeme that as their royall and chiefe Citie, and there for the most part doe they elect their great *Can*.

40 **N**OW, as concerning *Sartach*, whether hee beleuees in Christ or no, I know not. This I am sure of, that he will not be called a Christian. Yea, rather he seemeth vnto mee to deride and skoffe at Christians. He lyeth in the way of the Christians, as namely, of the *Russians*, the *Valachians*, the *Bulgarians* of *Bulgaria* the lesse, the *Soldaians*, the *Kerkis*, and the *Alaniens*: who all of them passe by him, as they are going to the Court of his Father *Baatu*, to carrie gifts: whereupon he is more in league with them. Howbeit, if the *Saracens* come, and bring greater gifts then they, they are dispatched sooner. He hath about him certaine *Nestorian* Priests, who pray vpon their Beades, and sing their deuotions. Also, there is another vnder *Baatu*, called *Berta*, who feedeth his Cattell toward *Porta Ferrea*, or *Derbent*, where lyeth the passage of all those *Saracens* which come out of *Persia*, and out of *Turkie* to goe vnto *Baatu*, and passing by, they giue rewards vnto him. And he professeth himselfe to be a *Saracen*, and will not permit Swines flesh to be eaten in his Dominions. Howbeit, at the time of our returne, *Baatu* commanded him to remooue himselfe from that place, and to inhabite vpon the East side of *Volga*: for he was vnwilling that the *Saracens* Messengers should passe by the said *Berta*, because he saw it was not for his profit. For the space of foure daies while wee remained in the Court of *Sartach*, wee had not any victuals at all allowed vs, but once onely a little *Cosmos*. And in our iourney betweene him and his Father, wee trauelled in great feare. For certaine *Russians*, *Hungarians*, and *Alaniens*, being Seruants vnto the *Tartars*, (of whom they haue great multitudes among them) assemble themselves twentie or thirtie in a company, and so secretly in the night conueying themselves from home, they take Bowes and Ar-
60 rows with them, and whomsoever they finde in the night season, they put him to death, hiding themselves in the day time. And hauing tyred their Horses, they goe in the night vnto a company of other Horses feeding in some Pasture, and change them for new, taking with them also one or two Horses besides, to eate them when they stand in neede. Our guide therefore was sore afraid, least we should haue met with such companions.

The place of
Ken Can his
abode.

Vut Can, or
Vut Can.
The Village of
Cara Carum.
Crit & Merkit.

Moal in old
time a beggerly
people.
The place of
the Tartars.

Cyngis.

Mangu-Can.

Mancherule.

Chap. 20.
Of the Rus-
sians, Hungari-
ans, and Alani-
ans: and of the
Caspian Sea.

Or, Berta.
Berta.

In this Iourney we had dyed for Famine, had wee not carryed some of our Bisket with vs. At length we came vnto the mightie Riuer of *Etilia*, or *Volga*. For it is foure times greater, then the Riuer of *Sein*, and of a wonderfull depth: and issuing forth of *Bulgaria* the greater, it runneth into a certayne Lake or Sea, which of late they call the *Hircan* Sea, according to the name of a certayne Citie in *Persia*, standing vpon the shoare thereof. Howbeit *Isidore* calleth it the *Caspian* Sea. For it hath the *Caspian* Mountaynes and the Land of *Persia* situate on the South-side thereof: and the Mountaynes of *Musibet*, that is to say, of the people called *Assassini* towards the East, which Mountaynes are conioyned vnto the *Caspian* Mountaynes: but on the North-side thereof lyeth the same Desart, wherein the *Tartars* doe now inhabit. Howbeit heretofore there dwelt certayne people called *Changla*. And on that side it receiueth the streames of *Etilia*, which Riuer increaseth in Summer time, like vnto the Riuer *Nilus* in *Egypt*. Vpon the West part thereof, it hath the Mountaynes of *Alani*, and *Lesgi*, and *Porta ferrea*, or *Derbent*, and the Mountaynes of *Georgia*. This Sea therefore is compassed in on three sides with the Mountaynes, but on the North-side with plaine ground. Frier *Andrew* in his Iourney trauelled round about two sides thereof, namely, the South and the East-sides: and I my selfe about other two, that is to say, the North-side in going from *Baatu* to *Mangu-Can*, and in returning likewise: and the West-side in comming home from *Baatu* into *Syria*. A man may trauell round about it in foure moneths. And it is not true which *Isidore* reporteth, namely, that this Sea is a Bay or Gulfe comming forth of the Ocean: for it doth, in no part thereof, ioyne with the Ocean, but is enuironed on all sides with Land.

Chap. 21.
Of the Court
of Baatu: and
how we were
entertainned by
him.
The North
Ocean.

He descendeth
downe the Ri-
uer *Volga* in a
Barke.

Afracan.
The description
of Baatu his
Court.

Horda.
signifieth the
midst.

At the Region extending from the West shoare of the foresaid Sea, where *Alexanders* Iron-gate, otherwise called the Citie of *Derbent*, is situate, and from the Mountaynes of *Alania*, all along by the Fennes of *Maotis*, whereinto the Riuer of *Tanais* falleth, and so forth, to the North Ocean, was wont to be called *Albania*. Of which Countrey *Isidore* reporteth, that there bee Dogges of such an huge stature, and so fierce, that they are able in fight to match Buls, and to master Lions. Which is true, as I vnderstand by diuers, who told me, that there towards the North Ocean, they make their Dogges to draw in Carts like Oxen, by reason of their bignesse and strength. Moreouer, vpon that part of *Etilia* where we arriued, there is a new Cottage built, wherein they haue placed *Tartars* and *Russians* both together, to ferrie ouer, and transport Messengers going and comming, to and fro the Court of *Baatu*. For *Baatu* remaineth vpon the farther side towards the East. Neither ascendeth hee in Summer time more Northward then the foresaid place where we arriued, but was euen then descending to the South. From January vntill August, both he and all other *Tartars* ascend by the banks of Riuers, towards cold and Northerly Regions; and in August they begin to returne backe againe. Wee passed downe the streame therefore in a Barke, from the foresaid Cottage vnto his Court. From the same place vnto the Villages of *Bulgaria* the greater, standing toward the North, it is fise dayes Iourney. I wonder what Deuill carried the Religion of *Mahomet* thither. For, from *Derbent*, which is vpon the extreme borders of *Persia*, it is aboue thirtie dayes Iourney to passe ouerthwart the Desart, and so to ascend by the banke of *Etilia*, into the foresaid Countrey of *Bulgaria*. All which way there is no Citie, but onely certayne Cottages neere vnto that place where *Etilia* falleth into the Sea. Those *Bulgarians* are most wicked *Saracens*, more earnestly professing the damnable Religion of *Mahomet*, then any other Nation whatsoeuer. Moreouer, when I first beheld the Court of *Baatu*, I was astonied at the sight thereof: for his Houses or Tents seemed as though they had beene some huge and mightie Citie, stretching out a great way in length, the people ranging vp and downe about it for the space of some three or foure leagues. And euen as the people of *Israel* knew euery man, on which side of the Tabernacle to pitch his Tent: euen so euery one of them knoweth right well, towards what side of the Court hee ought to place his house when he takes it from off the Cart. Whereupon the Court is called in their Language *Horda*, which signifieth, the midst: because the Gouvernour or Chieftaine among them dwells alwayes in the midst of his people: except onely that directly towards the South no subiect or inferior person placeth himselfe, because towards that Region the Court gates are set open: but vnto the right hand, and the left hand they extend themselves as farre as they will, according to the conueniencie of places, so that they place not their houses directly opposite against the Court. At our arrivall wee were conducted vnto a *Saracen*, who provided not for vs any victuals at all. The day following, we were brought vnto the Court: and *Baatu* had caused a large Tent to be erected, because his house or ordinary Tent could not contayne so many men and women as were assembled. Our Guide admonished vs not to speake, till *Baatu* had giuen vs commandement so to doe, and that then we should speake our minds briefly. Then *Baatu* demanded whether your Maiestie had sent Ambassadors vnto him, or no? I answered, that your Maiestie had sent Messengers to *Khan-Can*, and that you would not haue sent Messengers vnto him, or Letters vnto *Sartach*, had not your Highnesse beene perswaded that they were become Christians: because you sent not vnto them for any feare, but onely for congratulation, and courtesies sake, in regard that you heard they were conuerted to Christianitie. Then led he vs vnto his Pavilion: and we were charged

charged not to touch the cords of the Tent, which they account in stead of the threshold of the houle. There we stood in our habit bare-footed, and bare-headed, and were a great and strange spectacle in their eyes. For indeed Frier *John de Plano Carpini*, had beene there before my coming: howbeit, because he was the Popes Messenger, he changed his habit that hee might not be contemned. Then wee were brought into the very midst of the Tent, neither required they of vs to doe any reuerence by bowing our knees, as they vse to doe of other Messengers. Wee stood therefore before him for the space wherein a man might haue rehearsed the Psalme, *Miserere mei Deus*: and there was great silence kept of all men. *Baatu* himselfe sate vpon a seat long and broad like vnto a Bed, gilt all ouer, with three staires to ascend thereunto, and one of his Ladies sate beside him. The men there assembled, sate downe scattering, some on the right hand of the said Lady, and some on the left. Those places on the one side which the women filled not vp (for there were only the Wiues of *Baatu*) were supplied by the men. Also, at the very entrance of the Tent, stood a bench furnished with Cosmos, and with stately great cups of Silver and Gold, being richly set with Precious Stones. *Baatu* beheld vs earnestly, and wee him: and he seemed to me to resemble in personage, *Monsieur John de Beaumont*, whose soule resteth in peace. And he had a fresh ruddie colour in his countenance. At length hee commanded vs to speake. Then our Guide gaue vs direction, that we should bow our knees and speake. Wherevpon I bowed one knee as vnto a man: then he signified that I should kneele vpon both knees: and I did so, being loth to contend about such circumstances. And againe, hee commanded me to speake. Then I thinking of Prayer vnto God, because I kneeled on both my knees, beganne to pray on this wise: Sir, we beseech the Lord, from whom all good things doe proceed, and who hath giuen you these earthly benefits, that it would please him hereafter to make you partaker of his heavenly blessings: because the former without these are but vaine and unprofitable. And I added further. Be it knowne vnto you of a certaintie, that you shall not obtayne the ioyes of Heauen, vnlesse you become a Christian: for God saith, *Whosoever beleueth and is baptized, shall be saved: but he that beleueth not, shall be condemned.* At this word he modestly smiled: but the other *Moals* began to clap their hands, and to deride vs. And of my silly Interpreter, of whom especially I should haue receiued comfort in time of need, was himselfe abashed and vtterly dashed out of countenance. Then, after silence made, I said vnto him, I came vnto your Sonne, because we heard that he was become a Christian: and I brought vnto him Letters on the behalfe of my Souereigne Lord the King of France: and your Sonne sent me hither vnto you. The cause of my comming therefore is best knowne vnto your selfe. Then he caused me to rise vp. And he enquired your Maiesties Name, and my name, and the name of mine Associate and Interpreter, and caused them all to be put downe in writing. He demanded likewise (because hee had beene informed, that you were departed out of your owne Countries with an Armie) against whom you waged warre? I answered: against the *Saracens*, who had defiled the House of God at *Ierusalem*. He asked also, whether your Highnesse had euer before that time sent any Messengers vnto him, or no? To you Sir? (said I) neuer. Then caused he vs to sit downe, and gaue vs of his Milke to drinke, which they account to be a great fauour, especially when any man is admitted to drinke Cosmos with him in his owne houle. And as I sate looking downe vpon the ground, he commanded me to lift vp my countenance, being desirous as yet to take more diligent view of vs, or else perhaps for a kind of Superstitious obseruation. For they esteeme it a signe of ill lucke, or a prognostication of euill vnto them, when any man sits in their presence, holding downe his head, as if he were sad: especially, when hee leanes his cheeke or chin vpon his hand. Then we departed forth, and immediately after came our Guide vnto vs, and conducting vs vnto our Lodging, said vnto mee: Your Master the King requesteth that you may remayne in this Land, which request *Baatu* cannot satisfie without the knowledge and consent of *Mangu-Can*. Wherefore you, and your Interpreter must of necessitie goe vnto *Mangu-Can*. Howbeit your associate, and the other man shall returne vnto the Court of *Sartach*, staying there for you, till you come backe. Then began the man of God mine Interpreter to lament, esteeming himselfe but a dead man. Mine Associate also protested, that they should sooner chop off his head, then withdraw him out of my company. Moreouer, I my selfe said, that without mine Associate I could not goe: and that we stood in need of two Seruants at the least, to attend vpon vs, because, if one should chance to fall sick, we could not be without another. Then returning vnto the Court, he told these Sayings vnto *Baatu*. And *Baatu* commanded, saying: let the two Priests and the Interpreter goe together, but let the Clerke returne vnto *Sartach*. And comming againe vnto vs, hee told vs euen so. And when I would haue spoken for the Clerke to haue had him with vs, he said: No more words: for *Baatu* hath resolved, that so it shall bee, and therefore I dare not goe vnto the Court any more. *Goset* the Clerke had remaying of the Almes money bestowed vpon him, twentie sixe *Yperperas*, and no more; ten whereof he kept for himselfe and for the Lad, and sixteene hee gaue vnto the man of God for vs. And thus were we parted asunder with teares: he returning vnto the Court of *Sartach*, and our selues remaying still in the same place.

John de Plano
Carpini.The Letters of
the French
King.

C. 3. Vpon

Chap. 22.
Of our iour-
ney towards
the Court of
Mangu-Can.

They trauell
fue weekes by
the banke of
Etília.

Hungarians.

A Comonian.

A iourney of
four moneths
from Volga.

The sixteenth
of September.

Forty six daies
Or, Kargitte.

Chap. 23.
Of the Riuer
of Iagac: Or,
Iaic, and of
diuers Re-
gions or Na-
tions.
Iaic, twelue
daies iourney
from Volga.
Pascator.
The Hungari-
ans descended
from the Bas-
cirdes.

Valachians.

Vpon Assumption Euen our Clerke arriued at the Court of *Sartach*. And on the morrow at-
ter, the *Nestorian* Priests were adorned with our Vestments in the presence of the said
Sartach. Then wee our selues were conducted vnto another Host, who was appointed to pro-
uide vs house-roume, victuals, and Horses. But because wee had not ought to bestow vpon
him, hee did all things vntowardly for vs. Then wee rode on forward with *Baatn*, des-
cending along by the bancke of *Etília*, for the space of fíue weekes together: Some-
times mine Associate was so extreemly hungry, that hee would tell mee in a manner wee-
ping, that it fared with him as though hee had neuer eaten any thing in all his life before.
There is a Faire or Market following the Court of *Baatn* at all times: but it was so farre di-
stant from vs, that wee could not haue recourse thereunto. For wee were constrained to
walke on foote for want of Horses. At length certaine *Hungarians* (who had sometime beene
after a sort Clergie men) found vs out: and one of them could as yet sing many Songs without
booke, and was accounted of other *Hungarians* as a Priest, and was sent for vnto the Funerals of
his deceased Countrey-men. There was another of them also pretily well instructed in his
Grammar: for he could vnderstand the meaning of any thing that we spake, but could not an-
swere vs. These *Hungarians* were a great comfort vnto vs, bringing vs *Cosmos* to drinke, yea,
and sometimes flesh for to eate also: who, when they requested to haue some Bookes of vs, and
I had not any to giue them (for indeed we had none but onely a Bible, and a Breuiary) it grie-
ued me exceedingly. And I said vnto them: Bring me some Inke and Paper, and I will write
for you so long as we shall remaine here: and they did so. And I copied out for them *Horas bea-
ta Virginis*, and *Officium defunctorum*. Moreouer, vpon a certaine day, there was a *Comonian*
that accompanied vs, saluting vs in Latine, and saying: *Salute Domini*. Wondering thereat,
and saluting him againe, I demanded of him, who had taught him that kind of salutation? He
said, that he was baptized in *Hungaria* by our Friers, and that of them he learned it. Hee said
moreouer, that *Baatn* had enquired many things of him concerning vs, and that he told him the
estate of our Order. Afterward I saw *Baatn* riding with his company, and all his Subiects that
were householders or Masters of families riding with him, and (in mine estimation) they were
not fíue hundred persons in all. At length about the end of *Holy-rood*, there came a certaine
rich *Moal* vnto vs (whose Father was a Millenary, which is a great Office among them) say-
ing, I am the man that must conduct you vnto *Mangu-Can*, and we haue thither a iourney of
four moneths long to trauell, and there is such extreame cold in those parts, that stones and
trees doe euen ríue afunder in regard thereof. Therefore I would wish you thoroughly to aduise
your selues, whether you be able to indure it or no. Vnto whom I answered: I hope by Gods
helpe, that we shall be able to brooke that which other men can indure. Then hee said: if you
cannot indure it, I will forsake you by the way. And I answered him: it were not iust dealing
for you so to do, for we go not thither vpon any businesse of our owne, but by reason that we are
sent by our Lord. Wherefore, sithence we are committed vnto your charge, you ought in no
wise to forsake vs. Then he said; all shall be well. Afterward he caused vs to shew him all our
garments: and whatsoever he deemed to bee lesse needfull for vs, he willed vs to leaue it behind
in the custodie of our Host. On the morrow they brought vnto each of vs a furred Gowne,
made all of Rams skinnies, with the Wooll still vpon them, and breeches of the same, and boots
also or buskins according to their fashion, and shoes made of felt, and hoods also made of skins
after their manner. The second day after *Holy-rood*, we began to set forward on our iourney,
hauing three guides to direct vs: and we rode continually East-ward, till the feast of *All-Saints*.
Throughout all that Region, and beyond also did the people of *Changle* inhabite, who were by
parentage descended from the *Romans*. Vpon the North side of vs wee had *Bulgaria* the greater,
and on the South, the foresaid *Caspian* Sea.

HAuing trauelled twelue daies iourney from *Etília*, we found a mightie Riuer called *Iagac*:
which Riuer issuing out of the North, from the land of *Pascator*, descended into the fore-
said Sea. The language of *Pascator*, and of the *Hungarians* is all one, and they are all of them
Shepheards, not hauing any Cities. And their Countrey bordereth vpon *Bulgaria* the greater,
on the West frontier. From the North-East part of the said Countrey, there is no Citie at all.
Out of the said fore-named Region of *Pascator*, proceeded the *Hunnes* of old time, who after-
ward were called *Hungarians*. Next vnto it is *Bulgaria* the greater. *Isidore* reporteth, concer-
ning the people of this Nation, that with swift Horses they trauesed the impregnable walls
and bounds of *Alexander*, (which, together with the Rockes of *Caucasus*, serued to restraine
those barbarous and blood-thirstie people from invading the Regions of the South) insomuch
that they had tribute paid vnto them, as farre as *Egypt*. Likewise they wasted all Countreies
euen vnto *France*. Whereupon they were more mightie then the *Tartars* as yet are. And vnto
them the *Blacians*, the *Bulgarians*, and the *Vandals* ioyned themselves. For out of *Bulgaria* the
greater, came those *Bulgarians*. Moreouer, they which inhabite beyond *Danubius*, neere vnto
Constantinople, and not farre from *Pascator*, are called *Ilae*, which (sauiug the pronounciation) is
all one with *Blac*, (for the *Tartars* cannot pronounce the Letter *B*) from whom also descended
the

the people which inhabite the Land of *Assani*. For they are both of them called *Ilac*, (both thele and the other) in the languages of the *Russians*, the *Polonians*, and the *Bohemians*. The *Sclauonians* speake all one language with the *Vandals*, all which banded themselues with the *Hunnes*: and now for the most part, they vnite themselues vnto the *Tartars*: whom God hath raised vp fro the vtmost parts of the earth, according to that which the Lord saith: *I will prouoke them to enuy* (namely such as keepe not his Law) *by a people, which is no people, and by a foolish Nation will I anger them.* This prophecy is fulfilled, according to the literall sense thereof, vpon all Nations which obserue not the Law of God. All this which I haue written concerning the Land of *Pascatir*, was told me by certaine Friers *Pradicants*, which trauelled thither before euer the *Tartars* came abroad. And from that time they were subdued vnto their neighbours the

Deut. 32. v. 21.
Rom. 10. v. 19.

10 *Bulgarians* being *Saracens*, whereupon many of them proued *Saracens* also. Other matters concerning this people, may be knowne out of *Chronicles*. For it is manifest, that those Prouinces beyond *Constantinople*, which are now called *Bulgaria*, *Valachia*, and *Sclauonia*, were of old time Prouinces belonging to the *Greekes*. Also *Hungaria* was heretofore called *Pannonia*. And wee were riding ouer the Land of *Cangle*, from the feast of *Holy-rood*, vntill the feast of *All-Saints*: traouelling almost euery day (according to mine estimation) as farre, as from *Paris* to *Orleans*, and sometimes farther, as we were prouided of Post-horses: for some daies we had change of horses twice, or thrice in a day. Sometimes we trauelled two or three daies together, not finding any people, and then we were constrained not to ride so fast. Of twentie or thirtie Horses we had alwaies the worst, because we were Strangers. For euery one tooke their choice of the best Horses before vs. They prouided me alwaies of a strong Horse, because I was very corpulent and heavy: but whether he ambled a gentle pace or no, I durst not make any question. Neither yet durst I complaine, although he trotted full sore. But euery man must bee contented with his lot as it fell. Whereupon we were exceedingly troubled; for oftentimes our Horses were tyred before we could come at any people. And then we were constrained to beate and whip on our Horses, and to lay our Garments vpon other emptie Horses: yea, and sometimes two of vs to ride vpon one Horse.

Cangle an huge plaine Countrey.

30 **O**f hunger and thirst, cold and wearinesse, there was no end. For they gaue vs no victuals, but onely in the euening. In the morning they vsed to giue vs a little drinke, or some sodden Millet to sup off. In the euening they bestowed flesh vpon vs, as namely, a shoulder and breast of Rams Mutton, and euery man a measured quantitie of broath to drinke. When wee had sufficient of the flesh-broath, we were maruellously well refreshed. And it seemed to mee most pleasant, and most nourishing drinke. Euery Saturday I remained fasting vntill night, without eating or drinking of ought. And when night came, I was constrained, to my great grieve and sorrow, to eate flesh. Sometimes we were faine to eate flesh halfe sodden, or almost raw, and all for want of fewell to seethe it withall; especially, when we lay in the fields, or were benighted before we came at our iourneys end: because we could not then conueniently gather together the dung of Horses or Oxen: for other fewell we found but seldome, except 40 perhaps a few thornes in some places. Likewise vpon the bankes of some Rivers, there are woods growing here and there. Howbeit they are very rare. In the beginning our guide highly disdained vs, and it was tedious vnto him to conduct such base fellowes. Afterward, when he began to know vs somewhat better, he directed vs on our way by the Courts of rich *Moals*, and we were requested to pray for them. Wherefore, had I carried a good Interpreter with me, I should haue had opportunitie to haue done much good. The foresaid *Chingis*, who was the first great *Can* or Emperour of the *Tartars*, had foure Sonnes, of whom proceeded by naturall descent many children, euery one of which doeth at this day enioy great possessions: and they are daily multiplied and dispersed ouer that huge and vast Defart, which is in dimensions, like vnto the Ocean Sea. Our guide therefore directed vs, as we were going on our iourney, vnto 50 many of their habitations. And they maruelled exceedingly, that wee would receiue neither Gold nor Siluer, nor precious and costly garments at their hands. They inquired also, concerning the great Pope, whether he was of so lasting an age as they had heard? For there had gone a report among them, that hee was fife hundred yeares old. They inquired likewise of our Countries, whether there were abundance of Sheepe, Oxen, and Horses, or no? Concerning the Ocean Sea, they could not conceiue of it, because it was without limits or bankes. Vpon the Euen of the feast of *All-Saints*, wee forooke the way leading towards the East, (because the people were now descended very much South) and wee went on our iourney by certaine *Alpes*, or Mountaines directly South-ward, for the space of eight daies together. In the foresaid Defart I saw many *Ases* (which they call *Colan*) being rather like vnto Mules: these did our guide and his companions chase very eagerly: howbeit, they did but lose their labour, for the beasts were too swift for them. Vpon the seuenth day there appeared to the South of vs huge high Mountaynes, and we entred into a place which was well watered, and fresh as a Garden, and found Land tilled and manured. The eight day, after the feast of *All-Saints*, wee arrived at a certaine Towne of the *Saracens*, named *Kenchat*, the *Gouernour* whereof met our Guide

Chap. 24.
Of the hunger and thirst, and other miseries, which we sustained in our iourne.

Certaine Rivers.

Eight daies iourney Southward.
Ases swift of foot.
High Mountaynes.
Manured grounds.
Kenchat, a Village of the Saracens.

The seventh
day of No-
uember.
A great Riuer.

Many Lakes.
Vines.

Chap. 25.
How Ban was
put to death:
and concern-
ing the habi-
tation of the
Dutch men.
A Cottage.
The Moun-
taines of Cau-
casus are exten-
ded vnto the
Easterne Sea.
The Citie of
Talas, or Chin-
citalas.
Frier Andrew.

The Village of
Bolac.

He entred in-
to the Territo-
ries of Mangu-
Can.
Certaine Alpes
wherein the
Cava Catayans
inhabited.
A mightie Ri-
uer.
Ground tilled.
Equius.

A Lake of fif-
teene daies
iourney in
compass.

Coilac a great
Citie and full
of Merchants.

Contomanni.

at the Townes end with Ale and Cups. For it is their manner at all Townes and Villages, subiect vnto them, to meete the messengers of *Baatu* and *Mangu-Can* with meate and drinke. At the same time of the yeere, they went vpon the Ice in that Countrey. And before the feast of Saint *Michael*, we had frost in the Defart. I enquired the name of that Prouince: but being now in a strange Territorie, they could not tell mee the name thereof, but onely the name of a very small Citie in the same Prouince. And there descended a great Riuer downe from the Mountaynes, which watered the whole Region, according as the Inhabitants would giue it passage, by making diuers Channels and Sluces: neither did this Riuer exonerate it selfe into any Sea, but was swallowed vp by an hideous Gulfe into the bowels of the earth, and it caused many Fennes or Lakes. Also I saw many Vines, and dranke of the Wine thereof.

The day following, we came vnto another Cottage neere vnto the Mountaynes. And I enquired what Mountaynes they were, which I vnderstood to bee the Mountaines of *Caucasus*, which are stretched forth, and continued on both parts to the Sea, from the West vnto the East: and on the West part they are conioyned vnto the foresaid *Caspian* Sea, where into the Riuer of *Volga* dischargeth his streames. I enquired also of the Citie of *Talas*, wherein were certaine *Dutch* men, seruants vnto one *Buri*, of whom Frier *Andrew* made mention. Concerning whom also I enquired very diligently in the Courts of *Sartach* and *Baatu*. Howbeit I could haue no intelligence of them, but onely that their Lord and Master *Ban* was put to death vpon the occasion following: This *Ban* was not placed in good and fertile Pastures. And vpon a certaine day being drunken, hee spake on this wise vnto his men. Am not I of the stocke and kindred of *Chingis Can*, as well as *Baatu*? (for in very deede he was brother or Nephew vnto *Baatu*.) Why then doe I not passe and repasse vpon the banke of *Etilia*, to feede my Cattell there, as freely as *Baatu* himselfe doth? Which speeches of his were reported vnto *Baatu*. Whereupon *Baatu* wrote vnto his seruants to bring their Lord bound vnto him. And they did so. Then *Baatu* demanded of him whether he had spoken any such words? And he confessed that he had. Howbeit (because it is the *Tartars* manner to pardon drunken men) he excused himselfe that he was drunken at the same time. How durst thou (quoth *Baatu*) once name mee in thy drunkenesse? And with that hee caused his head to be chopt off. Concerning the foresaid *Dutch* men, I could not vnderstand ought, till I was come vnto the Court of *Mangu-Can*. And there I was informed that *Mangu-Can* had remoued them out of the iurisdiction of *Baatu*, for the space of a moneths iourney from *Talas* Eastward, vnto a certaine Village, called *Bolac*: where they are set to dig gold, and to make armour. Whereupon I could neither goe nor come by them. I passed very neere the said Citie in going forth, as namely, within three daies iourney thereof: but I was ignorant that I did so: neither could I haue turned out of my way, albeit I had knowne so much. From the foresaid Cottage we went directly Eastward, by the Mountaines aforesaid. And from that time we traualled among the people of *Mangu-Can*, who in all places sang and danced before our Guide, because he was the messenger of *Baatu*. For this curtesie they doe afford each to other: namely, the people of *Mangu-Can* receiuing the messengers of *Baatu* in manner aforesaid: and so likewise the people of *Baatu* entertaining the messengers of *Mangu-Can*. Notwithstanding, the people of *Baatu* are more surly and stout, and shew not so much curtesie vnto the subiects of *Mangu-Can*, as they doe vnto them. A few daies after we entered vpon those *Alpes* where the *Cava Catayans* were wont to inhabit. And there we found a mightie Riuer: insomuch that we were constrained to imbarke our selues, and to saile ouer it. Afterward we came into a certaine Valley, where I saw a Castle destroyed, the walls whereof were onely of mudde: and in that place the ground was tilled also. And there wee found a certaine Village, named *Equius*, wherein were *Saracens*, speaking the *Persian* language: howbeit they dwelt an huge distance from *Persia*. The day following, hauing passed ouer the foresaid *Alpes*, which descended from the great Mountaynes Southward, wee entred into a most beautifull Plaine, hauing high Mountaynes on our right hand, and on the left hand of vs a certaine Sea or Lake, which containeth fifteene daies iourney in circuit. All the foresaid Plaine is most commodiously watered with certaine Freshets, distilling from the said Mountaynes, all which doe fall into the Lake. In Summer time we returned by the North shoare of the said Lake, and there were great Mountaines on that side also. Vpon the fore-named Plaine there were wont to bee great store of Villages: but for the most part they were all wasted, in regard of the fertile Pastures, that the *Tartars* might feede their Cattell there. We found one great Citie there, named *Coilac*, wherein was a Mart, and great store of Merchants frequenting it. In this Citie wee remained fifteene daies, staying for a certaine Scribe or Secretarie of *Baatu*, who ought to haue accompanied our Guide for the dispatching of certaine affaires in the Court of *Mangu*. All this Countrey was wont to bee called *Organum*: and the people thereof had their proper language, and their peculiar kind of writing. But it was altogether inhabited of the people, called *Contomanni*. The *Nestorians* likewise in those parts vse the very same kind of language and writing. They are called *Organa*, because they were wont to bee most skilfull in playing vpon the *Organs* or *Citherne*, as it was reported vnto mee. Here first did I see worshippers of Idols, concerning

cerning whom, bee it knowne vnto your Maiestie, that there bee many sects of them in the East Countries.

THe first sort of these Idolaters are called *Iugures*: whose Land bordereth vpon the foresaid Land of *Organum*, within the said Mountaines Eastward: and in all their Cities *Nestorians* doe inhabit together, and they are disperfed likewise towards *Persta*, in the Cities of the *Saracens*. The Citizens of the foresaid Citie of *Cailac* had three Idol-temples; and I entred into two of them, to behold their foolish superstitions. In the first of which, I found a man hauing a Crosse painted with Inke vpon his hand, whereupon I supposed him to be a Christian: for he answered like a Christian vnto all questions which I demanded of him. And I asked him, Why therefore haue you not the Crosse with the Image of Iesu Christ thereupon? And he answered, We haue no such custome. Whereupon I coniectured that they were indeed Christians: but, that for lacke of instruction they omitted the foresaid ceremonie. For I saw there behind a certaine Chest (which was vnto them in stead of an Altar, whereupon they set Candles and Oblations) an Image hauing wings, like vnto the Image of Saint *Michael*, and other Images also, holding their fingers, as if they would blesse some body. That euening I could not find any thing else. For the *Saracens* doe onely inuite men thither, but they will not haue them speake of their Religion. And therefore, when I enquired of the *Saracens* concerning such Ceremonies, they were offended thereat. On the morrow after were the Kalends, and the *Saracens* feast of Pascheuer. And changing mine Inne or lodging the same day, I tooke vp mine abode neere vnto another Idol-Temple. For the Citizens of the said Citie of *Cailac* doe courteously inuite, and louingly entertaine all messengers, euery man of them according to his abilitie and portion. And entring into the foresaid Idol-temple, I found the Priests of the said Idols there. For alwaies at the Kalends they set open their Temples, and the Priests adorne themselues, and offer vp the peoples Oblations of Bread and Fruits. First therefore, I will describe vnto you those rites and ceremonies which are common vnto all their Idol-temples: and then the superstitions of the foresaid *Iugures*, which be, as it were, a sect distinguished from the rest. They doe all of them worship towards the North, clapping their hands together, and prostrating themselves on their knees vpon the earth, holding also their foreheads in their hands. Whereupon the *Nestorians* of those parts will in no case ioine their hands together in time of prayer: but they pray displaying their hands before their breasts. They extend their Temples in length East and West; and vpon the North side they build a Chamber, in manner of a Vestrie, for themselves to goe forth into. Or sometimes it is otherwise. If it be a foure square Temple, in the midst of the Temple stand. And within the said Chamber, they place a Chest long and broade like vnto a Table, and behind the said Chest towards the South, stands their principall Idoll: which I saw at *Caracorum*, and it was as big as the Idoll of Saint *Christopher*. Also a certaine *Nestorian* Priest, which had bene in *Catay*, said that in that Countrey there is an Idoll of so huge a bignesse, that it may be seene two daies iourney before a man come at it. And so they place other Idols round about the foresaid principall Idoll, being all of them finely gilt ouer with pure gold: and vpon the said Chest, which is in manner of a Table, they set Candles and Oblations. The doores of their Temples are alwaies open towards the South, contrary to the customes of the *Saracens*. They haue also great Bells like vnto vs. And that is the cause (as I thinke) why the Christians of the East will in no case vse great Bells. Notwithstanding, they are common among the *Russians*, and *Gracians* of *Gasaria*.

Chap. 26.
How the Nestorians, Saracens, and Idolaters are ioyned together.
The people called *Iugures* Idolaters.

Frier William was at *Caracorum*.

All their Priests had their heads and beards shauen quite ouer: and they are clad in Saffron coloured garments: and being once shauen, they leade an vnmarried life from that time forward: and they liue an hundred or two hundred of them together in one Cloister or Couent. Vpon those daies when they enter into their Temples, they place two long Formes therein: and so sitting vpon the said Formes like Singing-men in a Quire, namely, the one halfe of them directly ouer against the other, they haue certaine bookes in their hands, which sometimes they lay downe by them vpon the Formes: and their heads are bare so long as they remaine in the Temple. And there they reade softly vnto themselves, not vttering any voice at all. Whereupon comming in amongst them, at the time of their superstitious deuotions, and finding them all sitting mute, in manner aforesaid, I attempted diuers waies to prouoke them vnto speech, and yet could not by any meanes possible. They haue with them also whitherfoeuer they goe, a certaine string, with an hundred or two hundred Nut-shells thereupon, much like to our bead-roll which wee carrie about with vs. And they doe alwaies vtter these words: *Ou mam Hactani*; God thou knowest: as one of them expounded it vnto me. And so often doe they expect a reward at Gods hands, as they pronounce these words in remembrance of God. Round about their Temple they doe alwaies make a faire Court, like vnto a Church-yard, which they entiron with a good wall: and vpon the South part thereof, they build a great Portall, wherein they sit and conferre together. And vpon the top of the said Portall, they pitch a long Pole right vp, exalting

Chap. 27.
Of their Temples and Idols, and how they behaue themselves in worshipping their false gods.
The Country of *Persta*.

Paper.
So doe the
people of Chi-
na vse to write,
drawing their
lines perpendi-
cularly downe
ward, and not
as we doe, from
the right hand
to the left.

ting it, if they can, about all the whole Towne besides. And by the same Pole all men may know that there stands the Temple of their Idols. These rites and ceremonies aforesaid, be common vnto all Idolaters in those parts. Going vpon a time towards the foresaid Idoll-temple, I found certaine Priests sitting in the outward Portall. And those which I saw, seemed vnto mee, by their shauen beards, as if they had beene *French* men. They wore certaine ornaments vpon their heads, made of Paper. The Priests of the foresaid *Iugures* doe vse such attire whithersoever they goe. They are alwaies in their Saffron coloured Iackets, which bee very straight, being laced or buttoned from the bosome right downe, after the *French* fashion, and they haue a Cloake vpon their left shoulder, descending before and behind vnder their right arme, like vnto a Deacon carrying the housel-box in time of Lent. Their letters or kind of writing the *Tartars* did receiue. 10
They begin to write at the top of their paper, drawing their lines right downe: and so they read and multiply their lines from the left hand to the right. They doe vse certaine papers and characters in their Magicall practices. Whereupon their Temples are full of such short scrolls hanged round about them. Also *Mangu-Can* hath sent letters vnto your Maiestie, written in the language of the *Moals* or *Tartars*, and in the foresaid hand or letter of the *Iugures*. They burne their dead according to the ancient custome, and lay vp the ashes in the top of a Pyramis. Now, after I had sate a while by the foresaid Priests, and entred into their Temple, and seene many of their Images, both great and small, I demanded of them what they beleue concerning God? And they answered: *Wee beleue that there is onely one God.* And I demanded farther: Whether doe you beleue that he is a Spirit, or some bodily substance? They said: *Wee beleue that hee is a 20 Spirit.* Then said I: Doe you beleue that God euer tooke mans nature vpon him: Then they answered; *No.* And againe I said: Sithence yee beleue that hee is a Spirit, to what end doe you make so many bodily Images to represent him: Sithence also you beleue not that hee was made man: why doe you resemble him rather vnto the Image of a man then of any other creature? Then they answered, saying: we frame not those Images whereby to represent God. But when any rich man amongst vs, or his sonne, or his wife, or any of his friends deceaseth, he causeth the Image of the dead partie to be made, and to be placed here: and we in remembrance of him doe reuerence thereunto. Then I replied. You doe these things onely for the friendship and flatterie of men. No (said they) but for their memorie. Then they demanded of mee, as it were in scoffing wise: *Where is God?* To whom I answered: Where is your soule? they said, In 30 our bodies. Then said I, Is it not in euery part of your bodie, ruling and guiding the whole bodie, and yet notwithstanding is not seene or perceiued? Euen so God is euery where, and ruleth all things, and yet is he inuisible, being vnderstanding and wisdom it selfe. Then being desirous to haue had some more conference with them, by reason that mine Interpreter was wearie, and not able to expresse my meaning, I was constrained to keepe silence. The *Moals* or *Tartars* are in this regard of their sect: namely, they beleue that there is but one God: howbeit, they make Images of felt, in remembrance of their deceased friends, couering them with fine most rich and costly garments, and putting them into one or two Carts, which Carts no man dare once touch: and they are in the custodie of their Sooth-sayers, who are their Priests, concerning whom, I will giue your Highnesse more at large to vnderstand hereafter. These Sooth-sayers or 40 Diuiners, doe alwaies attend vpon the Court of *Mangu*, and of other great personages. As for the poorer or meaner sort, they haue them not, but such onely as are of the stocke and kindred of *Chingis*. And when they are to remoue or to take any iourney, the said Diuiners goe before them, euen as the clouidie Pillar went before the Children of *Israel*. And they appoint ground where the Tents must be pitched, and first of all they take downe their owne houses: and after them the whole Court doth the like. Also vpon their festiuall daies or Kalends, they take forth the foresaid Images, and place them in order, round or circle wise within the house. Then come the *Moals* or *Tartars*, and enter into the same house, bowing themselues before the said Images and worship them. Moreouer, it is not lawfull for any stranger to enter into that house. For vpon a certaine time I my selfe would haue gone in, but I was chidden full well for my labour. 50

Chap. 28.
Of diuers and
sundry Nati-
ons: and of
certaine peo-
ple which
were wont to
eate their
owne parents.
The Countrey
of *Presbyter*
Iohn.
Tangut.

Strange Oxen.

BVt the foresaid *Iugures* (who liue among the *Christians* and *Saracens*) by their sundry disputations, as I suppose, haue beene brought vnto this, to beleue that there is but one onely God. And they dwelt in certaine Cities, which afterward were brought in subiection vnto *Chingis Can*: whereupon hee gaue his daughter in marriage vnto their King. Also the Citie of *Caracorum* it selfe, is in a manner within their Territorie, and the whole Countrey of King or *Presbyter Iohn*, and of his brother *Vut*, lyeth neere vnto their Dominions: sauing that they inhabit in certaine Pastures Northward, and the said *Iugures* betweene the Mountaynes towards the South. Whereupon it came to passe, that the *Moals* receiued letters from them. And they are the *Tartars* principall Scribes: and all the *Nestorians* almost can skill of their Letters. Next 60 vnto them, betweene the foresaid Mountaynes Eastward, inhabiteth the Nation of *Tangut*, who are a most valiant people, and tooke *Chingis* in battell. But after the conclusion of a league, he was set at libertie by them, and afterward subdued them. These people of *Tangut* haue Oxen of great strength, with tailes like vnto Horses, and with long shag haire vpon their backs and

and bellies. They haue legs greater then other Oxen haue, and they are exceeding fierce. These Oxen draw the great houses of the *Moals*: and their hornes are slender, long, streight, and most sharpe pointed: insomuch that their owners are faine to cut off the ends of them. A Cow will not suffer her selfe to be coupled vnto one of them, vnlesse they whistle or sing vnto her. They haue also the qualities of a Buffe: for if they see a man cloathed in red, they runne vpon him immediately to kill him. Next vnto them are the people of *Tebet*, men which were wont to eate the carcases of their deceased parents: that for pities sake, they might make no other Sepulchre for them, then their owne bowels. Howbeit of late they haue left off this custome, because that thereby they became abominable and odious vnto all other Nations. Notwithstanding, vnto this day they make fine Cups of the Skulls of their parents, to the end, that when they drinke out of them, they may amidst all their iollities and delights, call their dead parents to remembrance. This was told mee by one that saw it. The said people of *Tebet* haue great plentie of gold in their Land. Whosoever therefore wanteth gold, diggeth til he hath found some quantitie, and then taking so much thereof as will serue his turne, hee layeth vp the residue within the earth: because, if he should put it into his Chest or Store-house, he is of opinion that God would withhold from him all other gold within the earth. I saw some of those people, being very deformed creatures. In *Tangut* I saw lusty tall men, but browne and swart in colour. The *Iugures* are of a middle stature, like vnto our *French* men. Among the *Iugures* is the originall and roote of the *Turkish*, and *Comanian* Languages. Next vnto *Tebet* are the people of *Langa* and *Solanga*, whose messengers I saw in the *Tartars* Court. And they had brought more then ten great Carts with them, euery one of which was drawne with six Oxen. They bee little browne men like vnto *Spaniards*. Also they haue lackets, like vnto the vpper Vestment of a Deacon, sauing that the sleeues are somewhat streighter. And they haue Miters vpon their heads like Bishops. But the fore-part of their Miter is not so hollow within as the hinder part: neither is it sharpe pointed or cornered at the top: but there hang downe certaine square flaps compacted of a kind of Straw, which is made rough and ragged with extreame heate, and is so trimmed, that it glittereth in the Sunne-beames, like vnto a Glasse, or an Helmet well burnished. And about their Temples they haue long bands of the foresaid matter, fastened vnto their Miters, which houer in the winde, as if two long hornes grew out of their heads. And when the wind tossed them vp and downe too much, they tie them ouer the midst of their Miter, from one Temple to another: and so they lie circle wise ouerthwart their heads. Moreouer, their principall messenger comming vnto the *Tartars* Court, had a table of Elephants tooth about him, of a cubit in length, and a handfull in breadth, being very smoothe. And whensoever he spake vnto the Emperor himselfe, or vnto any other great personage, he alwaies beheld that table, as if hee had found therein those things which hee spake: neither did hee cast his eyes to the right hand, nor to the left, nor vpon his face with whom he talked. Yea, going too and fro before his Lord, hee looketh no where but onely vpon his table. Beyond them (as I vnderstand of a certaintie) there are other people called *Muc*, hauing Villages, but no one particular man of them appropriating any Cattell vnto himselfe. Notwithstanding, there are many flocks and droues of Cattell in their Countrey, and no man appointed to keepe them. But when any one of them standeth in neede of any beast, hee ascendeth vp vnto a hill, and there maketh a shoute, and all the Cattell which are within hearing of the noyse, come flocking about him, and suffer themselves to be handled and taken, as if they were tame. And when any messenger or stranger commeth into their Countrey, they shut him vp into an house, ministring there things necessary vnto him, vntill his businesse be dispatched. For if any stranger should trauell through that Countrey, the Cattell would flie away at the very sent of him, and so would become wilde. Beyond *Muc* is great *Cataya*, the Inhabitants whereof (as I suppose) were of old time, called *Seres*. For from them are brought most excellent stufes of silke. And this people is called *Seres*, of a certaine Towne in the same Countrey. I was credibly informed, that in the said Countrey, there is one Towne hauing Walls of siluer, and Bulwarkes or Towers of gold. There bee many Prouinces in that Land, the greater part whereof are not as yet subdued vnto the *Tartars*. And the Sea lyeth betweene them and *India*. These *Catayans* are men of a little stature, speaking much through the nose. And this is generall, that all they of the East haue small eyes. They are excellent workemen in euery Art: and their Physicians are well skilled in the Vertues of Herbs, and iudge exactly of the Pulse; But vse no Vrinalls, nor know any thing concerning Vrine. This I saw, for there are many of them at *Caracorum*. And they are alwaies wont to bring vp all their children in the same trade whereof the father is. And therefore they pay so much tribute; for they giue the *Moallians* euery day one thousand and five hundred Cellines or Iascots: (Iascot is a piece of siluer weighing ten Markes) that is to say, euery day fiftene thousand Markes, beside silkes and certaine victuals, which they receiue from thence, and other seruices which they doe them. All these Nations are betweene the Mountaynes of *Caucasus*,

ters disagree, as being (I thinke) rather some Transcribers diuision then the Authors. Yet haue I followed the numbers I found, euen where they are obscurest. The Friers Latin for some barbarous words and phrases, hath bene troublesome to translate. The worke I hold a Iewell of Antiquitie, now first entirely publike.

The people of Tebet.

Abundance of gold.

The stature of the people of Tangut, and of the Iugures, Langa and Solanga.

The people of Solanga resemble Spaniards.

A table of Elephants tooth.

The people called Muc.

Great Cataya.

* From hence is supplied by Master Hache-its industrie (as he told me) out of a Manuscript in Bennet Colledge in Cambridge: the other part hee had out of an imperfect Copie of my Lord Lum-lies. The Chap.

Idolary.

on the North side of those Mountaines to the East Sea, on the South part of *Scythia*, which the Shepherds of *Moal* doe inhabit: All which are tributarie vnto them, and all giuen to Idolatry, and report many fables of a multitude of gods, and certaine Deified men, and make a pedigree of the gods as our Poets doe.

Nestorians.

Segni a Citie of Cathay.

They are so at this day.

The euill qualities of the Nestorians.

Hence by corruption of manners and ignorance of faith, seemeth

the Apostacy of the greatest

part of Asia to haue happened, furthered

by Tartarian inuasions and Saracenicall.

All Priests.

* Consider our

Author a Frier, whose trauels

we rather embrace, then (in such passages) his diuinitie.

They were later Fathers which made such Decrees, contrary to the Father of truth

which ordained marriage in *Leuies* Priest-hood, and chose married men to the Apostleship: and forewarned of another Father,

who with Doctrines of Devils should prohibite meate and marriage, vnder colour of Priests chastitie, making the Temple stews

to carnall and spirituall whoredome.

The *Nestorians* are mingled among them as Strangers; so are the *Saracens* as farre as *Cathay*. The *Nestorians* inhabit fiftene Cities of *Cathay*, and haue a Bishopricke there, in a Citie called *Segin*. But further, they are meere Idolaters. The Priests of the Idols of the said Nations, haue all broad yellow hoods. There are also among them (as I vnderstood) certaine Hermits liuing in the Woods and Mountaines, of an austere and strange life. The *Nestorians* there know nothing, for they say their Seruice, and haue holy Bookes in the *Syrian* tongue, which they know not. So that they sing as our Monkes doe, who are ignorant of Grammar; and hence it cometh, that they are wholly corrupted. They are great Usurers and Drunkards, and some of them also who liue among the *Tartars*, haue many Wiues, as the *Tartars* haue. When they enter into the Church, they wash their lower parts, as the *Saracens* doe. They eate flesh on Friday of the weeke, and hold their Feasts that day, after the manner of the *Saracens*. The Bishop comes seldome into those Countries, perchance, scarce once in fiftie yeares. Then they cause all their little Children (which are Males) to be made Priests, euen in the Cradell; so that all their men almost are Priests: and after this they marrie Wiues, which is directly against the decrees of the Fathers: they are also *Bigami*, for the Priests themselues, their first Wife being dead, marrie another. They are all Simonists, for they giue no holy thing freely. They are very carefull for their Wiues and Children, whereby they apply themselues to gaine, and not to the spreading of the Faith. Whence it cometh to passe, while some of them bring vp some of the Nobilities children of *Moal* (although they teach them the Gospell, and the Articles of the Faith) yet by their euill life and couetousnesse, they driue them further from Christianitie: Because the life of the *Moallians*, and *Tuinians* (who are Idolaters) is more harmelesse then theirs.

Chap. 26.

Of such things as befell them,

departing from Cathay, to the

Country of the Naymannes.

Nouemb. 30.

Decemb. 6.

Extreme cold.

Decemb. 7.

A dangerous passage.

The second Sunday of Advent in the euening, we passed by a certaine place betweene very

terrible Rockes: and our Guide sent vnto me, intreating me to speake some good words, where-

with the Devils might be driuen away; because in that passage, the Devils themselues were

wont suddenly to carrie men away, so that it was not knowne what became of them. Some-

times they violently snatched a Horse and left the man; sometimes they drew out a mans bo-

wels, and left the emptie carkasse vpon the Horse. And many such things did often fall out

there. Then we sang with a loud voyce, *Credo in Deum*, &c. And by the Grace of God, wee

passed through (with all our company) unhurt. After that, they beganne to intreat me, that I

would write them Papers to carrie on their heads: and I told them, I would teach them a word

lastingly. But alwaies when I would teach them, I wanted an Interpreter: Yet I wrote them

the Creede and the Lords Prayer; saying, Heere it is written whatloeuer a man ought to be-

leeue concerning God. Here also is that prayer, wherein we begge of God whatloeuer is need-

full for a man. Whereupon beleue firmly that which is written here, although you cannot

WE departed from the foresaid Citie of *Cailac* on Saint *Andrewes* day. And there wee found almost within three leagues, a whole Castle or Village of *Nestorians*. Enttring into their Church, we sang, *Salue Regina*, &c. with ioy, as loud as we could, because it was long since we had seene a Church. Departing thence, in three daies we came to the entrance of that Prouince, in the head of the foresaid Sea, which seemed to vs as tempestuous as the Ocean, and we saw a great Iland therein. My Companions drew neere the shoare, and wet a Linnen cloath therein, to taste the Water, which was somewhat salt, but might bee drunke. There went a certaine Valley ouer against it, from betweene the great Mountaines, betweene South and East: and betweene the hils, was another certaine great Sea; and there ranne a Riuer through that Valley, from the other Sea into this. Where came such a continuall winde through the Valley, that men passe with great danger, least the wind carrie them into the Sea. Therefore wee left the Valley and went towards the North, to the great hilly Countries, couered with deepe Snow, which then lay vpon the Earth: so that vpon Saint *Nicholas* day we beganne now to hasten our iourney much, and (because we found no people, but the *Iani* themselues (to wit) men appointed from daies iourney to daies iourney together, the Messengers together. Because in many places in the hilly Countries) the way is narrow, and there are but few fields, so that betweene day and night we met with two *Iani*, whereupon of two daies iourneys we made one, and trauelled more by night then by day. It was extreame cold there, so that they lent vs their Goats skins, turning the haire outward.

The second Sunday of *Aduent* in the euening, we passed by a certaine place betweene very terrible Rockes: and our Guide sent vnto me, intreating me to speake some good words, where-with the Devils might be driuen away; because in that passage, the Devils themselues were wont suddenly to carrie men away, so that it was not knowne what became of them. Sometimes they violently snatched a Horse and left the man; sometimes they drew out a mans bowels, and left the emptie carkasse vpon the Horse. And many such things did often fall out there. Then we sang with a loud voyce, *Credo in Deum*, &c. And by the Grace of God, wee passed through (with all our company) unhurt. After that, they beganne to intreat me, that I would write them Papers to carrie on their heads: and I told them, I would teach them a word lastingly. But alwaies when I would teach them, I wanted an Interpreter: Yet I wrote them the Creede and the Lords Prayer; saying, Heere it is written whatloeuer a man ought to beleeue concerning God. Here also is that prayer, wherein we begge of God whatloeuer is needfull for a man. Whereupon beleue firmly that which is written here, although you cannot

vnder-

vnderstand it, and aske of God that he do that for you which is contained in this written Prayer: because with his owne mouth he taught it his friends, and I hope he will saue you. I could not doe any thing else, because it was very dangerous to speake the words of doctrine by such an Interpreter, nay almost impossible, because he was ignorant.

After this, wee entred into that plaine where the Court of Ken-Cham was, which was wont to be the Countrey of the *Naymans*, who were the peculiar Subiects of *Presbyter John*: but at that time I saw not that Court; but in my returne. Yet heere I declare vnto you what befell his Ancestry, his Soone and Wiues. *Ken-Cham* being dead, *Baatu* desired that *Mangu* should be *Chan*. But I could vnderstand in certaintie of the death of *Ken*. *Frier Andrew* said, that he dyed by a certaine medicine giuen him: and it was suspected that *Baatu* caused it to be made. Yet I heard otherwise, for he summoned *Baatu*, to come and doe him homage. And *Baatu* tooke his iourney speedily with great preparation; but he and his Seruants were much afraid, and sent one of his Brothers before, called *Stichin*: who when he came to *Ken*, and should waite vpon his Cup, contention arising betweene them, they slue one another. The Widow of *Stichin* kept vs a whole day, to goe into her house and blesse her, that is, pray for her. Therefore *Ken* being dead, *Mangu* was chosen by the consent of *Baatu*. And was then chosen when *Frier Andrew* was there. *Ken* had a certaine Brother, called *Siremon*, who by the counsell of *Kens* Wife and her Vassals, went with great preparation towards *Mangu*, as if he meant to doe him homage, and yet in truth he purposed to kill him, and destroy his whole Court. And when he was neere *Mangu*, within one or two daies iourney, one of his Wagons remained broken in the way. While the Wagoner laboured to mend it, in the meane space came one of the Seruants of *Mangu*, who helped him: he was so inquisitiue of their iourney, that the Wagoner reuealed vnto him what *Siremon* purposed to doe. Then turning out of the way, as if hee little regarding it, went vnto the herd of Horses, and tooke the best Horse hee could choose, and posting night and day, came speedily to the Court of *Mangu*, reporting vnto him what he had heard. Then *Mangu* quickly assembling all his subiects, caused foure rings of Armed men to compasse his Court, that none might goe in or out: the rest he sent against *Siremon*, who tooke him, (not suspecting his purpose had bene discovered) and brought him to the Court with all his followers. Who when *Mangu* lay the matter to his charge, strait-way confessed it. Then he and his eldest Sonne *Ken Chan* were slaine, and three hundred of the Nobilitie of the *Tartars* with them. The Noble Women also were sent for, who were all beaten with burning fire brands to make them confesse: and hauing confessed, were put to death. His youngest sonne *Ken*, who could not be capable or guiltie of the conspiracy, was left aliue: And his Fathers Palace was left vnto him, with all belonging vnto it, as well Men as Chattels: and we passed by it in our returne. Nor durst my Guides turne in vnto it, neither going nor comming. For the Lady of the Nations sate there in heauinesse, and there was none to comfort her.

Chap. 27.
Of the Countrey of the *Naymans*, and what befell the stock of *Ken-Chan* his sonne & wiues. *Baatu*.

Stichin and *Ken* kill one another.

Then went wee vp againe into the high Countries, going alwaies towards the North. At length on Saint *Stephens* day we entred into a great Plaine like the Sea, where there was not so much as a Mole-hill. And the next day, on the feast of *S. Iohn* the Euangelist, we came vnto the Palace of that great Lord. But when we were neere it, within fide daies iourney, our Host where we lay, would haue directed vs a way farre about, so that wee should yet trauaile more then fifteene daies. And this was the reason (as I vnderstood) that wee might goe by *Onam Kerule* their proper Countrey, where the Court of *Chingis-Chan* is. Others said, that he did it for this purpose, that he might make the way longer, and might shew his power the more. For so they are wont to deale with men comming from Countries not subiect to them. And our Guide obtained with great difficultie, that we might go the right way. For they held vs vpon this from the morning till three of the clocke. In that way also, the Secretarie (whom we expected at *Cailac*) told me, that it was contained in the Letters which *Baatu* sent to *Mangu-Chan*, that wee required an Army and ayde of *Sartach* against the *Saracens*. Then I began to wonder much, and to be greatly troubled: for I knew the Tenor of the Letters, and that no mention therof was made therein: saue that yee aduised him to be a friend to all Christians, and should exalt the Crosse, and be an enemy to all the enemies of the Crosse: and because also the Interpreters were *Armenians*, of the greater *Armenia*, who greatly hated the *Saracens*; lest perhaps they had interpreted any thing in euill part to make the *Saracens* more odious and hatefull at their pleasure, I therefore held my peace, not speaking a word with them, or against them; for I feared to gainsay the words of *Baatu*, lest I should incurr some false accusation without reasonable cause. We came therefore the foresaid day vnto the said Court. Our Guide had a great house appointed him, and we three a little Cottage, wherein wee could scarce lay our stufte, make our beds, and haue a little fire. Many came to visit our Guide, and brought him drinke made of Rice, in long strait mouthed bottles, in the which I could discerne no difference from the best *Antissiodorensian* Wine, saue that it had not the sent of Wine. We were called, and straightly examined vpon what businesse we came. I answered, that we heard of *Sartach* that he was a Christian: we came

Chap. 28.
Of their comming to the Court of *Mangu-Chan*.

Onam Kerule the proper Countrey of the *Tartars*. Chap. 15.

D there.

Tartars pride.

Decemb. 28.

Chap. 29.
Of a Christian
chappell, and
of the confe-
rence with Ser-
gius the coun-
terfeit Armeni-
an Monke, and
of the sharpnes
and continu-
ance of the
Winter.
An Armenian
Monke.
Their confe-
rence with the
Armenian
Monke.

Monkish Re-
(ue)lation.

Toes frozen.
S. Francis Or-
der not Ca-
tholike; Uni-
uersally fitting
all places and
seasons.

therefore vnto him; the *French* King sent him a Packet by vs, he sent vs to *Baatu* his Father: & his Father hath sent vs hither, hee should haue written the cause, wherevpon they demanded whether we would make peace with them? I answered, he hath sent Letters vnto *Sartach* as a Christian: and if he had knowne, he were not a Christian, hee would neuer haue sent him Letters, to treat of peace: I say, he hath done you no wrong: if he had done any, why should you warre vpon him, or his people? he, willingly (as a iust man) would reforme himselfe, and desire peace. If yee without cause will make warre with him, or his Nation, we hope that God (who is iust) will helpe them. And they wondred, alwayes repeating, why came yee, seeing yee came not to make peace? For they are now so puffed vp with pride, that they thinke the whole World should desire to make peace with them. And truly, if I might bee suffered, I would preach Warre against them to the vttermost of my power) throughout the whole World. But I would not plainly deliuer the cause of my comming, lest I should speake any thing against that which *Baatu* commanded. I told them therefore the whole cause of my comming thither, was because he sent me.

The day following we were brought vnto the Court, and I thought I could goe bare-foot, as I did in our Countrey: whereupon, I layd aside my shooes. But such as come to the Court, alight farre from the house where the Great *Chan* is, as it were a Bow-shot off: where the Horses abide, and a Boy to keepe them. Whereupon, when wee alighted there, and our Guide went with vs to the house of the Great *Chan*, a *Hungarian* Boy was present there, who knew vs (to wit) our Order. And when the men came about vs, and beheld vs as Monsters, especially because we were bare-footed, and demanded whether we did not lacke our feet, because they supposed we should strait-way haue lost them, that *Hungarian* told them the reason, shewing them the condition of our Order. Then the chiefe Secretary (who was a *Nestorian* and a *Christian*, by whose counsell and aduice almost all is done) came vnto vs, to see vs, and looked earnestly vpon vs, and called the *Hungarian* vnto him, of whom he demanded many Questions. Then we were willed to returne vnto our Lodging.

And when we returned, at the end of the Court towards the East, farre from the Court, as much as a Crosse-bow could shoot at twice, I saw a house, vpon the which there was a little Crosse, then I reioyced much, supposing there was some Christianitie there. I went in boldly and found an Altar very well furnished, for there in a Golden cloth were the Images of Christ and the blessed Virgin, and Saint *Iohn Baptist*, and two Angels, the lineaments of their bodies and garments distinguished with Pearle, and a great siluer Crosse hauing precious stones in the corners, and the middle thereof, and many other Embroyderings: and a Candle burning with Oyle before the Altar, hauing eight Lights. And there sate an *Armenian* Monke, some-what blacke and leane, clad with a rough hairen Coate to the middle legge, hauing vpon it a blacke Cloke of bristles, furred with spotted Skinnies, girt with Iron vnder his haire-cloth. Presently after wee entred in, before we saluted the Monke, falling flat vpon the ground, we sang, *Aue Regina Caelorum*, &c. and he rising, prayed with vs. Then saluting him, we sate by him hauing a little fire before him in a Pan. Therefore we told him the cause of our comming. And he began to comfort vs much, saying, that we should boldly speake, because we were the Messengers of God, who is greater then all men. Afterwards he told vs of his comming, saying, he came thither a moneth before vs, and that he was a Heremite of the Territorie of *Hierusalem*, and that the Lord appeared to him three times, commanding him to goe to the Prince of the *Tartars*: And when he deferred to goe, the third time God threatned him, and ouerthrew him vpon the ground, saying, he should dye, vnlesse he went; and that he told *Mangu Chan*, that if he would become a Christian, the whole World should be obedient vnto him; and the *French* and the Great Pope should obay him: and he aduised me to say the like vnto him. Then I answered, brother, I will willingly perswade him to become a Christian: (For I came for this purpose, to preach thus vnto all) I will promise him also, that the *French*, and the Pope will much reioyce thereat, and account him for a brother and a friend: but I will neuer promise, that they shall become his Seruants, and pay him Tribute, as these other Nations; because in so doing I should speake against my conscience, then he held his peace. We went therefore together to our Lodging, which I found a cold Harbour: and we had eaten nothing that day, so we boyled a little flesh and Millet in the broth of flesh to sup. Our Guide and his companions were drunken at the Court: and little care was had of vs. At that time the Messengers of *Vastace* were there hard by vs, which wee knew not: And the men of the Court made vs rise in great haste, at the dawning of the day. And I went bare-foot with them a little way, vnto the house of the said Messengers. And they demanded of them, whether they knew vs. Then that *Grecian* Souldier calling our Order and my companion to remembrance, because he had seene him in the Court of *Vastace*, with Frier *Thomas*, our Minister, and all his fellowes, gaue great testimony of vs. Then they demanded whether wee had peace or war with *Vastace*? we haue (said I) nor war nor peace. And they demanded, how that might be? Because (said I) their Countries are far remoued one from the other, and meddle not together. Then the Messenger of *Vastace* said wee had peace, giuing mee a caueat: so I held my tongue. That morning, my toes ends were frozen, so that I could no longer goe bare-foot: for

in

in those Countreyes the cold is extreame sharpe: and from the time when it beginneth to freeze it neuer ceaseth vntill May: nay, in the moneth of May it freezed every morning; but in the day time it thawed through the heate of the Sunne: but in the Winter it neuer thawes, but the Ice continues with every winde. And if there were any winde there in the Winter, as it is with vs, nothing could liue there; but it is alwaies milde weather vntill Aprill, and then the winds arise, and at that time when wee were there (about Easter) the cold arising with the winde killed infinite creatures. In the Winter little snow fell there: but about Easter, which was in the latter end of Aprill, there fell so great a snow, that all the streets of *Caracorum* were full; that they were fayne to carrie it out with their

Frost vntill the moneth of May.

Easter in the T end of the end of Aprill. And great Snow in the end of Aprill.

Shauing.

Respect of Priests.

From the first Easterne Land, to furthest Westerne Strand, Let vs Christ laud and sing Blest Virgins Sonne, our King

Chap. 30. Of the Admitting of the Friars to Mangu Chan, and his description, and their conference with him. The description of Mangu Chan.

Drinke of Rice is cleere, and saoury, and like to white Wine. The Indians call it Racke.

The Oration of Frier William to Mangu Chan.

The like Letters you haue of King Edw. 2. before 4. 8. c. 7. for another Friar.

Baatu

10 Carts. Then they first brought vs (from the Court) Ramskin Coats, and Breeches of the same, and Shooes, which my Companion and Interpreter receiued. But I thought I had no need of them, because I supposed my Pelt-garment (which I brought from *Baatu*) was sufficient for me.

Then the fift of Ianuarie we were brought vnto the Court: and there came *Nestorian* Priests vnto me, (I not knowing they were Christians) demanding which way we worshipped: I said, vnto the East. And this they demanded because wee had shauen our beards by the aduice of our Guide, that wee might appeare before *Chan* according to the fashion of our Countrey: whereupon, they thought wee had bene *Tuinians* (to wit) Idolaters. They made vs also expound out of the Bible. Then they demanded what reuerence wee would doe to *Chan*, whether after our owne fashion, or theirs: To whom I made answer. Wee are Priests, giuen to the service of God; Noblemen in our Countrey will not suffer Priests to bow their knees before them, for the honour of God; neuerthelesse, wee will humble our selues to all men, for the Lords sake. Wee came from a farre Countrey. If yee please, wee will first sing prayes vnto God, who hath brought vs safe hither from a farre; and after, wee will doe whatsoever pleaseth the Lord; with this exception, that he command vs nothing which may bee against the worship and honour of God. Then they entring into the house, deliuered what wee had said. So their Lord was contented. And they set vs before the gate of the house, lifting vp the Felt which hung before the gate. And because it was Christmas wee began to sing,

30 *A Solis ortu cardine,
Et usque Terræ limitem,
Christum canamus Principem,
Natum Maria Virgine.*

And when wee had sung this Hymne, they searched our legs, and our bosoms, and our armes, whether wee had Knives about vs. They made our Interpreter vngird himselfe, and leaue his Girdle and his Knife, without in the custodie of a Doore-keeper.

Then we came in. And in the entrance there stood a Bench with Cosmos, by the which they make our Interpreter stand; and caused vs to sit vpon a Forme before the Ladies. The whole house within was hanged with Cloth of Gold: and on a certaine Hearth in the middle of the house, there was a fire made of thornes and Wormewood roots (which grow there very bigge) and Oxe dung. But he sat vpon a Bed clothed with a spotted skin or Furre, bright, and shining like a Seales skin. Hee was a flat-nosed man, of a middle stature, about the age of fife and fortie yeeres: and a little pretie young woman (which was his wife) sat by him, and one of his daughters, *China* by name, (a hard-fauoured woman) marriageable, with other little ones, sat next vnto them vpon a Bed. For that was the house of a certaine Christian Ladie, whom he dearly loued, by whom he had the foresaid daughter: and hee married that young wife beside: but yet the daughter was Mistresse of all that Court, which was her Mothers. Then he made them aske vs, what we would drinke, whether Wine, or *Ceracina*, that is, drinke made of Rice, or *Caracofus*, that is, cleere Cowes milke, or Ball, that is, Mede made of Honey: for they vse these foure kinds of Drinckes in the Winter. Then I answered, Sir, wee are not men who take pleasure in drinke. What pleaseth you shall content vs. Then he commanded drinke of Rice to be giuen vs, cleere and saoury, as white Wine: whereof I tasted a little for reuerence of him. And our Interpreter (to our misfortune) stood by the Butlers: who gaue him much drinke, and hee was quickly drunke. Then *Chan* caused Falcons, and other birds to bee brought vnto him, which he tooke vpon his fist, and lookes vpon them: and after a long time he commanded vs to speake. Then we were to bow the knees. And hee had his Interpreter, a certaine *Nestorian*, whom I knew not to bee a Christian; and wee had our Interpreter, such an one as he was, who now also was drunke. Then I said, *Wee first giue thanks and praise to God, who hath brought vs from so removed parts of the World, to see Mangu Chan, to whom God hath giuen so great power vpon Earth: and wee beseech our Lord, by whose command wee liue and die, that he would grant him a long and a prosperous life.* (For this they desire, that men pray for their liues.) Then I told him: Sir, *Wee haue heard of Sartach that he was a Christian; and the Christians who*

60 *heard it, but specially the French King, reioyced: wherefore wee came vnto him, and our Lord and King hath sent him Letters by vs wherein were words of peace: and amongst other things, hee testifieth of vs, whose seruants wee are, and intreated him to suffer vs to abide in his Countrey. For it is our office to teach men to liue according to the Law of God. And hee sent vs to Baatu his father: and*

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Baatu hath sent us hither unto you. You are they to whom God hath given great Dominion upon earth; We therefore intreat your Highnesse, to give vs leave to continue in your Countrey to doe the service of God for you, your Wives and Children. Wee haue neither Gold nor Siluer, nor precious stones to present vnto you, but our selues; whom we present to serue, and pray vnto God for you. At the least, give vs leave to continue while the cold be past. My Companion is so weake, that hee cannot by any meanes trauaile on Horse-backe without hazzard of his life. For my Companion willed me, and aduised me, to craue leave to stay. For we supposed we must returne to Baatu, vlesse of his speciall Grace he gaue vs leave to stay. Then he began so answer: Euen as the Sunne spreads his beames euery where, so our power and Baatues spreads it selfe euery where: so that wee haue no neede of your Siluer and Gold. Hitherto I vnderstood my Interpreter: but further, I could not perceiue any perfect sentence. Whereby I easily found hee was drunke, and Mangu Chan himselfe was drunke also, as I thought. Yet with this, (as it seemed to mee, hee ended his speach) that he was displeased that we came first to Sartach, before wee came to him. Then seeing the defect of my Interpreter, I held my peace, this onely excepted, that I intreated his Highnesse hee would not be displeased, for that which I spoke of Gold and Siluer; because I spoke it not that he had need of such things, or desired them, but because we would willingly honour him with temporall and spirituall things.

The answer of Mangu Chan, not well vnderstood and delivered by a drunken Interpreter.

Caracorum ten daies iourney from the Court of Mangu Chan, toward the North, as appeareth, Ch. 36.

Chap. 31. Of Pascha, of Mentz in Lotharingia, and William Bouchier the Goldsmith, a Parisian. Building in request.

They also reckon by Moones in East India.

Then he made vs rise, and sit downe againe; and after some few words, doing our dutie to him, we went out, and his Secretaries, and that Interpreter of his (who had the bringing vp of one of his Daughters) went together with vs. And they began to bee very inquisitiue of the Kingdome of France, whether there were many Rams, Oxen and Horses there, as if presently they should enter and take all. And oftentimes I was faine to bridle my selfe much, in dissembling anger and indignation. And I answered, There are many good things there which yee shall see, if yee happen to come thither. Then they appointed vs one, who should haue care of vs. And we went vnto the Monke: and when we came out againe, ready to goe to our lodging, the foresaid Interpreter came vnto vs; saying, Mangu Chan hath compassion on you, and giues you two moneths time to stay. Then the extreame cold will be past, and he sends to you: Here within ten daies iourney there is a good Citie, called Caracorum, if yee will go thither, he will cause necessarie things to be giuen you: but if yee will abide heere, yee may, and yee shall haue necessities: yet it will be a troublesome thing for you to follow the Court. And I answered: The Lord preserue Mangu Chan, and grant him a good and long life. We haue found this Monk heere, whom we thinke to be an holy man, and that by the good pleasure of God he came into these parts, wherefore we would willingly stay with him, because wee are Monkes, and wee would pray together for the life of Chan. Then he held his peace and departed. And we went vnto our house, which we found very cold, and without any Fuell, as yet fasting, and it was night. Then he, to whom we were recommended, provided vs Fuell, and a little meate. Our Guide was now to returne to Baatu, who desired a Carpet of vs; which (by his Commandement) we left in the Court of Baatu: which we gaue him, and he peaceably departed so, kissing our right hand, and confessing his fault, if he suffered vs to indure hunger and thirst vpon the way. We pardoned him, crauing pardon of him and his whole Family, if we had giuen them any euill example.

A Certaine Woman of Mentz in Lotharingia, called Pascha, found vs, who made vs great Acheere, according to her power, who belong to the Court of that Lady, which was a Christian, of whom I spoke before: who told vs of her strange pouertie which she indured before she came to the Court; but now she was well to liue, for she had a young Husband, a Rutenian, (by whom she had three very faire Children) who was skilfull in building, which amongst them is an excellent Art. Moreouer, she told vs, that at Caracorum, there was a certaine Goldsmith, called William, borne at Paris; whose surname was Bouchier, and his Fathers name Lawrence Bouchier, and she thinketh he hath a Brother yet vpon the Great Bridge, called Roger Bouchier. And she told me, that he had a certaine young man which he brought vp, whom hee accounted as his Son, who was an excellent Interpreter. But Mangu Chan deliuered to the foresaid Goldsmith, three hundred Iascots, that is, three thousand Markes, and fiftie Worke-men to make a piece of worke, so that she feared he could not send his Sonne vnto me. For she heard some say vnto her in the Court, The men which came from your Countrey are good men, and Mangu Chan would willingly speak vnto them, but their Interpreter is nothing worth: therefore she was carefull for an Interpreter. Then I writ vnto the foresaid Goldsmith, certifying him of my comming hither, and requesting him, that if he could, he would send me his sonne. And he wrote me answere, that he could not that Moone, but the next, his worke should bee perfected, and then he would send him vnto me. We stayed therefore with other Messengers. And it is otherwise with Messengers in Baatu's Court, then in the Court of Mangu Chan. For in the Court of Baatu, there is one Iani on the East side, who receiuet all such as come from the West, and so of other Countries of the world: But in the Court of Mangu, they are all together vnder one Iani, and they may see and visit one another. In Baatu's Court they know not one

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one another, and know not one of another, whether hee be a Messenger or no; because they know not one anothers lodging, nor see one another but in the Court: and when one is called, perchance another is not called. For they goe not to the Court, vnlesse they bee sent for. Wee found there a certaine Christian of *Damascus*, who said he came in behalfe of the *Soldan of Mons Regatis*, and of *Crac*; who desired to become friend and tributarie to the *Tartars*.

Crac is a strong
fortresse of the
Templars in
the holy Land.

THE yeare also before I came thither, there was a certaine Clerke of *Acon*, who called himselfe *Raimund*, but in truth his name was *Theodolus*; and he tooke his journey from *Cyprus* with *Frier Andrew*, and went with him into *Persia*, and got him certaine Instruments of *Amoritus* there in *Persia*, who abode there after *Frier Andrew*. *Frier Andrew* returning, hee went forward with his Instruments, and came to *Mangu Chan*: who being demanded wherefore he came, said, That he was with a certaine holy Bishop, to whom the Lord sent Letters from heauen, written in golden Characters, and commanded him to send them to the Emperour of the *Tartars*, because he should bee Lord of the whole Earth, and that he should perswade men to make peace with him. Then *Mangu* said vnto him; If thou hadst brought those Letters which came from heauen, and the Letters of thy Lord, then hadst beene welcome. Then he answered, That he brought Letters, but they were with other things of his, vpon a certaine wilde and pampered Gelding, which escaping fled from him through the Woods and Mountaines, so that he had lost all. And it is very true, that many such chances often happen: wherefore a man must very warily hold his Horse when he alighteth for necessitie. Then *Mangu* demanded the name of the Bishop. He said, he was called *Odo*. Whereupon he told him of *Damascus*, and *Master William*, who was Clerke of the Lord Legat. Then *Chan* demanded in whose Kingdome it was? To whom he made answer, That it was vnder a certaine King of the *Frankes*, called *Moles*: (for he had heard of that which happened at *Mallora*; and he would haue said, that they were of your Seruants) moreover, hee told *Chan* that the *Saracens* were betweene the *Frankes* and him, who hindred his way. But if the way had beene open, he would haue sent Messengers, and willingly haue made peace with him. Then *Mangu Chan* asked him, If hee would bring his Messengers to that King, and that Bishop? He told him he would, and also to the Pope. Then *Mangu* caused an exceeding strong Bow to bee made, which two men could scarce bend, and two Arrowes, whose heads were of Siluer, full of holes, which sing when they are shot like a whistle. And he inioyned *Moal* whom hee should send with the said *Theodolus*; Thou shalt goe to that King of the *Frankes*, to whom this man shall bring thee, and thou shalt present him with these in my behalfe, And if he will haue peace with vs, we will winne the Countrey vpon the *Saracens*, euen home to him, and will grant him the rest of the Countrey vnto the West: If otherwise, bring backe the Bow and Arrowes vnto vs, and tell him we shoot farre, and smite strongly with such Bowes. Then he caused *Theodolus* to goe forth, whose Interpreter *Master Williams Sonne* was, and in his hearing, he said vnto *Moal*. Thou shalt go with this man, marke well the Waies, the Countries, and their Castles, Men and Manition. Then the young man blamed *Theodolus*, saying, He had done ill, in conducting the Messengers of the *Tartars* with him, for they went for no other cause, but to spy. Then hee answered, That he would set them on the Sea; that they should not know whence they came, or which way to returne. *Mangu* gaue also vnto *Moal* his golden Bull, or Tablet, to wit, a plate of Gold of an hand-breadth, and halfe a cubit long, wherein his commandement is ingrauen: Who so carrieth that, may command what he will, and it is done without delay. So then *Theodolus* came to *Vastacius*, determining to passe ouer to the Pope, that he might deceiue the Pope, as he had deceiued *Mangu Chan*. Then *Vastacius* demanded of him, whether he had Letters to the Pope, because he was a Messenger, and should conduct the Messengers of the *Tartars*? But, not being able to shew the Letters, he tooke him and spoiled him of all that hee had gotten, and cast him in prison. And *Moal* fell sicke and dyed there. But *Vastacius* sent backe the golden Tablet to *Mangu Chan*, by the seruants of *Moal*: whom I met at *Assaron* in the entrance into *Turkie*, who told mee what happened to *Theodolus*. Such Cosners runne through the world, whom the *Moallians* kill when they can take them. Now the *Epiphany* was at hand, and that *Armenian Monke*, *Sergius* by name, told me, That he should baptize *Mangu Chan* vpon the Holy-day. I intreated him to labour by all meanes that I might be present, that I might beare witnesse that I saw it: and hee promised he would.

Chap. 32.
Of *Theodolus*
the Clerke of
Acon, how hee
deceiued *Mangu Chan*, and
was impriso-
ned of *Vastacius*.
Frier Andrew
went from *Cy-
prus* by *Persia*.
Blasphemous
flattery.

The Golden
Tablet of the
Emperor of
the *Tartars*.
Vastacius King
of *Pontus*.

Or, *Erferum*.

Sergius an *Ar-
menian* Monke.

Chap. 33.
Of *Mangu Chan*
holyday,
and how his
principall wife
and his eldest
sonne came to
the Diuine ce-
remonies of
the *Nestorians*,
and of their
the filthy bowings

THE feastiull day came, and the Monke called me not, but at fixe of the clocke I was sent for to the Court, and I saw the Monke with the Priests returning from the Court with his Crosse, and the Priests with the Censer and the Gospell. For that day *Mangu Chan* made a feast. And his custome is, that vpon such daies as his Sooth-sayers doe appoint vnto him feastiull, or with the *Nestorian* Priests sometimes make Holy-daies, that then he holds his Court: And vpon such daies the Christians come first with their furniture, and pray for him and blesse his Cup. They then departing, the *Saracen* Priests come and doe the like. Next after them, come the Idolatrous Priests and doe the same. And the Monke told me, that he onely beleeueth

the Christians, yet will haue all to pray for him; but he dyed, for he beleueth none, as you shall hereafter heare, yet all follow his Court, as flies doe Honey. And he giueth vnto all, and all men thinke they are his Familiars; and all prophesie prosperitie vnto him. Then wee sate before the Court a long space, and they brought vs flesh to eate. To whom I made answer, that we would not eate there, but if they would prouide vs meate, they should prouide it for vs at our house. Then they said, get yee home to your house; because you were invited for no other cause but to eate. Therefore we returned by the Monkes, who blushed at the Lye hee told me, wherefore I would not speake a word of that matter. Yet some of the *Nestorians* would affirme vnto mee, that he was baptized: to whom I said, that I would neuer beleue it, nor report it to others, seeing I saw it not.

The cold much
preuayleth.

The 13. of Ian.

Cotota Caten
the principall
Wife of Mangu
Chan.
Baliu the Son
of Mangu Chan.

We came to our cold and emptie house, they prouided vs bedding and Couerlets, they brought vs also fuell, and gaue vs three the carkasse of one little leane Ramme, meate for sixe dayes. And euery day a little Platter full of Millet, and lent vs a Caldron and a Triuet to boyle our flesh: which being sodden, we sod our Millet in the broath of the flesh. This was our meate, and it had well sufficed vs, if they had suffered vs to eate in peace. But there are so many hunger-starued, who are not prouided of meate: that, as soone as they saw vs dresse meate, they thrust in vpon vs, and must eate with vs. There I found by experience, how great a Martyrdome liberalitie is in pouertie. Then the cold began much to preuaile: and *Mangu Chan* sent vs three Pelt-coates of the Skinnes of *Papions* (*Papionum*), whose haire they turne outward; which we thankfully receiued. They demanded also, how we were prouided of necessary food? To whom I answered, that little meate sufficed vs, but we haue not an house wherein to pray for *Mangu Chan*. For our Cottage was so little, that we could scarce stand vpright in it, nor open our Bookes, as soone as wee made fire. Then they brought him word: and hee sent vnto the Monke to know, if hee would haue our company: who gladly answered, that hee would. From that time wee were prouided of a better house: and we went downe with the Monke before the Court, where none lodged but we, and their Sooth-sayers: but they lodged neerer, before the Palace of the greatest Lady: and wee in the furthest end towards the East, before the Palace of the last Lady. And that was done the day before *Ostabis Epiphania*. On the morrow (to wit) in *Ostabis Epiphania*, all the *Nestorian* Priests came together before day at the Chappell, and smote vpon a board, and sang Matines solemnely, and put on their Ornaments, preparing the Censer and the Incense.

And while they stayed wayting thus, behold, in the morning, the principall Wife *Cotota Caten* by name, (*Caten* is as much as *Ladie*, and *Cotota* her proper name) came into the Chappell with many other Ladies, and with her eldest Sonne, called *Baliu*, and other little ones of hers: And they cast themselues downe vpon the Earth, ducking after the manner of the *Nestorians*, and after this, they touched all the Images with their right hands, alwayes kissing their hands after they had touched, and after that, they gaue their right hands to all that stood about them in the Church. For this is the custome of the *Nestorians* when they come into the Church. Then the Priests sang many things, giuing the Lady Incense in her hand, and she put it vpon the fire: then they perfumed her. After this, when the day was cleere, shee began to put off the Ornament of her head, which is called *Baccha*: and I saw her bare scull, then shee commanded vs to goe forth, and as I went out, I saw a siluer Bason brought: whether they baptized her or no, I know not: but I know, they celebrate not Masse in a Tent, but in a standing Church. And in the Easter I saw them baptize, and hallow Fount with great Solemnitie, which now they did not.

And while we went into our house, *Mangu Chan* himselfe came, and went into the Church, or Oratory, and a Golden Bed was brought, on which hee sate by his Queene, ouer against the Altar. Then were we sent for, not knowing that *Mangu* was come. And the Doore-keepers searched vs, lest we should haue Knives about vs. But comming into the Oratory, hauing a Bible, and a Breuiary in my bosome, I first bowed downe vnto the Altar, and after to *Mangu Chan*: and so passing by, we stood betweene the Monke and the Altar. Then they made vs sing a Psalm after our manner, and chaunt it. But we sang of that prose, *Veni Sancte Spiritus, &c.* And *Chan* caused our Bookes to be brought vnto him, the Bible, and the Breuiarie: and diligently inquired concerning the Images, what they signified. The *Nestorians* answered him at their pleasure, because our Interpreter came not in with vs. And when I was first before him, I had the Bible in my bosome, which he commanded to be brought vnto him, who looked earnestly vpon it. Then he departed, and his Ladie remayned there, and distributed gifts to all the Christians there, shee gaue the Monke a *Iascor*, and to the Archdeacon of the Priests another: she caused a *Nassic* to be spread before vs (to wit) a piece of Cloth, as broad as a Couerlet of a Bed, very large, and a Buckeram, which when I would not receiue, they sent them to my Interpreter, who had them to himselfe. He brought the *Nassic* to *Cyprus*, which he sold for eightie Sultannies of *Cyprus*; but it was much the worle for the carriage. Then drinke was brought (to wit) drinke made of Rice and red Wine, like Wine of *Rechell*, and *Cosmos*. * Then the Ladie holding the cup full in her hand, desired blessing vpon her knees, and all the Priests sing with a loud voyce, and shee drunke

* *Vnum buche-
yanum.*

* *Cosmos of
Mares Milke,
Vid. sup.*

it, vp: and I and my companion must sing. Another time, when all of them were almost drunke, then meate was brought (to wit) the carcase of one Ramme which was presently deuoured: and after that, great filhes, which are called Carpes, without Salt, or Bread: whereof I eate a little, so they passed the day, vntill the Euening. And when the Lady her selfe was drunke, she tooke her Chariot (the Priests singing) and went her way. The next Sunday, when (*There was a Marriage in Cana of Galily*) is read for the Gospell; *Chan* Sonne came (whose Mother was a Christian) and did the like, but not with so great Solemnitie. For he gaue no gifts, but made the Priests drunke, till they were drunke, and gaue them parched Millet to eate.

January 20.

Before the first Sunday in Lent, the Nestorians fast three dayes, which they call the Fast of Io-
nas, which he preached to the Niniuites. And the Armenians fast five dayes; which they call the Fast of Saint Sorkis, which is the greatest Saint amongst them.

The Nestorians beginne their Fast vpon Tuesday, and end it vpon Thursday; so that vpon Friday they eate flesh. And all that time I saw the Chancelor (to wit, the great Secretarie of State called *Bulgai*) make them a pittance of flesh vpon the Friday; and they blessed the flesh with great Solemnitie, as the Paschall Lambe is blessed: but he eate none with them, and this I learned of *Willielmus Parisiensis*, who was his very familiar friend. The Monke sent to *Mangu* to fast that weeke, which (as I heard) hee did: so that on the Sabbath of *Septuagesima* (at which time it is as it were Easter to the Armenians) wee went on Procession to the house of *Mangu*: and the Monke, and we two (being first searched whether wee had Knives) went in
20 with the Priests, before him. And while we went in, one of the Seruants went forth, carrying out the shoulder bones of Rammes, burnt to the blacknesse of Coales. Whereupon I maruelled greatly, what it should meane, whereof after I had inquired, I vnderstood, that hee neuer doth any thing, before he haue consulted with those bones. Whereupon hee doth not so much as suffer a man to enter his house, but first consulteth with that bone, which kind of Diuination, is thus done.

When he purposeth to doe any thing, he causeth three of those bones to be brought vnto him vnburnt; and holding them he thinketh of the thing, whereof he will consult, whether he may doe it or not: and then deliuereth the bones to bee burnt, and there are alwayes two little Roomes, hard by the house where he lyes, where those bones are burnt; which are diligently
30 sought for euery day thorow all the Leskar or Tent-dwelling. When they are burnt blacke, they bring them vnto him, then hee lookes vpon them, whether the bones (by the heate of the fire) be cleft right length-ways: then the way is open, that he may do it. But if the bones be cracked athwart, or round pieces flye out of them, then he doth it not; for the bone is alwayes cleft in the fire, or the thinne skin which ouer-spreadeth it. And if one of the three be cleft forth right, yet he doth it. When therefore wee went in before him (aduised before, that wee should not touch the threshold) the Nestorian Priests brought him Incenses, and he put it vpon the Censor, and they censured him. Then they sung, blessing his cup, and after them the Monke pronounced his blessing, and we must blesse last. And when he saw vs holding the Bible before our brest, he caused it to be brought vnto him, that he might see it, which hee diligently looked vpon. Then
40 after he had drunke, and the chiefe Priest had wayted on his Cup, they gaue the Priests drinke: After that, we went forth, and my companion stayed last. And when wee were without, my companion (when hee should haue gone out after vs) turned his face to *Chan*, bowing himselfe vnto him: and then, hastily following vs, he stumbled at the threshold of the house.

And when we went in haste toward the house of *Baltu* his eldest Sonne, they that obserued the threshold, layd hands on my companion, and made him stay, that hee should not follow vs, calling one, and commanding him to carrie him to *Bulgai*, who is the great Secretary of the Court, and iudgeth those that are arraigned of life and death. But I knew it not, yet when I looked backe, and saw him not comming, I thought they detayned him, to giue him some lighter garments: For he was weake, and so laden with Pelt-garments that he could scarce goe. Then
50 they called our Interpreter, and made him sit with him: but wee went to *Chan* eldest Sonnes house, who had two Wiues, and was lodged at the right side of his Fathers Court: who as soone as he saw vs comming, leaping from his bed whereon he sate, cast himselfe vpon the earth, smiting his fore-head against the ground, worshipping the Crosse, and arising, caused it to be set vpon a new cloth, in an high place by him, very honourably. He hath a Schoolemaster, a Nestorian Priest called *David*, a very Drunkard, who teacheth him. Then he made vs sit, and giue the Priests drinke, and hee also dranke, receiuing the blessing from them. Then wee went vnto the Court of the second Lady, which was called *Cora*, who followed Idolaters: whom wee found lying sicke a bed. Then the Monke made her rise out of her bed, and worship the Crosse, bowing her knees thrice, and ducking toward the ground: he standing with the Crosse at the West-
60 side of the house, and she on the East: this being done, they changed places, and the Monke went with the Crosse vnto the East, and shee vnto the West. And hee boldly commanded her (although she were so weake, that she could scarce stand vpon her feet) that shee should cast herselfe downe thrice againe, and worship the Crosse, toward the East after the manner of the Christians: which she did, and he taught her to make the signe of the Crosse vpon her forehead.

Of the Fast of the Nestorians, and Armenians, and of their Processions vnto the Court of *Mangu Chan* his eldest Son, and Wiues. Saint Sorkis. Lent. *Mangu Chan* Court visited with Processions.

How they diuine by the shoulder blades of Rammes burnt blacke. In *M. Ienkinson* Voyage among the Tartars, ye may reade of such a Diuination.

Threshold-Superstition. They doe the like in Florida.

Baltus Court who was eldest Son of *Mangu Chan*.

After

After she lay downe vpon her bed, and praying for her, we went vnto the third house, where a Christian Lady vsed to be: who being dead, a young woman succeeded her, who together with the Daughter of her Lord, ioyfully receiued vs: and all that whole house reuerently worshipped the Crosse. And she set it vpon a Veluet cloth in an high place, and shee caused meate to bee brought (to wit) the carcase of one Ramme, which being set before the Ladie, shee caused it to be distributed to the Priests. But I and the Monke were very warie of the meate and drinke, for the meate being eaten, and much drinke drunke, wee were to goe to the Damosell *Cerina*, who lodged behind that great house, which was her Mothers: who at the comming in of the Crosse, cast her selfe vpon the Earth, and worshipped it very deuoutly, because shee had bene well taught so to doe, and shee set it in a high place, vpon a piece of silke. And all those clothes 10 whereon the Crosse was set, were the Monkes.

The Court of the third Lady. The Armenians and Nestorians are ashamed to shew Christ fastned to the Crosse. *Mangu* built a Church. The Court of the fourth Lady.

Drunkenesse not reprocable among the Tartars.

Chap. 35. How Lady *Cota* was cured of *Sergius* the counterfeit Monke. Licence is granted him to carrie the Crosse aloft.

Rubarbe and the Crosse Miracle-workers with credulous Superstition. Holy water not knowne in the East.

Sergius, the Armenians Lye.

A certaine *Armenian* brought this Crosse who came with the Monke (as he said) from *Hiernsalem*; and it was of siluer, weighing about some foure markes; and it had foure Precious Stones in the corners, and one in the middle. It had not the Image of our Sauour (because the *Armenians* and the *Nestorians* are ashamed, that Christ should appeare nayled to the Crosse) and hee had presented it (by the Monke) to *Mangu Chan*. And *Mangu* demanded of him what hee desired? to whom he answered, That he was the Sonne of an *Armenian* Priest, whose Church the *Saracens* had destroyed, and craued his helpe for the building againe of that Church. Then hee asked him, for how much it might be built againe: he answered, for two hundred lascots (that is) for two thousand markes: and he commanded Letters to be giuen him, to him who receiued the 20 Tribute in *Persia*, and *Armenia* the greater, that they should pay him the said summe of siluer. This Crosse the Monke carried with him euery where. And the Priests seeing the gaine thereof, began to enuie him. Wee were therefore in the house of the said Damosell, and shee gaue the Priests much drinke. From hence wee went vnto the fourth house, which was the last in number and honour. For he vsed not to come often to that Ladie, and her house was very old, and her selfe nothing gracious. But after Easter *Chan* made her a new house, and new Chariots. She likewise as the second knew little or nothing of Christianitie, but followed Soothsayers, and Idolaters. Yet at our comming in, shee worshipped the Crosse, as the Monke and the Priests taught her. There also the Priests dranke againe. And from that place wee returned to our Oratorie, which was neere thereabouts: the Priests accompanying vs with great howling and out-cryes in their drunkenesse, which there is reprehensible neither in man nor woman. 30 Then my fellow was brought home, and the Monke sharply rebuked him because he touched the threshold. On the morrow *Bulgai* came (who was a Iustice) and diligently inquired, whether any had warned vs to take heed of touching the threshold. And I answered, Sir, wee had not our Interpreter with vs: how could we vnderstand? Then hee pardoned him. But would neuer after suffer him to come into any of the houses of *Mangu Chan*.

IT happened afterwards, that the same Ladie *Cota*, which was sicke about *Septuagesima*, was sicke almost vnto death: and diuination by Lots of the Idolaters could profit her nothing. Then *Mangu* sent vnto the Monke, demanding of him, what might bee done for her. And the Monke indiscreetly answered, that if shee were not cured, hee should cut off his head, hauing made that answere, the Monke called vs, declaring the matter vnto vs with teares, intreating to watch with him that night in Prayer: which we did. And he had a certayne Roote which is called Rubarbe; and hee cut it almost to powder, and put it in water, with a little Crucifixe which he had, wherein the Image of our Sauour was aduanced: whereof he reported, that by it he knew, when the sicke should recouer or dye. For if they should escape, it stucke to the breest of the sicke, as if it were glued, if otherwise it stucke not at all. And I still thought that Rubarbe had bene some holy Relike, which he had brought from the Holy Land of *Hiernsalem*. And he gaue all sicke persons of that water to drinke: so that it could not bee, but their bowels should be griped with so bitter a Potion: which alteration in their bodies they accounted a Miracle. Then I told him (when he was about to make such a water) that hee should prepare some of that Holy water, which is made in the Church of *Rome*, which hath great vertue to expell 50 Deuils: because I vnderstood shee was vexed of a Deuill. And at his intreatie, wee made him some Holy water, and he mingled Rubarbe, and put his Crucifixe all the whole night in the water to temper it. I said moreouer, that if hee were a Priest, that the Order of Priest-hood hath great power to expell Deuils. And he said it was very true, and yet hee lyed, because hee had no order, nor knew any one Letter: but was a Weaver, as I vnderstood after, in his Countrey, when I returned. On the morrow therefore I, and the Monke, and two *Nestorian* Priests went vnto the foresaid Ladie. And shee was in a little house, behind her greater house. When wee came in, shee late in her bed, and worshipped the Crosse, and set it honourably by her vpon a cloth of Silke, and drunke of the blessed water with Rubarbe, and washed her breest. And the Monke requested me to reade a Gospell ouer her, so I read the Passion of our Lord according vnto *Iohn*. At length she was cheered, and felt her selfe better: and shee caused foure lascots to bee brought, which she first layd at the feet of the Crosse, and after gaue me to the Monke, and reached 60

ched me one, which I would not receiue. Then the Monke stretching forth his hand, tooke it, and gaue either of the Priests one: so that, at that time shee gaue fortie Markes. Then shee caused Wine to be brought, and gaue it the Priests to drinke; and I must drinke thrice from her hand, in honour of the Trinitie. Shee began also to teach mee the Language, jesting with mee, because I was dumbe, not hauing any Interpreter.

On the morrow we returned to her againe. And *Mangu Chan* hearing that we came that way, made vs come in vnto him, because hee vnderstood that the Lady was somewhat better; and we found him with a few seruants, supping liquid Tam, to wit, meat made of paste, for comforting the head: and the burnt shoulder-blades of a Ram lay before him: and he tooke the Crosse in his hand, but that hee kissed or worshipped it, I saw not: but looked vpon it, and asked some questions, I know not what. Then the Monke craued leaue to carry the Crosse aloft vpon a Lance; because I had spoken to the Monke before concerning this. And *Mangu* answered, Carry it as you thinke best to doe it. Then doing our duty to him, wee went to the foresaid Ladie, and we found her lustie and cheerfull; and she still drunke of the blessed Water, and wee read the Passion ouer her. And those miserable Priests neuer taught her the Faith, nor aduised her to bee baptised. But I sate there mute, not able to speake any thing; but shee still taught me the Language: and the Priests neuer find fault with any kind of Sorcerie. For there I saw foure swords halfe drawne out of the sheath, one at the head of the Ladies bed, another at the feet, and two other, on either side of the doore one. I saw also there one silver Chalice, of our Chalices, which peradventure was taken or stolne out of some Church of *Hungary*; and it hung against the walls full of ashes, and vpon those ashes there was a blacke stone. And concerning such things, the Priests neuer teach them that they are euill: Nay, they themselves doe, and teach such things. We visited her three daies, so that shee was restored to perfect health. After that, the Monke made a Banner full of Crosse, and got a Cane as long as a Lance, and we carried the Crosse aloft. I honored him as my Bishop, because hee could speake the Language; yet hee did many things which pleased me not: for he caused a Chaire which may be folded to bee made for him, such as Bishops vse to haue, and Gloues, and a Cap of Peacocks feathers, and vpon it a little Crosse of gold: I was well pleased with the Crosse. Hee had scabbed feete, which hee laboured to grace with ointments, and was very presumptuous in speech. The *Nestorians* also repeated certaine Verses of the Psalter (as they said) vpon two rods, which were ioyned together, being held of two men. The Monke was present at such things. And many other vanities appeared in him, which displeased me. Yet wee ioyned our selues to his societie for the honor of the Crosse. For we carried the Crosse aduanced through all the Tents singing: *Vexilla Regis prodeunt, &c.* Wherevpon the *Saracens* were much dismayed.

Since we came to the Court of *Mangu Chan*, he rode but twice towards the South: and from that time he beganne to returne towards the North, which was toward *Caracorum*. Wherevpon I noted all the way, a thing of which Master *Baldwin* of *Hannonia* had spoken to mee at *Constantinople* (who was there) that he had seene this onely wonderfull, that he alwaies ascended in going, and neuer descended. For all Riuer came from the East into the West, either directly or indirectly (that is to say) bending towards the South or North. And I enquired of the Priests which came from *Cataya*, who testified this same. From that place where I found *Mangu Chan*, vnto *Cataya*, were twentie daies iourney, going towards the South and East. To *Onan Kerule*, which is the proper Countrey of *Moall*, where the Court of *Chingis* is, were ten daies iourney right East. And in those parts of the East there was no Citie: yet there were people which are called *Su-Moall*, that is to say, *Moall of the Waters*: for *Su* is as much to say as *Water*. These people live vpon Fish, and hunting, hauing neither Flocks nor Herds. Towards the North likewise, there is no Citie, but a poore people feeding Cattell, who are called *Kerkis*. The *Orangei* are also there, who binde smoothe filed bones vnder their feete, and thrust themselves forward vpon the congealed Snow and Ice, with such swiftnesse, that they take Birds and Beasts. And many other poore people there are on the North side, so farre as they may spread themselves for the cold. And they ioyne on the West, with the Countrey of *Pascatir*, which is *Hungaria the Greater*, whereof I haue spoken before. The bound or limit of the North corner is not knowne, for the extremitie of the cold: for in that place there are continuall spires or heapes of Snow. I was inquisitiue of the Monsters or monstrous men, whereof *Isidorus* and *Solinus* make report. They told me they neuer saw any such, whereof we much wonder, whether it bee true or no. All the Nations afore said (although but poore) yet they must serue in some trade: for it was the commandement of *Chingis*, that none should bee free from seruice, till hee were so old, that he could labour no longer, by any meanes. Vpon a time a certaine Priest of *Cataya* sate with mee, clothed with a red coloured cloth; and I demanded of him whence hee had such a colour. And he told me, that in the East parts of *Cataya* there were high craggie Rocks, wherein certaine Creatures dwell, hauing in all parts the shape of men, but that they bow not the knees, but walke (I know not how) leaping: which are not aboue one cubit long, and their whole body is couered with haire; who haue their abode in Caves which no man can come vnto. And they of Apes, or else an embleme or Apish fable, and perhaps by the *Shimon* inuented, to sell their wares the

Most precious
Purple
Carmine
the Ocean
Tawny
(a) who dwell
in
the
the
Sorcerie of
foure swords

The Crosse
carried aloft.

Chap. 36.
A description
of the Coun-
tries about the
Court of *Man-
gu Chan*, and of
their manner
of writing, and
their money.

Chap. 3.
Al Riuer ben-
ding towards
the South and
North runne
towards the
West.

Chap. 15.
Su-Moal, the
Water Tartars
to the East, li-
uing vpon fish.
Kerkis.
Orangei.
Pascatir on the
West.

Chap. 19.
Muteuma
commanded
the like in *No-
ua Hispania*.
*A description
dearer.

that

Most precious
Purple.
Cataia vpon
the Ocean.
Taute and Man-
se, who dwell
in Ilands,
whose Sea
freezeth in
the Winter.
Cataia paper
money.
The manner of
writing in Ca-
taia like that
of China.
The people of
Tbeber.
Their manner
of writing in
Tangut and In-
gur.
The money of
the Rutenians.
Chap. 37.
Of the second
fast of the East,
in Lent. The
Monke is re-
proued for the
multitude of
those that
came vnto
him.

that hunt them goe vnto them, and carry strong drinke with them, as strong as they can make, and make pirs in the Rocks like Cups, filling them with that strong drinke. For *Cataia* as yet hath no Wine (but now they beginne to plant Vineyards) for they make drinke of Rice. The Hunters therefore hide themselves, then the foresaid Creatures come out of their holes, and taste the said drinke, and crie *Chin-chin*. Then they come together in great multitudes and drinke the said drinke, and are made drunke, so that they sleepe there. Then the Hunters come, and bind them hand and feete while they are sleeping; and after, they open the Veine in their necke, and draw forth three or foure drops of bloud from euery one, and let them goe free. And that bloud (as he told me) is most precious to die purple.

He told it also for truth (which neuerthelesse I doe not beleue) that there is a Prouince beyond *Cataia*, into the which, at whatsoeuer age a man enters, he continueth in the same age wherein he entered. *Cataia* is vpon the Ocean. And Master *Willielmus Parisiensis* told me, that the same Messengers of certaine people which are called *Taute* and *Manse*, who inhabit Ilands, whose Sea is frozen in the winter, so that the *Tartars* may inuade them; who offered two thousand Tumen or Iascots yeerely, so they would let them liue in peace. Tumen is a piece of money containing ten Markes. The common money of *Cataia* is Paper made of Bombaste, the breadth and length of an hand, vpon the which they imprint lines, like the Seale of *Mangu*. They write with a Penfill wherewith Painters paint; and in one figure they make many letters comprehending one word. The people of *Thebet* write as we doe, and they haue Characters very like ours. They of *Tangut* write from the right hand vnto the left, as the *Arabians*, and multiply the lines ascending vpward. *Ingur*, as aforesaid, from aboute downeward. The common money of the *Rutenians* are little spotted and griseld skins. When we came with the Monke, hee charitably admonished vs to abstaine from flesh; and that our seruants should eate flesh with his seruants; but he would promise vs Meale, and Oyle or Butter. Which wee did, though it much grieved my Companion, by reason of his weakenesse: wherefore our foode was Millet and Butter, or Paste sodden in water with Butter, or sowre Milke, and vnleauened bread baked in Oxedung, or Horse-dung.

NOW *Quinquagesima* came, which is the Lent-time to all the people of the East. And the greatest Ladie *Cotota* with all her company, fasted that weeke, who came euery day to our Oratorie; and gaue meate vnto the Priests, and other Christians, whereof a great multitude flocked thither the first weeke, to heare their dutie. And she gaue to me and my Companion, to each a Coate and Breeches of gray. Samit (Samito) furred with course haire (Stuppa setz) because my companion complained much of the weight of his Skinnies, which I receiued for my fellowes comfort, excusing my selfe neuerthelesse, that I would not weare such clothes. I gaue to my Interpreter what belonged to me. Then the Porters of the Court seeing that so great a multitude came daily to the Church, which was within the bounds of the keepers of the Court, they sent one of their fellowes vnto the Monke, declaring vnto him, that they would not haue so great a multitude come together within the precincts of the Court. Then the Monke roughly answered, that he would know whether they commanded this from *Mangu Chan*? hee added moreouer certaine threatening speeches, as if he would accuse them to *Mangu Chan*. Then they preuenting him, accused him before *Mangu*; That he was too full of words, and that he gathered together too great a multitude to heare him speake. Afterward, the first Sunday in Lent, being called to the Court (and the Monke being shamefully demanded whether hee had a Knife, inso much that he put off his shooes) wee came in before *Chan* himselfe, who hauing the burnt shoulder-blade of a Ramme in his hand, looked vpon it, and (as it were) reading in it, began to reprove the Monke, demanding, that seeing he was a man that should pray vnto God, why hee spoke so much with men? but I stood behind with my head bare: and *Chan* saying vnto him, Why dost thou not put off thy Cap, when thou comest before me, as that *Francke* doth? and commanded me to be called neerer. Then the Monke being much abashed, put off his Cap; contrary to the custome of the *Greekes* and *Armenians*. And when *Chan* himselfe had spoken many things sharply vnto him, wee went out. Then the Monke deliuered me the Crosse to beare to the Oratorie, because he could not carry it for shame.

After a few daies he was reconciled vnto him, promising that he would goe to the Pope, and that he would bring all the Nations of the West to his obedience. Whereupon, he returning to the Oratorie after that conference had with *Chan*, began to enquire of mee touching the Pope, if I beleued he would see him if he came vnto him in the behalfe of *Mangu*, and if hee would furnish him with Horses vnto Saint *Iames*? He demanded also of you, if I thought you would send your sonne vnto *Mangu*? Then I counsailed him, that he should take heede that hee did not promise lyes to *Mangu*, because the last errour should bee worse then the first; and that God needeth not our lyes, that we should speake deceitfully for him.

At that time there arose a certaine question betweene the Monke and a Priest called *Tonas*, a Learned man, whose father was an Archdeacon, and the other Priests accounted him for a Master and an Archdeacon. For the Monke said, That man was created before Paradise, and that the

the Scripture said so. Then was I called to bee an arbitrator of that question. But I being ignorant that they contended about this, answered, that Paradise was made vpon Tuesday, when the other Trees were made, and that Man was made the sixth day. Then the Monke began to say, Did not the Deuill bring earth the first day from the foure parts of the world; and making clay made the bodie of man therewith, and God inspired his soule? Then hearing this Hæresie of the Monke, and that he so publickly and shamelesly recited it, I reprovèd him sharply, saying, he should put his finger vpon his mouth, because he knew not the Scriptures, and that he should take heed, that he said it not, whereby he might be faulty: And he began to mocke me, because I was ignorant of the Language. I departed therefore from him, going to our house. It fell out afterwards, that he and the Priests went on Proceßion to the Court, without calling mee; because the Monke spake not to me for the foresaid reproofe, nor would he carrie me with him, as he was wont. When therefore they came before *Mangu*, (I being not seene among them) hee earnestly demanded where I was, and why I came not with them? The Priests fearing, excused themselves. But returning, they told me the words of *Mangu*, and murmured at the Monke. After this, the Monke was reconciled to me, and I to him, intreating him, that he would helpe me with his Language, and I would helpe him in the holy Scripture. For a brother that is helper of a brother, is as a strong Citie. After the first weeke of fasting, the Ladie ceased to come vnto the Oratorie, and to giue meat, and drinke, which wee were wont to haue, for the Monke suffered it not to be brought, saying, that Mutton fat or Suet was put in the confection thereof: and shee gaue no Oyle, but very seldome: so that we had nothing but browne Bread, and past boyling in water, that we might suppe broath; because we had no water, but of dissolved Snow, or of Ice, which was exceeding nought. Then my Companion began to be much grieved: so I acquainted *Dauid* (the Schoole-master of *Chani* eldest sonne) with our necessities, who made report thereof to *Chan*: and he commanded to giue vs Wine, Flowre, and Oyle. Neither the *Nestorians*, nor the *Armenians*, eate fish, by any meanes, in the Lent. Then they gaue vs a bottle of Wine. The Monke said he would not eate but on the Sunday: and then the Ladie her selfe sent meat of boyled paste with vinegar to suppe. But he had a Chist by him vnder the Altar, whensoever hee was alone. Wee ate once a day, and that in great affliction: for as soone as they knew, that *Mangu Chan* had giuen vs Wine, most impudently they came in vpon vs like Dogs, both the *Nestorian* Priests, who were drunke all the day in the Court, and the *Moalians* also, and the seruants of the Monke. The Monke also, when any came vnto him, to whom he would giue drinke, he sent to vs for Wine. So that, the Wine caused our greater affliction then comfort; because wee could not denie it without offence. If wee gaue, wee wanted our selues, nor durst we, that being spent, desire any more from the Court.

Monkes, Manichean blasphemie of the Creation.

Snow-water, or water of Ice, exceeding naught. No fish eaten in Lent.

Hypocriticall feast-fast.

About mid-lent Master *Williams* sonne came, bringing with him a faire siluer Crosse, made after the French fashion, hauing the Image of Christ all of siluer fastened vpon it at the top: which the Monkes and Priests seeing, put it away: this Crosse hee was to present in the behalfe of his Master to *Bulgai*, who was the chiefe Secretarie of the Court: which when I heard, I was offended. The same young man also declared to *Mangu Chan*, that the worke which he commanded to be made, was finished, which worke I described vnto you. *Mangu* hath at *Caracatum* a great Court, hard by the walls of the Citie, enclosed with a bricke-wall; as the Priories of Monkes are enclosed with vs. In that place, there is a great Palace, wherein he holdeth his drinkings twice a yeere: once in Easter, when hee passeth that way, and once in Summer, when he returneth. And this latter is the greater: because then all the Nobles (who dwell farre some two moneths iourney off in any place) meet together at his Court. And then hee giues vnto them gifts and garments, and shewes his great glorie. There are many other houses there, as large as Granges, wherein his victuals, and treasures are stored. In the entrance of that great Palace (because it was vnseemely to bring in bottles of Milke, and other drinckes) Master *William Parisiensis* made him a great siluer Tree, at the root whereof were foure siluer Lions, hauing one Pipe sending forth pure Cowes milke, and the foure Pipes were conuayed within the Tree, vnto the top thereof: whose tops spread backe againe downward: and vpon euery one of them was a golden Serpent, whose tayles twine about the bodie of the Tree. And one of those Pipes runs with Wine, another with Caracasmus, that is, clarified Whay; another with Ball, that is, drinke made of Honey, another with drinke made of Rice, called *Teracina*. And euery drinke hath his vessell prepared of siluer, at the foot of the Tree, to receiue it. Betweene those foure Pipes in the top, he made an Angell holding a Trumpet; and vnder the Tree, he made an hollow vault, wherein a man might be hid; and a Pipe ascendeth through the heart of the Tree vnto the Angell. Hee first made Bellowes, but they gaue not wind enough. Without the Palace there is a Chamber, wherein the drinckes are layd, and there are seruants readie there to powre it out, when they heare the Angell sounding the Trumpet. And the boughes of the Tree are of siluer, and the leaues and Peares. When therefore they want drinke, the Master Butler cryeth to the Angell, that he found the Trumpet. Then he hearing (who is hid in the

Chap. 38. A Description of the worke of William Bonchier, and of the Palace of *Mangu Chan* at *Caracatum*, into which Citie they entred on Palm-sunday.

Two moneths iourney.

The Description of a most artificiall siluer Tree.

the Vault) blowes the Pipe strongly, which goeth to the Angell. And the Angell sets his Trumpet to his mouth, and the Trumpet soundeth very shrill. Then the Seruants hearing, which are in the chamber, euery of them powre forth their drink into their proper Pipe, and the Pipes powre it forth from aboue, and they are receiued below in Vessels prepared for that purpose: Then the Butlers draw them, and carry them through the Palace, to men and women.

The description
of the Pa-
lace.

And the Palace is like a Church, hauing the middle Ile, and the two sides beyond the two reues of Pillars, and three gates on the South. And within before the middle gate stands the tree. And *Chan* himselfe sitteth in the North front, in an high place, that hee may bee seene of all. And there are two degrees of steps ascending vnto him, by the one, he that carryeth his cup commeth vp vnto him, and by the other he descendeth. That space which is in the middle, betwene the tree and the steps whereby they ascend vnto him, is voyde. For there standeth hee that wayteth on his Cup, and the Messengers, which bring Presents. And hee sitteth there aboue like a God. On the right side (to wit) toward the West are the men: on the left women. For the Palace stretcheth it selfe out in length from North to South by the Pillars. On the right side are places full of seates lifted vp, like the Sellar of an house, whereon his Sonnes and Brethren sit. On the left side is the like, where his Wiues and Daughters sit. One only woman sitteth there aboue by him, but not so high as hee. When therefore hee had heard, that the Worke was finished, hee commanded the chiefe Workeman to set it in his place, and make it fit.

The Sunday in
the Passion he
goeth towards
Caracorum.

And about Passion Sunday, hee went before with small houses, leauing his greater houses behind: And the Monke and we followed him; and he sent vs another Bottle of Wine. And hee passed betwene the hilly Countries, where there was great wind, and an extreame cold, and there fell a great Snow. Whereupon hee sent about mid-night to the Monke and vs, intreating vs to pray vnto God, that hee would mitigate that wind and cold, because all the beasts which were in the trayne were in ieopardie, especially because all that time they were with young and readie to bring forth. Then the Monke sent him Incense, requiring him to put it on the coales and offer it to God: which, whether he did, I know not. But the Tempest ceased, which had now continued two dayes, and now the third day drew neere. On Palme Sunday we were neere *Caracorum*: In the dawning of the day we blessed the Willow boughes, whereon as yet there appeared no bud, and about nine of the clocke we entred the Citie, carrying the Crosse aloft with the Banner, passing through the middle of the street of the *Saracens*, 30

They enter *Caracorum* on
Palme Sunday

where the Market and Faires are vnto the Church: and the *Nestorians* met vs on Procession. And entring into the Church, we found them prepared to celebrate the Masse: which being celebrated, they all communicated, and they asked mee, whether I would communicate? I answered that I had drunke before, and the Sacrament should not be receiued but fasting. Masse being said, it was now Euening. Master *William* brought vs with great ioy to his Inne to sup with him: who had a Wife, the Daughter of a *Lotharingian*, borne in *Hungarie*, who could speake the *French* and the Language of *Comania*. We found also there a certayne other man called *Basilus*, the Sonne of an *Englishman*, borne in *Hungarie*, who also was skilfull in the foresaid Languages. Supper being ended, they brought vs to our Cottage, which the *Tartars* had appointed vs, in a certayne plat of ground neere the Church, with the Oratory of the Monke. On the morrow *Chan* himselfe entred into his Palace. And the Monke and I, and the Priests went vnto him. They suffered not my companion to goe, because he stumbled at the threshold. I much deliberated with my selfe what I should doe, whether I should goe or no. And fearing offence, if I should depart from other Christians, and because it pleased him: and fearing lest that good might be hindred, which I hoped to obtaine, I chose rather to go, although I saw their actions full of Sorcery and Idolatrie: nor did I any other thing there, but pray for the whole Church with a loud voyce, and also for *Chan* himselfe, that God would direct him to the way of eternall saluation. We therefore went into that Court which was sufficiently ordered. And in the Summer Riuer is conueyed into euery place, whereby it is watered. After this we entred into the Palace, full of men and women, and stood before *Chan*, hauing the foresaid Tree at our backs, which with the Vessels thereof tooke vp a great part of the Palace. The Priests brought two little Loaves, and fruit in a Platter, which they presented vnto him, blessing them. And the Butler brought them vnto him sitting aloft in a very high place, much raised. And hee presently began to eate one of the Loaves, and sent another to his Sonne, and to a certayne yonger Brother of his, who was brought vp by a certayne *Nestorian*, and knew the Gospell, who also sent for my Bible, that he might see it. After the Priests the Monke said his Prayer, and I, after the Monke. Then he promised, that the next day he would come vnto the Church, which is great enough, and faire, and all the feeling aboue was couered with filke wrought with Gold. The next day he went his way, willing the Priests to excuse him, that he durst not come to the Church, because he vnderstood the dead were carried thither. But we, and the Monke remayned at *Caracorum*, and other Priests of the Court, that they might celebrate Easter there. 60

Mangu Chan
departeth
from *Caracorum*.

Maundie

MAundie Thursday drew neere, and Easter, and I had not our Vestments, and I considered the manner how the *Nestorians* made the Sacramentall Bread, and I was much troubled, what I should doe; whether I should receiue the Sacrament of them, or should celebrate it in their Vestments, and Chalice, and vpon their Altar, or should altogether abstayne from the Sacrament. Then there were a great multitude of *Christians, Hungarians, Alanians, Rutenians, Georgians*, and *Armenians*; all which had not seene the Sacrament since they were taken: because the *Nestorians* would not admit them to their Church, vnlesse they were baptized of them, as they said, yet they made no mention of this to vs. And they offered their Sacrament freely to vs, and made me stand in the doore of the Quire, that I might see their manner of Consecration. And also on the Vigill or Euen before Easter, by the Font, that I might see their manner of baptizing. They say, they haue of that Oyntment, wherewith *Mary Magdalene* anoynted the feet of our Lord, and they power in as much of that Oyle, with that which they lay aside, and kneade their bread therewith. For all those people of the East put fat in their bread, in stead of Leuen or Butter, or Suet of a sheepes tayle, or Oyle.

They say also that they haue of the flowre, whereof the bread was made, which the Lord consecrated: and alwayes powre out so much Oyle with it, as the flowre they lay aside. And they haue a Chamber hard by their Quire, and an Ouen, where they bake the bread, which they must consecrate with great reuerence. They therefore make one Loafe of an hand breadth, with the foresaid Oyle, which they first breake into twelue pieces, according to the number of the Apostles: and after diuide those pieces, according to the multitude of the people: and the Priest giues the bodie of Christ to euery one in his hand. And then euery man taketh it out of the Palme of his hand with reuerence, and stretcheth his hand to the top of his head.

The foresaid Christians, and the Monke himselfe were very earnest, intreating vs for Gods sake, that wee would celebrate. Then I made them bee confessed, by an Interpreter, as I could, reckoning vp the tenne Commandements, and the seuen deadly Sinnes, and other things, for the which a man ought to bee grieued, and confessed. All of them publikely excused themselves concerning Theft, saying, that without Theft they could not liue, because their Masters provided them neither food nor rayment. Then considering, that they had taken away the persons and their substance without iust cause, I said vnto them, that they might lawfully take necessaries, of the goods of their Masters, and I was readie to maintayne it to the face of *Mangu Chan*.

Some of them also were Souldiers, who excused themselves, that they must needs goe to the Warres, or else they should bee slaine; I firmly forbad them to goe against the Christians, and that they should not hurt them, they should rather suffer themselves to bee slaine, for so they should become Martyrs. And I said, that if any would accuse mee of this Doctrine before *Mangu Chan*, I would bee readie to preach the same in his hearing. For the *Nestorians* themselves of the Court were present, when I taught this; of whom I was suspicious, least they should report ill of vs. Then Master *William* caused an Iron to bee made for vs, to make Hosts, and hee had certayne Vestments which hee had made for himselfe: for he had some knowledge in Learning, and behaued himselfe as a Clerke. Hee caused the Image of the blessed Virgin *Marie* to bee grauen after the French fashion, and ingraued the History of the Gospell (in the Casements) very faire, and made a certayne siluer Boxe, to lay vp the bodie of Christ therein, and the Reliques, in certayne little holes cunningly made in the sides of the Boxe.

Hee made also a certayne Oratorie vpon a Chariot, very fairely painted with holy Histories. I therefore tooke his Vestments and blessed them, and wee made Hosts, after our manner, very faire; and the *Nestorians* assigned mee their Font for Baptisme, wherein there was an Altar. And their Patriarch sent them from *Baldach*, a square Hide like a portable Altar, made with Chrisme, which they vse in stead of consecrated Stone. Therefore I celebrated on the Day of the Lords Supper, in their siluer Chalice and Dish, which were very great Vessels; I did the like also on Easter day. And wee communicated the people with the blessing of God, as I hope. But they baptized in the Vigill of Easter more then threescore persons very orderly. There was great ioy generally among all Christians.

Then it hapned that Master *William* was grievously sicke, and when hee was vpon recoverye, the Monke visiting him, gaue him Rubarbe to drinke, so that hee had almost killed him. Then visiting him, when I found him so ill at ease, I asked him, what hee had eaten or drunke? And hee told mee, the Monke had giuen him the foresaid Potion, and hee drunke two little Dishes full, thinking it had beene Holy Water. Then I went to the Monke, and said vnto him, Either goe as an Apostle doing Miracles indeed, by vertue of Prayer, and the Holy Ghost, or doe as a Physician according to the arte of Medicine. You giue a strong

Chap. 39.
The manner how the *Nestorians* make the Sacramentall Bread. The Christians confesse themselves, and receiue the Sacrament of Frier *William* in the dayes of the Lords Supper, and Easter

The Christians desire the Sacrament. Confession. Theft excused the ten Commandements: perhaps these fellows were of those Borders minde, which thought *K. Henry* had put in the Decalogue.

The Patriarch of the *Nestorians* remayneth at *Baldach*.

Chap. 40.
William Bonchier is sicke, the Monke giueth him Rubarbe; the Priest *Ionas* is sicke: Frier *William* admistrates.

reproue the Lords Supper vnto him, and anionteth him beeing readie to dye. Hee reproue the Monke for his

Potion of Physicke to drinke, to men not prepared, as if it were a certayne hollow thing, for the which you will incurre a foule scandall, if it come to the knowledge of men. From that time he began to feare and to beware of him.

The Priest is sicke and dyeth.

It hapneth at that time, that that Priest was sicke, who was, as it were, the Archdeacon of the rest: and his friends sent for a certayne *Saracen*, which was a Sooth-sayer. Who said vnto them, *A certayne leane man, who neyther eateth, nor drinketh, nor sleepest in a Bed, is angry with him: if hee can obtayne his blessing hee may recouer.* Then they vnderstood it was the Monke. And about mid-night, the Priests Wife, his Sister, and his Sonne came, intreating that hee would come, and blesse him. They also raised vs vp, to intreate the Monke. Then he said vnto vs, intreating him: Let him alone, because hee with three others, who likewise tooke euill courtes, consulted to goe vnto the Court, to procure *Mangu Chan*, that I and you should bee expelled from these parts.

For there arose a contention among them, because *Mangu* and his Wiues sent foure Iascots and certayne Silkes vpon Easter Euen to the Monke and Priests, to distribute among them. And the Monke had kept vnto himselfe one Iascot for his part, and of the other three, one was counterfeit, for it was Copper. Whereupon it seemed to the Priests, that the Monke had kept too great a portion to himselfe. Whence (it might bee) that they had some words among themselves, which were reported to the Monke. When day came I went vnto the Priest, hauing an extreme grieve in his side, and spitting blood: whereupon I thought it was an Impostume. Then I counsell'd him (if he had any thing that was an others) to restore it. He said, hee had nothing. I spoke vnto him also of the Sacrament of Extreme Vnction. Who answered, we haue no such custome, neither doe our Priests know how to doe it: I intreat you, that you would doe it for mee, as you know best to bee done. I aduised him also concerning Confession, which they frequent not, hee spake shortly in the Eare of a certayne Priest, one of his fellowes.

The Nestorians know not Extreme Vnction, nor Confession.

After this hee beganne to bee better, and hee intreated mee to goe for the Monke. So I went, but the Monke would not come at the first: yet when hee heard hee was some-what better, hee went with his Crosse. And I also went, and carryed (in a Boxe of Master *Williams*) the bodie of Christ, which I had reserued vpon Easter Day, at the intreatie of Master *William*. Then the Monke beganne to kicke him with his feet, and hee most humbly embraced his feet.

Then I said vnto him; It is the custome of the Church of *Rome*, that the sicke should receiue the Bodie of Christ, as it were prouision for their iourney, and a defence against all the Deceits of the Enemie. Behold, the Bodie of Christ, which I consecrated on Easter Day. You must bee confessed, and desire it. Then said hee with a great Faith, I desire it with all my heart. Which, when I had discouered, hee, with great affection said, I beleue, that this is my Creatour and my Sauour, who gaue mee life, and will restore it againe vnto mee after death in the generall Resurrection: and so tooke the Bodie of Christ (from my hand) made after the manner of the Church of *Rome*. Then the Monke abode with him, and gaue him (in my absence) I know not what Potions. On the morrow hee beganne to haue the pangs of death vpon him. Then taking their Oyle, which they said, was holy, I anointed him according to the manner of the Church of *Rome*, as they intreated mee. I had none of our Oyle, because the Priests of *Sartach* kept all.

He that is present with one that dyeth, cannot come into the presence of the Prince, for the space of an whole yeare. Bold blindnes. The Monke vseth Diuinations.

And when wee should sing a Dirge, and I would haue beene present at his end, the Monke sent vnto mee, willing me to depart, because if I should bee present, I could not come into the house of *Mangu Chan*, for one whole yeare. Which, when I had told his friends, they said, it was true: and requested me to depart, lest I might be hindered in that good, which I might promote. As soone as hee was dead, the Monke said vnto mee, care not: I haue killed him with my Prayers. This fellow only was Learned, and opposed himselfe against vs: the rest know nothing. Henceforth *Mangu Chan* himselfe, and they all will crouch at our feete. Then hee declared vnto me the foresaid Answer of the Sooth-sayer. Which (not beleueing it) I inquired of the Priests who were friends of the dead, whether it were true or no. Who said it was. But whether he were pre-instructed or not, that they knew not. Afterwards I found, that the Monke called the foresaid Sooth-sayer and his Wife into his Chappell, and caused dust to be sifted, and to diuine vnto him. For hee had a certayne *Rutenian* Deacon, who diuined to him. Which, when I vnderstood, I was astonied at his foolishnesse, and said vnto him, Brother, a man full of the Holy Ghost which teacheth all things, should not demand Answers of Counsell from Sooth-sayers: seeing all such things are forbidden, and they excommunicated, who follow such things. Then hee beganne to excuse himselfe that it was not true, that hee sought after such things. But I could not depart from him, because I was placed there by the commandment of *Chan* himselfe, nor could I remooue my selfe without his speciall command.

Concer-

Concerning the Citie of *Caracorum*, know this, that excluding the Palace of *Chan* himselfe, it is not so good, as the Castle of *Saint Denis*: and the Monasterie of *Saint Denis* is tenne times more worth then that Palace, and more too. There are two streets there: one of the *Saracens*, where the Faires are kept: and many Merchants haue recourse thither, by reason of the Court, which is alwayes neere, and for the multitude of Messengers. There is another street of the *Cataians*, who are all Artificers. Without those streets there are great Palaces, which are the Courts of the Secretaries. There are there twelue kindes of Idolatries of diuers Nations. Two Churches of *Mahomet*, where the Law of *Mahomet* is proclaimed: one Church of the Christians at the end of the Towne. The Towne is inclosed with a mudde Wall, and hath foure Gates. On the East part Millet and other Graine is sold, which yet is seldome brought thither. On the West, Sheepe and Goates. On the South, Oxen and Waggones are sold. At the North, Horses are sold. Following the Court, before the Ascension, wee came thither the Sunday before the Ascension. The next day after, we were called before *Bulgai*, who is a Iustice, and chiefe Secretarie, both the Monke and all his Family, and wee, and all the Messengers and Strangers, which frequented the house of the Monke. And wee were called before *Bulgai* seuerally, first the Monke, and after wee, and they beganne diligently to inquire whence wee were, and for what purpose wee came, and what our errand was? And this inquirie was made, because it was told *Mangu Chan*, that foure hundred *Hassafines*, or secret Murtherers were gone forth in diuers Habits to kill him. About that time the foresaid Ladie was restored to health, and shee sent for the Monke, and hee not willing to goe, answered: shee hath sent for Idolaters about her, let them cure her, if they can. I will goe no more. Vpon Ascension Euen, wee were in all the houses of *Mangu Chan*: and I saw when hee should drinke, how they cast Cosmos to their Idols of Felt. Then I said to the Monke, *What fellowship hath Christ with Beliall*. What part hath our Crosse with these Idols?

Moreouer, *Mangu Chan* hath eight Brethren, three by the Mother, and five by the Father. One of them of his Mothers side, hee sent into the Countrey of the *Hassafines*, who are called by them *Mulibet*: and hee commanded to kill them all. Another went towards *Persia*, and is now entred therein, to goe (as is thought) into *Turkie*, from thence to send Armies against *Baldach*, and *Vastacius*. One of the other, he sent into *Cataia*, against some that rebelled. His youngest Brother of the same venter, hee kept nigh himselfe, whose name was *Arabucha*, who holdeth his Mothers Court which was a Christian, whose Seruant Master *William* is: for one of his Brothers, on the Fathers side, tooke him in *Hungarie* in a certayne Citie, called *Belgrade*, where there was a *Norman* Bishoppe, of *Belle-Ville* neere *Roan*, with a certayne Nephew of the Bishoppes, whom I saw there at *Caracorum*. And hee gaue Master *William* to *Mangu*s Mother, because shee was very earnest to haue him. When she was dead, Master *William* came backe againe to *Arabucha*, with all things else pertayning to the Court of his Mother: and from him hee came to the knowledge of *Mangu Chan*. Who after the finishing of the foresaid Worke, gaue vnto Master *William* an hundred Iascots, that is, a thousand Markes.

On the Euen therefore of the Ascension, *Mangu Chan* said, hee would goe to his Mothers Court, and visite her, for it was neere. And the Monke said, hee would goe with him, and giue his blessing to his Mothers soule. *Chan* was well contented. In the Euening, the day of the Ascension, the foresaid Ladie was very much pained. And the chiefe of the Sooth-sayers sent to the Monke, commanding him that the Table should not be smitten. On the morrow, when the whole Court remoued, the Court of the foresaid Ladie remayned still. And when wee came to the place where the Court should stay, the Monke was commanded to depart further from the Court, then hee was wont: which hee did. Then *Arabucha* met his brother *Chan*. So the Monke, and wee, seeing that hee was to passe by vs, met him with the Crosse. And hee calling vs to minde, because sometimes he had bene at our Oratorie, stretching forth his hand, made a Crosse vnto vs, like a Bishop. Then the Monke taking Horse, followed him, bearing certayne Fruits. But hee alighted, before his brothers Court, wayting, while hee came from hunting. Then the Monke alighted there, and offered him the Fruit, which hee receiued. And hard by him sate two *Saracens*, of the Nobilitie of the Court of *Chan*. But *Arabucha* vnderstanding of the contention betwene the Christians and the *Saracens*, enquired of the Monke if hee knew the said *Saracens*; and hee answered, I know they are Dogges: why haue you them so neere you? but they replied; why, say they, doe you wrong vs, when wee doe none to you? To whom the Monke said, I speake the truth: and yee, and your *Mahomet* are vile Dogges. Then they beganne to answer blasphemously against Christ; and *Arabucha* forbad them, saying, speake not so blasphemously, for wee know, that the *Messias* is God. That very houre there arose so great a winde ouer all the street, that the Devils seemed to runne through them. And after awhile, there came Rumours, that the Ladie was dead.

Chap. 41.
The Description of the Citie of *Caracorum*, they are examined: *Mangu Chan* sendeth his brethren against diuers Kingdomes, the Monke biddeth the *Saracens* farewell. The Wife of *Mangu Chan* dyeth.

The Countrey of the *Hassafines*, or *Mulibet*. Chap. 16. Some of *Cataia* rebell.

Ascension day.

Arabucha the younger brother of *Mangu Chan*.

Ignorant zeale a betrayer of the Faith, a cause perhaps of *Tartarian* *Saracenisme*. One of the Wiues of *Chan* dyeth.

The next morning, *Chan* returning towards his Court another way. For this is their Sorcerie, that they neuer returne the same way they came. Moreouer, while the Court abode heere, after the remooue thereof, none dare passe that way (neither Horseman nor Footman) where the Court staid, so long as any shew of the fire made there, remaineth. That day certayne *Saracens* kept company with the Monke vpon the way, prouoking him, and disputing with him. And when hee could not defend himselfe with Argument, and they mocked him, hee would haue lashed them with the Whip which hee held in his hand; and hee went so farre, that the foresaid words were reported at the Court. And wee were commanded to depart with other Messengers, and not abide before the Court, where wee were wont. And I alwayes hoped, the King of *Armenia* would come. There came some about Easter from *Bolac*, where those *Dutchmen* are, for whose sake chiefly I went thither, who told mee, that the *Dutch Priest* should come to the Court. Therefore I moued no Question to *Mangu*, concerning our stay, or departure. And in the beginning hee gaue vs leaue to stay but two monethes: and now five monethes are past. This was done about the end of May. And wee had continued there all Ianuary, February, March, Aprill, and May. But hearing no newes of the King, or the said Priest, and fearing lest wee should returne in the Winter, whose sharpnesse wee had prooued, I caused to bee demanded of *Mangu Chan*, what his pleasure was concerning vs, because willingly wee would euer stay there, if so hee pleased. But if wee must returne, it were easier for vs to returne in Summer, then in the Winter. Hee presently sent vnto mee, commanding, that I should not goe farre off, because his pleasure was to speake with mee the next day. But I told him, that if hee would speake with mee, hee should send for Master *Williams Sonne*, for my Interpreter was not sufficient. And hee, that spake with mee, was a *Saracen*, who had bene a Messenger to *Vastacius*: and (blinded with Rewards) counselled *Vastacius* to send Ambassadors to *Mangu Chan*, and the meane while the time passed: for *Vastacius* thought, hee would presently enter his Countrey. So hee sent, and after hee knew them, hee little regarded them, nor made peace with them, neither did they yet enter his Countrey: nor shall they bee able, so long as they dare defend themselues, nor did they euer take any Countrey by Force, but by Deceit. And because men make peace with them, vnder colour of that peace they overthrow them.

The Tartars do more by deceit then by force.

Then hee beganne to bee very Inquisitiue of the Pope, and of the King of the *Franches*, and of the way to goe to them. But the Monke hearing this, aduised mee secretly not to answere him, because he would procure, that an Ambassador should be sent. Whereupon I held my peace, not willing to answere him. And hee spake vnto mee I know not what iniurious words; for the which the *Nestorian Priests* would haue accused him: so that hee had either bene slaine, or beaten all to clouts, but I would not.

Chap. 42. They are often examined wherfore they came, *Mangu* desireth to make comparison of Diuine things. The most learned speech of Frier *William* with the Idolaters. The *Saracens* acknowledge the truth of the Gospell. The godly conference of Frier *William* with the Seruants of *Mangu Chan*.

ON the morrow, (to wit) the Sunday before Pentecost, they brought mee to the Court: and the chiefe Secretaries of the Court came vnto mee: one of *Moal*, who wayteth vpon *Chans* cup, and the rest, *Saracens*, inquiring on the behalfe of *Chan*, wherfore I came? Then I told them the foresaid words, how I came to *Sartach*, and from *Sartach* to *Baatu*, and how *Baatu* sent me thither. Whereupon, I said vnto him, I haue nothing to speake on the behalfe of any man, vnlesse I should speake the words of God vnto him, if he would heare them; for he should best know what *Baatu* hath written to him. They stucke vpon this word, demanding, what words of God I would speake vnto him? thinking I would prophesie vnto him some prosperous thing, as many vse to doe. To whom I answered: if yee will that I speake the words of God vnto him, get me an Interpreter. Who said, we haue sent for him, yet speake by this Interpreter, as you may: wee shall vnderstand you well. And they vrged mee much to speake. Then I said: This is the word of God: To whom more is committed, more is required at his hands, another also: to whom more is forgiven, hee ought to lone more out of these true words of God, I said, to *Mangu* himselfe, that God hath giuen him much. For the power and riches which hee hath, the Idols of the *Tuinians* haue not giuen him, but the Omnipotent God, who hath made Heauen and Earth, in whose hands all Kingdomes are, and hee translateth them from Nation to Nation for the sinnes of men. Wherefore if he loue him, it shall goe well with him: if otherwise, let him know, that God will require all these things at his hands, euen to the uttermost farthing. Then said one of the *Saracens*, Is there any man that loueth not God? I answered, God saith, if any man loue me, he will keepe my Commandements: and he that loueth me not, keepeth not my Commandements. Therefore, hee that keepeth not the Commandements of God, loueth not God. Then said hee, haue yee bin in Heauen, that yee might know the Commandements of God? No said I, but he hath giuen them from Heauen to holy men: and at the last himselfe descended from Heauen, teaching vs: and wee haue those things in the Scriptures, and we see by the workes of men, whether they keepe them or no. Whereto hee replied, will yee then say that *Mangu Chan* keepes not the Commandements of God? To whom I said, Your Interpreter wil come, as yee lay, then before *Mangu Chan* (if it please him) I wil recite the Com-

Commandements of God, and he shall be his owne Iudge, whether hee keepe them or not. So they departed, and told him, that I said, hee was an Idolater or a *Tuine*, and kept not the Commandements of God. The next day, he sent his Secretaries vnto mee, saying: Our Lord sends vs vnto you, saying. Yee are heere *Christians*, *Saracens*, and *Tuines*: and euery of you saith, his Law is better, and his Letters (to wit) Bookes, are truer. Wherefore hee would, that yee all come together, and make comparifon, that euery one write his words, that he might know the truth. Then I said, *Blessed be God, who hath put this in the heart of Chan, but our Scriptures said, the Seruant of God must not bee contentious, but meeke vnto all: wherefore I am readie without strife and contention, to render an account of the faith and hope of Christians, to euery one that shall require it.*

10 Then they wrote my words, and brought them to him. Then the *Nestorians* were commanded, to prouide themselves, and write what they would speake, and the *Saracens* likewise, and the *Tuinians* also.

Mangu Chan desireth to haue a comparifon made concerning diuine things, betweene the *Christians*, *Saracens*, and *Idolaters*.

On the morrow hee sent the Secretaries againe, saying: *Mangu Chan* would know, wherefore yee came to these parts, to whom I said: That hee shall know by the Letters of *Baatu*. Then said they, *Baatus* Letters are lost, and hee hath forgotten, what *Baatu* wrote vnto him, wherefore he would know of you. Then somewhat imboldned, I said vnto them. *The dutie or office of our Religion is to preach the Gospell to all: whereupon, when I heard of the fame of the people of Moal, I had a desire to come vnto them: and while I was thus purposed, we heard of Sartach, that he was a Christian. Then I directed my Iourney vnto him: And my Soueraigne Lord the King of the Frankes sent him Letters, contayning good words: and other words besides, testifie of vs vnto him,*

20 *what men wee are when hee made request, that hee would suffer vs to continue with the people of Moal. Then he sent vs to Baatu, and Baatu to Mangu Chan. Whereupon we intreated, and yet intreat him to suffer vs to stay. But they wrote all, and made relation thereof vnto him. On the morrow, he sent to me againe, saying: Chan knowes well enough that yee haue no message vnto him, but yee came to pray for him as many other Priests doe: But hee demandeth, whether euer any of your Embassadors were with him, or ours with you? Then I declared all vnto them concerning David and Frier Andrew, so they putting all in writing, reported the same vnto him. Then he sent againe vnto me, saying: Our Lord Chan saith, yee haue stayed long here, his pleasure is,*

30 *that yee returne vnto your Countrey: withall, hee demandeth whether yee would conduct his Embassadors with you. To whom I made answer, that I durst not carrie his Embassadors beyond his owne Countrey: because there is a Warlike Nation betweene vs and you, and the Sea and Mountaynes, and I am a poore Monke: and therefore dare not take vpon mee to bee his Guide. So they hauing set downe all in writing, returned.*

His Answer.

Mangu Chan wil haue them returne.

Whitson Euen came; The *Nestorians* writ Chronicles from the Creation of the World to the Passion of Christ: and passing ouer the Passion, they spake of the Resurrection of the dead, and of the Ascension, and of the comming to Iudgement. Wherein somewhat was to be reprehended which I told them, and wee likewise wrote the Symbole of the Masse, *Credo in unum Deum*.

40 Then I demanded of them, how they would proceed. They said, they would first dispute with the *Saracens*. I shewed them, this was no good courle: for the *Saracens* in this agree with vs, who affirme, there is but one God. Wherefore, yee shall haue them to helpe you against the *Tuines*: so they were contented. Then I asked them, if they knew how Idolatry had his first originall in the World, and they could not tell. Then I told them and they said; yee shall declare these things vnto them: and then let vs speake; for it is hard to speake by an Interpreter.

To whom I said: make tryall, how yee will behaue your selues against them: I will take the *Tuinians* part, and yee the *Christians*. Suppose I am of that Sect, that say, there is no God. Proue yee there is a God. For there is a certayne Sect there, which saith, That euery soule, and euery vertue in what thing soeuer, is the God thereof, and that otherwise there is no God. Then the *Nestorians* knew not how to prooue any thing, but only that which their Writing declar-eth. I said, they beleue not the Scriptures: if yee shew one, they will shew another. Then I counselled them, to let me first talke with them: because if I should be ouercome, they might yet haue libertie of speech: if they should be ouerthrowne, I should haue no hearing. They agreed vnto it.

50 Wee were therefore gathered together on Whitson Euen at our Oratorie, and *Mangu Chan* sent three Writers, who should be Iudges: one *Christian*, one *Saracen*, and one *Tuine*: And it was proclaimed before. *This is the Commandement of Mangu Chan: And none dare say, that the Commandement of God is otherwise: He commandeth that none speake contentious or inuiours words to other, nor make any tumult, whereby this businesse might be hindered, vpon paine of his head.* Then all were silent: And there was a great assembly there: for euery partie invited the wisest of their Nation, and many others came flocking thither. Then the *Christians* set me in the middle of them, willing the *Tuinians* to speake with mee. Then they (who are many in number)

60 began to murmure against *Mangu Chan*, because neuer any *Chan* attempted thus much, to search into their secrets. Then they opposed one vnto mee, who came from *Cataia*, hauing his Interpreter: and I had Master Williams Sonne, And he first said vnto me: Friend, if you bee brought to

Whitsunday Euen.

How Idolatry began first in the World.

The Proclamation of *Mangu Chan*.

The murmuring of the Idolaters against *Mangu Chan*.

The beginning
of the disputa-
tion concern-
ing the Chri-
stian Religion,
with an Idola-
ter.

We ought first
to speake of
God.

The heresie of
the Manichees
in Cataia, as a
sprout from
the Magi, infe-
cting all the
Easterne Phi-
losophie and
Religions.

A Pythagorean
child.

God is Omni-
potent.

God knowes
all things.
God perfectly
good.

The Saracens
answer, that
the Gospell is
true.

The Sect of
the Iugurs.

Chap. 43.
The day of
Pentecost he
is called be-
fore Mangu
Chan, who con-
fesseth the faith
of the Tartars
he speaketh of
his returne by

a non plus, you must seeke a wiser then your selfe. But I held my peace. Then hee demanded whereof I would first dispute: either how the world was made: or what becomes of the soules after death: To whom I answered: Friend, this should not be the beginning of our speech. All things are of God, and he is the Fountayne and head of all. Wherefore we ought to speake first of God: of whom yee thinke otherwise then we doe. And Mangu desires to know who beleuees better. Then the Arbitrators iudged this to bee reasonable. They would haue begunne with the foresaid questions, because they hold them for the strongest; for they are all of the Heresie of the Manichees: beleeuing, that the one halfe of things is bad, and the other good: and that at the least there are two Principia. And concerning the soules they all thinke they passe from body to body. Insomuch as one of the wisest of the Nestorian Priests demanded of mee, concerning the soules of brute Beasts, whether they could fly any whither where they should not be compelled to labour after death: for confirmation also thereof (as Master William told mee) a certaine child was brought from Cataia, who (according to the quantitie of his body) was not three yeeres old, yet notwithstanding was capable of any reason; who affirmed of himselfe, that he had bene three times incorporated, and knew letters, and how to write. I said to the foresaid Tuinian, Wee firmly beleene with the heart, and confesse with the mouth, that there is a God, and there is but one God, and one in perfect vnitie. What beleene you? Hee said: Fooles say there is but one God, but Wise men say there are many. Are there not great Lords in your Country, and here is a greater Lord, Mangu Chan? So is it of the gods: because in diuers Countries there are diuers. To whom I said: You make an ill example or comparison of men with God; for so every mightie man in his countrey may be called a god. And when I would haue dissolued the similitude, hee preuented me, inquiring; What manner of God is yours, whereof you speake, that hee is but one? I answered: Our God, beside whom there is no other, is Omnipotent, and therefore needeth not the helpe of another: nay, all we haue neede of his helpe, it is not so with men. No man can doe all things. And therefore there must be many Lords in the earth, because no one can support all. Againe, he knowes all things, therefore hee needes not a Counsellor: nay, all wisdom is from him. Moreover, he is perfectly good, and needeth not our good: nay, in him we liue, moue, and haue our being. Such is our God, and therefore you must not hold there is any other. It is not so, saith he. Nay, there is one highest in the Heauens, whose Generation we know not yet, and ten are vnder him, and vnder them there is one Inferiour. And in the Earth there are infinite. Then hee would haue added other fables. So I asked him of that highest God, whether he thought he were Omnipotent: or of any other God: and fearing to answer, hee demanded, if your God bee such as you say, Why made hee the halfe of things euill? It is false said I. Whoso maketh any euill is no God, and all things whatsoeuer are good. At this word all the Tuinians maruelled, and set it downe in writing, as false, or impossible. Then he began to aske, Whence therefore commeth euill? You aske amisse, said I; For first you should demand, what euill is, before you aske whence it is. But returns vnto the first question, whether you beleene that any God is Omnipotent, and after I will answer you to all whatsoeuer you will demand. Then hee sate a long time and would not answer; Insomuch, as the Writers on the behalfe of Chan, were faine to command him to answer. At length hee answered: That no God was Omnipotent. Then all the Saracens brake out into great laughter: Silence being made, I said, Therefore none of your gods can saue you in all dangers, because such a chance may happen, wherein he hath no power. Againe, no man can serue two Masters. How then can you serue so many Lords in Heauen and in earth. The Auditorie willed him to answer. But he held his peace. Then when I was about to alleadge reasons to proue the truth of the diuine Essence, and the Trinitie, in euery mans hearing, the Nestorians of the Countrey said vnto me, that it was enough, because they meant to speake. So I gaue them place: And when they would haue disputed with the Saracens; they answered: We grant that your Law is true, and whatsoeuer is in the Gospell is true: Wherefore wee will not dispute with you in any thing: and they confessed, that they beg at the hands of God in their prayers, that they may die the death of the Christians. There was there a certaine old Priest, of the Sect of Iugurs, who confesse one God, yet they make Idols, with whom they talked much, shewing all till the comming of Christ to iudgement, declaring the Trinitie to him and the Saracens by similitudes. All of them harkened without any contradiction; yet none of them said, I beleue, and will become a Christian. The conference ended, the Nestorians and the Saracens sang together with a loud voice, the Tuinians holding their peace: and after that, they all drunke abundantly.

Vpon Whitsonday Mangu Chan called mee before him, and the Tuinian with whom I disputed, and before I went in, Master Williams sonne my Interpreter, said vnto me, that we must returne vnto our Countrey; and that I should speake nothing against it, because he vnderstood it for a certaine. When I came before him, I must kneele, and the Tuinian by mee, with his Interpreter. Then he said vnto me: Tell me the truth, whether you said (when I sent my Writers vnto you) that I was a Tuinian? Then I answered. My Lord, I said not so, but (if it pleased your Highnesse) I will tell you the words I spake. Then I recited what I had spoken: and he answered; I thought well, you said not so, for it was a word which you should not speake, Baatu, he craueth leaue to stay there, which is not graunted.

but

but your Interpreter hath ill interpreted it; so hee reacheth forth his staffe towards mee, whereon he leane, saying: Feare not. I smiling said softly, If I feared, I had not come hither. Then he demanded of the Interpreter what I had said? So he repeated my words vnto him. Afterward he beganne to confesse his Faith vnto me. *Wee Moallians (saith he) beleene, that there is but one God, through whom we liue and dye; and we haue an vpright heart towards him.* Then (said I) God grant you this, for without this gift it cannot be. And he demanded what I said: so the Interpreter told him; then he added further. *That as God hath giuen vnto the hand diuers fingers, so he hath giuen many waies to men. God hath giuen the Scriptures to you, and ye Christians keep them not. Ye finde it not in the Scriptures, that one of you shall dispraise another? Doe you finde it,* said he?

10 No, said I, but I signified vnto you from the beginning, that I would not contend with any. *I speake it not,* saith he, *touching you. In like manner, yee finde it not, that for Money a man ought to decline from Iustice.* No Sir, said I, and truly, neither came I into these parts to get Money; nay, I refused that which was giuen me. And there was a Writer present there, who gaue testimony that I had refused a Iascot, and certaine pieces of Silke: I speake it not (said he) for that. *God hath giuen you the Scriptures, and yee keepe them not: But he hath giuen vs Sooth-sayers, and we doe that which they bid vs, and we liue in peace.* He dranke foure times as I thinke, before hee disclosed these things: And while I hearkned attentiuely whether hee would confesse any thing else concerning this Faith, he beganne to speake of my returne, saying: You haue stayed a long time heere, my pleasure is therefore, that you returne. You said, you durst not carrie my Embassadours with you. Will you carrie my message or my Letters? And from that time I could neither haue place nor time to shew him the Catholike Faith. For a man cannot speake before him, saue what he pleaseth, vnto an Embassadour. But an Embassadour may speake what he will: And they alwaies demand, whether he haue any thing else to say. But he suffered me to speake no more: but I must heare him, and answer Interrogatories. Then I answered, That if he could make me vnderstand his words, and that they were set downe in writing, I would willingly carrie them to my power. Then he asked me, if I would haue Gold or Siluer, or costly garments? I said, we receiue no such things: but we haue not expenses, and without your helpe, we cannot get out of your Countrey. Then said he, I will provide you all necessities throughout my Countrey, will you any more? I answered, it sufficeth me: Then he demanded, how farre will you be brought? I said, Let our Passe bring vs into the King of Armenias Countrey: if I were there, it were enough. He answered: I will cause you to be conueyed thither, and after looke to your selfe. And hee added: there are two eyes in one head; and though they bee two, yet there is one aspect of both, and whither the one directeth the sight the other doth. You came from Baatu, and therefore you must returne by him: when hee had thus said, I craued licence to speake. Speake on, saith hee. Then said I; Sir, wee are not men of warre: wee desire that they haue dominion of the world, who would more iustly gouerne it, according to the will of God. Our office is to teach men to liue according to the will of God: for this purpose came we into these parts, and would willingly haue remained heere, if it had pleased you: but seeing it is your pleasure that we returne, it must bee so. I will returne and carrie your Letters

20 according to my power, as yee haue commanded. I would request your magnificence, that when I haue carried your Letters, it might bee lawfull for me to returne vnto you with your good liking, chiefly, because yee haue poore Seruants of yours at Bolac, who are of our language; and they want a Priest, to teach them and their children their Law, and I would willingly stay with them. Then answered he: Know you whether your Lords would send you backe to me? Then said I; Sir, I know not the purpose of my Lords: but I haue licence from them to goe whether I will, where it were needfull to preach the word of God: and it seemeth to mee, that it were very necessarie in these parts: whereupon, whether they send Embassadours backe or no, if it pleased you, I would returne. Then hee held his peace, and sate a long space as it were in a Muse. And my Interpreter willed me, to speake no more, and I carefully expected what he would answer. At length he said: You haue

30 a long way to goe, make your selfe strong with food, that you may come lully into your Countrey. And he caused them to giue me drinke. Then I departed from his presence, and returned not againe. If I had had power to doe wonders as Moses did, peraduenture hee had humbled himselfe.

A token of fauour.

The faith of the Tartars.

He speaketh of the Fryers returne.

Baatus greatnesse.

Hee craueth leave againe to stay in the Tartars Countrey, but it is not granted.

He departeth from the presence of Mangou Can.

Chap. 44.

A description of the Tartarian Sorcerers, and of their diuers and vnlawfull behauiour. Chief Priest of the Tartars. Some of them know Astronomie. Eclipses, when

Sooth-sayers therefore, as hee confessed, are their Priests: and whatsoever they command to be done, is performed without delay. Whose office I describe vnto you, as I could learne of Master William, and others, who reported vnto me things likely to be true. They are many; and they haue alwaies one Captaine or chiefe Priest: who alwaies placeth his house before the great house of Mangou Chan, neere, within a stones cast. Vnder his custodie (as I said before) are the Chariots which beare their Idols. The others are behind the Court, in places appointed for them. And they who haue any confidence in that Art, come vnto them from diuers parts of the World. Some of them are skilfull in Astronomie, specially the chiefe of them. And they foretell to them the Eclipse of the Sunne and the Moone, and when it shall come to passe. All the people prepare them food, so that they need not goe forth of the doore of their house. And

They fore-tell
lucky and vn-
fortunat daies
for the perfor-
mance of all
businesse what-
soever.

They cause all
things sent to
the Court, passe
betweene fires.
Friar Andrew,
and his fellows

The ninth day
of the Moone
of May, so-
lemnly kept e-
uery yeere.

They are cal-
led to the birth
of children, and
fore-tell their
destinies, and
are also sent
for when any
are sicke.

The false ac-
cusations of
the Sorcerers.

The Bishop of
the Nestorians
in Cataia.

A lyer and a
murtherer
from the be-
ginning.

when there is an Eclipse, they play vpon their Timbrels and Organes, and make a great noise, and a loude crye, when the Eclipse is past, they giue themselves to feasting, and drinking, and make great ioy. They foretell fortunate and vnlucky dayes for all businesse or affaires. Whereupon they neuer leaue an Armie, nor vndertake Warre without their direction. And they had long since returned into *Hungarie*: but their Sooth-sayers doe not suffer them. They make all things which are sent to the Court passe betweene fires, and they haue a due portion thereof. They also purge all the household-stuffe of the Dead, drawing them betweene the fires. For when any one dieth, all things whatsoever appertayne to him, are separated, and not mingled with other things of the Court, till all be purged by the Fire. So did I see it done to the Court of that Ladie, which died, while wee were there. Whereupon, there was a double reason why 16
Friar Andrew, and his fellows should goe betweene the fires, both because he brought presents, as also for that they belonged to him, who was dead, (to wit) *Ken Chan*. No such thing was required of me, because I brought nothing. If any liuing creature, or any thing else, fall to the ground, while they thus make them passe betweene the fires, that is theirs. They also the ninth day of the Moone of May, gather together all the white Mares of the Herd, and consecrate them. The Christian Priests also must come together thither with their Censers. Then they cast new Cosmos vpon the ground, and make a great Feast that day; because then they thinke they drinke Cosmos first, as it is the fashion somewhere with vs, touching Wine, in the Feast of Saint *Bartholmew*, or *Sixtus*, and of fruits, in the Feast of Saint *James* and *Christopher*. They also are invited, when any child is borne, to foretell his destinie. They are sent for also 20
when any is sicke, to vse their Charmes: and they tell whether it bee a naturall infirmitie, or by Sorcerie. Whereupon that woman of *Mentz*, whereof I spake before, told mee a wonderfull thing.

On a certaine time, very costly Furies were presented, which were layd downe at the Court of her Ladie, who was a Christian, as I said before. And the Sooth-sayers drew them through betweene the fires, and tooke more of them then was their due. And a certaine woman, vnder whose custodie the treasure of her Ladie was, accused them thereof vnto her Ladie: where- vpon the Ladie her selfe reproued them. It fell out after this, that the Ladie her selfe began to be sicke, and to suffer certaine sudden passions in diuers parts of her bodie. The Sooth-sayers were called: and they sitting farre off, commanded one of those Maidens, to put her hand vpon 30
the place where the grieve was, and if shee found any thing, shee should snatch it away. Then shee arising did so. And shee found a peece of Felt in her hand, or of some other thing. Then they commanded her to put it vpon the ground; which being layd downe, it began to creepe, as if it had bene some liuing Creature. Then they put it into the water, and it was turned, as it were, into a Horse-leach: and he said, some Witch hath hurt you thus with her Sorceries: and they accused her that had accused them of the Furies, who was brought without the Tents into the fields, and receiued the bastinado seuen dayes together there, and was thus tormented with other punishments, to make her confesse; and in the meane space her Ladie died. Which shee vnderstanding, said vnto them, I know my Ladie is dead, kill mee, that I may goe after her, for I neuer did her hurt. And when shee confessed nothing, *Mangu Chan* 40
commanded to suffer her to liue. Then the Sorcerers accused the Ladies daughters Nurse, of whom I spake before: who was a Christian, and her husband was the chiefe among all the *Nestorian* Priests, so shee was brought to punishment, with a certaine Maide of hers, to make her confesse. And the Maide confessed, that her Mistresse sent her to speake with a certaine Horse, to demand answeres. The woman also her selfe, confessed some things which shee did to bee be- loued of her Ladie, that she might doe her good, but shee did nothing that might hurt her. Shee was demanded also, whether her husband were priuie to it: shee excused him, for that he had burnt the Characters and Letters which shee had made. Then shee was put to death, and *Mangu Chan* sent the Priest her husband to the Bishop which was in *Cataia*, to be iudged, although he were not found culpable. 50

In the meane time it fell out, that the principall wife of *Mangu Chan*, brought forth a sonne, and the Sooth-sayers were called, to fore-tell the Destinie of the child, who all prophesied prosperitie, and said, he should liue long, and be a great Lord: after a few dayes, it happened, the child died. Then, the mother enraged, called the Sooth-sayers, saying, you said my sonne should liue, and loe hee is dead. Then they said, Madam, behold wee see that Sorceresse, the Nurse of *Chirina*, who the other day was put to death, shee hath killed your sonne; and behold wee see, shee carries him away. Now there remayned one sonne and a daughter of that woman growne to full age in the Tents: and the Ladie sent presently for them in a rage, and caused the young man to be slayne of a man, and the maide of a woman, in reuenge of her sonne, whom the Sooth- 60
sayers affirmed to be killed of their mother not long after, *Mangu Chan*, dreamed of those chil- dren, and demanded in the morning, what was become of them. His seruants were afraid to tell him: and he being troubled the more, demanded where they were, because they had ap- peared vnto him in a Vision by night. Then they told him. So hee presently sending for his wife, demanded whence shee learned, that a woman should giue sentence of death, without the priuitie

priuie of her Husband? And he caused her to be shut vp seauen dayes, commanding to giue her no meat. But the man who (who slew the young man) he caused to be beheaded; and the head to be hung about the womans necke, who had kild the Mayde; and made her to be cudgelled with burning Fire-brands through all the Tents, and after to be put to Death. Hee had also put his Wife to death, but for the Children he had by her: And he went out of his Court, and returned not till after one Moone.

The Reuenge of Mangu Chan, vpon his Wife being a murderer.

The Sorcerers also trouble the Ayre with their charmes: and when the Cold is so great naturally, that they cannot apply any remedy, then they search out some in the Campe, whom they accuse, that the cold comes through their meanes, so they are put to Death without any delay. A little before I departed thence, one of the Concubines was sicke, and languished long, and they mumbled their Charms ouer a certaine Dutch Slaue of hers, who slept three dayes. Who, when she came to her selfe, they demanded, what she had scene? And she had scene many persons, of all which, shee iudged they should all shortly dye: And because she saw not her Mistres there, they iudged she should not dye of that sicknes. I saw the Maydes head yet aking by reason of that sleepe. Some of them also call vpon Deuils, and gather them together (who will haue answers from the Deuill) in the night vnto their house, and they put sodden flesh in the midst of the house, and that Chan who inuoketh, beginneth to say his Charms, and hauing a Tymbrell, smites it strongly against the ground; at length he begins to raue, and causeth himselfe to be bound. Then the Deuill comes in the darke, and giues him flesh to eate, and makes him answer. On a certaine time, (as Master William told me) a certaine Hungarian hid himselfe with them, and the Deuill being vpon the house, cryed, that hee could not come in, because a certaine Christian was with them. He hearing this, fled with haste, because they began to search for him. These things and many other doe they, which were too long to report.

The Sorcerers trouble the Ayre with their Charms.

The Sorcerers raise vp deuils.

After the Feast of Pentecost they began to make ready their Letters, which they meant to send vnto you. In the meane while, he returned to Caracurum, and held a great Solemnity, iust about the fifteenth of Iune: and hee desired, that all the Embassadors should be present. The last day also he sent for vs, but I went to the Church to Baptise three Children of a certaine poore Dutch-man, whom we found there. Master William was chiefe Butler at that Feast, because he made the Tree which powred forth drinke. And all the Poore and Rich sung and daunced, and clapped their hands before Chan. Then he began to make an Oration vnto them, saying; *I haue sent my Brethren farre off, and haue sent them into danger, into forraigne Nations: Now it shall appeare what yee will doe, when I shall send you, that our Common-wealth may be enlarged.* Euery day in those foure dayes, hee changed garments, which hee gaue them all of one colour, euery day, from the shooes euen to the tyre of the head. At that time I saw the Embassador of the Calipha of Baldach, who caused himselfe to be carried vpon a Horse-litter, betweene two Mules, to the Court: of whom some said, that he made peace with them: so that they should giue him ten thousand Horse for his Army. Others said, that Mangu said, hee would not make Peace, vnlesse they would destroy all their Munition. And the Embassador answered; when you will plucke off your Horse hoofes, we will destroy our Munition: I saw also there, the Embassadors of a certaine Soldan of India, who brought with him eight Leopards, and ten Harehounds taught to sit vpon the Horse buttockes, as Leopards doe. When I inquired of India, which way it lay from that place, they shewed me towards the West. And those Embassadors returned with me, almost for three Weekes together, alwayes westward: I saw also the Embassadors of the Soldan of Turkie, who brought him rich presents: And hee answered (as I heard) he needed neither Gold nor Siluer, but men: wherefore he required them to prouide him an Army. In the feast of Saint Iohn he held a great Drinking, and I caused one hundred and fise Carts, and ninety Horses to be numbred, all laden with Cowes milke: And in the feast of the Apostles S. Peter and S. Paul, in like manner. At length the Letters being dispatched, which he sendeth to you, they called me, and interpreted them, the tenor whereof I writ, as I could vnderstand them by my Interpreter, which is this. *The commandement of the eternall God is this: There is but one Eternall God in Heauen: vpon Earth let there be but one Lord Chingis Chan, Temingu Tingij, That is to say the sound of Yron: (They call Chingis, the sound of Yron, because hee was a Smith: and puffed vp with pride, they call him now the Sonne of God.) This is the word which is spoken to you. Whatsoeuer Moals wee are, whatsoeuer Naymans, whatsoeuer Merkets, whatsoeuer Musulman, wheresoeuer eares may heare, whethersoeuer Horse may goe, there, cause it to bee heard, and vnderstood, since they haue heard my commandement, and would not belene it, and would leuie an Army against vs, yee shall heare and see, that they shall be as hauing Eyes, and not seeing, and when they would hold any thing, they shall be without hands, and when they would walke, they shall be without feet. This is the commandement of the Eternall God, by the vertue of the Eternall God: by the great world of the Moall. The commandement of Mangu Chan is giuen to the French King, King Lodouick, and all other Lords, and Priests, and to the great world of the Frankes, that they vnderstand my wordes, and the commandement of the Eternall God, made to Chingis Chan. Nor from Chingis Chan, nor others after him, came this commandement vnto you. A certaine man called Dauid came vnto you, as an Embassador*

Chap. 45. Great Solemnity. Mangu Chans Letters to Lodowicke King of France: the Friers companion stayeth with the Tartars: they returne to Caracurum. This is also the manner of the Americans in Florida. The Embassador of the Calipha of Baldach

The Embassadors of a certaine Soldan of India. India is more to the West then Caracurum by three weeks iourney. The Feast of Saint Iohn, Iune 24. The Letters of Mangu Chan, to Lodowicke the French King.

Moall. Nayman. Merket. Musulman.

Chen-chan, is
called Cune-
can, of Iohn de
Plano Carpini.

of the Moalls, but he was a lyar, and with him you sent your Embassadors to Chen-chan. After Chen-chan was dead, your Embassadors came to his Court. Charmis his wife sent you Clotb, called Nasic. But to know matters appertayning to Warre and Peace, and to settle the great World in quiet, and to see to doe good; That wicked woman, more vile then a Dog, how could shee know how to doe it? Those two Monkes which came from you vnto Sartach, Sartach sent them to Baatu: but Baatu, because Mangu Chan is the greatest ouer the World of the Moalls, sent them vnto vs. But now, that the great World and the Priests, and the Monkes might liue in peace, and enioy their goods, that the commandement of God might be heard among you, wee would haue sent our Embassadors of Moall, with your Priests: but they answered, that betweene vs and you there was a warlike Nation, and many bad men, and troublesome wayes; so as they feared they could not bring our Embassadors safe vnto you, but if we would deliuer them our Letters, contayning our commandement to King Lodowick, they would carrie them. For this cause wee sent not our Embassadors with them. But wee haue sent the commandement of the eternall God by your said Priests. It is the commandement of the eternall God, which wee haue giuen you to vnderstand. And when you shall heare and beleue it, if yee will obey vs, send your Embassadors vnto vs, so shall wee be certified, whether yee will haue peace with vs, or warre. When by the power of the eternall God, the whole World shall be in vnitie, ioy, and peace, from the rising of the Sunne, to the going downe of the same, then shall it appeare what wee will doe. When yee shall heare and vnderstand the commandement of the eternall God, and will not hearken to it, nor beleue it, saying, our Countrey is farre off, our Hills are strong, our Sea is great, and in this confidence, shall leuie an Armie against vs, to know what wee can doe, Hee which made that which was hard, easie; and that which was farre off, neere; the eternall God himselfe knowes it.

He departeth
the 9. of Iuly.

Note.

They stayed
there from the
27. of Decem-
ber to the 9. of
Iuly.

They depart
from the
Court to Ca-
racarum.

And they called vs your Embassadors in the Letters. Then I said vnto them, call vs not Embassadors, for I said well to Chan, that wee are not the Embassadors of King Lodowicke. Then they went vnto him and told him. But when they returned, they said vnto me: that he held it much for our good, and that he commanded them to write as I should direct them. Then I told them, they should leaue out the name of Embassador, and call vs Monkes and Priests. In the meane time, while these things were doing, my Companion hearing that wee must returne by the Wildernesse to Baatu, and that a man of Moall should be our Guide, he ranne (without my priuie) to Bulgai the chiefe Scribe, signifying to him by signes that he should die, if he went that way. And when the day came, wherein we should haue our Passe (to wit) a fortnight after the Feast of Saint Iohn; when we were called to the Court, the Scribes said vnto my Companion, Behold Mangus pleasure is, that your Companion returne by Baatu, and you say, you are sicke, and it appeareth so: Mangu sayth thus, If you will goe with your Companion, goe: but let it be your owne fault; because peradventure you may remayne with some Iani, that will not prouide for you, and it will bee an hinderance to your Companion. But if you will stay heere, he shall prouide necessities for you, till some Embassadors come, with whom you may returne more easily, and by a way where there are Villages. The Friar answered, God grant Chan a prosperous life; I will stay. Then I said vnto the Friar; Brother, bee aduised what you doe, I will not leaue you. You leaue not me (sayth he) but I leaue you: because, if I goe with you, I see the death of my bodie and soule, because I haue not patience in intolerable labour. Then they held three Garments or Coats, and said vnto vs, Yee will not receiue Gold, or Silver, and yee haue stayed long here, and prayed for Chan: hee entreats you, that at the least euery one of you would receiue a single Garment; that yee depart not emptie from him. Then we must receiue them, for reuerence of him: for they account it a very euill thing, when their gifts are contemned. First, he caused vs to bee often asked, what we would haue? And wee alwaies answered the same thing: so that the Christians insulted ouer the Idolaters, who seeke nothing but gifts. And they answered, that wee were fooles: because if hee would giue them his whole Court, they would willingly take it and should doe wisely to. Receiuing therefore the Garments, they besought vs to make our prayers for Chan; which we did. So, taking our leaue, we went to Caracarum. But it happened vpon a certaine day, while wee were with the Monke, farre from the Court, with other Embassadors; that the Monke caused the Table to be stricken so hard, that Mangu Chan heard it, and demanded what it was. Then they told him. So he asked, why he was remoued so farre from the Court. They told him, because it was troublesome to bring him Horses and Oxen euery day vnto the Court: and said further, that it were better, that he should stay at Caracarum. Then Chan sent vnto him, saying, if hee would goe to Caracarum, and stay there, neere about the Church, he would giue him all things necessarie. But the Monke answered, I came from the holy Land of Ierusalem hither, by the commandement of God, and left that Citie, wherein there are a thousand better Churches then that of Caracarum. If he please that I stay here and pray for him, as God commanded me, I will stay: if not, I will returne to the place from whence I came. So that euery euening Oxen were brought him yoked to the Carts, and in the morning he was brought vnto the place where he vsed to be before the Court. And a little before wee departed thence, a certaine Nestorian came, who seemed to bee a wise man: Bulgai the chiefe Secretarie placed him before his Court; to whom Chan sent his children, that he should blesse them.

Wee

WEe came therefore to *Caracorum*. And while wee were in Master *Williams* house, my Guide came vnto me, and brought me ten Iascots; whereof he left fise in Master *Williams* hand, willing him to spend them in the behalfe of *Chan*, for the Friars necessities, which remayned there: other fise he left in the hand of the Man of God; my Interpreter, commanding to spend them vpon the way, for my necessities. For Master *William* had giuen them such instructions, without our knowledge. I presently changed one into money, and distributed it to the poore Christians, which were there: for all their eyes were fixed vpon vs. Wee spent another in buying necessarie things for vs, as garments, and other things, which wee wanted. With the third, the Man of God himselfe, bought some things, wherein hee gayned somewhat which was profitable vnto him: we spent the rest, and that to; because since wee came into *Persia*, sufficient necessities were no where giuen vs: nor yet any where among the *Tartars*: but we seldome found any thing to be sold there. Master *William*, sometimes your Citizen, sends you a certaine Girdle set with a certaine precious-stone, which they vse to weare against thunder and lightning, and infinitely salutes you, alwaies commending you to God in his prayers: for whom, I shall neuer bee able to render sufficient thanks to God and you. Wee baptized there in all fixe soules. Wee therefore departed one from the other with teares: my Companion remayning with Master *William*; and I returning alone; with my Interpreter, my Guide, and one seruant; who had commandement to take one Mutton in foure dayes, for vs foure. Wee came therefore in two moneths and ten dayes from *Caracorum* to *Baatu*, and neuer saw Towne; nor token of any house, but Graues, except one Village, where in we eate no Bread. Nor did we euer rest, in those two moneths, and ten dayes; saue one day, because wee could not get Horses. Wee returned for the most part by the same kind of people, and yet through other Countries altogether: for we went in the Winter, and returned in the Summer, and by the higher parts of the North by farre; except, that fifteene dayes iourney wee must goe and returne alwaies hard by a certaine Riuer, betweene the Mountaines, where there is no lodging, but by the Riuer side. We went two dayes, and sometimes three dayes, taking no food but Cosmos. Once wee were in great danger, not being able to finde any people, our prouision fayling vs, and our Horses tyred. When I had trauelled twentie dayes, I heard newes of the King of *Armenia*, that he had passed by.

In the end of August I met with *Sartach* himselfe, who went to *Mangu Chan* with Flockes and Herds, and with his Wiues and Children: yet his great Families remayned betweene *Tanais* and *Etília*: And I did my dutie to him, saying, I would willingly stay in his Countrey; but *Mangu Chan* would not haue mee returne, and carrie his Letters. Hee answered, that I must performe the will of *Mangu Chan*. Then I asked *Coiac* for your children. Hee answered, they were in the Court of *Baatu* carefully recommended. I also required to haue our Clothes, and Bookes againe: who answered, Did yee not bring them to *Sartach*? I said, I brought them to *Sartach*, but I gaue them not vnto him, as yee know: and I replied to him, what answere I made, when he demanded whether I would giue them to *Sartach*. Then hee answered, you say true, and none can resist the truth. I left your goods with my father, who remayneth neere *Sarai*; which is a new Towne *Baatu* hath made vpon *Etília*, on the East shoare: but our Priests haue some of the vestments. If any thing like you (said I) keepe it, so my Bookes be restored. Then he told me, he would report my words to *Sartach*. I must haue Letters (said I) to your Father, to restore mee all. But he was readie to bee gone, and said vnto mee, The traine of the Ladies followeth vs neere at hand. Yee shall alight there, and I will send you *Sartachs* answere by this man. I was very carefull he should not deceiue me; yet I could not contend with him. Late in the euening the man came vnto me, whom he shewed me, and brought two Coats with him, which I thought had beene all of Silke, vncut: and he said vnto me, Behold two garments: the one, *Sartach* hath sent to you; and the other, if it seeme good to you, you shall present to the King, on his behalfe. To whom I answered, I weare no such garments, I will present them both vnto my King, in honour of your Lord. Then said hee, doe with them what you please; but it pleased me to send them both vnto you, and I send them to you by the bearer of these presents. He deliuered him Letters also to the Father of *Coiac*, to restore mee all which appertayned vnto me, because he had no need of any thing, which was mine. So wee came to the Court of *Baatu* the same day I departed thence, the yeere past; the second day after the Exaltation of the blessed Crosse. And I found our young men in health, yet much afflicted with penurie, as *Goffet* told me. And if the King of *Armenia* had not comforted them, and recommended them to *Sartach*, they had perished: for they thought I had beene dead. The *Tartars* also demanded of them, if they could keepe Oxen, or milke Mares. For, if I had not returned, they had beene brought into their seruitude.

After this, *Baatu* caused me to come vnto him, and made the Letters (which *Mangu Chan* sends vnto you) to be interpreted vnto me. For so *Mangu* wrote vnto him, that if it pleased him to adde any thing, or leaue out, or change, hee should doe it. Then said hee, yee shall carrie these Letters, and cause them to bee vnderstood. Hee demanded also what way I would goe, whether by Sea, or Land? I said, the Sea was shut, because it was Winter, and I must goe by Land.

Chap. 46.
They come to
Caracorum. Re-
turning, he ac-
companieth
Baatu a whole
moneth; de-
parting, he go-
eth toward the
South to the
Towne *Sarai*.

He returned
by *Persia*.

A precious
stone good a-
gainst thunder
and lightning.

From *Caracorum*
to the Ri-
uer of *Volga*, is
two moneths,
and ten dayes
iourney.

A Riuer be-
tweene the
Mountaines
of fifteene
dayes iourney.

The end of
August he met
Sartach in his
returne going
to *Mangu*.
Coiac the Priest
of *Sartach*.

Sarai is a new
Towne, built
vpon *Etília*, or
Volga.

They come to
the Court of
Baatu, Sep-
tem. 16. 1254.
cap. 18.

The King of
Armenia com-
forted them.

The sea frozen
in the Winter.

A short way by
Hungarie.

* Biganimus:
wane-trauel-
ling with Baa-
tu a whole mo-
neth.

His Guide was
a *tugur*.

They depart
from Baatu,
17. of October,
going right
South.

The seven
mouthes of
the Riuer of
Volga.

The Village
Sumerkent, or
Astracan is in
the latitude of
46. degrees.

They goe no
further downe,
then Sumerkent
of Astracan.

The Riuer of
Volga frozen
ouer.

He commeth
to Sarai.

Sarai is vpon
the East side of
Etilia. This
place is now
called *Uchoog*,
from Astracan
60. Verse.

Chap. 47.

From Sarai
they passe by
the Mountaines
of the *Alani*,
and by the
Saracens called
Lesgi, and by
Derbent, by the
Citie *Samaran*,
by *Alexanders*
Inclosures or
Walls, by the
Citie *Shama-
ghi*, by the
great Plaine
Moan, and the
Bridge made
of ships, where
Eux and *Araxes*
meet together.
The *Tartars*
haue little
store of Armor

A Castle of the
Alani.

A description
of *Porta ferrea*,
or *Derbent*.

Land. For I thought you had beene yet in *Syria*, so I directed my journey towards *Persia*. For if I had thought you had passed into *France*, I would haue gone into *Hungarie*: so I should sooner haue come into *France*, and by a more easie way then into *Syria*. Then wee trauelled * a moneth with him, before wee could haue a Guide. At length, they appointed mee a certaine *Iugur*, who vnderstanding I would giue him nothing, and that I would goe forth-right into *Armenia*, caused Letters to be made, to conduct me to the *Soldan* of *Turkie*, hoping he should receiue gifts of the *Soldan*, and that he should gayne more that way. Then we tooke our journey speedily (fifteene dayes before the Feast of All-Saints) towards *Sarai*, going forth right Southward, descending neere to *Etilia*, which is diuided into three Armes there below: euery one where- of is almost twice as big as the Riuer of *Damiatia*. It maketh foure other lesser Armes; so that we passed that Riuer in seven places by Boat. Vpon the middle Arme is the Village, called *Sumerkent*, without a wall: but when the Riuer overflowses, it is compassed with water. The *Tartars* were eight yeeres about it before they could take it: and the *Alani*, and the *Saracens* were in it. There we found one *Dutch-man*, with his wife, a very good man, with whom *Goffes* stayed in the Winter: for *Sartach* sent him thither to ease his Court. About those parts was *Baatu* on the one side of the Riuer, and *Sartach* on the other, about Christmas, and they goe no further downe. And it falleth out, that all the Riuer is frozen, so they passe ouer. Here is great store of grasse, and there among the Caues theeues hid themselues, till the Ice melt. *Coiacks* father, receiuing *Sartachs* Letters, restored my vestments vnto mee, except three Albes and an Amice trimmed with fine Silke, and a Stole, and a Girdle, and a Tualia adorned with golden embroyderie, and a Surplice. He restored also vnto me the siluer Plate, except the Censer, and the little Boxe where the Chrisme was. All which, the Priests which were with *Sartach* had. Hee restored my Bookes, except our Ladies Psalter, which hee kept with my leaue, because I could not denie it him: for he said, *Sartach* tooke much delight in it. Hee also requested me, that if it happened, that I returned vnto those parts againe, I would bring them a man that knew how to make Parchment: for he made a great Church (by the Commandement of *Sartach*) vpon the West side of the Riuer, as he said, and a new Towne. Yet I know that *Sartach* meaneth no such matter. *Sarai* and the Palace of *Baatu*, are vpon the Easterne side of the Riuer. And the Valley through which the Armes of the Riuer are spread abroad, containeth more then seven leagues in bredth. And there is great store of fish there. A Bible also in verse, and a cer- taine Booke in the *Arabian*, worth thirtie Sultanies, and many other things I neuer recovered.

SO departing from him on the Feast of All-Saints, alwaies going toward the South, in the Feast of Saint *Martin*, we came to the Mountaines of the *Alani*. Betweene *Baatu* and *Sarai* in fifteene dayes we found no people, but one of his sonnes, who went before him, with Falcons, and his Falconers, who were many, and one litle Village. From the Feast of All-Saints, for five dayes, we found not a man: and wee were almost in great danger by reason of thirst, one whole day and a night finding no water, till about three of the Clocke the next day, the *Alani* in those Mountaines yet hold out, so that, of ten of the Subiects of *Sartach*, two must come, to guard the straight and narrow passages of the Hills, lest they come forth of the Moun- taines, and steale their Cattell in the Playne. Betweene the *Alani*, and *Porta Ferrea*, which is two dayes journey thence, where the Playne of *Arcacci* beginneth, betweene the *Caspian* Sea and the Mountaines, there are certaine *Saracens* called, *Lesgi*, betweene the Mountaines, who likewise resist: so that those *Tartars*, who dwell at the foot of the Mountaines of the *Alani*, were faine to giue vs twentie men, to bring vs beyond the Iron gate, or *Porta Ferrea*. And I was glad, because I hoped to see them armed. For I could neuer see their Armour, though I had beene very desirous. And when we came to the dangerous Passage, of twentie there were two which had Habergions. And I demanded, whence they had them? They said, they had gotten them of the *Alani* aforesaid, who are good Worke-men for such things, and excellent Smiths. Whereupon, I thinke, they haue small store of Armour, but Quiuers, and Bowes, and Leather Iackes. I saw them presented with Iron Plates, and Iron Sculls (*capillos*) out of *Persia*. And saw two also, who presented themselues to *Mangu*, armed with Coats made of Hogs skins bent inward, of rough Leather, which were very vnfit, and vnwildy. Before we came to *Porta ferrea*, wee found one Castle of the *Alani*, which was *Mangu Chans*: for hee had subdued that Countrey. There we first found Vineyards, and drunke Wine. The day following, wee came to *Porta ferrea*, which *Alexander* the *Macedonian* King made. And it is a Citie whose East end is vpon the Sea shoare, and there is a little Plaine betweene the Sea and the Mountaines, through which the Citie is stretched forth in length vnto the top of the Mountaine which bordereth vpon it on the West: so that there is no way aboue, for the roughnesse of the Mountaines, nor below for the Sea, but forth-right through the midst of the Citie ouerthwart, where there is an Iron gate, from whence the Citie hath the name. And the Citie is more then a mile long, and in the top of the Hill a strong Castle: and it is as much in bredth, as a great stones cast: it hath very strong walls without Trenches, and Turrets of great polished stones. But the *Tartars* haue destroyed the tops of the Turrets, and the Bulwarkes of the Walls, laying the Tur- rets

rets euen with the Wall. Beneath that Citie, the Countrey was wont to bee like a Paradise.

Two dayes journey hence, we found another Citie called *Samaron*, wherein there were many *Jewes*. And when we past it, we saw walles descending from the Mountaines to the Sea. And leauing the way by the Sea by those walles, because it bent towards the East, wee went vp into the high Countries towards the South. On the morrow, wee passed through a certaine Valley, wherein the foundations of walles appeared, from one mountaine to another, and there was no way through the tops of the Mountaines. These were sometimes the Inclosures or walles of *Alexander*, restraining the fierce Nations, (to wit) the Shepherds of the Wildernes, that they could not inuade the inhabited Countries and Cities. There are other walles or Inclosures where

Sabatch a Citie of *Jewes*.

The inclosures or walles of *Alexander*.

Other inclosures where the *Jewes* are.

Or *Samagi*. Moan a great Plaine.

Cur, or the River *Cyrus*.

The *Georgians*. The Citie *Tiphis*.

Reg. 19. 45. 37.

Note that the Hebrew text hath *Ararat* in both places.

Ganges, a great Citie.

A bridge of Ships.

10 *Jewes* are. The next day we came vnto a certaine great Citie, called *Samag*. And after this, we entred into a great Plaine, called *Moan*, through which the River *Cur* floweth, of the which the *Curgi* haue their name, whom we call *Georgians*. And it runneth through the middle of *Tiphis*, which is the Metropolis of the *Curgines*, and in comes directly from the West running to the East, to the foresaid *Caspian* Sea, and it hath excellent *Salmons*. In that plaine wee found *Tartars* againe. Also by that plaine comes the River *Araxes*, which commeth from the greater *Armenia*, from betwixt the South and West: of which it is called the Land *Araxat*, which is *Armenia* it selfe. Whereupon in the booke of the *Kings* it is said of the *Sonnes* of *Sennacherib*, that hauing slaine their Father they fled into the Land of the *Armenians*. And in *Esay* it is said, that they fled into the Land of *Ararat*. To the West then of that most beautifull Plaine is *Curgia*. In that Plaine the *Crosmi* were wont to be. And there is a great Citie in the entrance of the Mountaines, called *Ganges*, which was their Metropolis, stopping the *Georgians* that they could not come downe into the Plaine. Then wee came to the Bridge of Ships, which were fastened together with a great Yron chaine, stretched forth crosse the River, where *Cur*, and *Araxes* meet together. But *Cur* loseth his name there.

After that, wee went alwayes vpward by *Araxes*, whereof it is said; *Pontem dedignatur Araxis*, *Araxes* disdaines a Bridge. Leauing *Persia*, and the *Caspian* mountaines on the left hand, towards the South: on the right hand, *Curgia*, and the great Sea toward the West: going South-west, betweene the South and the West. We passed through the meadowes of *Bacchu*, who is Generall of that Armie, which is there within *Araxis*. And hee hath made the *Curgi*, and *Turkes*, and *Persians* subiect to him. There is another Gouverneur (in *Persia* at *Taurinum*, ouer the Tribute) called *Argon*. Both which, *Mangu Chan* hath called home to giue place to his Brother comming into those Countries. That Countrey which I haue described to you, is not properly *Persia*, but was sometimes called *Hycania*. I was in *Bacchus* house, and hee gaue vs Wine to drinke, and he himselfe dranke *Cosmos*, which I would willingly haue drunke, if he had giuen it me: yet it was the best new Wine: but *Cosmos* is more whollome for an hunger-staruen man. Wee went vp therefore by the River *Araxes*, from the Feast of Saint *Clement*, vnto the second Sunday in Lent, till we came to the head of the River. And beyond that Mountaine where it riseth, there is a goodly Citie, called *Arserum*, which belongeth to the *Soldan* of *Turkie*. And neare thereabout *Euphrates* ariseth towards the North, at the foot of the Mountaines of *Curgia*: to whose Spring I had gone, but the Snow was so great, that no man could goe out of the trodden path: on the other side of the Mountaines of *Caucasus*, towards the South ariseth *Tigris*.

Chap. 48.

They alwaies goe vp the River of *Araxis*, by the Citie *Naxnan*, by the Countrey of *Sabens*, by the Castle *Marsu-gen*, by *Aini*, a Citie of *Sabens*; they came to the Head of *Araxis*.

When we departed from *Bacchu*, my Guide went to *Taurinum* to speake with *Argon*, carrying my Interpreter with him. But *Bacchu* caused me to bee brought to a certaine Citie, called *Naxnan*, which sometimes was the head of a certaine great Kingdome, and the greatest and fairest Citie; but the *Tartars* haue made it a Wildernes. And there were sometimes Eight hundred Churches of the *Armenians* there: now there are but two little ones: for the *Saracens* haue destroyed them: In one of the which, I held the feast of Christmas as I could with our Clerke. And the next day following, the Priest of that Church dyed: to whose buriall came a certaine Bishop, with twelue Monkes of the high Countries. For all the Bishops of the *Armenians* are Monkes, and of the *Greekes* likewise, for the greater part. That Bishop told me, that there was a Church neere that, where Saint *Bartholmew*, and likewise Saint *Iudas Thaddaeus* were martyred: but there was no way open for Snow. He told me also, that they haue two Prophets: The first or chiefe is *Methodius* the Martyr, who was of their Country, and plainely Prophesied of the *Ismaelites*. Which Prophecie is fulfilled in the *Saracens*. The other Prophet is called *Acacron*, who when hee dyed, Prophesied of a Nation of *Archers*, that should come from the North, saying; That they should Conquer all the Countries of the East: and should spare the Kingdome of the East, that he might giue them the Kingdome of the West. But he saith, our Friars the *Frankes* being Catholikes, beleue them not: And they shall possesse the Countries from North to South: and shall come vnto *Constantinople*, and shall take the Port of *Constantinople*. And one of them, who shall be called a Wise man, shall enter the Citie: and seeing the Churches and rites of the *Frankes*, shall cause himselfe to be Baptized, and shall counsell the *Frankes*, how they may kill the Emperour of the *Tartars*; and there they shall be confounded. Hearing this, the *Frankes* which shall be in the middle of the Land, (to wit) *Hierusalem*, shall set

Bacchu a Prince of the *Tartars*: of whom perhaps the Citie *Bacchu* on the *Caspian* Sea (of which it is now called the Sea of *Bacchu* or *Bacon*) hath her name.

The head of *Tigris*.

Or *Vaknan* sometimes the greatest Citie of *Armenia*. *Bartholmew* and *Thaddaeus* Martyrs.

The Prophecie of *Methodius*. Or *Acacron*, his Prophecie.

Mountaines
on the which
Noahs Arke re-
sted.
Or Cemanium
a Towne or a
Citie.
Armenian fa-
bles.

The Mountain
Massis.

Tephelis.

January 14.

Snow.

January 18.

The Countrey
of Sabenssa.

A Towne of
Sabenssa.

The Countrey
of the Soldans
of Turkie.

Marsengen.

The first Sun-
day in Lent.

February the 2.

The Citie Aini,
belonged to
Sabenssa.

The Popes
letters to Sar-
tach, and Man-
gu Chan.

vpon the *Tartars*, who shall border vpon them, and with the helpe of our Nation (that is) the *Armenians*, shall pursue them: so that the *French King* shall place his Royall Throne at *Taurinum* in *Persia*. And then all East Countries, and all the vnbeleeuing Nations shall be conuerted to the Faith of Christ. And there shall be so great Peace in the world, that the Liuing shall say to the Dead, Woe be vnto you wretches, that liued not vntill these times. I read this Prophecie brought to *Constantinople* by the *Armenians*, which remaine there, but I made light of it. Yet, when I spake with the said Bishop, calling it to minde, I regarded it the more. And throughout all that *Armenia*, they as firmly beleue this Prophecie as the Gospell. Hee said vnto vs also: Euen as the Soules in *Limbo* expected the comming of Christ for their deliery; so doe we looke for your comming, that we might be freed from this slavery, wherein wee haue so long liued. Neere the City (*Vaxnan*) aforesaid, there are Mountaines, on the which (they say) the Arke of *Noah* rested. And there are two, one greater then the other, and *Araxes* runneth at the foote of them. And there is a little Towne there, called *Cemanium*, which is by Interpretation, Eight: for (they say) it was so called of the Eight persons, which came forth of the Arke, and built it. Many haue assayed to climbe the greater Hill, and could not. And that Bishop told me, that a certaine Monke was very much troubled, and an Angell appeared vnto him, and brought him a piece of the wood of the Arke, willing him to trouble himselfe no more. That piece of Wood they had in their Church, as he told me. Neither is the Hill so high in appearance, but that men might well get vp vnto it. A certaine Old man shewed me a sufficient reason, why none should climbe it. They call that Mountaine *Massis*: and it is of the Feminine gender in their Tongue. No man (saith he) must climbe vp *Massis*, because it is the Mother of the world.

In that Citie (of *Vaxnan*) Frier *Bernard Cathalane*, of the Order of the Preaching Friars found me; who abode in *Georgie*, with a certaine Prior of the Sepulcher, who possesseth great lands there. And he had learned somewhat of the *Tartars* language. Who went with a certaine *Hungarian* Frier to *Taurinum*, to desire *Argons* Passe to *Sartach*. When they came there, they could not haue accesse: and the *Hungarian* Frier returned by me to *Tephelis* with one Seruant: but Frier *Bernard* remained at *Taurinum* with a certaine Lay Frier, whose language he vnderstood not. We went out of the Citie of *Vaxnan* in octauis of the Epiphanie: for we had stayd long there by reason of the Snow. We came therefore in foure dayes to the Countrey of *Sabenssa*, a certain *Curgine*, sometimes mighty, but now tributary to the *Tartars*, who destroyed all his Munition: whose Father *Zacharias* got that Countrey of the *Armenians*, hauing deliuered them from the hands of the *Saracens*. And there are many faire Villages of true Christians, hauing Churches right like the *Frankes*. And euery *Armenian* hath in his house, in an honourable place, a wooden hand holding a Crosse, and he sets a burning Lampe before it: And that which we doe with holy Water, sprinkling it to driue away wicked Spirits, they doe the same with Frankinsence. For euery euening they burn Frankinsence, carrying it through all the corners of the house, to rid them of all kinde of Enemies. I ate with the foresaid *Sabenssa*, and he did me great reuerence, both he and his Wife, and his sonne *Zachary* was a very faire and wise young man. Who demanded of me, that if he should come vnto you, whether yee would entertaine him? for he so hardly brooketh the Dominion of the *Tartars*, that, though he haue plenty of all things, he had rather trauaile into a strange Countrey, then indure their Lord-like Dominion. They said further, that they were sonnes of the Church of *Rome*: and if the Lord Pope would send them any ayde, they would bring all the bordering Nations vnto the subiection of the Church.

From that Towne of his, in fifteene dayes, we entred the Countrey of the *Soldan* of *Turkie*, vpon the first Sunday in Lent. And the first Castle we found, is called *Marsengen*. All in the Castle were *Christians*, *Armenians*, *Curgines*, and *Greekes*: The *Saracens* onely haue the Dominion. There, the Captaine of the Castle said, he had receiued commandement, that no victuals should be giuen to any *Frank*, or to the Ambassadors of the King of *Armenia*, or of *Vastacius*. So that from the place where wee were the first Sunday in Lent, vnto *Cyprus*, (whether I came eight dayes before the Feast of Saint *John Baptist*) we must buy our prouision. He, who was my guide procured me Horses, and tooke money for the victuals, and put it in his purse. When he came into the Fields, seeing a flocke any where, hee violently tooke one Sheepe, and gaue it to his family to eate, and maruailed I would not eate of his robbery. In the Purification I was in a certaine Citie called *Aini*, which was *Sabenssa*, whose situation is most strong: and there are there a thousand *Armenian* Churches, and two Synagogues of the *Saracens*. The *Tartars* place a Baily there. There five Preaching Friars met me, whereof foure came from *Prouince* in *France*, and the fift ioyned himselfe to them in *Syria*, and they had but one sicke Boy, who could speake *Turkish*, and a little *French*: And they had the Popes letters to *Sartach*, and to *Mangu Chan*, and to *Buri*; such as your Highnes gaue me, Letters of request, that they would suffer them to continue in their Countrey, and Preach the Word of God, &c. But when I told them what I had seene, and how they sent me backe againe, they directed their journey to *Tephelis*, where there are Friars of their Order, to consult what they should doe. I said vnto them they might well passe, by those Letters, if they would: but they should bee well assured to indure much labour, and render an account of their comming: for seeing they had no other message, but the office of Preaching, they would

would care but a little for them, and chiefly, because they had no Interpreter. What they did after, I know not.

THe second Sunday in Lent, we came to the head of *Araxis*, and passing beyond the top of the Mountaine, we came to *Euphrates*; by the which wee descended eight dayes, alwayes going to the West, vnto a certaine Castle, called *Camath*. There *Euphrates* bendeth to the South towards *Halapia*. But we passing the River went through very high hilly Countries, and through the deepe Snow to the West. There was so great an Earthquake there that yeare, that in one Citie called *Arsengan*, tenne thousand persons noted by name, perished, beside poore men of whom there was no notice taken. Riding three dayes together, we saw the gaping of the Earth, as it was cleft by the Earthquake, and the heapes of Earth which came from the Mountaines, and filled the valleyes: so that if but a little more of the Earth had bene moued, that which *Esay* speaketh had bene literally fulfilled. *Every valley shall be filled, and every Mountaine, and little hill shall be humbled.* We passed through the Valley where the *Soldan* of *Turkie* was vanquished of the *Tartars*. It were too long to write how he was overcome. But a certaine seruant of my guides who was with the *Tartars*, said; That the *Tartars* were not aboue tenne thousand in the whole; and a certaine *Curgine*, a seruant of the *Soldans*, said; That there were two hundred thousand with the *Soldan*, all Horsemen, In that plaine where the Battaille was, nay that fight, there brake out a great Lake, at the time of the Earthquake. And my heart told me; that all that Earth opened her mouth to receiue yet more blood of the *Saracens*. We were in *Sebastie* of the lesser *Armenia* in Easter weeke. There we visited the Tombes of forty Martyrs. There the Church of Saint *Blase* standeth: but I could not goe thither, because it was aboue in the Castle. On Low-Sunday we came to *Cesaria* of *Cappadocia*; where there is a Church of Saint *Basill* the great. About fifteene dayes after we came to *Iconium*, making small iournies, and resting in many places: because we could not so readily procure Horses. And my guide did this of purpose; taking vpon him to sollicite his owne busines three dayes, in euery Towne: whereupon, I was much grieved, but durst not speake, because he might haue sold, or slaine me and our seruants, and there was none to gaine-say it. I found many *Frankes* at *Iconium*, and a certaine *Iannuesian* Marchant, called *Nicholas de Sancto Syrio*. Who with a certaine companion of his a *Venetian*, called *Boniface de Molendino*, carried all the Allum out of *Turkie*, so that the *Soldan* could not sell any, but to those two: and they made it so deare, that what was wont to be sold for fifteene *Bizantians*, is now sold for fifty. My guide presented me to the *Soldan*; The *Soldan* said, he would willingly cause me to be conuayed to the Sea to *Armenia*, or *Cilicia*. Then the foresaid Marchant knowing that the *Saracens* made little accompt of me, and that I was much burthened with the company of my guide (who troubled me euery day to giue him gifts) caused me to be conueyed to *Curcum*, a Hauen of the King of *Armenia*. I came thither the day before the Ascension, and stayed till the day after Pentecost. Then I heard, that Ambassadors came from the King to his Father. Then I went speedily to the Kings father, to demand, whether hee had heard any newes of his Sonne: And I found him set with all his Sonnes, one excepted, called *Barum Usin*: Who made a certaine Castle. And he receiued newes from his Sonne, that hee was returned: And that *Mangu Chan* had much eased his Tribute, and had giuen him a Priuiledge, that no Ambassadour should come into his Countrey. Whereupon the old man himselfe, with all his Sonnes made a great Banquet. And he caused me to be conueyed to the Sea, to the Hauen called *Ajax*: and thence I passed ouer into *Cyprus*. And at *Nicosia* I found our Prouinciall, who the same day carried me with him to *Antiochia*, which is in very weake state. Wee were there on the Feast of Saint *Peter* and *Paul*. From thence we came to *Tripolis*, where our Chapter was, in the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin.

ANd our Prouinciall determined, that I should leaue *Acon*, not suffering me to come vnto you: Commanding, to write vnto you, what I would by the bearer of these Presents. And not daring to resist contrarie to my obedience, I did according to my power, and vnderstanding: craving pardon of your inuincible Clemencie for my superfluities, or wants, or for any thing that shall be vndiscreetly, nay foolishly spoken, as from a man of little vnderstanding; not accustomed to indite long Histories. The Peace of God which passeth all vnder standing preferue your heart and vnderstanding.

I would willingly see your Highnesse, and certayne spirituall friends, which I haue in your Kingdome. Wherefore, if it should not bee contrarie to your Maiesties liking, I would beseech you to write to our Prouinciall, that he would let me come vnto you, and returne shortly againe into the Holy Land.

Concerning *Turkie*, your Maiestie shall vnderstand, that the tenth part there, is not a *Saracen*: nay, they are all *Armenians*, and *Greekes*, and Children rule ouer them. For the *Soldan* who was conquered of the *Tartars*, had a lawfull Wife of *Hiberia*, by whom he had one feeble Sonne, concerning whom he charged, that he should be the *Soldan*. He had another of a *Greeke* Concubine, whom he gaue to a certayne great Admirall. The third, hee had of a *Turke*. To whom

Chap. 49.

They come to *Euphrates*, to the Castle *Camath*, they passe into *Cyprus*, afterward to *Antiochia*, and thence to *Tripolis*.

The Citie *Arsengan* mightily shaken with an Earthquake. The gaping of the earth closed.

The Valley where the *Soldan* of *Turkie* was vanquished of the *Tartars*.

Sebastie of the lesser *Armenia*. Major *Hipdomada*.

Cesaria of *Cappadocia*. *Iconium*.

Allum in *Turkie*. The *Soldan* of *Iconium*.

Curcum a Hauen of *Cilicia*, ouer against the East part of the Island of *Cyprus*.

Barum Usin.

Ajax or *Giazgo* June the 16, he came to *Cyprus*.

Antiochia. June 29.

Tripolis. August 15.

Chap. 50.

He writeth from *Tripolis* to King *Lodowick*, and giueth his aduise, for sending of a fit Ambassage to the *Tartars*.

The weake state of *Turkie*.

The Bastard
Pacaster getteth
the Kingdome.

The weake
estate of Va-
stacius and As-
sau.

The state of
the King of
Hungaria.
Godfrey of Bul-
lin and many
other Princes.

Tartars thrif-
tie
in food and
rayment.

What Message
or Ambassage
should be sent
to the Tartars.

many *Turks* and *Turcomans* being gathered together, they purposed to haue slaine the Sonnes of the Christians. They ordayned also (as I vnderstood) that after they had gotten the Victorie, they would destroy all the Churches, and kill as many as would not become *Saracens*. But hee was ouercome, and many of his men slaine. Hee renued his Armie the second time, and then was taken, and is yet in Prison. *Pacaster* the Sonne of the *Greeke* Concubine procured of *Filaster*, that he might be *Soldan*, because the other was weake, whom they sent to the *Tartars*. Whereupon, his Kindred on the Mothers side (to wit) the *Hiberi*, and the *Curgi* were angry. So that a child ruleth in *Turkie*, hauing no Treasure, few Warriours, and many Enemies. The Son of *Vastacius* is weake, and hath warre with the Sonne of *Assau*, who likewise is a child, and worne out with the scrutude of the *Tartars*. Wherefore, if an Armie of the Church should come to the Holy Land, it were a very easie thing to subdue all these Countries, or to passe through them.

The King of *Hungarie* hath not aboue thirtie thousand Souldiers. From *Cullin* to *Constantinople* are not aboue threescore dayes iourney by Waggon. From *Constantinople* are not so many dayes iourney to the Countrey of the King of *Armenia*. In old time, valiant men passed through these Countries, and prospered, yet they had most valiant Resisters; whom God hath now destroyed out of the Earth. And we need not be in danger of the Sea, nor in the mercie of Sayers. And the price which wee should giue for freight, were sufficient for expenses by Land. I speake it confidently, if your Countrimen (I say not Kings and Souldiers) would goe, as the Kings of the *Tartars* goe, and bee contented with such victuals, they might winne the whole World. It seemeth not expedient (as I thinke) that any Frier goe vnto the *Tartars* any more, as I did, or as the Preaching Friers doe. But if our Souereigne Lord the Pope would honourably send a Bishop, and answere their follies; which they haue thrise written to the *Frankes*: once to Pope *Innocent* the Fourth of Sacred Memorie, and twice to your Maiestie, once by *Dauid*, who deceiued you, and now by me, he might speake vnto them what he would, and also cause them to put those things in writing. For they heare whatsoever an Ambassadour will speake, and alwayes demand, if he will say any more. But he must haue a good Interpreter; nay, many Interpreters, and large Expenses.

For the Readers better satisfaction touching the former Authour, and knowledge of the North parts of Asia and Europe and for His owne sake also, I haue added this Transcript of our famous Countriman Frier Bacon, which I haue not Englished, both to preuent tediousnesse in this Worke, otherwise more then enough voluminous; and because he was an Historian, no Traveller; and the use thereof is principally to such as can reade his owne Idiome; a good part also being the same with that which our former Frier hath deliuered.

CHAP. II.

Ex quarta parte Maioris operis fratris Rogeri Bacon, Angli excerpta quædam de Aquilonaribus mundi partibus.

Mare Scythi-
cum.



Porta ferrea vel
Derbent. Vid.
Plin. 6. c. 11.
videtur etiam
Ortel. Thes.
Geog.
Mare Caspium
fit ex concursu
fluminum.
Ibid. Etym.
Plin. 6. c. 13.
Ptolemæus
primus prodidit
Mare Caspium
terra undiquaq;
Circundatum.
Capadocia.
Cilicia vel Ar-
menia minor.
Pamphilia.

D Aquilonarem vero partem Indiæ, ut dictum est, sunt Mare Scythicum, & montes illi magni, qui *Caucasus* & *Taurus*, & multis alijs nominibus vocantur, secundum diuersitatem locorum & Gentium. Et ab Occidente est *Persida* seu *Parthia* & *Media*. Deinde sub eis ad Occidentem est *Mesopotamia* & tota *Syria*, ut dictum est. Sed in consinio *Mediæ* & *Parthiæ*, est *Porta ferrea Alexandri*; qua est *Ciuitas* denominata à *Portis*. Et ille porta dicuntur *Caspia*, non *Caucasica*, ut dicit *Plinius*. Nam alia sunt porta *Caucasica*, ut postea dicetur. Quia in littore *Maris Caspiæ* sunt hæc Porta. Est enim Mare quoddam quod fit ex concursu maximorum fluminum venientium ab *Aquilone*, & *Caspium* vocatur, atque *Hircanicum* secundum *Plinium*. Nam *Caspia* & *Hircani* super littora illius *Maris* inhabitant. Non igitur est hoc Mare veniens ab Oceano, ut *Isidorus* & *Plinius*, & omnes Authores Occidentales scribunt. In hoc enim casu non habuerunt experientiam certam, nec per se, nec per alios, sed ex rumore scripserunt.

In libris autem de moribus Tartarorum, & per fide dignos, qui in illis Regionibus fuerunt, patet, quod hoc Mare sit ex concursu fluminum. Et est Mare satis magnum. Nam circuitus est quatuor mensium. Et *Hircania* prope, est super littus Meridionale illius *Maris* in termino *Parthiæ*. Et ubi *Parthia* coniungitur *Mediæ* in *Portis* illis, extenditur à *Portis Caspijs* versus Orientem, ut dicit *Plinius*. Deinde contra residuum *Mediæ* ad eius Septentrionem, & ad Occidentem *Hircaniæ* est maior *Armenia*: & eam diuidit *Euphrates* à *Capadocia*, ut dicit *Plinius*. Propter quod *Capadocia* est ad Occidentem *Armeniæ* maioris. Deinde versus *Syriam* & Mare nostrum est *Cilicia*, qua dicitur *Armenia minor*. Vnde iacet partim Medio, partim in Occidente *Capadociæ*; & eius principium non distat ab *Antiochia* per duas dietas. Sub *Cilicia* ad Septentrionem super Mare comprehenditur *Pamphilia*, ut dicit *Plinius*, neglecta gente *Isaurica*, vel non computata per se propter prauitatem, sed sub eis comprehensa.

- bensa. In Cilicia est Tarsus Metropolis eius; in quo natus fuit Beatus Apostolus Paulus. Et durat Cilicia à meridie in Septentrionem per Tarsum in latitudine circiter quatuor dietas versus Turkiam. Nam ad Septentrionem Ciliciæ est Lycaonia; ubi est Iconium celeberrima Civitas; à qua Lycaonia dicitur quasi Iconia. Unde Princeps eorum vocatur Soldanus Iconij & Turkia. Et à finibus Armeniæ usque Iconium sunt octo dietæ. Nomina Prouinciæ in his Regionibus sunt multum mutata propter guerras. Nam Turkia multas terras occupat quæ apud Authores habent nomina antiqua. Vt est pars Asiæ minoris, & Phrygia & Lydia. Asia vero maior continet plus medietate Mundi, & totum præter Europam & Africam: unde continet hanc Asiæ minorem. Et hæc nunc vocatur apud Græcos Anatoli, id est, Orientalis Græcia: in qua est Galatia; unde Galatæ, quibus scribit Apostolus.
- 10 & Troia dicitur illa formosissima Civitas: & sunt alia mura, ut Ephesus, & 7. Ecclesia Apocalypsis; & Nicea: unde Synodus Nicena, & multa alia. Et ab Iconio usque Niceam sunt 20. dietæ in æstate: & ab ea usque ad Brachium Sancti Georgij (quod apud antiquos vocatur Hellepontus) Mare inter Italiam & Antiochiam. Et ibi terminatur Asia minor. Et habet à parte Occidentis Thraciam, Macedoniam, & Achaiam. A parte vero meridiei habet Mare illud, quod est inter Italiam & Græciam, & Antiochiam, & Egyptum. Ab Oriente habet Phrygiam. Nam ut dicit Plinius curialite, Phrygia Troadi superiecta Septentrionali sua parte Galatis continisa est, meridiana Lycaoniæ ab Occidente Capadociæ habet. Et dicit quod Lydia, Phrygiæ ex ortu solis vicina est, unde fuit Crcesus ditissimus Rex Lydorû. Brachium vero Sancti Georgij est strictum multum, & habet Constantinopolim ab Occidente in Europa. Et extenditur à Mari magno quod est inter Asiæ & Egyptum, Syriam, & Italiâ, circiter centum leucas versus Aquilonem, usque ad aliud Mare, quod vocatur Ponticum, & Mare Maius. Et istud Mare habet formam arcus Scythici; & multas Regiones determinat. Vnde hic incipiunt Regiones Aquilonares: de quibus Philosophi meridiani parum sciuerunt, secundum quod Ethicus Astro-
nomus refert in suo libro. Sed hic perambulauit omnes has Regiones, & Mare Oceanum Septentrionale cum Insulis suis nauigauit. Volo sequi ipsum: & nihilominus libros de moribus Tartarorum: & præcipue fratrem Willielmum, quem Dominus Rex Franciæ, Lodouicus in Syria existens misit ad terram Tartarorum anno Domini 1253. Qui frater scripsit Domino Regi situm Regionum & Marium. Extenditur autem hoc Mare maius ab Occidente, scilicet à Constantinopoli in Oriens, per mille quadringenta miliaria in longum: & in medio eius coarctatur ex utraq; parte in angulos: & in angulo meridiano est castrum & portus Turkiz, quod vocatur Sinopolis: A parte vero Aquilonis habet aliud castrum in angulo, quod vocatur Soldaia; & est in Prouincia quæ nunc Cassaria dicitur, id est, Caissaria. Et sunt trecenta miliaria inter Sinopolim & Soldaiam. Et hæc est latitudo maris inter illos angulos. Et ista castra sunt duo portus famosi, à quibus transcunt homines à meridianis Regionibus ad Aquilonares, & e contrario. Et ab istis castris versus Occidentem seu Constantinopolim extenditur Mare per septingenta miliaria in longum & latum, similiter ad Orientem per septingenta. Et ista Prouincia Cassaria circumdatur Mari à tribus lateribus. Nam in Occidente habet partem Maris Pontici, ubi est ciuitas Kersoua, in qua fuit Sanctus Clemens martyrisatus; & prope eam est Insula, in qua est Templum, quod dicitur Angelicis manibus præparatum, in quo corpus Sancti sepultum fuit. Et à Kersoua usque ad Soldaiam sunt quadringenta castra, quorum quodlibet fere habet proprium Idioma. Et sunt ibi multi Goti, qui omnes loquuntur Teutonicum. Et à parte meridiei Cassariæ extenditur Mare Ponticum: Et in Oriente eius cadit flumen Tanais in Mare, ubi habet latitudinem duodecim miliariorum, ubi est Civitas Matrica. Et flumen illud versus Aquilonem facit Mare quoddam, habens septuaginta miliaria in longitudine & latitudine, nusquam habens profunditatem ultra 6. pedes. Et hoc Mare est Palus Mæotis famosissima, de qua Philosophi & Historiæ & Poeta loquuntur.
- Et flumen Tanais extenditur ultra illam paludem versus Aquilonem usque ad montes Riphæos; qui sunt in ultimo Aquilonis: à quibus montibus oritur hoc flumen, & descendit per longum terræ tractum in Paludem supradictam, faciens eam: & ultra eam disgraditur, & fluit in Mare Ponticum, ut prædixi. Et hoc flumen famosum diuidit Europam ab Asia in locis illis; & Palus illa & plures paludes sunt contiguae: sed quasi pro una computantur, & vocantur paludes Mæotis: vel Mæotidæ in adiectiuo. Paludes igitur illæ quæ vocantur Mare illud vadosum sunt in Oriente Cassariæ; & pars fluminis Tanais, quæ est inter paludes & Mare Ponticum. Et hæc Prouincia Cassaria habet ab Aquilone vastam solitudinem, quæ extenditur à flumine Tanai in Oriente usque ad Danubium in Occidente itinere duorum mensium velociter equitando, sicut equitant Tartari. Et hoc est una die quantum est ab Aureliani Parisijs. Vnde durat hæc terra circiter 4. menses, secundum quod alij homines communiter equitant. Et hæc terra fuit tota Cumanorum, qui dicebantur Captac. Sed Tartari destruxerunt eam totaliter, & interfecerunt Cumanos, præter partem quæ fugit ad Regnum Hungariæ, qui sunt ei tributarii: Et à Teutonicis dicitur Valana; A Plinio & Isodoro & ceteris Alania Occidentalis. Et hæc Prouincia habet Danubium, & Poloniam, & Hungariam, ab Occidente. Et ab Aquilone istius Prouinciæ est Russia magna: quæ similiter à Polonia in una parte sua extenditur ad Tanaim; sed in magna sui parte habet Leuconiam in Occidente (quæ est terra ita magna sicut Alemannia.) Ad cuius partem Occidentalem sunt multa terra in circuitu Maris cuiusdam, quod Mare fit per multa Brachia Maris Oceani quæ veniunt per medium Daciæ, & ultra versus Orientem dilatant se magnum Mare, quod ab Occidente habet Daciæ & Sweciam: Sed Swecia est ad Aquilonem Daciæ declinans aliquantulum in Orientem ultra Daciæ: ultra quas ad Aquilonem est Norguegia. Deinde Mari magno interiecto sunt Scotia & Anglia: & Mari paruo interposito Hibernia. Nota sunt hæc Regiones; sed
- 60

Turkia.
Lycaonia.
Iconium.
Soldanus
Iconij.

Descriptio Maris
Pontici vel maioris.
Regiones Aquilonares.
Oceanus Septentrionalis.
Quibus authoribus resus est maxime.
Sinopolis.
Soldaia.

Cassaria olim fuit appellata
Taurica Chersonesus.
Kersoua ciuitas
Goti.

Matrica ciuitas
Palus Mæotis.

Montes Riphæi.

Vasta solitudo.
Tartaricum
iter ergo est 64.
miliariorum
Cuniani.
Captac.
Alania Occidentalis.
Russia magna.
Vel Lituania.

Mare Sweciam.
Dacia.
Swecia.
Norguegia.

- tango eas propter notitiam aliorum. Si ergo à finibus Occidentalibus ex parte Aquilonis ascendamus versus Orientem, primo est Hibernia, secundo Britannia maior, qua continet Angliam & Scotiam: Deinde Norguegia, Swecia, Dacia, & post in Orientem versus est mugnum mare predictum, quod vocatur mare Orientale; quia Oceanus non se extendit ultra altud mare: Sed super latus Aquilonare istius maris immediate post angulum Sweciae est Estonia: deinde Liuania versus Orientem illius maris: deinde Curonia seu Curlandia declinando ad Meridianum latus: postea Prussia magna terra in Meridiano latere: deinde Pomerania: postea Lubec portus magnus & famosus in confinio Daciae & Saxoniae. In medio istius maris est Insula quadam, qua vocatur Gotlandia. Et super Liuaniam ad Orientem est Semigallia. Curoniam circumdat Leuconia predicta, & etiam circumdat Russia magna ex utraque parte maris dicti, & terminatur Meridiana ad Prussiam & Poloniam, Polonia vero iacet ad Meridiem Prussiae: & ad Meridiem eius est Bohemia: deinde Austria. Et ad Occidentem terrarum istarum Alemannia; & postea Francia & Hispania. Sed haec nota sunt: facio tamen mentionem propter alias. Ad Orientem Austriae & Bohemiae est Hungaria, ad quam Occidentalis pars Albaniae descendit. Nam cadit super Danubium, qui fluit per medium Hungariae, & ultra eam in mare Ponticum per duodecim ostia magna. In termino vero Hungariae Orientalis à parte Aquilonis occurrit * Vel Valachia. Moldavia, contra quam ad Meridiem Danubij sunt * Balchi & Bulgari & Constantinopolis, quae terra antiquitus vocabantur Thracia. Albania igitur Occidentalis extenditur à Danubio post finem Hungariae versus Orientem usque ad flumen Tanaim; habens Cassariam à Meridie, & Balchiam, Bulgariam & Constantinopolim. Ab Occasu vero Hungariam & Poloniam, & extremitatem Russiae: ab Aquilone habet totam longitudinem Russiae.
- Et ultra Russiae ad Aquilonem est Gens Hyperborea, qua sic nominatur à montibus magnis, qui vocantur Hyperborei. Et hac Gens propter aeris salubritatem vivit in sylvis. Gens longeva usque quo fastidiant mortem, optimarum consuetudinum, Gens quieta & pacifica, nulli nocens, nec ab alia Gente molestat: sed confugiunt ad eam sicut ad asylum. Qualiter autem potest Regio ibi esse temperatissima, tetigi prius in complexionibus locorum Mundi. Et sic habemus regiones Aquilonares in Europa notabiles. Ritus vero istarum Gentium sunt diversi. Nam Pruteni, Curlandi, Liunioni, Estoni, Semigalli, Leuconij sunt Pagani. Alani vero non sunt, quia Tartari ceperunt terram illam, & fugaverunt omnes, usque in Hungariam. Et Cumani sunt Pagani: & Alani fuerunt similiter, sed deleti sunt. Ruteni sunt Christiani, & sunt scismatici, habentes ritum Graecorum, sed non vivunt lingua Graeca; immo lingua Sclavonica: qua est una de linguis, quae plures occupat regiones. Nam Russiae, Poloniam & Bohemiam, & multas alias Nationes tenet. Tartari vero à Danubio in hoc in terram Alanorum seu Cumavorum, & ulterius, usque fere ad partes ultimas Orientis, & alias Nationes eis vicinas ad Aquilonem & Meridiem subiugaverunt pro maxima parte. Nam aliqua Gentes sunt in montanis & locis tuisissimis, quas non possunt debellare, licet sint eis vicini, quia sunt inexpugnabiles.
- Tanais quidem fluvius descendit à montibus Riphæis altissimis, qui sunt in vero Aquilone: nec est ultra illos ad Aquilonem habitatio. Et in termino Orientali Russiae & Alaniae, ubi mercatores & alij conveniunt de Hungaria & Cassaria, & Polonia & Russia est quoddam Casale, ubi navigio pertransitur flumen Tanais. Et est Tanais ibi ad latitudinem Sequanae Parisijs. Et ultra flumen illud est Albania superior usque ad aliud flumen magnum, quod vocatur Etilia, quae maior est in quadruplo quam Sequana: & est de maioribus fluminibus Mundi; & crescit in aestate sicut Nilus: & à parte Aquilonis distat hoc flumen à Tanai per decem dietas: sed versus meridiem multum seperantur. Nam Tanais cadit in mare Ponticum, & Etilia in mare Caspium: & facit illud mare, cum alijs fluminibus multis, quae veniunt de Perfide & alijs locis. Nam à Pontico mari secundum Plinium sunt tricenta octoginta milliaria usque ad mare Caspium. Et in hac terra habitabant Cumani. Sed Tartari deleverunt omnes, sicut ex altera parte fecerunt usque ad Danubium, ut dictum est. Et Tartari habent pecora infinita, & habitant in tentorijs, non habentes villas nec castra, nisi rarissime. Et unus Princeps cum exercitu, & cum suis armentis gregum vagatur inter duo flumina. Ut unus inter Boristhenem & Tanaim: alius inter Tanaim & Etiliam; & sic ultra versus Orientem, quia semper divisi sunt per pascua & aquam. Et à Ianuario incipiunt adire partes Aquilonares iuxta flumina usque ad Augustum: & tunc redeunt versus meridianas propter frigus Aquilonis in hyeme. Et versus Aquilonem distat Etilia à Provincia Cassariae per unum mensem & tres dietas, sicut equitant Tartari. Hac vero terra Tartarorum inter Tanaim & Etiliam habet ab Aquilone quasdam Gentes: & primo est Gens Arimphaea prope montes Riphæos, quae est similis Hyperboreis in omnibus. Et haec duae Gentes sunt prope polum in Aquilone. Sed remotius ab Aquilone ultra Tanaim est primo Gens quae vocatur Moxel, subiecta Tartaris. Et sunt adhuc sine lege pure Pagani: civitatem non habent, sed casulas in sylvis. Dominus eorum & magna pars eorum fuerunt interfecta in Polonia per Polonos & Alemannos & Boemos. Nam Tartari duxerunt eos ad bellum cum Polonis: & multum approbant Polonos & Alemannos de strenuitate sperantes adhuc liberari à servitute Tartarorum per eos. Si mercator veniat inter eos, oportet quod ille in cuius domo primo hospitiatur, det ei expensas quantum vult ibi morari. Hac enim est consuetudo illius Regionis. Post hos ad Orientem est Gens quadam quae vocatur Merduini, subiecti Tartaris. Sed sunt Saraceni, habentes legem Machometi. Post eos est Etilia flumen predictum quod descendit à maiori Bulgaria, de qua postea dicetur. A meridie vero istius Regionis Tartarorum super mare Ponticum sunt Iberi & Georgiani. Et in Georgia est metropolis civitas,

ciuitas, quæ vocatur Tephelis, in qua Fratres Predicatores habent domum. Et ulterius versus Orientem est terra Corasminorum: sed deleti sunt à Tartaris. Et in his locis solebant antiquitus esse Amazones, secundum Plinium & Ethicū Astronomum. Amazones enim, ut refert Ethicus, fuerunt mulieres ducentes exercitum magnum ex mulieribus sine viris collectum: quæ aduocantes viros certis temporibus anni conceperunt: sed masculos genitos interfecerunt, feminas reseruando, quarum in iuuentute mamillas dextras per artificium chirurgiæ abstulerunt ne in sagittando reciperent impedimentum per mamillas; & Minotauros ac Centauros, monstra ferocissima nutruerunt à iuuentute mamillis suis: unde antecedeabant eas sicut matres suas: & omnem exercitum premebant magis per huiusmodi monstra, quam per arma: & similiter Elephantes à iuuentute nutrebant & assuescebant ad bella: & sic per centum annos vastabant meridianas partes Asiæ & Græciæ, donec ab Hercule fuerunt seductæ & destructæ.

Tephelis.
Cormini deleti.
Amazones.
Pala.

Hæc vero loca Georgianorum & Corasminorum habent terram Soldani Turkiæ & Capidociam à Meridie. Nam in latere Meridiano maris Pontici est terra Soldani vsque ad Sinopolim, de qua prius dictum est: & post eam in eodem latere maris versus Occidentem est terra Vastacij, scilicet Græcia Orientalis. Nam Occidentalis vocatur ubi Constantinopolis est, & Regiones ei annexæ citra Brachium Sancti Georgij in Europa. Sed Armenia maior est super Capadociam ad Orientem. Et ideo illa Armenia etsi Meridiana sit respectu Georgiæ, tamen in Orientem tendit, & extenditur vsque Mediam & Mesopotamiam. Et hæc terra tota æstimatur à multis esse terra Ararat: propter hoc quod in Isaia dicitur, quod filij Sennacherib interfecit patre fugerunt in Ararat: In libro Regum

Terræ Vastacij
sit. Regnum
Trepézondæ.
Terra Ararat.

20 dicitur, quod fugerunt in Armeniam. Sed Ieronimus undecimo libro super Isaia soluit hoc dicens: Ararat regio in Armenia campestris per quam Araxis fluit incredibilis vbertatis ad radices montis Tauri, qui vsque illic extenditur. Quapropter Ararat non est tota Armenia, sed regio determinata; magna tamen est. Nam Araxes fluuius, à quo Ararat regio nominatur, extenditur à capite suo per iter trium mensium & amplius. Caput autem eius est Fons in monte Armeniæ ubi proprie oritur Euphrates ex parte Aquilonis, & Tigris ad aliud latus montis versus Meridiem. In montibus autem Armeniæ testante Scriptura requieuit Arca Noe: Sed non in quibuscunque montibus: quoniam non est in istis, ubi oriuntur ista tria flumina magna, sed in altissimo Tauri montis cacumine, ubi Ararat regio est, secundum quod dicit Ieronimus undecimo super Isaia; Arca in qua liberatus est Noe cessante diluuiio non ad montes generaliter Armeniæ, sed ad montes Tauri altissimos, qui Ararat imminet

De hoc dubio.

Tria flumina ex
eisdem montibus

30 campis. Et prope illos montes est ciuitas quæ maxima fuit, antequam eum destruxerunt Tartari. Nam fuerunt in ea octingenta Ecclesiæ Hermenorum. Et in tempore Fratris Willelmi, cum transiit per eam, non fuerunt nisi due parua: Et ibi prope fuerunt Martyrizati Beatus Bartholomæus & Beatus Iudas Thaddæus. Et ibi sunt due Prophetiæ. Una est Beati Methodij Martyris, qui fuit de Gente illa. Et plane prophetauit de Ismaelitis: quæ prophetia impleta est in Saracenis. Alius Prophetia eorum vocatur Akaton, qui prophetauit de Tartaris & destructione eorum. Dicit enim, quod ab Aquilone veniet Gens Sagittaria, quæ omnes Nationes Orientis subingabit: Et venient in Regnum Occidentis, scilicet ad Constantinopolim, & ibi per Principes Occidentis destruentur. Et tunc conuertentur omnes Gentes Christi: & erit tanta pax ubique, quod vini dicent mortuis: Vae vobis, quod non vixistis vsque nunc. Et Imperator Christianus ponet solium suum in Taurino in Perside. Et Her-

Frater Willel-
mus.
Vid. sup. in Ru-
bric.
Bartholo-
mæus.
Iudas Tha-
dæus.

40 meni habent istam prophetiam sicut Euangelium. Et ciuitas memorata vocatur nunc Naxuan; quæ solebat esse caput Regni: & est versus partes Aquilonares Armeniæ. Nam à festo Sancti Clementis ascendit Frater Willelmus iuxta Araxem ubi terminatur versus Aquilonem; & in festo Natalis venit ad illam ciuitatem; & in Octauis Epiphaniæ recessit ab ea: & per Araxem iuit vsque ad caput eius in secunda Dominica quadragesimæ: & non longe plus est à ciuitate illa ad ultimum Armeniæ à parte Meridiei, quam ad Aquilonem. Deinde superius ad Orientem sunt montes Alanorum, & Aas, qui sunt Christiani, & recipiunt indifferenter omnes Christianos tam Latinos quam Græcos: unde non sunt scismatici, & pugnant cum Tartaris; & similiter Alani. Post eos ad Orientem sunt Saraceni, qui vocantur Lelgi, qui similiter propter terræ fortitudinem pugnant cum Tartaris.

Nunc Nach-
chuan.

Alani, Aas.

Lelgi, Sara-
ceni.

Porta Caspiæ.

50 Post illos ad Orientem sunt Porte Caspiæ super Mare Caspium, quas Alexander magnus construxit in concursu Montium. Nam cum voluit expugnare Gentem Aquilonarem non potuit propter illius Gentis ferocitatem & multitudinem. Et, ut dicit Ethicus, stetit per annum unum & menses tres, ut defenderet se ab eis, & ingenuit quod talis pessima Gens fuisset in partibus Aquilonis; & exclamauit ad Deum, ut apponeret remedium, ne mundus destrueretur per eos. Sed, licet non fuit dignus exaudiri, tamen Deus sua bonitate, & propter salutem generis humani, iussit fieri terræ motum maximum, & montes distantes per stadium conueniti sunt vsque ad latitudinem vnius Portæ. Et Alexander tunc fecit fundi columnas areas miræ magnitudinis, & erexit portas & liniuit eas bitumine, quod nec igne, nec aqua, nec ferro dissolui posset, quod acquisiuit ex Insulis maris. Nec potuerunt diuini aliquo modo nisi per terræ motum: & iam dirui sunt. Nam Frater Willelmus transiit per medium earum cum Tartaris. Et est ibi ciuitas quæ vocatur Porta ferrea Alexandri: à qua versus orientem incipit Hircania super Hircanum mare, quod est Caspium, ut superius dictum est. Nam Hircania iacet super litus meridionale illius maris, & extenditur vsque ad terminos Indiæ: à cuius Hircaniæ latere meridionali sunt Media & Parthia, sicut prius fuit annotatum. Hæc vero Portæ non sunt Caucasæ, sed Caspiæ, ut dicit Plinius: nec Caucasæ sunt Caspiæ. Nam Caucasæ distant à Caspijs per ducenta milliaria versus mare Ponticum: Et à mari Pontico distant per centum milliaria circa partes Iberiæ & Georgiæ.

Bitumen egre-
gium ex Insulis
maris.
Porta ferrea
Alexandri.

Et

Gog & Magog
in his locis inclu-
si.

Iudæi his locis
inclusi.

Antichristus.

* Ut Iudæi

Christum ex-

pectauerunt spe-

ctantes, imo cru-

cifigentes pre-

sentem, & alium

spem: sic arti-

bis eiusdem Sa-

tana contrarijs,

Pontificij spe-

ctantes & Con-

spicientes, expe-

ctant tamen An-

ticristum, hor-

rentq; venturum

quem presentem

honorant; neque

sine Magno ini-

quitatis mysterio

vices idem agit

christi & Dia-

boli.

Frater Williel-

mus.

Rogerus Ba-

con vixit tem-

pore Lodouici

regis Franciæ.

Oceanus Aquil-

lonaris.

Antiqui anti-

quati.

Cumani idem

qui Cangle, &

Albani.

Iter ab Etilia &

mensium.

Terra principalis

Imperatoris.

Cumania max-

ima terrarum, v-

bi & Turco-

mani.

Bulgaria maior

(que hodie Rus-

sicum sue Mos-

couiticum Im-

perium) tunc

temporis Maho-

metica: que

iam pridem ad

ritus Greco mo-

do Christianos

transijt, hodieq;

tenet.

Finis Aquilo-

nis:

Pascatur terra,

Magna Hunga-

ria.

* Scilicet in no-

tioribus illis Or-

bis regionibus.

Blaci, Valachia

Ilac.

Mare Caspium

Montes Cauca-

Et ista loca cum montibus interiacentibus vocantur claustra Alexandri, per que cohibuit Gentes Aquilonares ne irruerent in terras Meridianas deuastando eas. Nam Alexander multa bella gessit cum eis, ut refert Ethicus, & aliquando infra tres dies ceciderunt ex utraque parte multa millia hominum. Alexander tamen magis arte & ingenio vicit, quam armorum potestate. Et cum fuerunt excitati sicut Vrsi de cavernis suis, non potuerat eos reprimere per violentiam: Sed Deus inuit per terra motum & clausuras montium: Nunc autem rupte sunt; & diu est quod fracta sunt, sine terra motu, seu vastitate. Et considerandum est diligenter de locis istis. Nam Gog & Magog de quibus Ezechiel Prophetat, & Apocalypsis, in his locis sunt inclusi. Secundum quod dicit Ieronimus undecimo libro super Ezechielem; Gog Scythica gens trans Caucasum & Maotum & Caspium mare ad Indiam usque tenduntur. Et a principe Gog, omnes qui subditi sunt Magog appellantur. Et Iudæi similiter, quos Orofius & alij sancti referunt exituros. Atque, sicut Ethicus scribit, Alexander inclusit viginti duo Regna de stirpe Gog & Magog, exitura in diebus Antichristi: Qui mundum primo vastabit, & deinde obuiabunt Antichristo, & vocabunt eum Deum deorum; sicut & Beatus Ieronimus confirmat. O quam necessarium est Ecclesia Dei, ut Prelati & viri Catholici hac loca considerent: non solum propter conuersionem Gentium in illis locis, & consolationem Christianorum captiuorum ibidem, sed propter persecutionem Antichristi, ut sciatur unde venturus sit, & quando, per hanc considerationem & alias multas.

A portis vero Caspijs incipit Mare Caspium extendi in longum ad Orientem & in latum ad Aquilonem. Et est non minus quam Ponticum Mare, ut dicit Plinius: Et habet spacium quatuor mensium in circuitu. Frater vero Willielmus in redeundo ab imperatore Tartarorum circueiuit latus Occidentale, & in eundo ad eum perambulauit latus Aquilonare; ut ipse retulit Domino Regi Franciæ, qui nunc est, Anno Domini, 1253. Et a parte Aquilonis habet vastam Solitudinem, in qua sunt Tartari: Et ultra eos sunt multe Regiones Aquilonares antequam peruenitur ad Oceanum. Et ideo non potest istud Mare esse sinus maris Oceani: quod tamen fere omnes authores scribunt. Sed experientia huius temporis facta per fratrem Willielmum & homines alios fideles docet quod non venit a Mari, sed fit per flumina magna & multa, quorum congregatione fit hoc mare Caspium & Hircanum.

Tota vero hac terra Tartarorum a Tanai usque ad Etiliam fuit Cumanorum, qui vocabantur Cangle: qui omnes sunt deleti per Tartaros. Et tota ista terra vocabatur Albania antiquitus. Et hic sint Canes maximi, ita ut Leones, & tauros perimant: Et homines ponunt eos in bigis & aratris. Deinde ultra Etiliam est tertius principatus Tartarorum: Et destructe sunt gentes indigenæ ab eis: Et fuerunt Cumani Cangle, sicut prius. Et durat principatus ille a flumine Etilia in Orientem per iter quatuor mensium ex parte meridionali, usque veniatur ad terram principalem imperatoris: Sed ex parte Aquilonari durat per iter duorum mensium & decem dierum. Ex quo patet, quod Cumania fuit terrarum maxima. Nam a Danubio usque ad terram hanc in qua Imperator residet, habitabant Cumani. Qui omnes sunt destructi a Tartaris, præter eos qui fugerunt ad regnum Hungariæ. Et hic principatus habet ab Aquilone primo Maiorem Bulgariam; a qua venerunt Bulgari, qui sunt inter Constantinopolin & Hungariam & Sclauoniam. Nam hac que in Europa est minor Bulgaria, habet linguam illorum Bulgarorum qui sunt in maiori Bulgaria, que est in Asia. Et isti Bulgari sunt pessimi Saraceni. Et hoc est mirabile: quoniam illa terra distat a porta ferrea seu a Portis Caspijs triginta diebus & plus per transversum Solitudinis: Et est in fine Aquilonis. Unde mirum est valde, quod ad eos tam distantes a Saracenis peruenit secta Machometi. Et de hac Bulgaria venit Etilia, de qua dictum est. Post eam ad orientem est terra Pascatur, que est magna Hungaria, a qua exiuerunt Huni: Qui postea Hungari; modo dicuntur Hungari. Qui colligentes secum Bulgaros, & alias Nationes Aquilonares, sicut dicit Isidorus, Claustra Alexandri ruperunt: Et soluebatur eis tributum usque in Egyptum. Et destruxerunt terras omnes usque in Franciam. Vnde maioris potentia fuerunt, quam adhuc sunt Tartari. Et magna pars eorum residet in terra que nunc vocatur Hungaria ultra Bohemiam & Austriam, que est modo apud Latinos regnum Hungariæ. Et iuxta terram Pascatur sunt Blaci de Blacia maiori: a qua venerunt Blaci in terra Asiani inter Constantinopolim & Bulgariam, & Hungariam, & Hungariam minorem. Nam populus ille dicitur nunc a Tartaris Ilac; quod idem est quod Blac. Sed Tartari nesciunt sonare B. literam. A parte vere meridiei Istius Solitudinis Tartarorum est mare Caspium: Et deinde montes Caucafi usque in Orientem. Et extenditur hic principatus ab Etilia usque in Catayam Nigram: unde vocatur Cara Cataia. Et Cara idem est, quod Nigra: Et dicitur Cataia Nigra, ad differentiam alterius Cataiæ, que est longe ultra hanc ad Orientem multis regionibus distantem ab ista Cataia Nigra: de qua postea dicitur. Et hac terra cum sibi adiacentibus est terra imperatoris Tartarorum præcipui, in quibus vagatur semper eum curia sua, ascendendo in æstate ad frigidas regiones; & in hyeme ad calidas. Et hac Cataia Nigra fuit terra Presbyteri Iohannis, seu Regis Iohannis; de qua tanta fama solebat esse: & multa falsa dicta sunt & scripta.

Hic vero oportet exprimi originem Tartarorum: non solum propter euidentiam distinctionis regionum maiorem, sed propter ipsam Gentem, que nunc famosissima est, & subdit mundum pedibus. Sciendum igitur, quod cum bellum fuit Antiochiæ, tunc regnavit in Terra ista Coir Can. Nam in historia Antiochena legitur. Quod Turci miserunt pro succursu contra Francos ad regnum Coir Can, qui tenebat Monarchiam in regionibus Aquilonis, tempore illo, quo capta fuit Antiochia qui fuit de Cara Cataia. Coir

fuit Terra Presbyteri Iohannis, de quo multa falsa, nec falsitate minori transijt fabula ad Abassinos novumq; dedit nomen Iohannem Africanum. Turci. Regnum Coir Can.

Cataia Nigra
bis Presbyterum

vero est nomen proprium: Can est nomen dignitatis; & sonat idem quod Divinator. Nam principes ibi regunt populum per divinationes & scientias, que instruunt homines in futuris, siue sint partes Physica, ut Astronomia & scientia experimentalis, siue artes Magica, quibus totum Oriens est deditus & imbutum. Omnes igitur imperatores Tartarorum vocantur Can: sicut apud nos vocantur Imperatores & Reges. Mortuo vero isto Coir, fuit quidam pastor Nestorinus in terra illa potens & Dominus super populum, qui populus vocatur Naiman; qui erant Christiani, Nestorini. Qui sunt mali Christiani: Et tamen dicunt se esse subiectos Romanæ Ecclesiæ. Et isti Nestorini non solum sunt ibi in Terra Naiman, sed per omnes regiones usque in Orientem sunt dispersi. Iste vero pastor erexit se in Regem; & vocatus est Presbyter & Rex Iohannes. Huic Iohanni erat frater quidam pastor potens Vnc nomine: habens sua

Naiman populus.

Caracarum Villa.

Pascua Moal.

Tartati.

Cingis faber.

Cingis can.

Hocata can.

Ken can.

Mangu can.

Tota Russia Tartaris subiecta.

Cataia Nigra.

ubi fuit Presbyter Iohannes.

Terra Moal.

Terra Tartarorum.

Ornan Kerule.

Caracarum.

Civitas Imperialis.

Tangut.

Vaccæ mulcedæ cantu ad

Mulgendum.

* Mulgeri.

Tebeth.

Vid. ab Hak. to. 2. & ap. Vincen.

spec. hist. 1.32.

Solangia.

Cataia in extremitate Orientalis.

bene

10 pascua ultra fratrem suum per iter trium Septimanarum: Et erat Dominus cuiusdam Villæ, qua dicitur Caracarum: qua est nunc civitas Imperialis, & maior in terra Imperatoris: Et tamen non est ita bona sicut Sanctus Dionisius iuxta Parisios in Francia; sicut scripsit frater Willelmus Domino Regi. Et ultra pascua istius circiter duodecim dietas erant pascua Moal, qui erant pauperes homines, & stulti ac simplices sine lege: iuxta quos fuerunt alij pauperes qui vocabantur Tartari, similes eis. Mortuo igitur Iohanne Rege eleavit se in Regem Vnc frater eius, & vocavit se Can: unde Vnc-Can dicebatur: qui misit armenta sua versus terminos Moal. Inter quos Moal erat faber quidam nomine Cingis, furans & rapiens animalia Vnc-can. Quo congregante exercitum Cingis fugit ad Tartaros: Qui dixit ad eos & ad Moal: Quia sumus sine duce ideo Vicini nostri opprimunt nos. Et factus est Dux eorum, & congregato exercitu irrumpit super Vnc-can, & vicit eum; & factus est princeps in terra, & vocavit se Cingis-can: Et accepit filiam Vnc, & dedit eam filio suo in uxorem, ex qua natus est Mangu Can, qui regnum diuise istis principibus Tartarorum, qui nunc regnant & discordant ab invicem. Ad hunc enim Mangu Can fuit frater Willelmus. Et ipse Cingis Can ubiq; præmittebat Tartaros in pugna. Unde exiit fama Tartarorum: qui fere deleti sunt per crebra bella. Et licet propter hanc causam nos istam Gentem vocemus Tartaros, apud quos est imperium & Dominium: tamen semper sunt Imperatores & principes de gente Moal. Nec volunt vocari Tartari sed Moal: quia primus eorum imperator scilicet Cingis-can, fuit Natione Moal. Unde non habuerunt ad huc ante istos qui nunc regnant nisi tres scilicet Cingis-can, & Ken-can, & Mangu-can. Qui Ken-can fuit filius Cingis, & Mangu filius eius. Hac igitur gens Moal est stultissima ab origine prima, & pauperrima: Qua tamen permissione Divina paulatim omnes Nationes vicinas subingavit & totam mundi latitudinem in parvo

30 tempore prostravit. Que si esset concors primo congressu Ægyptum & Affricam vastaret, ut sic ex omni parte Latinos circumdarent. Nam nunc a parte Aquilonis regnant usq; in Poloniam. Quia tota Russia est eis subiecta, & tota terra ab Oriente usq; ad Danubium & ultra Danubium, scilicet Bulgaria & Blachia sunt eis tributaria: Ita quod usq; ad terram Constantinopolitanam tenet eorum Imperium. Et Soldanus Turkiæ, & Rex Armeniæ, & princeps Antiochiæ, & omnes principes Orientalis usq; in Indiam sunt eis subiecti, præter paucos, qui aut nimis distant, aut habent loca in Montanis tutissima, qua expugnari non possunt.

40 Primo igitur in terra ubi imperator moratur est, Cataia Nigra, ubi fuit Presbyter Iohannes. Post eam est terra fratris sui ultra per iter trium Septimanarum. Deinde terra Moal; & Tartarorum ultra eos per iter quasi duodecim dietarum. Sed tota hac terra est in qua moratur Imperator vagans per diversa loca. Terra tamen in qua fuerunt Moal, vocatur Ornan Kerule: Et ibi est adhuc Curia Cingis Can. Sed quia Caracarum, cum Regione eius fuit prima adquisitio eorum; ideo Civitatem illam habent pro imperiali: Et prope illam eligunt suum Can, id est Imperatorem. Deinde post Moal & Tartaros ad Orientem sunt fortes homines, qui vocantur Tangut; qui ceperunt primo Cingis can in bello: Sed pace facta iterum subingavit eos. Isti homines habent Boves fortissimos, habentes Caudas plenas pilis sicut Equi: Quorum vaccæ non permittunt se Mungi*, nisi cantetur eis. Et si isti Boves vident hominem indutum rubeis, insiliunt in eum volentes interficere. Post istos ad Orientem sunt homines qui vocantur Tebeth: qui solebant comedere parentes suos causa pietatis, ut non facerent eis alia Sepulchra nisi viscera sua. De quibus scribunt Philosophi, ut Plinius, Solinus & alij: Et frater Willelmus testatur in libro suo: ac frater Iohannes de Plano Carpini similiter in libro, quem composuit de Tartaris, inter

50 quos fuit Anno Domini, 1246. missus a Domino Papa in legationem ad Imperatorem Tartarorum. Sed quia fuerunt ex hoc facto abominabiles omni Nationi, ideo iam mutaverunt hunc ritum; & tamen adhuc de ossibus capitum faciunt ciphos, in quibus bibunt propter memoriam parentum suorum. Post istos ad Orientem sunt parvi homines & fusci sicut Hispani, & dicuntur Solangi. Quorum nuncij cum veniunt ad curiam alicuius, habent in manu tabulam de Ebore, in qua inspiciunt cum narrant ea que volunt, ac si omnia essent ibi scripta. Et ultra eos est quidam Populus, quorum animalia non appropriant alicui, nec habent custodem. Sed si aliquis indigena vult habere aliquod animal, stat super collem & vociferat sicut vult, & veniunt ad vocem suam, & accipit quod vult. Quod si extraneus veniret, odore suo fugaret omnia, & faceret ea Sylvestria. Et ideo cum homo venit extraneus, claudunt eum in domo, & dant ei necessaria vita, donec habeat responsam de eis pro quibus venit, nec permittent eum vagari per regionem. Ultra hos est Cataia (qua Seres dicitur apud Philosophos.) Et est in extremitate Orientalis, a parte Aquilonari respectu Indiæ, diuisa ab ea per sinum Maris & Montes. Et hic sunt pan-

60 ni serici optimi, & in magna copia. Unde ab hac terra deferuntur ad alias regiones. Et hic populus aspirat multum per naves: Et sunt optimi Artifices in omni arte. Et sunt boni Medici apud eos in omnibus præterquam de Urina, cuius indicio non utuntur, sed per Pulsam & alia signa optime diiudicant: Et

Vel Aspreolo-
rum.
Descriptio
Simia.

bene cognoscunt vires herbarum, & totius medicina potestatem. Multi ex eis sunt apud Tartaros. Et istorum Cataiorum moneta vulgaris est charta de bambasio in qua imprimunt quasdam lineas. Nec mirum; Cum Ruteni, qui prope nos sunt, habent pro moneta faciem * Hesperolorum. Et ista Cataia non distat per 120. dietas a terra in qua moratur Imperator. Et in illa terra sunt rupes excelsae, in quibus habitant quaedam creaturae habentes per omnia formam humanam; non tamen genua flectunt, sed ambulant saltando: sed non sunt longitudinis maioris, quam cubiti; & vestitur totum corpus crinibus. Et venatores portant ceruissiam, & faciunt foueas in rupibus ad modum cyphorum: Et illa animalia veniunt & bibunt ceruissiam, & inebriantur, & dormiunt, & sic capiuntur: Et venatores ligant eis manus & pedes, & aperiunt venam in collo, & extrahunt tres vel quatuor guttas sanguinis, & dissolunt ea, ac permittunt abire. Et ille sanguis est preciosissimus pro purpura.

Patriarcha Ne-
storianorum.

b Sic solus A-
bunaim Aethio-
pia ordinat.

Idolatrie.
Templa. Campa-
nae.

Rasura.
Castitas.
Collegia Sacer-
dotum.

Corda nucleo-
rum.

Iugres.

Tebeth.
Tangut.
Catai Orienta-
lis.

Chinai utun-
tur hodie eius-
modi penicillis,
& characteribus
Characteres Phi-
losophici.

Sciendum vero, quod a principio Cataia magna nigra usque ad finem Orientis sunt principaliter Idolatra: sed mixti sunt inter eos Saraceni & Tartari, & Nestoriani, qui sunt Christiani imperfecti, habentes Patriarcham suam in Oriente; qui visitat Regiones, & ordinat infantes in cunabulis ad sacros ordines: quia ipse solus ordinat, & non potest venire ad unum locum nisi quasi in quinquaginta annis. Et ille dicit se habere auctoritatem a Romana Ecclesia ab antiquo; & paratus est obedire, si via esset aperta. Et isti docent filios Nobilium Tartarorum Euangelium & fidem, & alios quando possunt. Sed quia parum sciunt, & sunt malorum morum, ideo Tartari despicunt eos. Et consecrant in missa unum panem latum ad modum palmae, & diuidunt primo in duodecem partes, secundum numerum Apostolorum; & postea illas partes diuidunt secundum numerum populi. Et Sacerdos dat unicuique corpus Christi in manu sua; & tunc quilibet assumit de palma sua cum reuerentia. Sed Idolatra praualem in multitudi-
ne in omnibus hys Regionibus. Et omnes conveniunt in hoc quod habent Templa sicut nos, & campanas magnas. Et ideo Ecclesia Graecorum & totius Orientis nolunt habere campanas. Ruteni tamen habent & Graeci in Cassaria.

Omnes Sacerdotes eorum radunt caput & barbam, & seruant castitatem ex quo radunt caput: Et vivunt centum vel ducentum in una congregatione. Diebus quibus intrant Templum ponunt duo scamna, & sedent e Regione, chorus contra chorus in terra, habentes libros in manibus, quos aliquando deponunt super illa scamna: & habent capita discooperta quamdiu sunt in Templo legentes in silencio; & nullo modo loquerentur in Templo nisi verba officij sui. Habent etiam in manibus quocunque vadunt quandam cordam centum vel ducentum nucleorum sicut nos Pater noster: & dicunt super haec verba. On, Maio, Baccan, id est, Deus tu nosti. Haec sunt communia omnibus Idolatris. Sed tamen Iugres, qui habitant in terra ubi Imperator moratur, differunt ab alijs. Nam alij non ponunt unum Deum, sed plures, & creaturam adorant. Isti vero propter Viciniam Christianorum & Saracenorum ponunt unum Deum. Et sunt optimi scriptores: unde Tartari acceperunt literas eorum: & illi sunt magni scriptores Tartarorum. Et isti scribunt a sursum in deorsum, & a sinistra in dextram multiplicant lineas & legunt. Tebeth scribunt sicut nos, & habent figuras similes nostris. Tangut scribunt a dextra in sinistram sicut Arabes, sed multiplicant lineas ascendendo. Catai Orientales scribunt cum punctorio, quo pingunt pictores: & faciunt in una figura plures literas comprehendentes unam dictionem. Et ex hoc veniunt Characteres, qui habent multas literas simul. Vnde veri Characteres & Philosophici sunt compositi ex literis, & habent sensum dictionum. Et tota terra a Danubio usque in Orientem vocatur apud Antiquos Scythia, a quo Scythae. Et omnes Regiones Tartarorum sunt de Scythia: & etiam Russia, & totum usque ad Alamaniam.

And thus much ex quarta parte Compendij Studij Theologiae F. R. Baconi.

V. B. Spec. hist.
lib. 32.

Mar. Michon,
l. 2. c. 5. saith
two of them
went to the
Cham: but they
were two o-
thers sent ano-
ther way, John
de Plano Carpini
and his fellow,
whose story is
in M. Hak. and
in the said
Vincent, l. 32.

Others call
him Ogodai Can

Relations of VINCENTIUS BELVACENSIS, the most of which hee received
from Frier SIMON de Sancto Quintino, one of the foure Friars sent by
Pope INNOCENT the Fourth to the Tartars: serving
to the illustration of the former.

ANno, 1246. Cyne, who is also called Gog Cham, was aduanced to the Imperiall Throne of the Tartars. All their Barons being assembled, placed a golden seat in the midst, whereon they caused him to sit; and set a Sword before him, saying, Wee will, and desire, and command thee to rule ouer vs. He demanded if they were contented, to doe, come, goe, slay as he should command. They answered yea. Then said he, The word of my mouth shall henceforth bee my Sword: and they all consented. After this they spread a Felt on the ground, and set him thereon, saying, Looke upwards and acknowledge God, and looke downe on the Felt whereon thou sittest. If thou shalt gouerne well, wilt be liberall, iust, and honour thy Princes according to their dignitie, thou shalt reigne magnificent, and the whole World shall be subiect to thy Dominion, and God will giue thee all thy heart's desire; if otherwise thou shalt bee miserable and so poore, that the Felt shall not bee left thee whereon thou sittest. This done, they set his Wife with him on the Felt: and lifted them vp both so sitting, and proclaimed them Emperour and Empresse of the Tartars. After which they brought before him infinite store of Gold, and Silver, and Gemmes, with all which remayned to Chagadan, who distributed what he pleased, and reserued the rest. Then began they to drinke yntill night after their manner; and afterward sodden flesh came in Carts without Salt, and a-
mongst

mongst foure or fve they distributed a ioynt thereof. They call him *Can*, concealing his proper name, and he boasts himselfe the Sonne of God. He hath a Prince in the Confines of *Persia*, called *Baioth Noy* (*Noy*, signifieth his dignitie, *Baioth* is his name) which hath subdued the Countreies of *Christians* and *Saracens* to the Mediterranean Sea. Another called *Corenzam* remayneth in the West Frontiers with threescore thousand vnder him. The greatest Prince is *Bathoth*, who hath vnder him one hundred and threescore thousand *Tartars*, and foure hundred and fiftie thousand *Christians* and others. The *Chams* forces are innumerable.

Bathoth

Anno Dom. 1247. Frier *Ascelinus* sent by the Pope, came into the Campe of the *Tartars* with other Friers Preachers: where the Captayne *Baioth-noy*, by Messengers demanded, whose Messengers they were. Frier *Asceline* answered for them all, I am the Messenger of the Lord Pope, who amongst *Christians* is greater then any man, reputed a Father and Lord. They replied, how proudly doe yee say your Pope is greater then any? Knowes he not that the *Cham* is Son of God, and *Baioth-noy* and *Bathoth* are his Princes? *Ascelinus* answered, the Pope knowes not them, but heares that the *Tartars* haue come out of the East, and haue destroyed infinite multitudes. And had he knowne the names of *Cham* or his Princes, he would not haue omitted their names in the Letters which we bring. But being grieved for the slaughters of so many, especially *Christians*, with the aduice of his Brethren the Cardinals, he hath sent vs to the next *Tartarian* Armie we could find, to exhort the Generall thereof to cease such attempts, and to repent of that which they haue done. The Messengers went and came diuers times betwixt, euery time in change of Garments, and were very sollicitous for Gifts and Presents which the Friers had none to giue. And besides they denyed to performe the Ceremonies of kneeling to *Baioth-noy*, lest they should thereby intimate a subiection of the Pope to the *Tartars*: whereupon hee consulted to put them all foure to death, to which a Messenger sent from the Great *Cham* would not consent. The Friers only would put vp their hoods and bow the head: whereat a *Tartar* asked whereas you *Christians* adore stockes and stones, that is Croffes imprinted on them; why doe you refuse to doe so to *Baioth-noy*, whom *Cham* the Sonne of God hath commanded to be adored. *Ascelinus* answered, *Christians* adore not stockes and stones, but the signe of the Croffe theron, for his sake which dyed on a Croffe, adorning it with his members as precious Jewels and consecrating it with his blood, purchasing thereby our saluation. So cannot wee doe to your Lord. *Baioth-noy* sent them word, that hee would send them with their Letters to the *Cham*, which they refused. Then he sent for the Letters which were translated first into *Persian*, and thence into the *Tartar* Language. Hee held them there with many Trickes and Illusions, many weeks with hard fare and ill vsage. And after much adoe he returned with *Baioth-noys* answer, hauing first had a Messenger with Letters from the *Cham*.

The foure
were *Ascelinus*,
Alberike, *Alex-*
ander, and *Si-*
mon.

See a like di-
stinction of
Ethnikes, *Aug.*
in *Psalm*. 113.

Baioth-noys Letter was this to the Pope. The word of *Baioth-noy*. Pope, know this; thy Messengers came and brought thy Letters to vs. Thy Messengers spake great words; we know not whether thou gauest them so in charge, or whether they spake it of themselves. In thy Letters thou hadst written; yee kill, slay, and destroy many men. The precept of God stable and firme, who containeth the face of the whole world, unto vs is this. Whofoener shall heare the Statute on their owne Land, let them yeeld Water and Patrimoine, and let them deliuer power to him which containeth the face of the whole World. But whofoener will not heare the Precept and Statute, but shall doe otherwise; let them be rooted out and destroyed. Now we send to you touching that Statute and Precept. If yee will yeeld Water and Patrimoine on our Land, it is meet that thou Pope thy selfe in thine person come to vs, and to him which containeth the face of the whole Earth: and if thou wilt not heare the stable Precept of God and of him which containeth the face of the whole Earth, wee know not, God knowes. It is meet that before thou comest, thou sendest Messengers, and that thou signifiest to vs whether thou comest or no; whether thou wilt compound with vs, or be Enemy. And send an Answer of the Precept quickly to vs. This Precept by the hands of *Aybeg* and *Sargis*, we haue sent in the moneth of *Iuly*, the twentieth day of the Moone. In the Territorie of the Castle *Sitiens*.

The Copie of the *Chams* Letters to *Baioth-noy*. By the Precept of the lining God *Cingif-cham* the Sonne of God, sweete and venerable saith, that God is high ouer all, hee is God immortall, and vpon Earh *Cingif-cham*, is Lord alone. Wee will that this come into euery place to the hearing of all, to the Prouinces obeying vs, and to the Prouinces, obeying against vs. It is therefore meete that thou O *Baioth-noy* excite them and make it knowne to them, that this is the commandement of the lining and immortall God: that thou also incessantly make knowne thy desire touching this, and notifie my commandement in all places, where a Messenger may come. And whofoener shall gainsay thee shall be bunted, and his Land shall be wasted. And assure thee, that whofoener shall not heare this my Mandate, shall bee deafe; and whofoener shall doe according to this my iudgement, knowing peace and not doing it, shall be lame. Let this my Ordinance come to the knowledge of all. Whofoener shall heare and neglect to obserue it shall be destroyed and slaine. Manifest this O *Baioth-noy*. And whofoener desireth the profit of his House, and will serue vs, shall bee saved and honoured. And whofoener shall contradict, studie thou to correct them at thine owne pleasure.

Vnto

U. Bel. 1.32 c.90.
* This seemes
to be that Sar-
tach in Rubruq.
Ercalchays pre-
tended Letter
in Vincent. 6.91.

Vnto Lewis the French King were sent certayne Messengers from a great man, called *Ercalchay*; * and there was present Frier *Andrew* of *Lentumel* a *Dominican*, who knew *David* the chiefe of them, hauing leene him in the Armie of the *Tartars*. These brought Letters in *Persian* and *Arabike* Letters. They reported also that a great King of the *Tartars* called *Cham* was become a Christian, with most of his followers. And now the said *Ercalchay* had receiued Baptisme and was come forth from *Cham* with a great Armie to aduance the Christian Faith, and to destroy the Aduersaries thereof; and much desired the French Kings loue. They thought also that the said *Ercalchay* would the next Easter besiege *Baldach*. These told the King also of the *Tartarian* Affaires. Whereupon he sent Messengers with Letters and Jewels to *Ercalchay*, with a Tent or Chappell of Scarlet fairely embroydered, with the Storie of the Passion, with Ornaments thereto and things fitting for Diuine Seruice, with a piece of the wood of the Holy Crosse, exhorting him to proceed in the Faith. The Messenger were the foresaid Frier *Andrew* with two other Friers and two Clerkes. Transcripts of all were sent into France.

CHAP. III.

Relations touching the Tartars, taken out of the Historie of R. WEN-
DOVER, * and MAT. PARIS: with certayne
Epistles of the same subiect.

* Hee was Au-
thor of a great
part of that hi-
story, which is
wholly ascrib-
ed to Paris
by the most.
Dacia is here,
as often by la-
ter Authours
corruptly ta-
ken for Den-
marke.

The Dacia of
the ancients
comprehend-
ed Transilua-
nia, Walachia,
and Moldavia.

A Caluiss con-
ceit.
See Briewood
and my Pilgr.
1.4.6.2. & 1.5.
6.14.



Anno 1239. the *Tartars*, inhumane Nations, which had made great slaughters, and had with hostile forces inuaded the borders of Christendome, in the greater *Hungarie* were vanquished and most of them slaine, beeing encountred by siue Kings, *Christians* and *Saracens*, herein confederate. After which the King of *Dacia* and the King of *Hungarie* caused the Confinnes (before by the *Tartars* brought in manner to a Wildernesse) to bee inhabited by *Christians*, which they sent thither. Of which out of *Dacia*, alone went more then fortie ships.

Anno 1240. the detestable people of Satan, to wit, an infinite number of *Tartars* brake forth from their Mountayne-compasse, and Rocke-defended Region, like Devils loosed out of Hell (that they may well be called *Tartarians*, as *Tartareans*) and like Grasshoppers couering the face of the Earth, spoyling the Easterne Confinnes with fire and Sword, ruining Cities, cutting vp Woods, rooting vp Vineyards, killing the people both of Citie and Countrey. And if they spared any, they vsed them in the fore-front of their battels to fight against their Allies, that if they were therein faint or fayned, themselves at their backes might kill them: if otherwise it was without reward. They are rather Monsters then men, thirsting and drinking bloud, tearing and deuouring the flesh of Dogges and Men; clothed with Oxe-hides, armed with Iron Plates; in stature thicke and short, well set, strong in bodie; in Warre inuincible, in labour in-
fatigable, behind vnarmed; drinking the bloud of their beasts for Dainties, &c. These *Tartars* of detestable memory, are thought to be descended of the ten Tribes which went away (forsaking the Law of *Moses*) after the golden Calues; whom *Alexander* the *Macedon* sought to inclose in the *Caspian* hils; to which labour, exceeding humane power, hee inuoked the assistance of the God of *Israel*, and the tops of the hils ioyned together, and the place became inaccessible and impassible. And though it be doubtfull, because they vse not the *Hebrew* Tongue, nor Law of *Moses*, nor are gouerned by any Lawes; yet is it credible, that as their hearts then in *Moses* gouernment were rebellious, Reprobately-sensuall and Idolatrous, so now more prodigiously their heart and Language is confounded, and their life immane and beastly inhumane. They are called *Tartars* of a certayne Riuer called *Tartar*, running alongst their hils.

Anno 1241. that inhumane and brutish, lawlesse, barbarous and sauage Nation of *Tartars*, horribly spoyling the North and North-east parts of the *Christians*, caused great feare and hor-
rour ouer all Christendome. For they had now brought in manner to a Wildernesse, *Frisia*, *Gothia*, *Polonia*, *Bobemia*, and both *Hungarias*, the most part of the Princes, Prelates and people beeing fled or slaine: as by this Letter appeareth.

To the Beloued and alway worthy to be beloued Lord, our Father in Law, the Illustrious Prince the Duke of Brabant, H. by the grace of God Earle of Loraine, Palatine of the Saxons, his hum-
blest seruice. The perills foretold in holy Scripture, now breake forth because of our sinnes. For a certayne cruell and innumerable people, sauage and lawlesse, inuadeth and possesseth the Confinnes next bordering to vs, and are now come to Poland, many other Lands being passed and peoples destroyed. Whereof aswell by our owne Messengers, as by our beloued Cousin the King of Bohemia, we are fully certified and are in-
uited speedily to succour and defend the faithfull. For we know for certayne that about the Octaues of Easter, the *Tartarian* Nation will inuade cruelly and forcibly the Lands of the Bohemians, and if not
pre-

presented, will there perpetrate unheard-of slaughter. And because our next neighbours house is now on fire, and the next Countrey lieth open to waste, and some are already wasted, we earnestly and pitifully entreat the ayde and counsell of God and of our neighbour-brethren for the vniuersall Church. And because delay is full of danger, with all our hearts we beseech you, that you make all possible speed to arme as well for your as our deliuerance, making strong preparations of store of Souldiers; diligently exhorting the noble, mightie and couragious, with the people subiect to them, that yee may haue them in readinesse, when we shall next direct our Messengers to you. And we, by the ministerie of our Prelates, Preachers, and Minors, cause the Crosse (because the businesse belongs to him which was crucified) to be generally preached, fasts and prayers to be appointed, and our Lands in common to be called to the warre of Iesus Christ.

Crusades against the Tartars.

10 Hereto wee adde that a great part of that detestable Nation, with an other Armie adioyned to them, wasteth Hungaria with unheard-of tyrannie, insomuch that the King is said to haue retayned but a small part to himselfe. And to speake much in few words, the Church and People of the North is so oppressed and brought to such Straits, as it neuer was so scourged since the World began. Dated the yeere of grace 1241. on the day on which is sung Lactare Ierusalem:

And this was the Letters sent to the Bishop of Paris by the Duke of Brabant. The like was written by the Arch-bishop of Cullen to the King of England. Therefore for this grievous tribulation, and for the discord betwixt the Pope and the Emperour, so hurtfull to the Church, there are appointed fasts and prayers, with larger Almes in diuers Regions; that our Lord being pacified with his people, who as a magnificent triumpher is as strong in a few as in many, may destroy the pride of the Tartars. The French Kings mother, Queene Blanch, with deepe sighs and plentifull teares spake hereof to her sonne. What shall we doe my dearest sonne about this lamentable euent, the terrible rumour whereof is come to our Confinnes? generall destruction of vs all and of holy Church hangs ouer our times by the impetuous inuasion of the Tartars. The King with mournfull voice, not without the Spirit of God, answered: The heauenly comfort, Mother, exalt vs; and if they come on vs, either we shall fend againe those Tartarians to their Tartarean places whence they came; or they shall exalt vs to Heauen.

A deuout Queene and a Saint King.

Diuine apophthegme.

30 The Emperour certified hereof, wrote to the Princes, and especially to the King of England in this forme. Frederike Emperour &c. to the King of England greeting. Wee cannot conceale, though it somewhat lately came to our eares, but give you notice of a thing which concerneth the Roman Empire (as prepared to the preaching of the Gospell) & all zealous Christian Kingdoms in the World, threatening generall destruction to all Christendom. A barbarous Nation hath lately come from the Southern * Region, which had long layne hid vnder the torrid Zone, and after towards the North by force possessing Regions long remayning is multiplied as the Canker worme, called Tartars wee know not of what place or originall; not without the fore-seene iudgement of God is reserved to these last times, to the correction and chastisement of his people, God grant not losse of all Christendom. A publike destruction hath therefore followed, the common desolation of Kingdomes, and spoile of the fertile Land, which that wicked people hath passed thorow, not sparing sexe, age, or dignitie, & hoping to extinguish the rest of mankind, whiles it alone goeth about to domineere and reigne euerie where by their immense and incomparable power and number. Now all things which they haue beene able to set eye on being put to death and spoyle, leauing vniuersall desolation behind them, these Tartarians (yea Tartareans) when they had come to the well peopled Colonie of the Cumani (prodigall of their liues, hauing Bowes their most familiar Armes, with Darts and Arrowes which they continually vse and are stronger in the armes then other men) they vterly ouerthrew them, and with bloody sword killed all which escaped not by flight. Whose neighbourhood scarcely warned the Rutheni not farre distant to take heed to themselves. For they suddenly flie thither, to prey and spoile as the wrath of God and lightning hurles it selfe, and by their sudden assault and barbarous inuasion take Cleua the chiefe Citie of the Kingdome; and all that noble Kingdome was wasted to desolation, the Inhabitants being slayne. Which yet the neighbouring Kingdome of the Hungarians who should haue taken warning, neglected: whose sluggish King too secure, being required by the Tartars messengers and letters, that if he desired that he and his should liue, he should hasten their fauour by yeelding himselfe and his Kingdome; yet was not hereby terrified and taught to fortify against their irruptions: but they ignorant or insolent contemners of their enemies, secure in their enemies approach, trusting in the natie fortification of the place, unexpectedly compassed and oppressed at vnawares by them entering like a whirlwind, opposed their Tents against them. And when the Tartars Tents were five miles from the Hungarian, the Tartarian fore-runners in the dawning of the morning, rushed suddenly and compassed the Hungarians, and first slaying the Prelates and chiefe men, killed an infinite number, with such unheard-of slaughter as scarcely is recorded euer to haue hapned in one battell. The King hardly escaped by flight on a swift Horse, which fled with a small companie to the brotherly portion of the Hyllirian Kingdome, there to be protected; the Enemy possessing the Tents and spoiles. And now wasting the nobler and greater part of Hungarie beyond Danubius, consuming all with fire and sword, they threaten to confound the rest, as by the venerable Bishop Vatientis the Ambassadour of the said Hungarian King, not ce is given to our Court first as he passed, being destined to the Roman Court. Wee are also hereof fully certified by the Letters of our deare sonne Conrade, elect King of Romans alway Augustus, and heire of the Kingdome of Ierusalem; and of the King of Bohemia, the Dukes of

Emperour. Fr. 2. this Letter to King Henr. 3.

* An error, as usually such shadows attend fame; like the former of inclosed Jewes: And indeed the Tartars were so base and so remote, that till they like Nilus ouerflowed the Earth, they were vknowne, yea, then also; their sudden storms, and vknowne originall adding to that terrour, with which they then amazed, and withall affrighted the World as these Letters testifie.

Austria and Bauaria; by the Messengers words also instructed experimentally of the Enemies neccessesse. Nor could wee learne these things without great griefe. Truly, as the report goeth, their undetermined damnable Armie, by our Lords sufferance, hath proceeded diuided purposely in three parts. For one being sent by the Pructeni, and entring Poland, the Prince and Duke of that Land were slayne by them, and after that all the Region spoyle. The second hath entred the bounds of Bohemia, and being entred hath made stay, the King manly opposing himselfe. The third hath runne thorow Hungaria, bounded by Austria. Whence the feare and trembling hauing beginning from furie, doe excite and inuite all; neccessitie urgeth to withstand them, the danger being neere; the generall destruction of the world, and specially of Christendome, calls for speedie helpe and succour. For this People is brutish, and without law, ignorant of humanitie: yet followers, and hath a Lord whom it obediently obserueth and worships, and calls, The God of the earth. The men are of short stature, but square and well set, rough and couragious, at the becke of their Leader rushing on any difficulties: haue broad faces, frowning looks, horrible cries agreeing to their hearts. They weare raw Hides of Oxes, Asses, or Horses, with Iron plates sewed on for defensive Armes hitherto: but now, with griefe we speake it, out of the spoiles of conquered Christians, they are more decently armed, that in Gods anger wee may be the more dishonourably slayne by our owne weapons. They are also furnished with better Horses, fed with daintier fare, adorned with fairer rayment. The Tartars are incomparable Archers; carrie sewed skins artificially made, by which they passe Riuers and waters without losse. When food fayles, their Horses are sayd to be content with barks and leaues of Trees, and roots of Herbs: whom yet they finde swift and hardy. And we fore-seeing all those things, often by Letters and Messengers are mindfull to request your excellence, as also other Christian Princes, earnestly soliciting and warning, that peace and loue may flourish amongst Rulers, and discord being appeased (which often endamage Christendome) agreeing together to set stay to them which haue lately shewed themselves; forasmuch as fore-warned are fore-armed, and that the common enemies may not reioyce, that to prepare their wayes, so great dissensions breake forth amongst Christian Princes. Oh God, how much and how often would wee haue humbled our selues, doing the utmost that the Roman Bishop might haue surceased from the scandall of dissention against vs, which is gone thorow the World; and would more temperately haue reuoked his passions from impetuous rashnesse, that wee might bee able to quiet our subiects by right, and rule them more peaceably; nor that he would protect those Rebels, the greatest part of which is by him fostered: that things being settled, and the Rebels awed against whom wee haue wasted much treasure and labour, our power might bee aduanced against the common Enemies. But Will being to him for a Law, not ruling the supperie running of his tongue, and disdainning to abstayne from manifold dissention which he hath attempted; by his Legats and Messengers hee hath commanded the Crosse to be published against mee the Arme and Advocate of the Church, which hee ought to haue exercised against the tyrannie of the Tartars or Saracens, innading and possessing the Holy Land, whiles our Rebels insult and consult grievously against our honour and fame. And now that our greatest care is to free our selues from domestike and familiar Enemies, how shall wee also repell Barbarians? seeing that they by their spies which euery where they haue sent before, they (howsoeuer directed without Diuine Law; yet well trayned in Martiall stratagems) know the publike discord, and the unfortified and weaker parts of the Lands: and hearing of the heart-burning of Kings, and the strife of Kingdomes, are more encouraged and animated, O how much doth triumphing courage adde to strength? Wee will therefore by Gods providence conuerted, apply our strength and industrie to both, that wee may driue away the scandall domesticall and barbarous on this side and on that, from the Church. And we haue expressly sent our deare sonne Conrade, and other Princes of our Empire, that they may powerfully withstand the assaults of our barbarous Enemies, and repress their entrie. And heartily wee adiuire your Maiestie in behalfe of the Common neccessitie, by our Lord Iesus Christ, that taking heed to your selfe, and to your Kingdome (which God keepe in prosperitie) with instant care and provident deliberation, you diligently prepare speedy ayds of strong Knights, and other armed men and Armes: this we require in the sprinkling of the blood of Christ, and the league of affinitie in which wee are ioined. And so let them be ready with vs manfully and providently to fight for the deliuerance of Christendome, that against the Enemies now proposing to enter the confines of Germanie, as the Gate of Christendome, by united forces victory to the praise of the Lord of Hosts may be obtained. Neither let it like you to passe ower these things with dissimulation; or to suspend them by deferring. For if (which God forbid) they innade the Germane confines without obstacle, let others looke for the lightnings of a sudden tempest at the doores; which we beleene to haue hapned by Diuine Iudgement, the world being diuersly infected, the loue of many waxing cold (by whom faith ought to be preached and conserued) and their pernicious example stayning the world with Vsuries, and diuers other kinds of Simoine and Ambition. Let your Excellency therefore provide; and whiles the common enemies are outragious in the neighbour Regions, wisely consult to resist them: because they haue come out of their Lands with this intent, not regarding the perils of life, that they might subdue to them (which God auert) all the West, and may peruert and subuert the Faith and Name of Christ. And in respect of unexpected victorie, which hitherto by Gods permission hath followed them, they are growne to that exceeding madnesse, that now they thinke they haue gotten the Kingdoms of the World, and to tame and subiect Kings and Princes to their vile seruices. But wee hope in our Lord Iesus Christ, vnder whose Standard wee haue hitherto triumphed, being deliuered from our Enemies, that these also which haue broke forth of their Tartarean seats, their pride being abated by oppo-

The Pope to haue his will against the Emperour, exposeth Christian Princes to mutuall quarrells, which he should haue opposed to the Tartars, neuer ceasing till he had ruined that Familie and the Empire.
Tartar Spies.

This Emperour Fred. 2. married Isabel Sister to K. Henr. 3.

sed forces of the West, these Tartars shall be thrust downe to their Tartara (or Hell) Nor shall they boast to haue passed so many Lands, overcome so many peoples, perpetrated so many mischiefs vnauenged, when their vnwarie Destinie, yea Sathan, shall haue drawne them to the conquering Eagles of puissant Imperiaall Europe to their deaths. Where Germanie voluntarily raging and prone to Armes, France the mother and nurse of Soulderie, warlike and daring Spaine, fertile England potent in men and a furnished Navie, Almaine full of impetuous Warriours, Strip-strong Denmarke, untamed Italie, Burgundie ignorant of Peace, vnquiet Apulia; with the Pyriticall and inuincible Iles of the Greeke, Adriaticke and Tyrrhene Seas, Creet, Cyprus, Sicil, with the Sea neighbouring Islands and Regions, bloudie Ireland, with nimble Wales, marishie Scotland, Icie Norway, and euery Noble and famous Region in the West, will cheerfully send their choise Soulderie vnder the Colours of the quickning Crosse, which and not onely rebellious men but aduerse Denils dread. Dated in our returne after the yeelding and depopulation of Fauentia, the third of Iuly.

Dacia naualis.

Some (Papalines) suspected that the Emperour had hatched this Tartar-pestilence like Lucifer or Antichrist, to get the Monarchie of the world and to subuert Christianity, and that the secret Counsels and waylesse wayes of the Tartars were fraught with Imperiaall Counsels. For they conceale their Language, varie their Armes, and if one be taken, knowledge of them or their purpose can by no tortures be extorted from him. And where (say they) should they lurke, in which of the Climats till this time? whence their so secret and fraudulent Conspiracie? They are Hircans and Scythians, sauage bloud-suckers, who with the confederate Camani, through the Emperours deuise, haue ouerthrowne the King of Hungarie, to make him seeke shelter vnder the Imperiaall wings, and doe him homage, &c.

Malice mad.

Needs must they goe whom the Deuill driues: or how else but by mad malice, and furious faction, or an Antichristian mist, could such impossibilities haue beene conceiued? Of their driving the Turkes and the Choerosmines out of Persia is else-where spoken. Of the Popes entertainment of the Tartarian Messengers, Anno 1248. close Conferences with them and gifts to them, with diuers other discourses in the said author or Authors, I omit. Onely this Epistle following, as containing both the strange aduentures of an Englishman, and his relations of the Tartars from better experience, I could not but adde heere, making so much to the Readers purpose and ours. It was written by one Yuo of Narbone a Clergie man, which being accused of Heresie to Robert de Curzun the Popes Legat, fled, and liued one while with the Patarines, another with the Beguines, and at last writ this Letter containing a discourse of his trauels, amongst them in Italie and Germanie. He begins *Graldo Dei gratia Burdegalsi Archiepiscopo, Yuo dictus Narbonensis suorum olim nouissimus Clericorum, salutem, &c.* and after some premisses of the Patarines, and Beguines (too long for this place) hee proceeds; *Hoc igitur & multis alijs peccatis inter nos Christianos emergentibus iratus Dominus, &c.* In English, Our Lord therefore being angry with this and other sinnes falling out amongst vs Christians, is become as it were a destroying enemy.

Selib. 3. c. 6 & 4.

Part of an Epistle written by one Yuo of Narbone vnto the Archbishop of Burdeaux, containing the confession of an Englishman, as touching the barbarous demeanour of the Tartars, which had liued long among them, and was drawne along perforce with them in their expedition against Hungarie: Recorded by Matthew Paris in the yeare our Lord 1243.

The Lord therefore being prouoked to indignation, by reason of this and other sinnes committed amongst vs Christians, is become, as it were, a destroying enemy, and a dreadfull auenger. This I may iustly affirme to bee true, because an huge Nation, and a barbarous and inhumane people, whose Law is lawlesse, whose wrath is furious, euen the rod of Gods anger, ouerrunneth, and vterly wasteth infinite Countries, cruelly abolishing all things where they come, with fire and sword. And this present Summer, the foresaid Nation, being called Tartars, departing out of Hungarie, which they had surprised by treason, layd siege vnto the very same Towne, wherein I my selfe abode, with many thousands of Souldiers: neither were there in the said Towne on our part above Fifty men of warre, whom, together with twenty Corse-bowes, the Captaine had left in Garrison. All these, out of certaine high places, beholding the enemies vaste Armie, and abhorring the beastly cruelty of Antichrist his complices, signified forthwith vnto their Governour, the hideous lamentations of his Christian subiects, who suddenly being surprised in all the Prouince adioyning, without any difference or respect of condition, Fortune, sexe, or age, were by manifold cruelties, all of them destroyed: with whose carresses, the Tartarian chieftaines, and their brutish and sauage followers, glutting themselves, as with delicious cates, left nothing for vultures but the bare bones. And a strange thing it is to consider, that the greedy and rauenous vultures disdained to pray vpon any of the reliques, which remained. Old and deformed Women they gaue, as it were for daylie sustenance, vnto their Canibals: the beautifull deuoured they not, but smothered them, lamenting and scritchng, with forced and unnaturall rauishments. Like barbarous miscreants, they quelled Virgins

Neustat.

unto death, and cutting off their tender paps to present for dainties unto their Magistrates, they engorged themselves with their Bodies.

Howbeit, their spies in the meane time discrying from the top of an high mountaine the Duke of Austria, the King of Bohemia, the Patriarch of Aquileia, the Duke of Carinthia, and (as some report) the Earle of Baden, with a mighty power, and in battell aray, approaching towards them, that accursed crew immediately vanished, and all those Tartarian Vagabonds retired themselves into the distressed and vanquished land of Hungarie: who as they came suddenly, so they departed also on the sudden: which their coleritic caused all men to stand in horror and astonishment of them. But of the said fugitives, the Prince of Dalmatia tooke eight: one of which number the Duke of Austria knew to bee an Englishman, who was perpetually banished out of the Realme of England, in regard of certaine notorious crimes by him committed. This fellow on the behalfe of the most tyrannicall King of the Tartars, had bene twice, as a messenger and Interpreter, with the King of Hungarie, menacing and plainly foretelling those michiefes which afterward happened, unlesse he would submit himselfe and his Kingdome unto the Tartars yoke. Well, being allured by our Princes to confesse the truth, he made such oathes, and protestations, as (I thinke) the Devil himselfe would haue bene trusted for. First therefore hee reported of himselfe, that presently after the time of his banishment, namely, about the thirtieth yeare of his age, hauing lost all that he had in the Citie of Acon at Dice, euen in the midst of Winter, being compelled by ignominious hunger, wearing nothing about him but a shirt of sacke, a paire of shooes, and a haire cap onely, being shauen like a foole, and vttering an vncouth noyse as if hee had bene dumbe, he tooke his iourney, and so traouelling many Countries, and finding in diuers places friendly entertainment, he prolonged his life in this manner for a season, albeit euery day by rashnes of speech, and inconstancy of heart, hee endangered himselfe to the Deuill. At length, by reason of extreame trauaile, and continuall change of ayre and of meates in Caldea, hee fell into a grievous sicknesse, insomuch that he was weary of his life. Not being able therefore to goe forward or backward, and staying therea while to refresh himselfe, hee began (being somewhat learned) to commend to writing those wordes which he heard spoken, and within a short space, so aptly to pronounce and to vtter them himselfe, that he was reputed for a natieue member of that Countrie: and by the same dexteritie he attained to manie Languages. This man, the Tartars hauing intelligence of by their spies, drew him perforce into their societie: and being admonished by an oracle or vision, to challenge dominion ouer the whole earth, they allured him by many rewards to their faithfull seruice, by reason that they wanted Interpreters. But concerning their manners and superstitions, of the disposition and stature of their bodies, of their Countrie and manner of fighting, &c. he protested the particulars following to be true: namely, that they were aboue all men, couetous, haughty, deceitfull, and mercilesse: notwithstanding, by reason of the rigour and extremities of punishments to be inflicted vpon them by their superiours, they are restrained from brawlings, and from mutuall strife and contention. The ancient founders and fathers of their tribes, they call by the name of Gods, and at certaine set times they doe celebrate solemne Feasts vnto them, many of them being particular, and but foure onely generall. They thinke that all things are created for themselves alone. They esteeme it none offence to exercise cruelty against rebels. They be hardy and strong in the breast, leane and pale-faced, rough and huffe-shouldred, hauing flat and short noses, long and sharpe chinnes, their vpper jawes are low and declining, their teeth long and thin, their eye-browes extending from their fore-heads downe to their noses, their eyes inconstant and blacke, their countenances writthen and terrible, their extreame ioynts strong with bones and sinewes, hauing thicke and great thighes, and short legs, and yet being equall vnto vs in stature: for that length which is wanting in their legs, is supplied in the vpper partes of their bodies. Their Countrey in old time was a land vtterly desert and waste, situated farre beyond Chaldea, from whence they haue expelled Lyons, Beares, and such like vntamed beasts, with their bowes, and other engines. Of the hides of beastes being tanned, they vse to shape for themselves light, but yet impenetrable armour. They ride fast bound vnto their Horses, which are not very great in stature, but exceedingly strong, and maintained with little prouender. They vse to fight constantly and valiantly with Iauelins, maces, battle-axes, and swords. But especially they are excellent Archers, and cunning warriors with their bowes. Their backs are sleightly armed, that they may not flee. They withdraw not themselves from the combate, till they see the chiefe Standard of their Generall giue backe. Vanquished, they aske no fauour, and vanquishing, they shew no compassion. They all persist in their purpose of subduing the whole world vnder their owne subiection, as if they were but one man, and yet they are moe then millions in number. They haue 60000. Courriers, who being sent before vpon light Horses to prepare a place for the Armie to incampe in, will in the space of one night gallop three dayes iourney. And suddenly diffusing themselves ouer an whole Prouince, and surprising all the people thereof vnarmed, vnprovided, dispersed, they make such horrible slaughters, that the King or Prince of the land inuaded, cannot finde people sufficient to wage battell against them, and to withstand them. They delude all people and Princes of regions in time of peace, pretending that for a cause, which indeed is no cause. Sometimes they say that they will make a voyage to Colen, to fetch home the three wise Kings into their owne Countrey; sometimes

times to punish the avarice and pride of the Romans, who oppressed them in times past; sometimes to conquer barbarous and Northern nations; sometimes to moderate the furie of the Germans with their owne meeke mildnesse; sometimes to learne warlike feates and stratagems of the French; sometimes for the finding out of fertile ground to suffice their huge multitudes; sometimes againe in derision they say, that they intend to goe on Pilgrimage to Saint James of Galicia. In regard of which sleights and collusions certaine vndiscreet Gouvernours concluding a league with them, haue granted them free passage thorow their Territories, which leagues notwithstanding being violated, were an occasion of ruine and destruction vnto the foresaid Gouvernours, &c.

To the Reader.

I Found this Booke translated by Master Hakluyt out of the Latine. But where the blind leade the blind both fall: as here the corrupt Latine could not but yeeld a corruption of truth in English. Ramusio, Secretarie to the Decemviri in Venice, found a better Copie and published the same, whence you haue the worke in manner new: so renewed, that I haue found the Prouerbe true, that it is better to pull downe an old house and to build it anew, then to repaire it; as I also should haue done, had I knowne that which in the euent I found. The Latine is Latten, compared to Ramusios Gold. And hee which hath the Latine hath but Marco Polos Carcasse, or not so much, but a few bones, yea, sometime stones rather then bones; things diuers, auerse, aduerse, perueried in manner, disioynted in manner, beyond belief. I haue scene some Authours maymed, but neuer any so mangled and so mingled, so present and so absent, as this vulgar Latine of Marco Polo; nor so like himselfe, as the three Polos were at their retorne to Venice, where none knew them, as in the Discourse yee shall find. Much are wee beholden to Ramusio, for restoring this Pole and Load-starre of Asia, out of that mirie poole or puddle in which he lay drowned. And, O that it were possible to doe as much for our Countriman Mandeuill, who next this (if next) was the greatest Asian Traveller that euer the World had, & hauing salne amongst theenes, neither Priest, nor Leuite can know him, neither haue we hope of a Samaritan to releene him. In this I haue induoured to giue (in what I giue) the truth, but haue abridged some things to preuent prolixitie and tautologie in this so voluminous a Worke, leauing out nothing of substance, but what elsewhere is to be found, in this Worke: and seeking rather the sense then a stricter verball following our Authours words and sentence. As for the Chapters I find them diuersly by diuers expressed, and therefore haue followed our owne method.

CHAP. IIII.

The first Booke of MARCVS PAVLVS VENETVS, or of Master MARCO POLO, a Gentleman of Venice, his Voyages.

§. I.

The Voyages of Master M. NICOLO and M. MAFFIO from Constantinople to the Great CAN, and their comming home to Venice: their second Voyage with the Authour and retorne.

IN the time of Baldwin Emperour of Constantinople, * where vsually remayned a Magistrate of Venice, called Messer lo Dose, in the yeare of our Lord 1250. Master Nicolo Polo, Father of Master Marco, and M. Maffio his Brother, Noble, Honourable and Wisemen of Venice, beeing at Constantinople with store of Merchandize, kept many Accounts together. At last they determined to goe into the Great (or Euxine) Sea, to see if they could increase their stocke, and buying many faire and rich Iewels. They departed from Constantinople and sayled by the said Sea to a Port called Soldadia: * from whence they travelled after by Land to the Court of a great Lord of the Tartars, called Barcha, who resided in the Cities of Bolgara and Assara, and was reputed one of the most liberal and courteous Princes that euer had beene amongst the Tartars. He was very well pleased with their comming, and did them great honour. They hauing made shew of their Iewels, and seeing they pleased him, freely bestowed them on him. He, loth placed in Chirmia (not Armenia) on the North side of the Euxine Sea. Frier Bacon before calls it Soldaia in Cassaria.

* Of Baldwins conquering of Constantinople and the Em-pire of the Latines there, Ramusio hath giuen a long discourse: see also Knolles Turkish Historie: & sup. tom. 1. l. 8. c. 6
* Called by Arabians Ismael, Sogdat, and

Bocara, 'or Bog-
har in Bactria,
of which see
M. Ienkinson.

to be exceeded in liberalitie, caused twice the value to bee giuen them, and besides great and rich gifts. Hauing stayed one yeare in the Countrey of the said Prince, whiles they thought to returne to *Venice*, there suddenly arose Warre betwixt the said *Barcha* and another named *Alan*, Lord of the Easterne *Tartars*. These Armies fighting together, *Alan* had the Victorie, and the Armie of *Barcha* receiued a great ouerthrow. By reason whereof, the wayes beeing not secure, they were not able to returne that way which they came. And hauing consulted how to returne to *Constantinople*, they were aduised to goe so farre to the East, that they might compasse the Realme of *Barcha*, by vnknowne wayes: and so they came to a Citie called *Ouchacha*, which is in the Confinnes of the Kingdome of this Lord of the *Tartars* on the West, and passing further, they went ouer *Tigris* (one of the foure Riuer of Paradise) and after that a Desart of seuen-
teene dayes Journey, without Citie, Castle, or Fort, finding only *Tartars*, which liue in the fields in certayne Tents, with their beasts. Beeing past the Desart they came to a good Citie called *Bocara*, (the name also of the Prouince) in the Region of *Persia*, which was subiect to a King called *Barach*: in which place they stayed three yeares before they could goe forward or backward, by reason of great warres betwixt the *Tartars*.

At that time a certayne Wiseman was sent Ambassador from the said Prince *Alan* to the Great *Can*, who is the greatest King of all the *Tartars*, residing in the Confinnes of the Earth, betwixt the North-east and the East, called *Cublai Can*: who being comne to *Bocara*, and finding there the said two brethren which had now well learned the *Tartarian* Language, he reioyced aboue measure, and perswadeth these Westerne men or *Latines* to goe with him, to the presence of the Great Emperour of the *Tartars*; knowing that hee should gratifie him in this, and the men notwithstanding should be entertayned with great honour, and rewarded with large gifts; especially, seeing through the manifold conference had with them, he now perceiued their pleasing behauiour. Those men therefore considering, that they could not easily returne home without danger, consulting together, ioyne with the said Ambassadour, and iourney with him to the Emperour of the *Tartars*, hauing certayne other Christians in their Company, whom they brought with them from *Venice*, and departing towards the North-east and the North, were a whole yeare in going to the Court of the said chiefe King of the *Tartars*. The cause of their long time in this Journey, was the Snowes and Riuer Waters much increased, so that they were forced in their trauell to stay the wasting of the Snow, and decreasing of the floods.

They come to
the Great *Can*.

Being therefore brought before the presence of the Great *Can*, they were most courteously receiued of him. He questioned them concerning many things, as of the Countries of the West, the *Romane* Emperour, and other Kings and Princes, how they carried themselves in Government, and in Warlike affaires, how Peace, Iustice, and Concord continued among them; also what manner of life, and customes were obserued with the *Latines*; and especially of the Pope of the Christians, of the things of the Church and the Religion of the Christian Faith. And *M. Nicolo* and *M. Maffeo*, as Wisemen told him the truth, alway speaking well to him, and orderly in the *Tartarian* Tongue. Insomuch that hee often commanded they should bee brought to his presence, and they were very acceptable in his sight.

They are sent
Ambassadors
from the *Can*
to the Pope.

Hauing well vnderstood the Affaires of the *Latines*, and resting satisfied with their answers, the Great *Can* intending to send them his Ambassadors to the Pope, first, consulted with his Barons, and then calling to him the two Brethren, desired them for his loue to goe to the Pope of the *Romans*, with one of his Barons called *Chogatall*, to pray him to send an hundred Wisemen, and learned in the Christian Religion vnto him, who might shew his Wisemen, that the Faith of the Christians, was to bee preferred before all other Sects, and was the only way of saluation; and that the Gods of the *Tartars* were Deuils, and that they and others the people of the East were deceived in the worship of their Gods. Hee gaue them also in charge to bring in their returne from *Ierusalem*, of the Oyle of the Lampe which burneth before the Sepulchre of our Lord Iesus Christ, to whom hee had great deuotion, and held him to bee true God. They therefore yeelding due reuerence to the Great *Can*, promise that they will faithfully execute the charge committed vnto them, and present the Letters which they receiued from him, written in the *Tartarian*, to be deliuered to the Bishop of *Rome*.

Golden tablet
vied as a Com-
mission vnder
the broad
Seale.

He (according to the custome of his Kingdome) commanded a Golden Tablet to bee giuen them ingrauen and signed with the Kings marke; carrying the which with them throughout his whole Empire, in stead of a Passe-port, they might bee euery-where safely conueyed through dangerous places, by the Gouvernours of Prouinces and Cities, and receiue expenses from them; and lastly, how long soeuer they would stay in any place, whatsoever they needed to them or theirs, should be ministred vnto them. Taking their leaue therefore of the Emperour, they take their Journey, carrying the Letters and Golden Tablet with them. And when they had rid twentie dayes Journey, the Baron aforesaid associated vnto them began to fall grievously sicke. Whereupon consulting and leaving him there, they prosecute their intended Journey, beeing euery-where courteously receiued by reason of the Emperours Tablet. Yet in very many places they were compelled to stay, by occasion of the ouer-flowing of Riuer, so that they spent three yeares, before they came vnto the Port of the Citie of the *Armenians*, named *Giazza*. From

Giazza

Giazza they goe to *Acre*, to wit, in the yeere of our Lord 1269. in the moneth of Aprill.

But hauing entred into the Citie of *Acre*, they heard, that Pope *Clement* the fourth was lately dead, and that no other was substituted in his place: for the which they were not a little grieved. At that time, there was a certaine Legate of the Apostolicall Sea at *Acre*, to wit, Master *Tibaldo de Vesconti di Piacenza*, to whom they declared all they had in commission, from the Great *Chan*: and he aduised them, to expect the Creation of a new Pope. In the meane space therefore departing to *Venice* to visit their Friends, (purposing to remayne there vntill another Pope were created) Master *Nicolo* found that his wife was dead, whom (at his departure) hee had left great with child, but had left a sonne, named *Marco*, who was now * nineteene yeeres of age. This is that *Marco* which ordayned * this Booke, who will manifest therein all those things which he hath seene. Moreouer, the Election of the Pope of *Rome* was deferred two yeeres.

They (fearing the discontentment, and disquieting of the Emperour of the *Tartars*, who (they knew) expected their returne) goe backe againe to *Acre* to the Legate, carrying with them *Marco* aforesaid, and (hauing gone to *Ierusalem*, and fetched of the Oyle) with the Legats Letters, testifying their fidelitie to the Great *Chan*, and that a Pope was not yet chosen, they went againe towards *Giazza*. In the meane time whiles they were going, Messengers came from the Cardinals to the Legate, declaring vnto him, that he was chosen Pope: and he called himselfe * *Gregorie*. Hearing this, presently sending Messengers, hee calleth backe the *Venetians*, and admonisheth them not to depart, preparing other Letters for them, which they should present vnto the Great *Chan* of the *Tartars*; with whom he also ioynd two Preaching Friars, men famous for their honest conuersation and learning, whereof the one was called Friar *Nicolo Danicenza*; the other, Friar *Guilmo da Tripoli*. To these hee gaue Letters, and Priviledges, and authoritie to order Priests and Bishops, and of all absolution as if himselfe were present, with Presents also of great value, and Crystall vessels to present the great *Chan*, together with his Benediction. They came to *Giazza*, a Port of the Sea in *Armenia*. And because *Bentischdare* the Sultan of *Babylon* leuying a great Armie had then inuaded the *Armenians*, the two Friars mentioned, began to bee afraid of themselves, and deliuering the Letters and Presents to Master *Nicolo*, and *Maffio*, and *Marco*, desiring to auoide the danger of the wayes, and perill of warres, remayned with the Master of the Temple, and returned with him.

But the three *Venetians* exposing themselves to all danger, with many labours, and much difficultie travelled many dayes, alwaies towards the North-east and North, till they after three yeeres and a halfe came vnto the Emperour of the *Tartars*, vnto the Citie called *Clemenfu*: for in the Winter time their iourney had often and long hinderances, by reason of the snow and extreme cold, and inundations of waters. Moreouer, King *Cublai* hearing that they were coming, who were yet very farre off, sent Messengers fortie dayes iourney to meet them, who should conduct them, and minister all necessaries for the iourney.

Going therefore to the Kings Court, and being brought to his presence, they fell downe before him on their faces, yeelding the accustomed reuerence. Of whom being curteously received, they are willed to arise, and he commandeth them to declare, how they passed the diuers dangers of the wayes, and what they had treated with the Bishop of *Rome*. Then they orderly declare all things, and giue the Emperour the Popes Letters and Presents which they brought. Whereat the *Chan* wonderfull reioycing, commended their faithfull cares. The Oyle also brought from the Lampe of the Lords Sepulcher, and offered vnto him, hee reuerently received of them, and commanded it should bee honourably preserued. And asking of *Marco*, who hee was, Master *Nicolo* answered, that he was his Maiesties seruant and his sonne. Hee entertayned him with a friendly countenance, and caused him to write amongst other his honourable Courtiers: Whereupon he was much esteemed of all the Court, and in a little space learned the customes of the *Tartars*, and foure diuers Languages, being able to write and reade them all.

The great *Chan* to make his wisdom more apparent, committed an Embassage vnto him to be performed in a Citie called *Carahan*, vnto the which he could scarcely attayne in fixe moneths space. But he, carrying himselfe wisely in all things, discharged what hee had in commission, not without the commendation and fauour of the Prince. And knowing the Emperour was delighted with nouelties in the Countries which he passed thorow, he diligently searched the customes and manners of men, and the conditions of the Countries; making a memoriall of all which he knew and saw, to pleasure the Great *Chan*. And in fixe and twentie * yeeres which he continued one of his Court, he was so acceptable to him, that he was continually sent thorow all his Realmes and Signories, for the affaires of the Great *Chan*, and sometimes for his owne, but by the *Chans* order. And this is the true reason that the said Master *Marco* learned and saw so many nouelties of the East, which follow in order diligently written.

But these *Venetians* hauing stayd in that Court many yeeres, and growne very rich in Jewels of great value, were inflamed with desire to visit their Countrey, fearing that if the *Chan* (now old) should die, they should not bee able to returne. One day Master *Nicolo* seeing the *Chan* merrie, craued licence to depart in the name of all three. Whereat hee was moued, and asked

Acre or *Acon*, then in possession of the Christians, see before l. 8. c. 4. Pope *Clement* the fourth.

* Another copie hath 15. x For the Booke was written by a Gentleman of *Genoa* from his mouth: and therefore still in *Ramusio* *Marco* is mentioned in the third person, and not in the first: at least much of it was so written and the whole published by both. d The tenth of that name. Letters, and Preaching Friars sent vnto the *Tartars*.

The Citie *Clemenfu*.

The adoration of the *Tartars*.

Marcius Paulus made one of the *Chans* Clerkes, and a Courtier. *Marcos* Legation. His wisdom in travelling to a farre Countrey.

* This 26. yeeres are to be reckoned to the time in which this booke was written, from 1272. to 1298. as in the Relation appeareth. The sense is that it was 26. yeeres since he began to be a Courtier. They desire to returne.

why

Argon, a King
of the Indians.
Argon is a Na-
tion of India.
And this King
gouerned the
same.
The will of
Queene Bol-
gana.
Cogatin.

why they would put themselves on so dangerous a iourney: and if they wanted riches, he would giue them twice as much as they had: and in great loue would not permit their departure. Yet in the meane space it happened, that a King of the Indians, named *Argon*, sent three wise men vnto the Court of Great *Cublai*, whose names were *Vlatai*, *Apusca*, *Coza*, to treat with him, that he wold deliuer him a wife; for his wife named *Bolgana*, being lately dead, begged this grace of the King at the point of death, and left in her Wil, that he should not marrie a wife of another Familie then her owne, which was of *Catay*. King *Cublai* therefore yeelding to his request, caused to be sought out for them a faire young Mayden of seuentene yeeres of age, named *Cogatin*, descended of the said Queenes stocke, and to be the wife of *Argon*.

These Embassadors departing, rode eight moneths the same way they came, but found so hot warres betwixt the *Tartars*, that they were constrained to returne: and acquainted the *Chan* with their proceedings. Meane-whiles, Master *Marco* had returned from the parts of *India*, where he had beene employed with certaine ships, and declared to the *Chan* the nouelties of the places, and the securitie of those Seas: which words hauing passed him, the Embassadors conferred with the *Venetians*, and agreed that they with the Queene should goe to the Great *Chan*, and desire leaue to returne by Sea, and to haue the three *Latines*; men skilfull in Sea affaires, with them to the Countrey of King *Argon*. The Great *Chan* was much displeased with their request, yet vpon their petition granted it: and caused *Nicolo*, *Maffio* and *Marco* to come to his presence, and after much demonstration of his loue, would haue them promise to returne to him, after they had spent some time in Christendome, and at their owne house. And he caused to giue them a Tablet of Gold, in which was written his commandement, for their libertie and securitie thorow all his Dominions, and that expenses should bee giuen them and theirs, and a Guide or conuoy for safe passage; ordaining also that they should be his Embassadors to the Pope, the Kings of *France*, of *Spayne*, and to other Christian Kings. Hee caused fourteene ships to be prepared, each hauing foure Masts and able to beare nine Sayles in sayling, the forme of which is too long here to relate. Foure of them, or fife, had from two hundred and fiftie to two hundred and sixtie Mariners each of them. In these ships the Embassadors, the Queene, and *Nicolo*, *Maffio*, and *Marco*, set sayle, hauing first taken leaue of the Great *Chan*, who gaue them many Rubies and other precious gems, and expenses for two yeeres.

After three moneths they came vnto a certaine Iland, named *Iana*, and from thence sayling through the *Indian Sea*; after eightene moneths, they come vnto the Countrey of King *Argon*, fixe hundred men of the Mariners and others, and but one of the Women and Damsels died in the iourney, and onely *Coza* of the three Embassadors was liuing. When they came to the Countrey of King *Argon*, they found that hee was dead, and that one *Chiacato* gouerned the Kingdome, for his sonne being young. They sent to acquaint him with their businesse; who answered, that they should giue her to *Casan* the Kings sonne, then in the parts of *Arbor secco*, in the Confines of *Persia* with sixtie thousand persons for the guard of certaine passages against the enemye. Hauing done so, *Nicolo*, *Maffio*, and *Marco*, returned to *Chiacato*, and stayed there nine moneths. After this, taking leaue, *Chiacato* gaue them foure Tables of Gold, each a cupit long, fife fingers broad, of the weight of three or foure Markes: in which was written, that in the power of the eternall God, the name of the Great *Chan* should bee honoured and praised many yeeres; and euery one which should not obey, should be put to death, and his goods confiscate. It was further contayned, that these three Embassadors should be honoured, and seruice done them in all Lands and Countries, as to his owne person: and that Horses, Conuoyes, expenses and necessaries should be giuen them. All which was duly put in execution, that sometimes they had two hundred Horses for their safeguard. In this their trauell they heard that the Great *Chan* was dead, which tooke from them all hope of returning thither. They rode till they came to *Trabesonde*, and from thence to *Constantinople*, and after to *Negroponte*, and at last came with great riches safe to *Venice*, Anno 1295. And thus much may serue for a Preface to the following worke, whereby might appeare, how *Marco Polo* could come to the knowledge of the things therein contayned.

To supply a little more, deliuered by Tradition and recorded by *Ramusio*: he sayth that these three being come to *Venice*, like *Vlysses* in *Ithaca*, none knew them; all esteeming them long since dead. Besides, their voyage had so altered them, that they seemed rather *Tartarians* then *Venetians*, hauing in manner forgotten their native Language; their habite also was of thicke Cloth, like *Tartars*. They went to their house in *Saint Iohn Chrysostomes Street*, and is there still to be seene, then a faire Palace, and now called, The Court of millions: which name it had by reason of *Marcos* relations of so many millions in this worke, and in his discourses of the Great *Chans* incredible wealth. They found there inhabiting some of their kindred, nor knew how to make themselves knowne. Therefore, as I haue often heard of *Magnifico Messer Gasparo Malipiero*, a very old Gentleman of singular integritie, from the report of his Father and Grandfather, &c. they agreed to inuite many of their kindred to a feast, prepared in honourable manner with much Magnificence: in which at first all three came forth in *Crimson Sattin* suites, and after the Guests were set, stripped themselves, and gaue them to the Seruitors, comming forth in *Crimson Damaske*; and at the next seruice in *Crimson Veluet*, and after in the com-

mon habit, giving still the former to the scrivers. Dinner ended and the Scrivers put forth, Marco brought forth their three habits of thicke Cloath in which they had come home, and thence tooke and set on the Table an incredible quantitie of Jewels artificially sewed therein, which was no lesse marvell to the beholders, then evidence of their being of the Polo family as they pretended. Maffio was made a Magistrate in Venice, Marco was daily frequented with the youth; and all wanne great reputation. In few moneths after, Lampa Doria Generall of a fleet of Genois being come to the Ile Curzola with seauentie Galleyes, Andrea Dandolo was sent against them, and in that Fleet Marco was made Captaine of a Galley, which by disadventure of Warre was taken, and he carryed prisoner to Genoa. Where his strange travels being made knowne, a certaine Gentleman daily resorting to him (as did the whole Citie in admiration) caused and helped him to write this storie, having sent to Venice for his Notes. The booke was first written in Latine, and thence translated into Italian. One of which Latine Copies very ancient and haply copied out of Marcos originall, I haue seene and compared with this which I heere Publish, lent me by a Gentleman of this Citie of the house of the Ghisimys speciall friend, which holds it in speciall esteeme. No price might ransom him, insomuch that his Father wanting an heire to his wealth married againe, and had by his wife three Children. Marcos worthinesse obtained that which no moneys worth could doe, and being at libertie hee returned and married, and had two Daughters (but no sonne) Morretta and Fautina, &c.

That Gentleman of Genoa made a Preface to the Booke, and Francisco Pipino a Frier Preacher which translated the same, Anno 1320. out of the Vulgar (the Latine being rare, as well it might before Printing and perhaps neuer seene of him) into Latine. Both those Prefaces are in Ramusio: the latter commends M. Polo for a deuout and honest man, and saith his Father confirmed the truth of this Booke, and his vncke Maffio on his Death-bed to his Confessor. Pipino abbreviated the Booke and perhaps gaue occasion to that corruption which was after increased by others.

§. II.

Observations of M. Polo, of Armenia, Turkie, Zorzanian, Baldach, Persia, Chirmain, Cobniam, Ormus, Knaue-fooles Paradise, and other Easterne parts in Asia, and Armenia the lesse.

30

Here are two *Armenias*, the greater and the lesse. In the lesse the King abides in a Citie called *Sebastoz*, which in all his Countrey obserueth Iustice and good Government. The Kingdome it selfe hath many Cities, Fortresses and Castles: the soyle also is fertile, and the Countrey lacketh no necessary thing, nor doth it want game of Beasts and fowle: the ayre is not very good. The Gentlemen of *Armenia* in times past were stout warriors, but become now effeminate and nice, giue themselves to drunkenness and ryot. There is a certaine Citie in this Kingdome seated neere the Sea, named *Giazza*, hauing an excellent Hauen whither many Merchants resort from diuers Countries, euen from *Venice* and *Genoa*, by reason of the diuers marchandises brought thither, especially Spices of sundry sorts, and certaine other precious riches brought thither out of the East Countries for trading: for this place is as it were a certaine part of all the East Countries.

The manners
of the Inhabi-
tants.
Giazza.

40

In *Turchomania* are three sorts of Nations; to wit, the *Turchomans* or *Turke-men*, which obserue the law of *Mahomet*. They are men vlearned, rude, and wilde, inhabiting the Mountaines and inaccessible places, where they know are pastures; for they liue onely of their beasts. There are good Horses, called *Turke-men*, (or *Turkie* horses) Mules, of great estimation. The other Nations are *Grecians* and *Armenians*, who possesse the Cities and Townes, and bestow their labour on Marchandise and Artes. They make the best Carpets in the world. And they haue many Cities, the chiefe whereof are *Cogno*, or *Iconium*, *Casarea*, and *Sebastie*, where Saint *Basil* suffered Martyrdome for *Christ*, and they acknowledge one of the Kings of the *Tartars* for their Lord.

Turchomania, or
Turkie.

50

Armenia the greater, being a very large Prouince, tributary to the *Tartars*, hath many Cities and Townes. The chiefe Citie thereof is called *Arzuiga*, and the best Bukram is made there. Most wholsome hot waters also spring there, for the washing and curing of mens bodies. And the other more famous Cities next to the Metropolis, are *Argiron* and *Darzik*. In the Summer time, very many *Tartars* resort thither with their Flockes and heards, allured through the fatnes of the pasture: and againe in the Winter depart for a certaine time by reason of the abundance of Snow. The Arke of *Noah* remained in the Mountaines of this *Armenia*. This Countrey hath the Prouince of *Mosull* and *Meridin*, bordering on the East. But on the North is *Zorzanian*, in the confines of which a Fountaine is found, from which liquor-like oyle floweth, yet is it vnprofitable for the seasoning of meat, but very fit for the making and maintaining of Lampes, and to anoint other things enough to lade Camels.

Of the *Georgi-
ans*.

60

In *Zorzanian* is a King called alway *David Melicz*, or King *David*: One part of the Prouince is subiect to him, the other payeth tribute to the King of the *Tartars*. The Woods there are of Boxe-tree. The Countrey abutteth on the two Seas, *Mar-maggiore*, and that of *Abacch*,

Georgia.

(or

(or the *Caspian*) which containeth in Circuit twentie eight hundred Miles, and is like a Lake, not mingled with other Seas. In it are many Ilands, Cities and Castles, some of which are inhabited by those which fled from the *Tartars* out of *Persia*. The people of *Zorzanis* are Christians, observing the rites of the *Christians*. They keepe their hayre short, like the *Westerne Clergie*. The Inhabitants haue many Cities and Castles, and abound with Silke, of the which they make very faire Cloathes.

Moxul.

Moxul is a Prouince in which dwell people of many sortes, one called *Arabi* which are *Mahumetans*, other are *Christians*, some *Nestorians*, others *Iacobites*, and others *Armenians*: and they haue a Patriarch called *Iacolit*, which ordaineth Archbishops, Bishops, and Abbots, and lends them thorow all parts of *India*, and to *Cairo* and *Baldach*, and all parts where Christians dwell, as doth the Pope of *Rome*. And all the cloathes of Gold and of Silke called *Moffulines* are wrought in *Moxul*. But in the Mountaines of this Kingdome dwell the people called *Cordi*, whereof some are *Nestorians*, other *Iacobites*, and some followers of *Mahumet*. They are wicked men and rob Merchants. Neare to them is another Prouince, called *Mus* and *Meridin*, wherein growes infinite store of Cotton or Bombast, whereof they make Buckrams and other workes. They are all vnder the *Tartars*.

Baldach.
Chisi.
Balsara.

Baldach is a great Citie, in which was the *Chalifa* that is the Pope of all the *Saracens*. A Riuer runnes thorow it, from whence to the Sea is ordinarily seauenteene dayes iourney. They sayle by a Citie called *Chisi*: but before they come thither is *Balsara*, about which grow the best Dates in the world. In *Baldach* are many cloathes of Gold and Silke: there are wrought Damaskes and Veluets with diuers figures of creatures. All the pearles (in manner) in Christendome come thence. In that Citie is studyed the law of *Mahomet*, *Negromancie*, *Physicke*, *Astronomie*, *Geomancie*, and *Phisnomie*: It is the chiefe Citie in those parts. When the *Tartars* began to raigne, there were foure Brethren, the eldest of which, *Mongu* rained in *Sedia*. These purposing to subdue the world, went one to the East, another to the North, to the South a third, which was *Ulan*, and the other to the West. In the yeare from the Incarnation of our Lord 1250. *Ulan* hauing a great Army of one hundred thousand Horse, besides Foot, yet vsed policie, and hauing hid a great part of his men brought by fained flight, the *Calipha* into his ambush, and tooke him, and the Citie: in which he found infinite store of treasure, insomuch that he wondered.

Vlan Alan, or
Haalon.

He sent for the *Califa*, and reprobued him that in that warre hee had not therewith provided himselfe of Souldiers for defence: and commanded that hee should be inclosed in that Tower, where his Treasure was, without other sustenance. This seemed a iust iudgement from our Lord Iesus Christ on him. For he in the yeare 1225, seeking to conuert the Christians to *Mahumet*: And taking aduantage on that place of the Gospell, that *hee which hath Faith as much as a graine of Mustard-seed, should be able to remoue mountaines*, he conuerted all the *Christians*, *Nestorians*, and *Iacobites*, and propounded to them in ten dayes to remoue certaine Mountaines, or turne *Mahumetans*, or be slaine, as not hauing one man amongst them which had the least faith. They therefore continued eight dayes in Prayer: after which a certaine Shoemaker by reuelation to a Bishop, was designed to performe it. This Shoemaker once tempted to lust by sight of a young Woman in putting on her Shooe, zealously had fulfilled that of the Gospell, and literally had put out his right eye: He now on the day appointed with other Christians following the Crosse and lifting his hands to Heauen, prayed to God to haue mercy on his people, and then with a loude voyce commanded the Mountaine in the name of the Father, Sonne, and holy Ghost to remoue, which presently with great terrour to the *Califa* and all his people was effected. And that day is since kept holy, with fasting also on the euen.

Tauris.

Tauris is a great Citie in the Prouince of *Hirace*. It is a most populous Citie. They liue of Arts and Merchandise. They make Cloathes of gold and silke. Foraine Merchants make there great gaine, but the Inhabitants are generally poore: a mixed people of *Nestorians*, *Armenians*, *Iacobites*, *Georgians*, and *Persians*, and *Mahumetans*. These last are perfidious and treacherous, thinking all well gotten which they steale from men of other Religions. And this wickednesse of the *Saracens* hath conuerted many *Tartars* thereto. If the Christians kill them in their robbetrie, they are reputed Martyrs. From *Tauris* to *Persia* are twelue dayes iourney. In the confines of *Tauris* is the Monasterie of Saint *Barsam*, the Monkes whereof are like *Carmelites*; they alway make girdles which they lay on the Altar, and giue to their friends, which deuoutly esteeme of them.

Devils Martyrs

The eight
Kingdome of
Persia.
Horses.
Asses.The Inhabi-
tants.

Persia containeth eight Kingdomes: whereof the first is called *Casbin*, the second *Curdistan*, the third *Lor*, the fourth *Suolistan*, the fift *Spaan*, the sixt *Sirat*, the seauenth *Soncara*, the eight *Tumochaim*, which is neere *Arborescco* towards the North. Faire and great Horses are there, whence they are sold into *India*. There are also very goodly and excellent Asses sold dearer then the Horses, for that they eat little, carrie much and farre. They haue Camels but not so swift. These are necessary in those Countries, which sometime in a long way yeeld no grasse. The people in those Countries are very wicked, contentious, Theeues, and Murderers, professing the faith of *Mahumet*. Merchants are euery where slaine by those Theeues, vnlesse they trauell in troupes. Yet are there excellent Artificers in the Cities, who make wonderfull things in gold, silke,

silke, and Embroyderie. They abound with Silke-wormes, Wheat, Barley, Milium, and other kindes of Corne: and haue also plenty of Wine and fruits. And though their Law forbid wine, yet they haue a glosse to correct or corrupt the text, that if they boyle it, then it changeth the taste, and therefore the name also of Wine.

Fine distinction, as in a Popish fast.

Iasdi is a great Citie in the confines of *Persia*, where much Trading is exercised. It hath also cunning Artificers who labour in Silke.

Iasdi.

Chierman is a Kingdome in the confines of *Persia* to the East, subiect to the *Tartars*. In the veines of the Mountaines the stones are found, commonly called *Turchisses*; veines also of *Az-zao* and *Andanico*. There are also made all Armes and munition for warre, and by the Women excellent needle-workes in Silkes, with the portraictures of all sorts of Creatures verie admirable. There are the best Falcons in the world, verie swift of flight, red breasted, and vnder the trayne, lesse then those of other Countries. Proceeding further, you goe through a great Plaine, and hauing ended eight dayes iourney, you come vnto a certaine descent. In the Plaine many Partridges are found, and also Castles and Townes. But in that steepe descent are many trees and thole fruitfull, but no habitation is there but of Shepherds. This Countrey in the winter time hath intollerable cold.

After this you come vnto a certaine great Plaine, where a certaine Citie is seated, named *Camandu*, which in times past was great, but is now destroyed by the *Tartars*, and the Countrey is called *Reobarle*. There grow Pomgranats, Quinces, *Adams*-apples, and diuers others fruits, which grow not in our cold Countries. It hath also very great Oxen, and all white, thin hayred with thicke blunt short hornes, with a Camels bunch on the backe, accustomed to beare great burthens. And when the packe-saddles are set vpon the bunch, they bow the knee like Camels, and hauing receiued the burthen rise againe, being so taught by men. The Sheepe of that Countrey are no lesse then Ases, bearing so long and broad a tayle, that they weigh thirty pound weight. They are very faire and fat, and good meat. Moreover, in the plaine of this Countrey are many Cities and Townes, with high walls of Mud to defend them from the *Carannas*, that is *Mesizos*, or mingled people of *Indian* women and *Tartars*, tenthousand of which bee conducted by one *Nugodar*, the nephew of *Zagathai* who ruled in the greater *Turkie*. This *Nugodar* hearing of the *Malabars* subiect to Soldan *Asidin*, without his Vncles knowledge went and tooke *Dely* with other Cities, and erected a new Seignorie, and mixing with the *Indian* women procreated these *Carannas*, which goe vp and downe to rob and spoyle in *Reobarle* and other Countries. There they learned magicall and diabolicall Arts, by which the ayre is so darkned in the day time for a long space, that none may see them or preuent them. *M. Marco* one time thorow such darknesse did almost fall into their hands, but made shift to escape to a Castle called *Consalmi*; but many of his company were taken or slaine.

Camandu.

Oxen with a bunch on the backe. Sheepe of the bigness of Ases.

Their Inchantments. The Authors danger.

Ormuz.

Parrots.

That Plaine whereof I now speake, is five daies iourney extended towards the South. But at the end therof, the way beginneth by litle and litle to descend for twenty miles together, & the way it selfe is very bad, and not without danger by reason of Theeues. At length you come to very goodly Plainnes, which extend themselves two dayes iourney in length, and the place it selfe is called *Ormuz*. That Countrey aboundeth with Riuer of water and Palme trees. There is also plenty of diuers Fowles, especially of Poppin-jayes, which are not like to ours. From hence you come vnto the Ocean, where on an Iland is seated, a Citie called *Ormuz*, whereto many Merchants resort, bringing Spices, Pearles, precious Stones, cloath of Gold and Silkes, and Elephants teeth, and all other precious things from *India*. That Citie is a great Mart, hauing Cities and Castles vnder it, and is head of the Kingdome *Chermain*: the King is called *Ruchmedin Achomach*, who yeelds obedience to the King of *Chermain*. He makes himselfe heyre, if any Merchant dyes there. In Summer they by reason of the heat betake themselves to their Garden houses built on waters. And from nine till noone there blowes a winde with such extreame heat from the sands, that it swallows vp a mans breath and stifeth him, which makes them lye in the water. The King of *Chermain* sent an Armie of fixteene hundred Horse, and five thousand Foot, against the Lord of *Ormuz* for not paying his tribute, which were all surprised and stifed with that winde. The Inhabitants of the place eate no Bread made of Corne and flesh, but feed vpon Dates, salt Fish, and Onions. They haue not very sound Ships: for they fasten them not with yron nayles (by reason that the wood is brittle and would cleaue) but with wooden pins, with certaine threds made of the shels of *Indian* Nuts. These shels are dressed after the manner of Leather, out of the which, threds are cut, and of the thrids exceeding strong cordes are made, which are able to indure the force and violence of the water, and are not easily corrupted thereby. Those Ships haue one Mast, one sayle, one beame, and are couered but with one decke. They are not chalked with Pitch, but with the Trane of Fishes. And when they crosse the Sea to *India*, carrying Horses and other freight with them, they lose many Ships, because that Sea is very tempestuous, and the Ships are not strengthened with yron. The Inhabitants of that Countrey are blacke, and addicted to the Law of *Mahumet*. It is the custome of this Countrey, when any Master of a family dyeth, that the wife left behind him should mourne for him foure weekes, once a day. They haue women which professe the practise of mourning and are thereto hired, to mourne daily for their dead.

Their Ships

An outward shell which growes vpon the *Coco* Nut, and yeelds a ready substance.

Returning

Returning from *Ormus* to *Chermain* is a fertile Plaine, but the bread made there, cannot bee eaten of them, who are not accustomed thereunto, it is so bitter by reason of the bitter water put therein, whereof are store of hot Bathes good against diseases.

A Defart in which is Salt, bitter, laxative, Greene water.

Going from *Chermain* in three dayes riding you come to a Defart, which continued till you come to *Cobinam*, seven dayes Iourney, which is extended. In the first three dayes you shall haue no water, saue a very few, and those salt and bitter, of a Greene colour in shew, as if it were the iuyce of Herbs: and who so tasteth but a little thereof, cannot escape loosenesse of the belly. The like also hapneth, if any taste the Salt made of that water: It is therefore needfull, that Trauellers carrie some water with them, if they will not be indangered through thirst. The beasts also which are compelled to drink that water, escape not without scouring. In the fourth day they find a fresh Riuer vnder ground: the three last dayes are as the first.

Cobinam.
Tutia and
Spodio.

Cobinam is a great *Mahumetan* Citie; goodly, and great Looking Glasses of Steele, are made there. *Tutia* also which cureth the eyes; and *Spodio* and that, after this manner. That Countrey hath Mines, out of which they digge Earth, which they boyle casting it into a fierie Fornace, an Iron grate receiuing the ascending vapour from aboue, in the which, the conglutinated and clammy vapour becommeth *Tutia*. But the grosser matter remayning in the fire, is called *Spodio*. The Inhabitants of this Countrey, are followers of *Mahumet*.

A Defart of eight dayes Iourney.

Leauing the Citie *Cobinam*, you meet with another Defart eight dayes Iourney in length, and in it there is great drynesse: it wanteth trees, and fruits, and waters which it hath are very bitter, so that the very beasts refuse to drinke them except they mixe meale therewith, and Trauellers carrie water with them. But hauing passed ouer this Defart, you came to the Kingdome *Timochaim* in the North Confines of *Persia*, where many Cities and Castles are. There is a great Plaine in which a great tree groweth, called the tree of the Sunne, which the Christians call, *The dry Tree*. This tree is very great and thicke, and hath leaues, which on the one side are white, and on the other side Greene. It produceth prickly shales like those of a Chesnut, but nothing in them. The wood is solide and strong, yellow like Boxe. There is no tree within one hundred miles, except on one side, on which are trees within ten miles. In this place the Inhabitants say, that *Alexander* the Great fought with *Darius*. The Cities are plentifull of good things, but *Mahumetan*, and of temperate Aire. It hath also goodly men, but specially women, the most beautifull in my iudgement in the World.

Timochaim.

Tree of Sun,
or *Arbor Secco*.
a *Ricci*.

Mulehet.

Mulehet is in *Saracen* Language, as much to say as a place of Heretikes, and of this place they call the men *Mulehetici*, that is, Heretikes in their Law, as with vs *Patarines*. Hauing spoken of the Countrey, the old man of the Mountayne shall bee spoken of, of whom *Marco* heard much from many. His name was *Aladine*, and was a *Mahumetan*. Hee had in a goodly Valley betwixt two Mountaynes very high, made a goodly Garden, furnished with the best trees and fruits he could find, adorned with diuers Palaces and houses of pleasure, beautified with gold Workes, Pictures, and Furnitures of tilke. Thereby diuers Pipes answering diuers parts of those Palaces were scene to runne Wine, Milke, Honey and cleere Water. In them hee had placed goodly Damofels skilfull in Songs and Instruments of Musicke and Dancing, and to make Sports and Delights vnto men whatsoever they could imagine. They were also fairely attyred in Gold and Silke, and were scene to goe continually sporting in the Garden and Palaces. He made this Palace, because *Mahomet* had promised such a sensuall Paradise to his deuout followers. No man might enter: for at the mouth of the Valley was a strong Castle, and the entrance was by a secret passage.

Aladine the
old man of the
Mountayne.

Knaue-fooles
Paradise.

Aladine had certaine Youthes from twelue to twentie yeares of age, such as seemed of a bold and vndoubted disposition, whom hee instructed daily touching *Mahomets* Paradise, and how hee could bring men thither. And when he thought good, he caused a certaine Drinke to bee giuen vnto ten or twelue of them, which cast them in a dead sleepe: and then hee caused them to be carryed into diuers Chambers of the said Palaces, where they saw the things aforesaid as soone as they awaked; each of them hauing those Damofels to minister Meates and excellent Drinkes, and all varieties of pleasures to them; insomuch that the Fooles thought themselves in Paradise indeed. When they had enioyed those pleasures foure or fife dayes, they were againe cast in a sleepe, and carryed forth againe. After which, hee caused them to be brought into his presence, and questioned where they had beene, which answered, by your Grace, in Paradise, and recounted before all, all before mentioned. Then the old man answered, This is the commandement of our Prophet, that whosoever defends his Lord, he make him enter Paradise: and if thou wilt bee obedient to mee, thou shalt haue this grace. And hauing thus animated them, hee was thought happie whom the old man would command, though it cost him his life: so that other Lords and his Enemies were slaine by these his *Assafines*, which exposed themselves to all dangers, and contemned their liues. Hereupon hee was esteemed a Tyrant, feared in all those parts; and had two Vicars one in the parts of *Damasco*, and another in *Curdistan*: which obserued the same order with young men. Hee vsed also to rob all which passed that way. *Vlan* in the yeare 1262. sent and besieged his Castle, which after three yeares liege they tooke; slue him and ruined his Paradise, not being able for want of victuall to hold out longer.

* It is likely that the *Assafines* mentioned in the eight & ninth Bookes were branches of this stock. Disciples of his Syrian Vicar: or this of them.

§. III.

Of Sapurgan, Balac, Thaican, Scassem, Balaxiam, Bascia, Chesmur,
Vochan, Samarchan, Carchan, Peym, the dreadfull De-
sart of Lop and Tanguth.

DEparting from the foresaid place, you come vnto a certayne Country pleasant enough, which hath Hills, Plaines, and excellent Pasture, and lastly, fruits in great plentie: for the soyle thereof is very fruitfull. This continues sixe dayes, and then you enter a Desart of fortie or fiftie miles, without water. After this you come to the Citie *Sapurgan*, where plentie of all victuall is found: especially, Pompons the best in the World, sweet like Honey.

Large pleasant
Counrey.

A Desart.
Sapurgan.
Pompions.

Statyra.
Balach, perhaps
in *Susa*.

Thracian.

Salt-moun-
taynes.

Scassem.

Porcupines;
Porci spinosi.

Balaxiam.

Cotragotis
Horses, and vnto
shod.
Eucephalus-
breed.

The

Passing from thence, we came vnto a certayne Citie, named *Balach*, which in times past was great and famous, hauing sumptuous Marble Palaces: but now ouerthrowne by the *Tartars*. In this Citie they report, that *Alexander* tooke the Daughter of King *Darius* to wife. To this Citie (on the East and North-east) continue the Confines of *Persia*. But if you goe from hence, and proceed betweene the East, and the North-east, you cannot finde any Habitation for two dayes Journey: because the Inhabitants of the place hauing endured so many grieuances by Theeues and Robbers, are compelled to fflye vnto the Mountaynes, to wit, places of more safetie. Many waters are found there, and very much game of wild beasts: Lyons also are there. And because Trauellers find no food in that Journey, they carrie victuals with them, which may suffice them for two dayes.

That two dayes Journey ended, which we mentioned, we met with a certayne Castle, called *Thaican*; where is great plentie of Corne, and very goodly fields. The Mountaynes also on the South are high, some of which are of white and hard Salt, and the Inhabitants thirtie dayes Journey about fetch it from thence, being the best World, so hard that they must breake it with Iron Instruments, so much that the whole World may haue sufficient Salt from thence. The other Mountaynes haue store of Almonds and Pistaches. Going betweene the East and North-east from hence the Countrey is fruitfull, the Inhabitants Murtherers, Perfidious, *Mabumetans*, Drunkards: Their Wine is boyled and excellent. They goe bare-headed, saue that the men bind vp their heads with a certayne string of ten hanfuls long. But they make them clothing of the skinned of the wilde beasts which they take, as Breeches and Shooes, and vse no other Garments.

After three dayes Journey is the Citie *Scassem* seated in a Plaine, and hath many Castle, in the Mountaines round about it. A certayne great Riuer also floweth through the middle thereof. There are many Porcupines in that Countrey, which they hunt with Dogges by the Hunters: and they contracting themselues with great furie, cast their prickly Quills against the men and the Dogges, and wound them. That Nation hath a particular language: the shepherds thereof abide in the Mountaynes, hauing made Caues for their Habitation. You goe hence three daies Journey without any Habitation at all, to the Prouince *Balaxiam*.

Balaxiam is a *Mabumetan* Prouince, and hath a peculiar Language. Their Kings who succeed one another by hereditarie right, are reported to haue deriued their discent from *Alexander* the Great, and from the Daughter of *Darius*, and are called *Zulcarnen*, which is to say, *Alexander*. There are found the *Ballasces*, faire precious stones, and of great value. No man without danger of life, dare either digge such stones, or carrie them out of the Countrey, but with the licence and consent of the King: for all those stones are the Kings, and he sendeth them to whom he pleaseth, either for a Present, or payment of Tribute: he exchangeth also many for Gold and Siluer. And this hee doth lest the stone whereof there is such plentie should become viler and cheaper. Other Mountaynes also in this Prouince yeeld stones, whereof the best Azure is made, the like whereof is not found in the World. The Mines also yeeld Siluer great store, and Brasse and Lead. The Countrey it selfe is very cold. It hath many Horses, and those excellent, great, and swift, which haue so hard and strong hooves on their feet, that they need no Iron Shooes, although they runne through Rockes. It is said that not long since there were Horses of the Race of *Alexanders Bucephalus*, all with his forehead-marke, in the possession only of the Kings Vncle, who was slaine for denying the King to haue of them: whereupon his Widow in angry spite destroyed the whole Race. There are also excellent Falcons. The soyle thereof beareth notable Wheate, and Barley without huskes, and Oyle made of Nuts and Susimane, which is like to flaxe seed, more sauourie then other Oyle. There are strait passages and many stormie places. The men are good Archers and Huntsmen, clothed with beasts skinned. The hills are steepe and high, large plaines, Riuers amongst the ruptures; and if any haue an Ague with abiding two or three dayes on the hills he recouereth, which *Marco* procured in himselfe after a yeares sicknesse. The women in the skirts of their Garments put sixtie or eightie yards of Cotton, the greatest Bumse Boncer seeming the goodliest Lasse.

H

Bascia.

The Prouince *Bascia* is ten dayes Iourney toward the South, distant from the Countrey *Balaxiam*. And the Countrey it selfe is very hot: whereby it commeth to passe, that the people are browne: they are expert Magicians, and continually attend thereto. They haue a peculiar Language: and weare Golden and Siluer Eare-rings with Pearles and stones artificially wrought in them. They eate flesh and Rice, and are Idolaters, craftie and cruell.

Chesmur.

The Prouince *Chesmur* is seuen dayes Iourney distant from *Bascia*. The Inhabitants thereof haue a peculiar Language, and are Idolaters; beyond all others cunning Inchanters, forcing their Idols to speake, and darkning the day. They are the chiefeest Idolaters, and Idols are descended from them. From thence you may goe to the *Indian* Sea. The men and women are browne, not wholly blacke, the heate some-what tempered: their food is flesh and Rice, yet are they exceeding leane. There are many Cities and Townes there. Their King is tributarie to none. There are certaine Heremites in this Prouince, who in Monasteries and Cels worship Idols, honouring their Gods with great abstinence of meate and drinke, and obserue great Chastitie, are very cautious not to offend their Idols, and liue long. Of these are many Abbeyes, and the people giue them great reuerence. The men of this Prouince kill no quicke creatures, and shed no bloud: and if they will eate flesh, it is necessary that the *Saracens* which liue amongst them, kill the creature. Corall is here sold dearer then any where. Wee will leaue the way to *India* now and returne to *Balaxiam* and direct our way towards *Catay*, betwixt the East and North-east. Beyond *Balaxiam* is a certaine Riuer, whereon stand many Castles and Villages belonging to the King of *Balaxiam* Brother: and after three dayes Iourney is the Prouince *Vochan*, hauing in length and breadth three dayes Iourney. The Inhabitants thereof haue a peculiar Language, and worship *Mahumet*. They are good Liuers, stout Warriours, and good Hunters: for that Countrey aboundeth with wild beasts. If you depart hence betwixt the North-east and the East, you must ascend for three whole dayes together, vntill you come vnto an exceeding high Mountayne, then the which, there is said to bee none higher in the World. There also betweene two Mountaynes, a great Lake is found, whence by a Plaine runneth a very goodly Riuer, neere vnto which are excellent Pastures, so that in them a leane Horse, or an Oxe, may bee fatted in ten dayes. There is also plentie of wild beasts: especially, exceeding great wild sheepe, hauing hornes some of them sixe palmes or spans long, of the which they make diuers kinds of vessels. That Plaine contayeth twelue dayes Iourney in length, and is called *Pamer*; nor is there any humane Habitation there, and Trauellers must carry victuals with them. No Bird also appeareth there, by reason of the cold, and (it is reported for a Miracle) if fire be kindled there, it is not so bright nor so effectuell to boyle any thing, as in other places. From hence the way leadeth fortie dayes further, betweene the East and the North-east through the Mountaynes, Hills, and Valleys, in the which many Riuers are found, but no humane habitation, nor any herbe: and the Countrey it selfe is called *Belero*. Habitations of men are scene in the top of those high Mountaynes, but such as are sauage, wicked, Idolatrous; who liue by hunting, and are clothed with the skinnies.

Vochan.

Highest mountayne.

Pamer.

Belero.

Cafchar.

After this you come to the Prouince *Cafchar*, which is tributarie to the great *Cham* and a *Mahumetan*. In it are Vines, greene Gardens, fruitfull trees, Cotton, Flaxe, and Hempe, and a fertile soyle. The Inhabitants haue a peculiar Language, and are Merchants, and Artificers, who are so couetous that they eate that which is bad, and drinke worse. Some *Nestorian Christians* are found there, who also haue their Churches. The Countrey inlargeth it selfe fve dayes Iourney.

Samarshan is a great and famous Citie in that Countrey, where are goodly Gardens and a fertile Plaine. It is subiect to the Nephew of the Great *Cham*. In it the *Christians* dwell with the *Saracens*, whence little agreement is betwixt them. It is reported, that in this manner a Miracle hapned, the brother of Great *Cham*, named *Zagatai*, gouerned that Countrey, about one hundred yeares agoe, being perswaded to become a Christian, the Christians through his fauour built a Church, in honour of Saint *Iohn Baptist*, with such cunning that the whole Roofe thereof, was supported by one Pillar in the midst, vnder which was set a square stone, which by fauour of their Lord was taken from a building of the *Saracens*. *Zagathais* Sonne succeeded after his death in the Kingdome, but not in the faith: from whom the *Saracens* obtayned that the Christians should be compelled to restore that stone. And when they offered a sufficient valuable price, the *Saracens* refused to receiue any other composition then the stone. But the Pillar listed vp it selfe, that the *Saracens* might take away their stone, and so continueth.

Carchan.

Wennes by bad waters happen also in the *Alpes*. *Cotam* the name of a Prouince and chiefe Citie.

Departing againe from this Citie, you come into the Prouince *Charchan*, about fve dayes Iourney in length. This Prouince hath plentie of all victuals, beeing subiect to the Dominion of the Nephew of Great *Cham*. The Inhabitants worship *Mahumet*, yet among them certaine *Nestorian Christians* dwell. They are great Artificers, and haue most of them great legges, and a great Wenne or Bunch in the throat, by reason of the waters which they drinke.

The Prouince *Cotam* followeth betweene the East and the North-east. It is subiect to the Dominion of the Nephew of Great *Cham*, and hath many Cities and Townes. The chiefe Citie thereof is called *Cotam*. The Prouince is extended eight dayes Iourney in length. There is no want therein of any thing, appertayning to the maintenance of life. It hath plentie of Cotton,

ton, Flaxe, Hempe, Corne, and Wine. But the people are not warlike, yet good Artificers and Merchants. They acknowledge *Mahumet*.

Proceeding further through the same Countrey, you meet with the Prouince *Peim*, extended five dayes Iourney in length. It is subiect to Great *Can*, and hath many Cities and Castles. The chiefe Citie thereof is called *Peim*, neere which runneth a Riuer, wherein precious stones are found, to wit, Iasper stones and Chalcedonie. The Inhabitants of the Countrey worship *Mahumet*, and are Artificers and Merchants. There is a custome in this Prouince, that when any married man goeth into another place and returneth not home within twentie dayes, it shall be lawfull for the Wife to marrie another Husband, and the men also wheresoeuer they goe doe the like. All those Prouinces aforesaid, to wit, *Caschar*, *Cotam*, *Peim*, to the Citie of *Lop*, are in the bounds of Great *Turkie*.

Peim.

Adulterous custome. Great *Turkie*, or *Turcomania*.

Ciarcian.

Ciarcian is subiect to the *Tartars*, the name of the Prouince and chiefe Citie, it hath many Cities and Castles. Many precious stones are found there in the Riuer, especially Iaspers and Chalcedonies, which Merchants carrie euen to *Ouchach* to sel, and make great gain. From *Peim* to this Prouince, and quite thorow it also, it is al Sand, with many bad waters and few good. When any Armie passeth through this Prouince, all the Inhabitants thereof with their Wiues, Children, Cattel, and all their household stuffe, flie two dayes Iourney into the sands, where they know good waters are, and stay there: and carrie their Corne thither also to hide it in the sands after Haruest for like feares. The wind doth so deface their steps in the sand, that their Enemies cannot find out their way. Departing from this Prouince, you are to trauell five dayes Iourney thorow the sand, where no other water almost then that which is bitter is to be found, vntill you come vnto the Citie named *Lop*.

Lop is a great Citie, from whence is the entrance of a great Desart, called also *Lop*, seated betweene the East and the North-east. The Inhabitants are *Mahumetans*, subiect to the Great *Can*. In it Merchants who desire to passe ouer the Desart, cause all necessities to be provided for them. And when victuals beginne to faile in the Desart, they kill the Asses and Camels and eat them. They most willingly vse Camels, because they are sustayned with little meate, and beare great burthens. They must prouide victuals for a moneth to crosse it ouer-thwart; for to goe thorow the length, would aske a yeares time. They goe thorow the sands and barren Mountaines, and daily find water, yet is it sometimes so little, that it can scarcely suffice fiftie or one hundred men with their beasts: and in three or foure places the water is salt and bitter: the rest (which are eight and twentie) good. In it are neither beasts nor birds. They say that there dwell many spirits which cause great and meruailous Illusions to Trauellers to make them perishe. For if any stay behind that he cannot see his company, he shall be called by name, and so going out of the way is lost. In the night they heare the noyse as it were of a company, which taking to bee theirs they perish likewise. Other apparances as of their companions, or of enemies haue caused some to miscarrie. Consorts of Muscical Instruments are sometimes heard in the Ayre, likewise Drummes, and noyses of Armes. They goe therefore neere together, hang Bels on their beasts neckes, and set markes if any stay.

Illusions of Deuils. It seemeth that the compasse was not then found out, which of later times they vse in Desarts, as in the Sea.

Sachion.

Tanguib.

Having passed ouer the Desart, you come vnto the Citie *Sachion*, betwixt the East and North-east, subiect to the Great *Can*, in the Prouince of *Tanguib*, where among the Worshippers of *Mahumet*, a few *Nestorian* Christians are found. Many Idolaters are also there, who haue their proper Language. The Inhabitants of this Citie, liue not of Merchandize, but the fruits of the Earth. This Citie hath many Monasteries, consecrated to diuers Idols, in the which many Sacrifices are offered, and great reuerence. And when a Sonne is borne vnto a man, hee presently commendeth him to some Idoll, and in honour thereof, nourisheth a sheepe that yeere in his house, which he presenteth before it together with his Sonne, the next Festiuall Day of that Idoll, with many Ceremonies and great reuerence. Afterward the flesh of the sheepe is boyled, and left so long before the Idoll, while their Prayers are finished, which they make for the conseruation of their Sonne, and the Idoll hath sucked out the saueur of the meate, after which their fancie all his kindred being gathered together, eat that flesh at home with great deuotion and ioy: but orderly keepe the bones in certayne vessels. The Priests haue the feete, head, inwards, skinn, and some part of the flesh for their share. In celebrating the Funerals of such as were of esteeme, the dead bodies are burned after this manner. The kindred send for the Astrologers, and tell them what yeare, moneth, day, and houre, hee who dyed was borne: who perceiving the constellation, declare the day when hee is to be burned: so that when the Planet fits not, they reserue the dead bodie sometimes seuen dayes, and sometimes fixe monethes, preparing a Chest for it at home, and ioyning the sides together with such cunning Art, that no stinke can issue forth. They also imbalme the bodie it selfe with Spices, and couer the Chest fairely painted with a costly cloth: and euery day that the dead corps is kept at home, at the houre of Dinner, a Table is prepared neere the Chest, setting wine and meate thereon for the space while one might well eat a meales-meate, supposing that the soule of the dead, feedeth of the saueur thereof. The Astrologers sometime forbid to carrie it forth at the chiefe gate, pretending some disastrous starres thereto, and cause them to carrie it out another way, and sometimes breake the

The Sacrifice of the Birth-day. The Rites of Funerall. Astrologers.

wall which is opposite to that place which the Planet makes more luckie; for otherwise the spirits departed would bee offended and hurt those of the house. And if any such euill happen, they ascribe it to the dead thus wronged. When the bodie is carryed through the Citie to be burned without, wooden Cottages are erected in the way, with a porch couered with Silkes, in which they set the bodie, and set before it Bread, Wine, and Flesh, and Delicate Cates, supposing the spirit to be refreshed therewith, which must bee presently present at the burning of the bodie.

And when they come vnto the place of burning, they write and paint vpon Papers made of the barks of Trees, the Images of Men and Women, Horses, Camels, Money, and Garments. (All the Instruments of the Citie meane-while resounding) all which are burned together with the dead bodie. For they say, that that dead man shall haue so many Men-seruants, and Mayd-seruants, Cattell, and Money, in another life, as resemblances, and Pictures were burned together with him, and shall perpetually liue in that honour and riches.

The Prouince *Chamul* lyeth in the great Prouince *Tanguth*, subiect to the Great *Can*, hauing many Cities and Townes: the chiefe Citie is called *Chamul*. The Land butteth vpon two Desarts, to wit, the great Desart, whereof wee haue spoken before, and a certaine other, that is lesse, of three dayes Iourney. It aboundeth with such things, which a man needeth for the sustentation of life. The Inhabitants are Idolaters, haue a peculiar Language, and seeme to bee borne for none other purpose, but to apply themselves to sporting, singing, dancing, writing and reading after their fashion, playing on Instruments, and to giue themselves delight. When any Traueller passing by, turneth into any mans house for entertaynment, the Master of the Family receiueth him with great ioy, and commandeth his Wife and all the Family, that they as long as he will abide with them, obey him in all things. In the meane space, he departeth not to returne so long as the Guest remaineth in his house. And meane-while hee lyeth with the Wife, Daughter, and the rest, as with his owne Wiues. The women of that Countrey are beautifull, and readie to obey all those Commandements of their Husbands, who are so besotted with this folly, that they thinke it a glorious thing for them, and acceptable to their Idols, for which they prosper with plentie of all things. *Mangu Can* hauing heard of this folly, commanded them to obserue this detestable custome no longer; which they did about three yeares, and then seeing not their wonted fertilitie, and troubled with some Domesticall crosses, sent Ambassadors to the *Can*, and instantly entreated, that he would reuoke so grievous an Edict, and not abolish that Tradition which they had receiued from their Elders. The *Can* answered, seeing you desire your reproch and shame, let it be granted you. Goe and doe herein after your wont. The Messengers returning with this Answer, brought great ioy to all the people: this custome is obserued by that people vntill this day.

After the Prouince of *Camul*, followeth the Prouince of *Chinchintalas*, which on the North boundeth vpon the Desart, and is sixteene dayes Iourney in length, subiect to the Dominion of Great *Cham*. It hath Cities and many Castles. The people thereof are diuided into three Sects. Some few acknowledge Christ, and these are *Nestorians*: others worship *Mahomet*, the third, adore Idols. In this Prouince there is a Mountaine where are Mines of Steele and Andanicum, and also Salamanders, of the which cloth is made, which, if it bee cast into the fire, cannot bee burned. But that cloth is made of the Earth in this manner (as one of my companions, a *Turke* named *Curcifar*, a man indued with singular industrie, informed me) who had the charge of the Minerals in that Prouince. A certaine Minerall of Earth is found in that Mountayne, which yeeldeth threeds, not vnlike to Wooll, which being dryed in the Sunne, are bruised in a brazen Morter, and afterward washed, and whatsoever earthy substance cleaueth vnto them, is taken away: lastly, those threeds so purged and made small, are spunne like other Wooll, and wouen into cloth. And when they will whiten those clothes, they cast them into the fire for an houre, and then they are taken out of the flaming fire vn timer, whiter then Snow. After the like manner they cleanse them, when they haue taken any spots: for no other washing is added to them, besides the fire. But touching the Salamander, the Serpent, which is reported to liue in the fire, I could search out nothing in the East Countries. They say, there is a certayne Napkin at *Rome*, wouen of the Salamander, wherein the Handkerchiefe of the Lord is kept wrapped vp, which a certayne King of the *Tartars* sent vnto the Bishop of *Rome*.

After you are past this Prouince, you go betwixt the East and North-east ten dayes Iourney, in which few Habitations or things remarkable are found; and then you come to the Prouince *Succuir*, which hath many Habitations and Townes. The chiefe Citie thereof is called *Succuir*. In this Prouince, among many Idolaters, a few Christians are found: they are subiect to the Great *Can*. They apply not themselves to Merchandize, but liue of the fruits of the Earth. The best Rhubarbe is found in great quantitie in this Prouince, which is carryed thence by Merchants, to diuers parts of the World. Strangers dare not go to the Mountaynes where it growes, by reason of venemous herbs, which if their beasts should eate them would lose their hooves; but those of that Countrey know and auoyd them. The generall name of this Prouince, and of the two following is *Tanguth*.

Iouiall Lads.

Bawdes to
their owne
Wiues.

Kind Cuck-
olds.

This Chapter
is not in *Ramusio*
for Italian Cop-
ie which I
haue (printed
1559.) yet is it
mentioned
there among
the Prouinces
of *Tanguth*.

And I haue not
a little trauel-
led in Trauel-
lers to find
this Salaman-
der, but haue
found not a
little; no Mid-
wife to my
throwes; which
makes mee
throw away
that conceit.
Succuir.
Rhubarbe. Of
this *Ramusio*
hath giuen a
large discourse
from the Rela-
tion of *Chaggi*
Meneret, which
had bene in
these parts.

Campion

Campion is a great Citie, the principall in the Countrey of *Tanguth*. In it are *Christians* (which haue there three great and faire Churches, *Mahumetans*, and *Idolaters*. The *Idolaters* haue many Monasteries, where they worship their Idols. Moreouer, those Idols are made either of stone, wood, or clay, some ouer-layed with gold, and very artificially wrought. Among these, some are so great, that they contayne ten paces in length, fastned to the earth, as if they lay vpright, neere vnto the which, little Idols are placed, which seeme to giue reuerence to the greater, and both are much reuerenced. The Religious men seeme to liue more honestly then other *Idolaters*, abstayning from certaine things, as Lecherie, and other things; although Lecherie seemes no grieuous sinne: for they say, if a woman seekes for lue to a man, he may vse her without sinne, but not, if he seekes first to her. They reckon the whole circuit of the yeere by Moones. In these Moones, they obserue siue, or foure, or three dayes, wherein they kill no Beast, or Bird, nor eat Flesh (as is the vse with vs on Friday, Saturday, and Vigils.) The Lay-men marrie twentie or thirtie wiues, as they are able to maintayne: yet the first is accounted the more worthie, and more legitimate. The husband receiueth no dowrie from the wife, but hee himselfe assigneth conuenient dowrie, in Cattell, seruants, or money, according to his abilitie. If the wife become hatefull to the husband, it is lawfull for him to diuorce her from him, as he pleaseth. They take for wiues their Kins-women or Mothers in law. *Marco*, together with his Father, and Vncle, remayned a yeeres space in this Citie, for the dispatch of certaine affaires.

Campion.
Christian
Churches.
Idolatrous
Monasteries.
Idols of diuers
kinds.

The yeere of
the Moone.

Their many
wiues.

Ezina.

From the Citie *Campion*, you goe twelue dayes iourney to the Citie *Ezina*, bordering vpon a sandy Desart towards the North, contayned in the Prouince of *Tanguth*. Many Camels are there, and many other beasts; and Hawkes of diuers kinds. The Inhabitants are *Idolaters*, liuing of the fruits of the Earth, forbearing merchandise.

§. II. III.

Of *Carchoran*, the Originall proceedings and exploits of the Tartars; of Priest *IOHN* and his discendants. Customes of the Tartars. Of *Bargu*, *Erginul*, *Xandu* the Cans Citie and Palace; of *Muske*: of strange Sorcerers, and austere Monkes.

All the Prouinces and Cities aforesaid, *Sachion*, *Chemul*, *Chinchitalas*, *Succuir*, *Campion*, and *Ezina*, pertaine to *Tanguth*. Hauing passed ouer the foresaid Desart, you come vnto the Citie *Carchoram*, which is in circuit three miles, strongly rampierd with earth, for they want stone. Neere it is a great Castle, and in it the *Gouernors* faire Palace. This was the first place neere which in old times the *Tartars* assembled themselves. And now we will declare how they began to raigne. They dwelt in the North parts, to wit, in *Ciorza* and *Bargu*, where are many and great Playnes without Cities and Townes, but goodly Pastures, Riuers and waters. They had not a Prince of their Nation, but payed tribute to a certayne great King, named as I haue heard, in their language *Vmcan*, which in some mens opinion in our tongue signifieth, *Presbyter* (or Priest) *Iohn*. To him the *Tartars* gaue yeerely the tenths of all their beasts. In proesse of time, the *Tartars* so encreased in multitudes, that *Vmcan* was afraid of them, and thought to disperse them into seuerall parts of the world. And therefore when any rebelled he sent three or foure of an hundred of the *Tartars* into those parts, so diminishing their power; and the like he did in his other occasions, deputing some of their principals to that purpose. They seeing their ruine intended and loth to be separated one from another, went from the places where they dwelt to the Desart towards the North, where by remotenesse they might be safe, and denyed to *Vmcan* their wonted Tribute.

Carchoran, vide
Rubr. of *Cavacum*.
The originall
of the Domi-
nion of the
Tartars.

It hapned that about *An. 1162.* the *Tartars* hauing continued some time in those parts, chose a King among themselves, a wise and valiant man, named *Cingis Can*. He began to reigne with such iustice, that he was beloued and feared of all as a God rather then a Prince, in somuch that his fame brought all the *Tartars* in all parts to his subiection. And hee seeing himselfe Lord of so valiant men would needs leaue those Desarts, and commanding them to prouide Bowes and other weapons, began to subdue Cities and Prouinces, in which Conquests hee placed such iust *Gouernours*, that the people were not offended. The chiefe of them hee carried alongst with him with great prouisions and gifts. Seeing therefore that he was aduanced to so great glorie, and power, he sent Embassadors politickly to *Vmcan* to intreate, that he would bestow his daughter vpon him to be his wife. Which he taking, in very euill part, answered with indignation, and reiecting the Embassadors of *Cingis*, said, doth my seruant demand my daughter? Get ye out of my sight and tell your Master, if he euer make such demand againe, I will make him die a miserable death. But King *Cingis*, leuying a great Armie, went forth with an hostile minde, and incamped in a certaine great Plaine, named *Tanduc*, sending vnto the King, and signifying vnto him, that he should defend himselfe. But he, comming with a mightie Armie, descended to the Playnes, and pitched his Tents within ten miles of the Campe of the *Tartars*. Then *Cingis* commanded his Astrologers to shew him, what euent and successe the battell should haue. They cutting a Reed

The fruit of a
wilde gouerna-
ment.

Cingis goeth
forth against
Vmcan.
Tanduc.
He consulted
with the Ma-
gicians.

Hee vanquisheth the Enemy by warre.

He dieth with the shot of an Arrow.

Cingis Can.

Cyn Can.

Bathyn Can.

Esu Can.

Mongu Can.

Cublai Can.

Altai the Sepulcher of the Kings of the Tartars.

Their cruell custome of funerals.

The marriages of the Tartars.

Womens concord and industry.

z Co'mos.

Their substance of Cattell.

Cottages.

The Tartars religion.

lengthwise in two parts, set the pieces themselves into the ground, and wrote vpon the one, *Cingis*; and on the other, *Umcan*; and said vnto the King: In the meane space, while we reade the Coniurations, it shall come to passe by the Idols power, that these two parts of the Reed shall fight together: And whose part shall ascend vpon the other, that King shall obtayne victorie in the battell. The multitude therefore running together to behold that spectacle, the Astrologers beganne to mumble their prayers, and reade their inchantments, when presently the parts of the Reed being moued, fought together, yntill at length the part of *Cingis* ascended vpon the part of *Umcan*. Which being seene, the *Tartars* assured of the future victorie, were encouraged to the battell, and *Umcan* being slayne, the Victorie, and Kingdome, and *Umcan's* daughter remayned to *Cingis*. *Cingis* reigned sixe yeeres after this, in the which hee got many Prouinces: and lastly, when he endeouored to winne a certaine Cattle, called *Thaigin*, and came somewhat neere, being shot in the knee with an Arrow, he died, and was buried in the Mountaine *Altai*.

The first King of the *Tartars*, was called *Cingis*; the second, *Cyn Can*; the third, *Bathyn Can*; the fourth, *Esu Can*; the fifth, *Mongu Can*; the sixth *Cublai Can*, whose power is greater then all his Predecessors, hauing inherited theirs, and adding by Conquest in manner the rest of the World. For he liued neere sixtie yeeres in his Government. The name *Can* signifieth Emperor. All the great *Cans*, and Princes of that bloud of *Cingis*, are carried to the Mountaine of *Altai* to be buried, wheresoeuer they die, although one hundred dayes journey from it. And they which carrie the Corpse to the buriall, kill all those that they meet in the way, saying: goe, and serue our Lord the King in another life. They kill also the better Horses. When the bodie of great *Cham Mongu*, the Predecessor of *Cham Cublai*, was brought vnto the Mountaine *Altai* to bee buried, the Souldiers accompanying the funerall, are reported to haue slayne aboue ten thousand men, vpon the foresaid occasion.

The *Tartarean* women are most faithfull to their husbands. Adulterie is a great shame with them: yet it is accounted lawfull, and honest, that euery one may marrie as many wiues as he is able to maintayne, although the first be iudged to be more principall and honorable then the rest. These liue together in the same house without one ill word, in admirable concord, make their merchandises, buy, and sell, and chaffer all things necessarie to their husbands and households, the men medling with nothing but their hunting, hawking, and things pertayning to Armes. They haue the best Falcons in the World, and so they haue of Dogs. They liue onely of Flesh and Milke, and what they take in hunting. They eat Horses, Camels, Dogs, if fat; and drinke Mares milke, called *Chemurs*, so vsed, that it is like white Wine. If the father dies, the sonne may haue all his wiues except his owne mother and sisters. So, the brother being dead, it is lawfull for the brother who remayneth alieue, to marrie the widdow of the brother. The husbands receiue no dowrie from the wiues, but they themselves assigne dowry to the wiues, and their mothers. Through the multitude of wiues, the *Tartars* haue many children. Nor is the multitude of Wiues very burdensome vnto the *Tartars*, seeing they gaine much through their labours. Besides, they are very carefull for the gouernement of the familie, and preparation of food: and with no lesse care, execute the other duties of the house. But the men apply themselves wholly to hunting, fowling, and exercise of Armes. The *Tartars* nourish many herds of Oxen, flocks of Sheepe, and other Beasts, and Cattell, and abide with them in places of Pasture, in the Summer time, in the Mountaines, and colder places, where they finde Pasture and Wood; but in the Winter, they remoue vnto the hotter Countreyes, where they finde Pasture for their Cattell: and goe forth on two or three moneths together. Their houses are couered with stickes and felts, ordinarily round, which they carrie with them on Carts or Waggones of foure wheelles, whithersoever they goe. For they can fold and extend them, set them vp, and take them downe: and they turne the doore of them alwaies to the South. They haue also neat Carts of two wheelles (couered with Felt so well that rayne cannot pierce them) drawne by Oxen, and Camels, wherein they carrie their wiues, children, and necessarie household-stuffe with them, and defend them from the iniurie of foule weather, and rayne.

The *Tartars*, if they be rich, are clothed with Sables, Ermins, and Cloth of gold, and all their furniture is costly. Their Armes are Bowes, Swords, Polaxes, and some Lances, but they can best vse their Bowes, whereto they are vsed from their childhood. They are hardie, valorous, cruell, will continue two dayes and nights on horse-backe armed; exceeding patient of difficulties, and exceeding obedient to their Lords. Their Cattell also are hardie.

The Law and Faith of the *Tartars* is this. They say, that there is a great God, high and heauenly, of whom with daily incense they desire good vnderstanding and health. They haue another, which they call *Natigay*, which is like an Image couered with Felt, or some other thing, which euery one hath in his house. To this God they make a wife and children, placing the wiues Image at the left hand, and the representations of children before his face. This they call, The God of earthly things, which keepeth their Children, and their Beasts, and Corne; and giue it great reuerence. Before they eat themselves, they anoint the mouthes of the Images with the fat of the foddren Flesh, and they cast the broth out of doores, in honour of other Spirits.

Spirits, saying, that their God with his familie haue had their part; and after they eate and drinke at pleasure.

If the sonne of any *Tartar* die, who hath not yet beene married, and also the daughter of another die vnmarrried, the parents of both the deceased parties meet together, and make a marriage betweene the dead: and making a draught in writing, of that contract, they paint men and women for seruants, Horses and other creatures, with clothes of all sorts and moneyes, in paper, and burne them together with the writing of contract; by the fumes whereof, they say that all these things are carried to their children in another world, where they are married, and the fathers and mothers thinke they are ioyned together through such a bond of affinitie, as if those marriages had beene celebrated, while the married couple yet liued.

When the *Tartars* goe to warre, their Prince conducteth about one hundred thousand Horse, appointing Heads ouer tens, hundreds, thousands, ten thousands, by which orderly subordination, commands are easily effected. Every hundred is called a *Tuc*; ten, a *Toman*. When they set forth they send out men euery way, as Scouts that no *Enemie* may assault them vnprovidd. Of Horse and Mares, there are for euery man about eightene. They carrie also their like Felt houses, vnder the which they shelter themselves in the time of rayne. When there falls out some important employment, they will ride ten dayes together without victuals boyled, and liue of the blood of their Horses, cutting a veyne and sucking it. They haue Milke dried like Paste, which they make, boyling the Milke, and taking the Creame which swims on the top, put it in another vessell, and thereof make Butter: After, they set the Milke in the Sunne, and drie it; and when they goe in the Armie, carrie ten pounds thereof, and euery morning take halfe a pound, and put it into a little Flaske or Bottle of Leather, with as much water as he pleaseth: which while he rides, beats together: and this is his dinner. When they encounter with their Enemies, they ride here and there shooting, and sometimes make shew of flight, shooting as they flee, and finding the Enemies broken, reintegrate their forces, and pursue the victorie: hauing their Horses at command, with a signe to turne any way. But now the *Tartars* are mixed in diuers parts, and so are their fashions.

They punish malefactors after this manner. If any steale a thing of small value, and hath not deserued to be deprived of life, he is seauen times beaten with a Cudgell, or seauenteene, or seauen and twenty, or thirty seauen, or forty and seauen, giuing the strokes according to the measure and qualitie of the offence, and that vnto an hundred; some doe often times dye, through these strokes. But if any haue stollen an Horse, or another thing, for the which hee deserueth to dye, he is cut asunder with a Sword in the middle: but if hee will redeeme his life, he shall restore the theft nine fold. Such as haue Horses, Oxen or Camels, brand them with their markes, and send them to the pastures without a keeper.

Leaving the Citie of *Carachoran*, and the Mountaine *Altai*, you come vnto the champaine Countrey of *Bargu*, which extendeth it selfe Northwards about fixtie dayes iourney in length. The Inhabitants of those places are *Mecrits*, and they are subiect to great *Chan*, vsing the manners of the *Tartars*. They are wilde men, and eate the flesh of Beasts which they take by hunting, especially of Stagges, whereof they haue great plentie, and they make them so tame, that they may ride them: They want Corne and Wine. In the Summer they exercise great hunting and taking of wilde Beasts and Fowle, with the flesh whereof they may liue in the winter: For in Winter, as well fowle as other liuing creatures flie from thence, by reason of the exceeding and vntolerable cold of that Countrey. After the end of fortie dayes iourney, you come vnto the Ocean, neere which is a Mountaine where *Astori*, and strange Falcons breed, which are carryed thence vnto the Court of great *Chan*.

Heere we must returne vnto the Citie *Campion*. If therefore you proceed further five dayes iourney from the Citie *Campion* towards the East, (in the places lying in the middle, horrible voyces of Devils are heard in the night time) you come to the Kingdome *Erginul*, in the Prouince of *Tangut*, subiect to the great *Chan*. In this Kingdome are many other Kingdomes which are Idolators. There are some *Nestorian* Christians, and *Turkes*. There are many Cities and Castles, of which *Erginul* is chiefe. From hence, if you proceed further to the Southeast, you may goe to the parts of *Cathai*, going Southeast towards *Cathai*, there is a certaine famous Citie named *Cinguy*, (the name also of the Prouince) tributarie vnto great *Chan*: contained in *Tangut*: the people are some Christians, some *Mahumetans*, others Idolators. Their are also found wilde Oxen, neere as great as Elephants, very faire, hauing white and blacke hayre; short in other parts, and on the shoulders three palmes long, fine and white beyond like: of which *Marco* brought some to *Venice* as a rare thing. Many also of these Oxen are tamed, and made to engender with tame Kine, and the breed of them are fitter for businesse then any other creatures, beare great burthens, are yoaked to the plow, and doe twise as much as others. The best Muske in the world is found in this Prouince, and is of a goodly beast of the bignesse of a Goat, hauing grosse hayre like a Stagge, feet and tayle like a *Gazella* but without hornes; it hath foure teeth, two aboue, and two beneath, of the length of three fingers, subtle; and white as Iuorie, and is a faire beast to see to, when the Moone is at full; neare the nauill vnder the belly there growes

Painted Marriages.

Their war-fare

The milt or penaltie of nine fold. The markes of the heardes of Castell.

Bargu.

Medita

Strange Falcons. This is either a coniecture or by relation hardly credible.

Night walking Spirits. Erginul.

Cathai.

Wilde Oxen of the bignesse of Elephants.

Muske.

Beautie preferred before Nobilitie and riches.
Feasants.

to this beast an impostume or bladder full of blood, and at the full then they goe to hunt the said beasts and take away that swelling, which is dryed in the Sunne, and is the best Muske: the flesh also is good to eate. Master *Marco* brought to *Venice* the head and feet of this beast dryed. The men liue of Merchandise and Arts, and haue abundance of Corne: they are Idolaters, of a fat body and a little Nose, blacke hayred, hauing no beard but foure hayres on their chin. The women are faire and white. And when the men desire to marry wiues, they rather seeke the beautifull, then the noble or rich. Whereby it commeth often to passe, that a great and Noble man marryeth a poore wife, but beautifull, assigning dowrie to her mother there. This Prouince extendeth it selfe fise and twentie dayes iourney in length, and is very fertile. In it are exceeding great Feasants, hauing traynes eight or ten handfuls long. Many other kindes of Birds are also found there, which haue very goodly feathers, distinguished with diuers and excellent colours.

Egrigai.

Proceeding further towards the East, after eight dayes iourney, you meet with the Prouince *Egrigai*, in the which are many Cities and Castles, all still in *Tanguth*. The principall Citie is called *Calacia*. The Inhabitants thereof are Idolaters, there are three Churches of *Nestorian* Christians, and are subiect to the great *Chan*. In the Citie *Calacia*, Chamlets are made, wouen of white wooll and the hayre of Camels, then the which, there are scarce any fairer found in the world.

Gog and Magog

The Citie Sindicin.

Idifa.

Ciangamor.

Five sorts of Cranes.

Xandu.

Hunting with Leopards.

A goodly house of pleasure.

A solemne Sacrifice.

Mares milke.

Going to the East from the Prouince *Egrigai*, the way leadeth vnto the Prouince *Tenduch*, in the which are many Cities and Castles: where also *Presbyter Iohannes* vsleth to abide, who now payeth tribute to great *Chan*. This King of that progenie of *Priest Iohn* is named *George*, and is a Priest and a Christian, and most of the people are Christians. All the Great *Chans*, after his death who was slaine in battell by *Cingis*, gaue their Daughters to those Kings to wife. This King *George* holds not all that *Priest Iohn* before held, and is the fourth of that progenie. There is a Nation there called *Argon*, more goodly men and fitter for Merchandise then the rest, descended of Idolaters and *Mahumetans*. There are also two Regions where they raigne, which in those parts are called *Og* and *Magog*, but they which dwell there call them *Vng* and *Mongul*: in *Vng* are *Gog*, and in *Mongul* the *Tartars*. Riding East seauen dayes towards *Catay*, are many Cities peopled with Idolaters, *Mahumetans*, and *Nestorians*. There is one Citie called *Sindicin*, where very faire and excellent Armes are made of diuers sorts, fit for Armies. In the mountaines of this Prouince are great Mines of siluer, and manifold game of wilde beasts, and the Countrey of the mountaines is called *Idifa*. Three dayes iourney distant from the foresaid Citie, standeth another Citie *langamur*, that is *White Lake*, wherein is a Palace, in which the great *Chan* most willingly remaineth, becaue there are many Lakes and riuers, many Swannes, and in the plaines, Cranes, Feasants, and Partridges, and store of other fowle. There are fise sorts of Cranes there: some haue blacke wings like Crowes, others are white and bright, hauing their feathers full of eyes like Peacocks, but of a golden colour, the necke blacke and white very beautifull; a third sort of bignesse not vnlike ours; a fourth, little and very faire, intermingled with red and blew colours; the fifth, of a grizell or gray colour, hauing red and blacke heads, and these are very great. And neere vnto this Citie lyeth a certaine valley where many Cottages are, in the which an exceeding number of Partridges is maintained, which are kept for the King, comming to lodge there for a time.

This Citie is three dayes iourney Northeastward to the Citie *Xandu*, which the great *Chan* *Cublay* now raigning, built; erecting thereing a maruellous and artificall Palace of Marble and other stones, which abutteth on the wall on one side, and the midst of the Citie on the other. He included sixteene miles within the circuit of the wall on that side where the Palace abutteth on the Citie wall, into which none can enter but by the Palace. In this inclosure or Parke are goodly meadowes, springs, riuers, red and fallow Deere, Fawnes carryed thither for the Hawkes, (of which are there mewed about two hundred Gerfalcons which he goeth once a weeke to see) and he often vsleth one Leopard or more, sitting on Horses, which hee setteth vpon the Stagges and Deere, & hauing taken the beast, giueth it to the Gerfalcons, and in beholding this spectacle he taketh wonderfull delight. In the midst in a faire Wood hee hath built a royall House on pillars gilded and vernished, on euery of which is a Dragon all gilt, which windeth his tayle about the pillar, with his head bearing vp the loft, as also with his wings displayed on both sides: the couer also is of Reeds gilt and vernished, so that the rayne can doe it no iniurie, the reeds being three handfuls thicke and ten yards long, split from knot to knot. The house it selfe also may be sundred, and taken downe like a Tent and erected againe. For it is sustained, when it is set vp, with two hundred silken cords. Great *Chan* vsleth to dwell there three moneths in the yeare, to wit, in Iune, Iuly, and August. On the eight and twentieth day of August, he departeth to make a solemne sacrifice. He hath an herd of white Horses, and white Mares, about ten thousand of the milke whereof none may drinke except hee be of the progenie of *Cingis Can*, except one family, called *Boriat*, priuiledged hereto by *Cingis* for their valour. And these beasts as they goe vp and downe feeding are much reuerenced, nor dare any goe before them or hinder their way. The Astrologers or Sorcerers tell *Chan* that on the twentieth eight of the Moone of August, he

he should disperse that milke heere and there, for the honour of all spirits and his Idols, that they might be carefull preservers of all those things which he possesseth.

There are two sorts of Idolaters, Sorcerers called *Thebeth* and *Chefmir*, which in the midst of stormes ascend the Palace and suffer no rayne to fall thereon; which they make the people beleue comes to passe by their sanctitie: and therefore they goe slovenly and regardlesse of their persons, neuer washing nor combing themselves. They also haue a horrible custome to dresse and eat such as are condemned to death, but not those which dye naturally. They are called also *Bachsi*, which is the name of their Order, as Friars Predicants or Minors with vs. They seeme by Magicke to doe what they list, when the great *Can* in his Hall sits at his Table, which is eight yards high: and in the midst of the hall a good distance from the table is a great Cupboard of plate furnished: They cause that the peeces full of Wine or Milke, or other viands of themselves, fill the goblets without any hand touching them, and goe ten paces in the ayre into the great *Cans* hand; and when he hath drunke, returne to their place. This they doe in the presence of any man, when their Lord commands. These *Bachsi* also when they will make feasts to their Idols, goe to the *Can* and say; Sir, know that if our Idols be not honoured with Sacrifices, they will bring plagues to Corne and Beasts. And therefore wee pray you to giue the flesh of so many Sheepe with blacke heads, and so many pounds of Incense and Lignum aloes, that we may make them due sacrifice and honour. This they speake not to him themselves, but by certaine Lords deputed to that Office, who speake to the *Can* and obtaine it. On the feast day they sacrifice the said beasts, and sprinkle the broath before the Idols.

The Kings
Magicians.

They haue great Monasteries some of the bignesse of a Citie, in some of which are about two thousand Monkes which serue Idols, sequestred from the Laitie in their shauing and garments. For they shau their heads and beards, and were a religious garment. These in the solemnities of their Idols sing with solempne songs and lights, some of them may marry. There are some of great abstinence called *Sensim*, leading an austere life, for they eat nothing but Meale mingled with water till all the Flower be gone, and eat the branne without any saour. These worship the Fire; and the men of other rules say that these which are so austere, are Heretikes against their Law, because they worship not Idols as they doe; and there are great differences betwixt them: and these marry not in any case. They shau their Head and Beard: they weare blacke hempen garments, and bright yellow. They sleepe in thicke Mats, and liue the seuerest life in the world.

Shauings.

Austereitie.

§. V.

of *CUBLAI CAN*, his Raigne and Acts, Magnificent feasts and Huntings, Court and Counsell. His Citie Cambalu and glorious Palace.

IN this Booke I purpose to write of all the great and maruellous Acts, of the present *Can* called *Cublai Can*, which is in our Tongue Lord of Lords, the greatest Prince in peoples, Cities and Treasures, that euer was in the world. Hee being descended from the Progenie of *Chingis*, the first Prince of the *Tartars*, is the sixth Emperour of that Countrey, beginning to raigne in the yeare of our Lord 1256. being twentie leauen yeares old, and ruling the people with great wisdome and grauitie. He is a valiant man, exercised in Armes, strong of bodie, and of a prompt minde for the performance of matters, before he attained to the dignitie of the Empire (which by his wisdome he did against the will of his Brethren) he often shewed himselfe a valiant Souldier in the warres, and carryed himselfe like a wiser and bolder Captaine, then euer the *Tartars* had. But since he swayed the Kingdome, he went but once into the Field, but sends his Sonnes, and other Captaines in expeditions.

In the yeare of our Lord 1286. his Vncle named *Naiam*, being thirtie yeares of age, and hauing the command of many people, and Countries, so that hee was able easily to bring together foure hundred thousand Horie. Being puffed vp through youthfull vanitie, would now no longer be subiect, but would needs take away the Kingdome from his Lord *Cublai*, and sent to another great Lord named *Caydu*, Lord of the parts towards great *Turkie*, who was nephew of the Emperour *Cublai*, yet hated him, who yeelding consent to Rebellion, promised to come in proper person with an hundred thousand Horse.

Both of them began to gather Forces, which could not bee done so secretly but *Cublai* heard of it, and presently tooke order to set guard to the wayes that no intelligence might passe that way: and then assembled all the Forces within ten dayes journey of *Cambalu* with great speed, so that in twentie dayes, were gathered together three hundred & sixtie thousand Horse, and one hundred thousand Foot, a great part of them Falconiers and men of his Household. With these hee made all haste day and night towards *Naiams* Countrey, where at the end of twentie five dayes he arriued, altogether vnlooked for: and rested his men two dayes. Then hee called his

Astrolo-

Heere begins
the second
Booke of Mar-
co Polo, of
which I thought
good to aduer-
tise the Rea-
der: as for the
Chapters, the
Latine and Re-
musio so differ,
that I haue left
both and ob-
serued our
owne diuision:
Cingis or *Chin-
gis Can*.
Naiams rebel-
lion.
Caydu.

Astrologers, and caused them before all the Armie to diuine who should haue victorie (a thing they alway vse to incourage their men) and they promised it to *Cublai*. One morning whiles *Naiam* was sleeping negligently in his Tent, hauing not so much as sent out any scouts to espie, *Cublai* made shew of his Armie vpon a hill to *Naiams*. Hee himsele late in a certaine Castle of wood, full of Archers and Crosse-bow men, borne by foure Elephants; on the top whereof was the Royall Standard with the Images of the Sunne and Moone. Hee deuided his Armie into three wings, of which he sent that on the right hand and the other on the left against *Naiams* Armie: To euery ten thousand Horse were assigned fise hundred Foot with Lances, taught to leape vp behind the horse-men if any occasion of flight happened, and suddenly on aduantage to light and slay the enemies horses with their lances. *Caidu* was not yet come. The battels ioyned and made a cruell fight, which continued from morning till noone: and then was *Naiam* taken and brought before *Cublai*, who commanded that he should be sewed betwixt two Carpets, which should be tossed vp and downe till the breath were out of his bodie, that so the Imperiall blood might not be exposed to the Sunne and the ayre. The remainder of his people sware Obedience to *Cublai*, which were foure Nations, *Ciorza*, *Carli*, *Barscol*, and *Suingut*.

Naiam was secretly baptised, and by profession a Christian, but no follower of the workes of Faith, and signed his principall Ensigne with the signe of the Crosse, hauing with him infinite store of Christians which were all slaine.

The *Jewes* and *Saracens*, that were in the Armie of *Cublai*, began to vpbraide the Christians with this disaster of the Crosse, who thereupon complained to *Cublai*. Hee then sharply reproving the *Jewes* and *Saracens*, turning to the Christians saith; Surely, your God and his Crosse, would not giue any ayde to *Naiam*, but be not you therefore ashamed, because God beeing good and iust, ought not at all to defend Iniustice and Iniquitie. *Naiam* was a Traytour to his Lord, and contrary to all equitie raised rebellion, and sought the helpe of your God in his mischieuous purpose. But he as a good and vpright God, would not fauour his Designes. He returned after this with great triumph to *Cambalu*, and stayed there till Easter. On that day he called the Christians before him, and kissed their Gospels, and made his Barons doe the same. The like hee doth in the great Feasts of *Saracens*, *Jewes*, and *Ethnikes*, that *Sogomamber Can* the God of the Idols, *Mahumer*, *Moses*, or whosoeuer is greatest in heauen might helpe him. Yet he made best shew of liking to the Christian Faith, but pretended the ignorance of the Professors, and the mightie acts of the Sorcerers, to his not professing it.

Now for rewarding his Souldiers, he hath twelue Barons or wise Counsellours, which giue him notice of each Captaynes merit, who raiseth them command of one hundred to a thousand, and from one thousand to ten thousand, and so forward, giuing them Vessels of Plate and Tablets. The Captayne of one hundred hath a Tablet of siluer, and the Captayne of one thousand of Gold, or siluer gilded; the Captayne of ten thousand hath a Tablet of Gold with a Lions head on it: the weight of the Tablets differ also according to the worth and weight of the dignitie. On the said Tablet is written a command in this manner. *By the strength and power of the great God, and by the Grace which he hath giuen to our Empire, the name of Can be blessed, and let them all dye and be destroyed which will not obey him.* All they which haue these Tablets haue priuiledges in writing, of all things which they are to doe or demand. And the Generals when they ride in publike, they haue a cloth borne ouer their heads; and when they sit, sit on a Chaire of siluer. Their Tablet is of three hundred Saggi (fittie ounces of Gold) with the Images of the Sunne and Moone. They whose Tablet haue a Gersfalcon, may take with them for their guard the whole Armie of a great Commander.

Cublai person described.

His Wiues and Concubines.

Ungut.

Cublai is a comeley and faire man of a meane stature, of a red and white face, blacke and goodly eyes, well fashioned nose, and all the lineaments of his bodie consisting of a due proportion. He hath foure wiues which he accounteth lawfull, and the first-borne of them succeedeth him in the Kingdome. And euery one of these is called *Empresse*, and holdeth a peculiar Court, and that Princely in a proper Palace, hauing about three hundred chosen Hand-mayds, and Mayd-servant, and many Eunuch seruants, and at least ten thousand persons in their Family. The King hath also many Concubines.

There is a certaine Nation of faire people, *Tartars*, called *Ungut*, whether euery second yeare he sendeth Ambassadors to puruey the fairest Lasses for him of greatest esteeme for beautie, which bring him foure or fise hundred more or lesse, as they see cause. There are Prayers or Examiners appointed, which take view of all their beauties, examining Eyes, Nose, Mouth, &c. apart; and set price on them at sixteene, seuentene, eightene, nineteene, twentie or more Carrats. And they bring those of that rate which their Commission appoints. These hee causeth to bee reuiewed by other Examiners, and of so many chuseth perhaps thirtie for his Chamber of the chiefe; which he puts to some of his Barons Wiues, to see if they snore not in their sleepe, if in smell or behaiour they be not offensive. Those which are approoued are by fises diuided, each fise part wayting three dayes and nights in his Chamber by course, the other in the next Lodgings preparing whatsoeuer these command them. The lesse prized are put to Cookerie, and other noble Officers. And sometimes the *Can* bestowes them on Gentlemen with great portions.

The

The men of that Countrey esteeme it a grace and credit to haue Daughters worthy his liking : and thinke themselues borne vnder an ill Planet, if they haue not for his turne.

Cublai hath two and twentie Sonnes by his foure legitimate Wiues, and the first-borne of his first Wife was called *Cingis*, who should haue succeeded him in the Empire, if hee had not dyed before his Father. He left a Sonne named *Temur*, a valiant man, wise, and exercised in Armes, who is to succeed his Grand-father in the Empire, in stead of his deceased Father. But by his Hand-mayds and Mayd-servants, he hath five and twentie Sonnes, all which are daily exercised in feats of Armes, and are great Lords. Seuen of his Sonnes by his Wiues are Kings of great Prouinces, and maintayne their states with great reputation.

- 10 Three moneths of the yee, to wit, December, Ianuarie, and Februarie, *Cublai* remaineth ordinarily in *Cambalu* which is at the North-east border of *Cathai*, and there on the South part by the new Citie is seated a great Palace. First, there is a square Wall, each square being eight miles, with a deep Ditch enuironing, and a Gate in the middle of each : after which is the space of a mile in circuit where Souldiers stand. After this is another circuit of sixe mile square, with three Gates on the South square, and three on the North : that which is in the midst being in both the greater, and kept shut, except when the *Can* passeth that way ; the other alway open to others. In each corner of this Wall and in the midst is a faire Palace, eight in all, very large, in which are kept the *Cans* munitions and furnitures of all sorts, for Horles in one, in another Bowes and shooting Artillerie, in a third Costlets, Curasses and leather Armour, and so in the rest. Within this circuit is another wall-circuit, very thicke, and ten paces high, all the battlements white ; the wall square, each square a mile in length, with sixe gates as the former, and eight Palaces also very great, wherein are the *Cans* prouision. Betwixt these two last walls are many faire trees and medowes, in which are Deere, Muske beasts, with other game, and store of grasse, the paths being heighthned two cubits to spare it, no durt, nor plashes of water being therein. Within this last wall is the Palace of the great *Can*, the greatest that hath beene seene, abutting with the wall on the North and South and open spaced where the Barons and Souldiers passe. It hath no feeling, but a very high rooffe : the foundation of the pauement ten palms high, with a wall of marble round about it, two paces wide, as it were a walke. In the end of the wall without, is a faire Turret with Pillars. In the walls of the Halls and Chambers are carued Dragons, Souldiers, Birds, Beasts, of diuers kinds, histories of Warres, gilded. The
- 20 rooffe is so made, that nothing is seene but Gold and Imagery. In euery square of the Palace is a great Hall of marble, capable of great multitudes. The Chambers are disposed the best that may be deuised : the rooffe is red, greene, azure, and of all coloures. Behind the Palace are great Roomes, and priuate store-houses for his treasures and Jewels, for his women, and other secret employments. Ouer against the said Palace of the *Can*, is another for *Cingis* his sonne, whose Court, was in all things like his Fathers. Neere this Palace towards the North is a Mount made by hand, a mile in compasse, one hundred paces high ; beset with trees that are alwaies greene. Vnto this mountaine, the king commandeth all the best trees, to be brought from remote parts, lading Elephants with them, for they are taken vp with the roots, and are transplanted in this Mountaine. And because this Mountaine is alwaies greene it is called, The greene Mountaine.
- 40 And where the earth of that Mount was taken away, are two Lakes answering each other, with a pretie Riuer filling them, stored with fish, and so grated that the fish cannot get forth.

- The Citie of *Cambalu* in the Prouince of *Cathai*, seated on a great Riuer, was famous, and regall, from antiquitie. And this name *Cambalu* signifieth, The Citie of the Lord, or Prince. This Citie the great *Can* remoued vnto the other side of the Riuer where the Palaces are : for he vnderstood by the Astrologers, that it should rebell against the Empire *. This new built Citie is called *Taidu* : and he made all the *Catayans* to goe out of the old Citie into the new : which contayneth in compasse foure and twentie miles, euery side of the square contayning sixe miles. It hath walls of earth ten paces thicke at the bottome, and at the top but three, by little and little ascending thinner : the batlements are white. Euery square of the wall hath three
- 50 principall Gates, which are twelue in all, hauing sumptuous Palaces built ouer each of them. There are also excellent Palaces in the angles of the walls, where the Armes of the Garrison (which are one thousand at each Gate) are kept. The buildings are squared out, & the streets laid very straight by line, throughout this Citie, so that from one Gate a free prospect openeth thorough the Citie, to the opposite Gate, hauing very goodly houses built on both sides, like Palaces with Gardens and Courts, diuided to the Heads of Families. In the middle of the Citie, a certaine sumptuous house is built, wherein hangeth a very great Bell, after the third knolling whereof in the night no man may goe out of his house, vntill the beginning of the day following, except it be for speciall cause, as for a woman in trauell, &c. And they are compelled to
- 60 carrie a light with them.

Without the Citie of *Cambalu* are twelue great Suburbs, three or foure miles long, ioyning vpon each of the twelue Gates, more inhabiting the Suburbs then the Citie : heere Marchants and Strangers keepe, each Nation hauing a seuerall Store-house or Burse in which they lodge. No dead corps of any man is buried within this Citie, but the bodies of Idolaters are burned

His children.

Temur.

The number of the houses in the Citie.

The number of the houses in the Citie.

The number of the houses in the Citie.

The number of the houses in the Citie.

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Buriall without
the Citie.

Harlots of the
Suburbs.

The number of
the horse-men
of the Courti-
ers.
The Guard.

Solemn feasts.

The order of
them that sit
downe.

Threshold
threshings.
The Noble-
men that carry
dishes, cover
their mouthes,
The ceremo-
nies while the
King drinketh.
Consorts of
Musicke.

The birth day
of *Cublai*.

New Moone
feast.

The presents
of the men of
Dignitie, sub-
iect vnto him.
The like Cu-
stome is still v-
sed by the *Mog-
gull*, as also the
New-yeares
day.

The twelve
Barons.

The prayers of
diuers Religi-
ons.

New-yeares day

The white co-
lour account-
ed ominous.
New-yeares
gifts.

See Sir T. Roe
of the presents
to the *Mogull*.
The Kings E-
lephants.

burned without the Suburbs, where the dead bodies of other sects are buried. And because an huge multitude of Sorcerers conuerse alwayes there, they haue about twentie five thousand Harlots in the Suburbs and in the Citie, and these haue a Captaine appointed ouer euery hundred, and thousand; and one Generall; whose office is, that when Embassadors come, or such as haue businesse with the *Can* whose charges he findeth, this Captaine giueth euery Embassador and euery man of his family, change of women nightly at free cost: for this is the Queanes tribute. The Guards euery night cast those in prison which they finde walking late: and if they be found guiltie they are beaten with Cudgels: for the *Bachsi* tell them that it is not good to shed mans blood. But many dye of those beatings.

The great *Can* hath in his Court twelue thousand Horse-men, which they call *Casitan*, faith- 10
full Souldiers of their Lord, who guard his person more for state then feare. And foure Capitaines haue the charge of these, whereof euery one commandeth three thousand. When one Captaine with three thousand Souldiers within the Palace, hath guarded the King for three dayes and nights, another Captaine with his Souldiers againe succeedeth: and so throughout the whole yeeare, this course of watching by courte is obserued.

When through occasion of any feastiuall day hee keepeth a solemne Court, his Table being higher then the rest of the Tables, is set at the North part of the Hall, and his face is to the South, hauing the greatest Queene on his left hand, to wit, his principall wife, and his Sonnes, and nephews, and they of the blood royall on his right. Yet their table is in a lower place, so that they scarce touch the Kings feet with their heads; the seat of the eldest being higher then the 20
rest. The Barons and Princes, sit in a lower place then that. Their wiues also keepe the like order, first the *Cans* sonnes wiues and his kinsmens, sits lower on the left hand, and after, those of the Lords and of euery Captaine, and Noble-man, each in her degree and order. And the Emperour himselfe, while he sitteth at his table, may cast his eyes vpon all that feast with him in that Hall. There are not Tables for all to sit, but the greatest part of the Souldiers and Barons eate on Carpets. At all the doores stand two giantly fellowes with Cudgels, to see that none touch the Threshold, which if hee doe they take his garments away; which he must redeeme with so many blowes as shall be appointed, or else lose them. They which serue the King sitting at the table, all of them couer their mouthes with Silke, least their breathing should by any meanes touch the Kings meat or drinke. And when he hath minde to drinke, the Damofell which giues 30
it, goeth back three paces and kneeles downe, and then the Barons and all the people kneele, and the Musicians sound their Instruments. There is no cause why I should write any thing concerning the meats which are brought to the Table, how daintie and delicate they are, and with what magnificence and pompe they are serued in. All the *Tartars* obserue this custome, to celebrate the Birth day of their Lord most honourably. The Festiuall birth day of *Cublai*, is kept the twentie eight of September, and this day hee accounteth more solemne, then any of the whole yeare, except the first of February, wherein they begin their yeare. The King therefore in his Birth day is cloathed with a most precious garment of Gold, and about two thousand Barons and Souldiers, are cloathed of the same colour of gold (though of Silke stufte) and a girdle wrought with gold and siluer, which is giuen them with a payre of shooes: some weare Pearles 40
and Gemmes of great price, namely, the *Quicitarie*, which are next to the *Can*: and these garments are not worne but on their thirdeene solemne Feasts according to the thirdeene Moones of the yeare; all then cloathed like Kings. This custome is also obserued with the *Tartars*, that on the birth day of great *Cham*, all the Kings, Princes, and Nobles, which are subiect to his Dominion, should send presents vnto him, as to their Emperour. And they who desire to obtaine any place of Dignitie or office of him, offer their requests vnto twelue Barons appointed for this purpose, and what they decree, is all one, as if the Emperour himselfe had answered them. All people also, of what Faith or sect soeuer, whether *Christians*, or *Senes*, *Saracens*, or *Tartars*, and other *Pagans* are bound, solemnly to call vpon their Gods, for the life, safetie, and prosperitie of Great *Can*.

On the day of the *Kalends* of February, which is the beginning of the *Tartars* yeare, great 50
Can and all the *Tartars*, wheresoeuer they are, celebrate a very great and solemne Feast, and all aswell men as women, desire to bee cloathed in white Garments. For they beleue, that the white garment is a token of good lucke: Therefore that fortune might fauour them all the yeare, they weare white in the beginning of the yeare. Moreouer the Rulers of Cities, and Gouvernours of Prouinces, mindfull of their dutie, send vnto their Emperour on this day presents of Gold and Silver, Pearles and Precious stones, many white Cloathes, and other white things, and many Horses of a white colour: the rest of the *Tartars* at the beginning of the yeare, send white presents one to another. It is the custome of those which bring presents, if they can, of each to present nine times nine; as if they send Horses, to present nine nines, that is eightie one, and so of 60
Gold, of Cloaths, & other things, that sometimes he hath by this reckoning one hundred thousand Horses. Also at this good lucke, all the Elephants which the Emperour hath (five thousand in number) are brought vnto the Court, couered with Tapistrie, wherein the similitudes of diuers Beasts and Fowles are portrayed, carryng vpon their shoulders two Chests full of golden and siluer.

Siluer vessell. Many Camels also are brought, couered with faire Silken clothes, which bring other things, necessarie for the Court. And this day in the morning, all the Kings, Capitaines, Barons, Souldiers, Physicians, Astrologers, Falconers, and the Gouvernours of Prouinces, and Armies, and other Officers of the Emperour, assemble in the great Hall before the King, and they who happen to haue no place there, for the multitude of men, stand in another place where he may see them. All being placed in their order, and degree, one ariseth as it were some Prelate, and crieth out with a loude voyce, *Bow downe, and adore.* And presently all doe reuerence, bending downe their foreheads to the earth. Then he sayth, *God preserue our Lord with long life and ioy,* and all answere, *God grant.* Then he sayth, *God encrease and aduance his Empire,* and *preserue his Subiects in peace, good-will, and prosperitie:* and all answere, *God grant.* And this they doe foure times. The adoration finished, the said Prelate goeth to an Altar richly adorned, on which is a red Table, wherein is written the name of the *Can*, and taking a Censer, and putting odoriferous Spices therein, they perfume the Table and the Altar with great reuerence, in honour of great *Can*, and so returne to their places. After which, are offered the gifts whereof we haue spoken; and then the Tables are prepared, and a most solemne Dinner held, eating and drinking with great ioy with their wiues, in manner before described. And lastly, a domestick Lion is brought vnto the King, which lying at his feet, like a gentle Whelp, acknowledgeth his Lord.

The Feast.

A tame Lion.

In those three moneths, in which as we said before, the Emperour remayneth in the Citie of *Cambalu*, to wit, in December, Ianuarie, and Februarie, all the Hunters which the Emperour hath in all Prouinces, round about the Prouince of *Cathai*, apply themselves to hunting, and offer all the greater wilde-beasts, to wit, Stags, Beares, Roe-buckles, wilde Boares, Deere, and such like, vnto their Gouvernours: who (if they be distant from the Emperours Court, lesse then thurtie dayes Iourney) send such beasts taken, by Waynes, and Ships vnto the Emperour, hauing first bowelled them. But such as are fortie dayes Iourney distant from his Court, send onely the skinned, which are necessarie for the making of Armour. Hee hath many Leopards, and Wolues for hunting, and many Lions also, greater then those which are in *Babylon*, in the haire whereof certaine little beames appeare of diuers colours, to wit, white, blacke and red, and they are accommodated to catch Boares, Beares, Stags, Roe-buckles, wilde Asses, and wilde Oxen; and it is marvellous to see the Lions fiercenesse and dexteritie in the act. Two Lions vse to be carried in one Wagon, when they goe to hunt, and with them a Dog, with which they are tamed; and they carrie them on this fashion, because of their furie and vnrulinesse: and they must carrie them contrary to the wind; for else the beasts would sent them, and flee. Hee hath many tame Eagles, which are so fierce, that they take Hares, Roe-buckles, Deere, and Foxes: among which some of them reare not with great violence to seize vpon Wolues, and vex them so sore, that without labour and danger, they may be taken by men.

The office of the Prouincial Hunters.

Tame Leopards, and Lions.

Eagles.

The great *Can* hath in his Court two which are brethren, one called *Bayan*, the other *Mingan*, called in the *Tartar* language, *Cinici*, that is, Masters of the Game, whereof either hath the charge of ten thousand men: they which are vnder one of them, are clothed in red; the other in skie-colour, alway when they hunt. These keepe diuers sorts of Dogs, to the number of fve thousand Mastiues and other. In hunting they goe with their people, one on the right, and the other on the left hand of the King: and they take vp so great a length of the Playne, that from one end to the other is a dayes Iourney, so that no beast can escape them; and it is great pleasure when the *Can* goes in the midst, to see the Dogs follow Harts, Beares, and other kinds. And these Brethren are bound by couenant, from the beginning of October to the end of March, to bring to the Court, one thousand heads of beasts and birds, besides Quails, and fishes the best they can, in great proportion.

The Masters of the Game.

The moneth of March comming in, great *Can* departeth from the Citie of *Cambalu*, and proceedeth North-eastward towards the Ocean distant thence two dayes Iourneyes, bringing with him about ten thousand Falconers, who haue Falcons, Hawkes, Gerfalcones, and other kinds of Fowles of prey fit for hawking. These Falconers disperse themselves by an hundred or two hundred in a Companie: and the birds that are taken, for the most part, are brought vnto the King, who by reason of his Gout, sitteth in a wooden house, which two Elephants carrie, couered with the skins of Lions, and within hanged with cloth of Gold, hauing with him for his recreation, twelue choice Hawkes, and twelue fauoured Courtiers: many Noblemen and Souldiers ride by, who guard the Kings person. Who, when they see Pheasants, or Cranes, or other birds flying in the aire, declare it to the Falconers which are neere vnto the King: and they, signifying the same vnto the King, vncouer the Kings House, and let their Falcons and Hawkes flie, and the King sitting on his Bed, beholdeth the pastime of the birds. Other ten thousand men also goe with the King, who in that hawking, runne hither and thither, by two and two, and marke whither the Falcons and Hawkes flie, that are cast from the fist, that (if need bee) they may helpe them. And these, in the *Tartars* Language, are called *Toscaol*, that is to say, *Toscaol*. Watch-men or Markes-men, being skilfull in a certaine kind of whistle, wherewith they call in the Hawkes that are flown. Nor is it needfull, that the Falconer who let the Hawkes flie,

Hawking.

10000. Falconers.

The Kings Horse-litter.

Toscaol.

The markes of
the Hawkes.

should follow her, seeing they, of whom I now speake, are busily employed in taking vp the Hawkes, and are carefull that by no meanes they bee hurt or lost. And euery flying Hawke carrieth a little table of siluer on her foot, signed with the marke of her Master or Falconer, that if shee bee lost, shee may bee restored to her owner. But if the marke cannot be knowne, the Hawke is deliuered to a certaine Baron, who for this cause is called *Bulangazi*, to whom are brought all lost things (otherwise the Finder would be counted a Thiefe) and to him Losers resort to inquire of things lost. He hath a most eminent place, noted by his Ensigne, that in so great an assembly of people he may be knowne.

The number
and order of
the Pauilions.

The huge
price of Arme-
lines, and
Sables.

Hunting for-
bidden.

Barke or Pa-
per money.

Cambalu, the
Mint of mo-
ney.

Whiles they are thus busied in sporting and hawking, they come vnto a certaine great Plaine, called *Caczarmedin*, where the Tents of the King and all the Courtiers are prepared, about ten thousand in number. The first and chiefe is the *Cans* Pauilion, vnder which ten thousand Souldiers stand, besides Barons and Noble-men, with the doore to the South: sustayned with three Pillars, wrought with diuers curious and excellent carued workes, and couered with the skinnies of Lions (and strakes of diuers colours) which keepe out rayne. But within, the walls of the Pauilions are couered with most costly skinnies of *Armelines* and *Sables*, although in those Countries these skinnies are accounted most precious, that sometimes skinnies worth two thousand Sultanines of gold are scarce sufficient for one paire of Vests. The *Tartars* call the *Sable*, the Queene of Fures. The Cordes, wherewith these Pauilions are supported, are of silke. There are also other Pauilions erected, wherein the Wiues, Sonnes, and Hand-maides of the King remaine. Further also, the Falcons, Hawkes, Owles, Garfalcons, and other Birds, which serue for Hawking, haue their Tents wherein they are containd. For, there is so great a multitude of Tents, that to them that come thither, a farre off it seemeth that a famous Citie is built there. The King remayneth all March in that Plaine, and taketh innumerable Beasts and infinite multitudes of Fowle. For no man may else hunt in all the Prouinces of that Kingdome, at the least within fve dayes iourney one way, ten another, and fteene a third way of the *Cans* Court: nor keepe an hunting Dogge, or an Hawke: and specially, from the beginning of March vntill the month of October, no man is permitted to vse any deuice or engine whatsoever, to take Stagges, Deere, Roe-bucks, Hares, lest he should hinder their breede: and here-vpon it is that there are such store.

It is incredible what multitudes of People, Merchants, and merchandises of all sorts are seene in *Cambalu*. The Money of the Great *Can* is not made of gold or siluer, or other metall, but they take the middle barke from the Mulberrie Tree, and this they make firme, and cut it into diuers and round pieces, great and little, and imprint the Kings marke thereon. Of this matter therefore, the Emperour causeth an huge masse of money to bee made in the Citie of *Cambalu*, which sufficeth for the whole Empire: and no man vnder paine of death may lawfully coine any other, or spend any other money, or refuse it in all his Kingdomes and Countries. Nor any coming from another Kingdome, dare spend any other money in the Empire of Great *Can*. Whereby it commeth to passe, that Merchants often coming from farre remote Countries and Regions vnto the Citie of *Cambalu*, bring with them gold, siluer, pearle, and precious stones, and receiue the Kings money for them. And because this money is not receiued in their Countries, they change it againe in the Empire of Great *Can* for merchandise, which they carrie away with them. He also payeth stipends to his Officers and Armies of the mentioned money; and lastly, whatsoever thing he needeth in his Court he buyeth with this money. Wherefore, there is not a King to be found in the World, who exceedeth him in Treasure, not expended on the Mint as elsewhere.

The Great *Can* hath twelue Barons, as is said before, which are his Counsell of Warre, and dispose of martiall affaires, and the exalting or disgracing of Captaines and Souldiers. Their office is called *Thai*, that is, *The high Court*, because they haue none about them but the *Can*. Other twelue Barons are appointed Counsellors for the foure and thirtie Prouinces, which haue a faire Palace in *Cambalu*, in which is for euery Prouince a Iudge & many Notaries. These haue power to choose Gouvernours of the said Prouinces, and present their names to the *Can* which confirms them. These also haue the charge of the Treasure to exact and dispense the same. Their office is called *Singh*, that is, *The second Court*, subiect to none but the *Can*, yet reputed lesse noble then the former, that being a martiall State.

§. VI.

The Cans prouisions for Embassadors and for Posts; against Dearth; for High-ways; for the Poore in Cambalu, for Astrologers; Tartars Wine, Fuel, Religion, Opinions, Behaviour, Court-neatnesse: POLOS proceeding from Cambalu Westward. Of Pulisangan, Gouza, Tainfu, Pianfu, Thaigin, Cagianfu, Quenzanfu, Sindinfu, Thebeth, Caindu, Caraian, Carachan, Cardandan and Vociam.

10 **W**ithout the Citie of *Cambalu*, many publike wayes conduct to the neighbouring Prouinces, and in euery one of them alway at the end of five and twentie or thirtie miles, are Lodgings or Innes built, called *Lamb*, that is, *Post-horses*, with great and faire Palaces, Chambers furnished with Beds and other Prouisions, meete to entertaine great Men, yea to lodge a King; the prouisions laid in from the next adioyning places: where about foure hundred Horses are in readinesse for Messengers and Embassadors, which there leaue their ridden Horses and take fresh. And in mountaynous places, where are no Villages, he sends People to inhabite, ten thousand at a place where these *Lamb* are built, which till the ground for their prouisions; and this continueth vnto the furthest limits of the Empire: so that

20 in the publique wayes, throughout the whole Empire, about ten thousand of the Kings Innes are to bee found. And the number of the Horses, appointed for the seruice of the Messengers in those Innes, are more then two hundred thousand, a thing almost incredible to tell: so that in a little while with change of Men and Horse, intelligence might flie to the Court. And if any wonder how so many men and beasts should be provided for, hee must consider that the *Moors* and *Gentiles* haue many women, and store of children, some having thirtie sonnes which follow them armed; and for victuall they sow three seeds, Rice, Panike and Mill, which yeeld an hundred fold: they make not bread, but boile these with Milke or Flesh. Wheat will not so encrease with them: nor suffer they any ground, which will beare, to lye vntilled. And their Cattell alway increase, that each of them carries with him six, eight, or more Horses into the field for his owne person. These Horses also take turnes, that of the foure hundred aforesaid two hundred are

30 in the stables readie, the other two hundred at grasse by monethly courses. Their Cities adioyning to Riuer or Lakes, are appointed also to haue ferry Boats in readinesse for the Posts. And Cities adioyning to Desarts, are felled at Hories and prouisions thorow those Desarts, but haue contribution from the *Can*. In cases of great import, the Poste rides with a Gersfalcon Table, and is trussed so that he will ride two hundred miles in a day, or two hundred and fiftie, sometimes also they ride the night, Foot-posts running by with lights, if the Moone shine not. They winde a Horne that the fresh Horses may be brought forth for them to mount presently, and hauing their bellies and heads girded runne as fast as the horse can: and those which are able to endure this excessive riding are of great reputation.

40 There are also betweene the said Innes other habitations, three or foure miles distant one from another, where there are a few houses wherein Foot-posts dwell, hauing all girdels full of shrill sounding bells. These are alwayes readie, and as often as the Kings Letters are sent vnto them, conuey them speedily to the next habitation: who hearing the sound of the Foot-post comming afarre off, expect him, and receiuing his Letters, presently carrie them to the next watch: and so the Letters passing through diuers hands, are conueyed without any delay, vnto that place whither they ought to come. And it commeth often to passe, that the King vnderstandeth newes, or receiue new fruits from a place, ten dayes journey distant, in two dayes: as fruits growing at *Cambalu* in the morning, the next day at night at *Xandu*. But all the mentioned Postes are free from all exaction of Tribute, and receiue a good recompence of their labours from the Kings

50 Rent gatherers besides. Some also are appointed to examine these Posts monethly, and to punish their faults.

He sends yearly vnto diuers Prouinces, subiect to his Empire, to inquire whether any harme be done to the Corne, by Tempests, Locusts, Wormes, or any other plague. And when he hath notice giuen him, that any Prouince or Citie, hath sustained any damage, he remitteth Tributes to that people for that yeere, and sendeth Graine for victuall and for Seede, out of his owne Garners. For, in the time of great plentie, the King buyeth abundant store of Corne, and keepeth it with great care of Officers, three or foure yeeres in Garners, that when there shall be scarcitie of Corne in one Countrey, that defect may bee supplied out of the Kings Store-houses. Hee selleth his graine for the fourth part of other mens price, and alway prouideth that his store-houses be stored. Likewise, when any murren lighteth among Cattell, hee sends them other Cattell which he hath for Tenths in other Prouinces. And if a thunder-bolt hath stricken any beast of any Herd or Flock, he will haue no Tribute thereof for three yeeres, be the Herd neuer so great: nor custome of a Thunder-stricken ship, thinking God is angrie with them which are so stricken. Likewise, that Trauellers may find the way in all places capable to beare Trees, He hath caused

Postes and Innes. The Romans also had publike Stables, as appears by *Constantine*, *Zos. l. 2.* and *Palladius* who in three dayes would ride from the Confines of the Empire to *Constantinople*, *Soc. l. 7. c. 19.*

Foot-postes. *Die Post boden.*

Their Priviledges.

Prouisions against dearth.

Fatherly Royallie.

Hence perhaps the walk from *Labor* to *Agra* was occasioned. Their Rice-wine.

Coales taken out of mines, a thing strange to *Polo* an *Italian*, but common with vs, called *Sea-cole*, because they are brought by Sea from *New-castle*, &c. *Enemas Syluius* and the *China* *Le-suites*, haue told wonders of these black stones, a wonderfull diuine bounty indeed to this Land, and specially to this Citie. *Cans* charitie to the Poore. The Tenth paid to the *Can*. Weekly labour for him. The Deuill an Angell of light. Astrologers.

Tartarian computation of times.

Their Religion.

* *Stattendo i denti*.

Opinions of the soule.

Their Customs.

Court reuerence.

Trees to be planted, a little distance one from another, neare vnto the principall wayes; and in Sandie and desert places, he hath caused to set Stones and Pillars for that purpose: and Officers are appointed to looke to these things. Hee plants Trees the rather because his Astrologers tell him, that planting Trees lengthens the life.

They make excellent drinke, in the Prouince of *Cathai*, of Rice and diuers Spices, which in the taste thereof excelleth the sweetnesse euen of Wine. And they who drinke more greedily therof then reason iudgeth to be fit, or the nature of the drinker requireth, sooner become drunke then if they had drunke Wine.

Throughout the whole Prouince of *Cathai*, certaine blacke stones are digged out of the Mountaines, which put into the fire burne like wood, and being kindled preserue fire a long time, as if they be kindled in the Euening, they keepe quicke fire all the night. And many vse those stones, because that though they haue store of wood, yet is there such frequent vse of Stoues and Bathes (thrice every weeke) that the wood would not serue.

It is not amisse also, hauing spoken of his Prouisions abroad, to mention his care for the poore of *Cambalu*. When he heares of any honourable Familie decayed by disaduentures, or of any which cannot worke, and haue no meanes: he causeth to giue to such Families the whole yeares expences; each of such Families going to the Officers for that purpose, and shewing their Bill of allowance, receiue prouisions accordingly. There is a Palace deputed for those Officers. They are provided also of garments for Winter, and for Summer; the *Can* hauing the Tenth of all Wool, and Silke, and Hempe, which he causeth to bee made into Clothes in a house thereto appointed: for all Trades are bound one day in the weeke to worke for him. He prouides also apparell for his Armies, and in euery Citie causeth Cloth to be made of his tithes wooll. You must vnderstand that the *Tartars* ancient customes knew no almes, but rather vpbraided such as were in necessitie, as hated of God. But the Idolaters, especially these *Bachsi*, haue propounded it as a good worke acceptable to God, and haue taught him to be thus bountifull, so that in his Court bread is neuer denied to any which aske: and there is no day in which is not giuen away twentie thousand Crownes in Rice, Millet and Panike, whereby he is esteemed as a God.

There are also in *Cambalu* of *Christians*, *Saracens*, and *Catayans*, about fife thousand Astrologers and Diuiners, which the Great *Can* prouideth yeerly of foode and rayment, as those poore abovesaid. These haue an Astrolabe in which are marked the signes of the Planets, the houres and points of all the yeere. Herein all these Astrologers, each Religion apart, view the course of the yeere, according to euery Moone, obseruing the disposition of the weather, referring alway to God to doe more or lesse after his owne pleasure. They write also vpon certaine squares (they call them *Tacini*) the things which are to come that yeere, which they sell to those that will buy them, and such as speake most truth are most honored. If any intend any great worke, or to goe a farre iourney, and will know the euent before-hand, he makes recourse to these Astrologers, to see it with their eyes in the Heauens, which they doe, comparing the present Constellation with that of his Birth (which they demand of him) so foretelling him the good or euill.

The *Tartars* reckon the computation of their yeeres by twelues, the first signified by a Lion, the second by an Oxe, the third by a Dragon, the fourth by a Dogge, and so thorow the whole twelue: so that if a man be demanded when he was borne; he will answer, such a point of such an houre, of such a day in the yeere Lion (this their fathers exactly set downe in a booke) and when the twelue is complete, they goe ouer the same againe.

Of their Religion we haue said that they are Idolaters, and for their Gods haue a Table set aloft in the wall of their Chamber, on which is written, a Name representing the *High God of Heauen*; and there euery day, with a Censer of incense, they adore it in this manner. They lift vp their hands aloft, and strike their teeth thrice, praying it to giue them a good vnderstanding and health; and desire thereof nothing else. Besides, on the ground they haue another statue, called *Natigai*, The God of earthly things, with his Wife and Children (as before is said) whom likewise they worship with incense, striking * or gnashing the teeth, and lifting vp the hands; and desire thereof temperature of the aire, fruits of the earth, children, and the like. They hold the Soule to be immortal, and that when a man dies, it enters into another bodie better or worse, according to the merits in the former life, as of a poore man to become a Gentleman, and after of a Prince or Lord, and so higher till it be assumed in God: or if it hath ill deserued to be a poorer man, after a Dogge, alway descending to the lowest ranke of basenesse. They haue a comely speech, salute cheerfully and honestly, haue a gracefull carriage, and feed cleanly. They beare great reuerence to their Parents, and if any be vndutifull, or helpelesse to their necessitie, there is a publike Office designed to this particular, to punish vngratefull or disobedient children. Prisoners are released at three yeeres end, and marked in the cheeke, to be knowne Malefactors.

The Barons and People which goe to the Grand *Can*, obserue these Rites. First, within halfe a mile of the place where the *Can* is, all is hushed and quiet without noyse or cryes, or any loud speech: and euery Baron carries continually a little faire vessell to spit in, after which hee couers it, none daring to spit on the Hall. They haue Furre buskins of white leather, which they put on when they enter the Hall, putting off the former and giuing them to the seruants, lest they should foule the faire artificiall Carpets.

Ten

Ten miles off *Cambalu*, is a certayne great Riuer, named *Pulifangan*, emptying it selfe into the Ocean, by which many ships with much merchandise ascend. And in that place, there is a very faire Bridge, all of Serpentine stone curiously wrought, contayning three hundred paces in length, and eight in breadth, that ten men may ride abreast. On each side it is fairely mounted with a wall of marble, and Pillars set on a row: and in the height of the ascent is a great and high Pillar, at the foote whereof is a great Lion, and on the top another. And so quite thorow the Bridge, one pace and halfe distant are Pillars with Lions on the top, and a faire well-wrought marble worke betwixt, to keepe men from falling.

An admirable Bridge. *Ramusio* hath giuen a picture, London more.

Having passed ouer the Riuer and Bridge, proceeding thirtie miles westward (in which Palaces are continually scene with Vineyards and fertile Fields) you come to the Citie *Gouza*, both faire and great, hauing many Monasteries of Idols. Cloth of gold and silkes are made there, and the purest and finest Cambricks or Launes; and many common Innes for Strangers and Trauailers are found in that Citie: The Citizens are Artificers and Merchants. A mile without this Citie the way parteth, one leading West, the other South-east: that to the West leadeth through the Prouince of *Carbay*, but the other towards the Countrey of *Mangi*. From the Citie of *Gouza* to the Kingdome of *Tainfu*, you ride ten dayes thorow *Cataio*, alway finding many faire Cities and Castles, well traded with Vineyards and tilled Fields, from whence Wine is carried to *Cataio*, where it wants. There are many Mulberrie trees for Silke-workes: the People ciuill and Cities very frequent.

The Citie *Gouza*. Parting of the way.

Tainfu is the name of the Kingdome, and of the chiefe Citie which is great and faire, hath much trading with store of munition, fit for the *Cans* Armies. The Wine about this Citie serueth the whole Prouince. Seuen dayes further westward is a goodly Countrey, beautified with many Castles and Cities, in which also great trade of merchandise is vsed. After which, you come to a Citie very great, named *Pianfu*, in which there is great abundance of Silke and Trading.

Tainfu. Armes.

Westward from *Pianfu* standeth a very goodly Castle, named *Thaigin*, anciently built by a King called *Dor*. In it is a spacious Palace, wherein is a faire Hall, in which are painted all the famous Kings which haue reigned there; a faire spectacle. Of this King *Dor* they say that he was potent, and was attended onely by young Damsels, whereof his Court had great store. They also when hee listeth to take his pleasure, carried him in a small light Chariot thorow the Castle, which is so fortified by Art and Nature, that the Gouvernour thereof feared none, no not *Vmcan* his Lord, against whom hee rebelled. But seuen men professing fidelitie and seruice to *Dor*, tooke him at aduantage in hunting, and brought him captiue to *Presbyter Iohn* or *Vmcan*, who put him in vile clothes, and appointed him to keepe his Cattell, and set on him a strong guard till two yeeres were ended: after which, hee commanded him to bee brought before him, and attyred him in Princely apparell, and giuing him his pardon after sharpe admonition, sent him so well attended to the repossesion of his Kingdome.

Dor and his Damsel-court. The King of *Achen*, and the *Mogol*, doe likewise in part.

About twentie miles beyond the Castle *Thaigin*, is the Riuer *Cardamoran*, which by reason of the exceeding bredth and depth thereof, hath no Bridge: and floweth to the Ocean. On the shoare thereof are many Cities and Castles built; wherein much trading is exercised. This Countrey aboundeth with Ginger, Silke, and Fowle, especially Feasants, that three of them are bought for a groat of *Venice*. There grow Reeds infinite store, so great that some are a foot, some are a foot and halfe in compasse, profitable to many vses. Passing this Riuer, after two dayes iourney is the famous Citie called *Carianfu*, where many clothes of Gold and Silke are made: heere growes Ginger, Galingale, Spike, and many Spices. The people are Idolaters. Proceeding seuen dayes iourney Westward, many Cities, and Townes, goodly Fields and Gardens are found; and euery where Mulberies for Silke-wormes. And they are Idolaters, but there are also *Christians*, *Turkes*, *Nestorians*, and some *Saracens*. There is much both of wilde Beasts and Fowle. If you proceed seuen dayes iourney further, you shall come to a certaine great Citie, named

Cardamoran. *Carianfu*.

Quenzanfu, which is the chiefe Citie of the Kingdome, in which haue raigned many famous Kings: and at this day, the sonne of great *Can*, called *Mangalu*, hath the command thereof. That Countrey yeeldeth great plentie of Silke, Cloth of Gold, and all other things necessarie for furnishing of an Armie, and for preseruacion of the life of Man. The Inhabitants worship Idols; and there are some *Christians*, and *Turkes*, and *Saracens*. Fiue miles without the Citie standeth the Palace of *Mangalu*, seated in a Playne, where are many Springs, Riuerets, and places of Game. There is a high wall encompassing fiue miles, where are all wilde Beasts and Fowles, in the midst is an excellent Palace, hauing many Halls and Chambers great and faire, all painted with Gold and Azure, and infinite Marbles adorning. The King with his Courtiers applieth himselfe to hunting of wilde Beasts, and taking of Fowle, and followeth his fathers steps in Iustice and Equitie, much beloued of his people.

Quenzanfu. King *Mangalu*.

Going three dayes iourney Westward from the said Palace, through a certaine goodly Plaine, where many Cities and Castles are (and abundance of Silke, Merchandise, and Arts) is a mountainous Countrey, where, in the Mountaines and Valleys are frequent Habitations, and store of Lodgings, of the Prouince of *Cunchin*. The Inhabitants are Idolaters, and Husbandmen. Also,

Cunchin.

in that Countrey they hunt Lions, Beares, Stags, Roe-buckles, Deere, Wolves. That Plaine is two dayes iourney, and the Countrey is twentie dayes Westward all inhabited, hauing Mountaines, and Valleyes, and many Woods.

*Achbaluch
Mangi.*

After that, twentie dayes towards the West, is a Prouince, named *Achbaluch Mangi*, that is, *The white Citie of the borders of Mangi*, which is wel peopled. This Prouince for two daies iourney hath a Plaine, with infinite habitations. After which follow Mountaines, Valleyes, and Woods, all inhabited twentie dayes iourney Westward. It hath store of wild beasts, and of those creatures which yeeld Muske. In this Prouince Ginger groweth in great plentie, as also Corne and Rice.

*Mangi.
Sindinfu.*

After twentie dayes iourney thorow those Hills, is a Playne, and a Prouince in the Confines of *Mangi*, named *Sindinfu*. The chiefe Citie hath the same name, great and exceeding rich, being twentie miles circuit about. It hath had many rich and mightie Kings, but the old King dying, left three sonnes Successors of the Kingdome, which diuided the Citie into three parts, compassing euery part with their proper walls, all which notwithstanding were contained within the former wall. But great *Can* subiected that Citie and Kingdome to his Dominion. Thorow this Citie runne many Riuer, in many places, and round about, some halfe a mile ouer, some two hundred paces, very deepe, and on them are many Bridges of stone, very faire, eight paces broad, set on both sides with marble Pillars, which beare vp a timber Frame that couers the Bridge; each Bridge hauing streets and shops all along ft. When these Riuer are past the Citie, they becom one great riuer, called *Quian*, which runneth one hundred dayes iourney hence to the Ocean. Neere these Riuer are many Cities and Castles, and ships for Merchandise. Proceeding 20
five dayes iourney further, through a certaine Playne, many Cities, Castles, and Villages are found, in which fine Lawnes are in great abundance. Many wilde Beasts also are there.

Quian.

The greatnesse
of the Prou-
ince of *Tebeth*

After the Playne whereof wee now speake, is the Prouince of *Tebeth*, which great *Can* vanquished, and wasted: for in it are many Cities destroyed, and Castles ouerthrowne by the space of twentie dayes iourney. And because it is become a Wildernesse, wanting Inhabitants, wilde Beasts, and Lions are there encreased abundantly: and it is needfull that Trauellers carrie victuals with them. Very great Canes grow in this Countrey ten paces in length, and three palmes in thicknesse, and as much from knot to knot. When Trauellers therefore will rest by night secure from Beasts, they take great bundles of the greener Reeds, and putting fire vnder, kindle them. Which make such a cracking, and so great a noyse, that it may bee 30
heard two miles off. Which terrible sound the wilde Beasts hearing, flee away. Moreover, Horses, and other Beasts which Merchants vse for their iourney, hearing this noyse and cracking, are very much afraid, and many betaking themselves to flight, haue escaped from their Masters: but the wiser Trauellers binding their feet together with Fetters, detain them with violence.

The subtil de-
uise of Trauel-
lers.

Iustine in his
18. booke men-
tioneth the
like of the Cy-
prians.
Alianus V. H.
the 4. booke,
chapter 1.

Twentie dayes iourney ended, hauing passed ouer the Prouince of *Tebeth*, wee meet with Cities, and very many Villages, in which, through the blindnesse of Idolatrie, a wicked custome is vsed: for, no man there marrieth a wife that is a Virgin. Whereupon, when Trauellers and Strangers comming from other parts, passe through this Countrey, and pitch their Pauilions, the Women of that place hauing marriageable daughters, bring them vnto Strangers, desiring 40
them to take them, and enioy their companie as long as they remayne there. Thus the pretier are chosen, and the rest returne home sorrowfull. And when they will depart, they are not suffered to carrie any away with them, but faithfully restore them to their Parents. The Mayden also requireth some toy or small Present of him who hath deflowered her, which shee may shew as an argument and prooffe of her deflouring. And shee that hath beene loued, and abused of most men, and shall haue many such fauours and toyes to shew to her Wooers, is accounted more noble, and may more easily and honourably be married. And when shee will goe honourably attired, shee hangeth all her Louers fauours about her necke, and the more acceptable illee was to many, of so much the more honour is shee adiudged worthie. But when they are once married to husbands, they are now no more suffered to be coupled with strange men. And the 50
men of this Countrey are very wary, that they offend not one another in this matter. They are Idolaters, and cruell men, thinking it no sinne if they rob, and exercise theft. They liue by hunting, and the fruits of the earth. Many beasts also are found with them, yeelding Muske called by them, Gudderi. They haue a proper Language, and haue no money, not the Paper money of *Can*, but spend Corals for money, and are clothed with the skins of beasts, or course Hempe. This Countrey appertayneth to the Prouince of *Tebeth*: for *Tebeth* is a very large Prouince, and hath beene sometime diuided into eight Kingdomes, hauing many Cities, and Townes, with many Mountaynes, Lakes, and Riuer, where Gold is found. The women weare Corall about their neckes, and hang it about the neckes of their Idols, as a precious thing. In this Countrey there are very great Dogs, as big as Asses, which take wilde Beasts, specially wilde 60
Oxen, called *Beyamini*. They are exceeding Necromancers, causing tempests, lightnings, thunderbolts, and many other wonders. There are many sorts of Spices neuer brought into these parts. This *Tebeth* is (as all the former Prouinces) subiect to the *Can*.

Whose glorie
is in their
shame.

Corall money.

Eight King-
domes of
Tebeth.

Caidu.

On the West of the Prouince of *Tebeth*, bordereth the Prouince of *Caidu*, sometimes gover-
ned

ned by her owne Kings, now by the Gouvernours of the *Can*. By the West you must not vnderstand that the Countries are in the West, but that wee departing from those parts which are betwixt the East and North-east come hither Westward: and therefore reckon them Westward. The people are Idolaters, haue many Cities, the chiefe called by the name of the Prouince, *Caindu*, built in the entry of the Prouince. There is a great salt Lake, in which is store of Pearles, white, not round, so abundant, that the price of them would become little worth, if they were suffered to be carried away at mens pleasures. Whereupon, it is provided vpon payne of death, that none should presume to fish for Pearle in this Lake, without the licence of great *Can*. There is also a Mountaine in which is found a Minerall of Turkeffe stones, confined to the like licence. Many Gadderi are also in this Prouince, which yeeld Muske. That Lake also which ingendreth Pearle in such plentie, aboundeth with Fishes: and the whole Countrey is full of wilde Beasts, that is to say, of Lions, Beares, Stags, Deere, Ounces, Roe-buckes; and diuers kinds of Birds. Cloues are found there in great plentie, which are gathered from small Trees, which haue boughs and leaues like the Bay-tree, but somewhat longer and straighter, white flowers and little, as are the Cloues, and when they are ripe they are blacke and duskie. Ginger, Cinamon, and diuers other Spices grow there in great plentie, which are not brought vnto our Countries. Wine groweth not in it, but in stead thereof they make excellent Drinke of Corne, Rice, and diuers other Spices. The Inhabitants of this Countrey worship Idols, by which they are so besotted, that they thinke they deserue their fauour, if they prostitute their wiues, sisters, and daughters to bee abused by Trauellers. For, when any Stranger commeth amongst them, euery housholder seeketh to giue him entertainment, and goe their way, leauing the femals and house to the Strangers will, and returne not vntill they depart. And the women presently hang vp some signe till he be gone, that when the Master of the familie returneth, he may know he is there still, and goe away againe, staying without till he be departed: which hee doth for the glorie of his Idols, hoping they will be more gracious vnto him. Certaine twigs of Gold are their money, vsing weights, and according to the weight of the twig is the value of the money. And this money is the greater money without stampe. They haue also a lesser, which they make after this manner. They boyle Salt in a Caldron an houres space, of which being congealed, they make little lumps like two-pennie loaves, which being made solid, is signed with the Princes Stampe, and make great profit thereof in sauage places, remote from Cities which haue store of Muske and Gold, and want Chapmen. These bartar their Gold for Salt to vse in their meats. Leauing this Prouince, they proceed fifteene dayes iourney further, and in the meane space meet with Castles, and many Villages, whose Inhabitants haue the same customes, that the Prouince of *Caindu* hath, and at length they come vnto a Riuer, called *Brim*, where the Prouince of *Caindu* is bounded. In this Riuer Gold is found in great plentie, which they call, *Di Paiola* (washed in vessels to seuer it from the sands and earth.) On the bankes thereof Cinamon groweth in great abundance. This Riuer runneth to the Ocean.

Gadderi.

Cloues.

Ginger, Cinamon.

The Inhabitants are Idolaters and Bawdes.

Money of Salt.

The Riuer *Brim* yeelding Gold.The seuen Kingdomes of *Caraian*. King *Scutemur*.The Citie *Iaci*.

Money of Stones.

Raw flesh.

Caraian. Riuer yeelding gold *di paiola*, that is washed in vessels from the sand & earth. Great Dragons.

Hauiing passed ouer the Riuer *Brim*, they come westward to the Prouince *Caraian*, which containeth seuen Kingdomes. It is subiect to the Great *Can*, whose sonne, named *Scutemur*, is made King of that Kingdome, who is rich, wise and iust. The Inhabitants thereof are Idolaters. You ride fife dayes and finde it all well peopled. They liue of their Beasts and Fruits. The Countrey breedeth excellent Horses: and it hath a peculiar and difficult language. At the end of those fife dayes is the chiefe Citie, called *Iaci*, and it is great and famous, hath in it many Merchants and Artificers, and many sorts of People, *Idolaters*, *Christians*, *Nestorians*, and *Saracens*; but the most Idolaters. It hath Corne, and much Rice, although they eate no bread of Corne, because it is not wholsome, but they make bread of Rice. They make drinke also of it, and diuers Spices very pleasant. They vse white Porcelanes in stead of money, and for ornaments which are found at the Sea. Much Salt is made in this Citie of the water of salt Wells, whereof the King hath great profit. The men of this Countrey care not if any man come to their Wiues, so they giue their consent. There is also a Lake there very full of Fish, containyng an handreth miles in compasse. Those men eate raw flesh of Hennes, Beefe, Mutton and Buffals, but prepared after this manner. They first breake it into small pieces, and after season it with excellent Spices; but the poorer sort shred it and lay it in Garlicke sawce, and eate it as wee doe boyled meate.

Departing from the Citie of *Iaci*, hauiing trauiiled ten dayes iourney westward, yee come to the Prouince named, as is the chiefe Citie, *Caraian*, which *Cogatin*, sonne of *Cublai*, gouerneth. The Riuer there yeeld very much gold *di paiola*, and also that which is more solid, and the Mountaines gold of the veine, and they giue one stone of gold for six of siluer. They spend Porcelanes for money, brought thither from *India*. The Inhabitants are Idolaters: very great Serpents are bred in this Countrey, whereof some containe ten paces in length, and in thicknesse ten spans. They haue two little feet before nigh the head, with three talons or claws like Lions, and the eyes bigger then a Groat loafe, very shining. They haue their mouthes and jawes so wide, that they are able to swallow a man; great and sharpe teeth: nor is there any man, or other liuing Creature, which may behold those Serpents without terror: there are found lesse, of eight

The taking
of them.

eight, sixe, or five paces long, which are taken after this manner. In the day time they vse to lie hid, by reason of the heat in holes, out of the which they goe by night to seeke their prey, and deuoure what soeuer they get, Lions, Wolves, or others: and then goe to seeke water, leauing such a tract with their weight in the sands, as if some piece of timber had bene drawne there. Whereupon the Hunters fasten vnder the sands sharpe Iron prickes in their vsuall tracts, whereon they are wounded and slayne. The Crowes presently ring his knell, and by their crawing cries invite the Hunters, which come and slay him, taking forth his gall, profitable for diuers Medecines (amongst other things, for the biting of mad Dogs, a pemie weight giuen in Wine; and for women in trauell, for carbuncles and pusses) and they sell the flesh deare as being exceeding delicate. There are bred great Horses in this Prouince, which by Merchants are carried into India. They vse to take one bone out of the tayle, lest he should bend his tayle hither and thither, and esteeme it more comely that it hang downe right. They vse long Stirrups as the Frenchmen; which the Tartars and other Nations for their shooting vse short, because when they shoot, they rise vp. They vse Targets and Armour in the Warres, made of the hides of Buffals: they haue Lances and Crosse-bowes, and poyson all their Arrowes. Some of them which are ill minded, are said to carrie * poyson about them continually, that if they be taken, they may suddenly swallow it and death together, to preuent torture. For which cause the great Lords haue Dogs dung ready, which they force them to swallow, and that forceth them to vomit the poyson. Before the great Can subiected them, they vsed, that when any Stranger which seemed of good presence and parts lodged with them, they slue him by night, supposing that those good parts of that man might abide afterwards in that house: and this was the death of many.

* Poyson and
Dogs dung.

A wicked cu-
stome.

Cardandan.
Vociam.

The rarenesse
of Siluer.
Golden cou-
rings for the
teeth.

Going from the Prouince Carazan, after five dayes iourney Westward, is the Prouince Cardandan, which also is subiect to great Can. The chiefe Citie thereof is called Vociam. The Inhabitants thereof vse Porcelanes and weighed pieces of Gold instead of money: for in that Countrey, and many other lying round about, Siluer mines are not found, and they giue one ounce of Gold for five ounces of Siluer, and great gayne is made by the change. The men and women of that Countrey couer their teeth with thinne plates of Gold, which they so fit vnto them, that the teeth themselves seeme (as it were) to be set in the plates. The men about their armes and legs make lists, pricking the places with Needles, and putting thereon a blacke inde-
30
lible tincture. And these lists or markes are esteemed with them a great galantrie. They giue their minds to nothing but riding, hunting, hawking, and exercises of Armes, leauing the household cares to the women, who are helped therein by slaues which they buy or take in Warre. When a woman is brought to bed, shee forsakes the bed, washeth the child and dresseth it, and then the husband * lieth downe and keepes the child with him fortie dayes, not suffering it to depart: is visited meane while of friends and neighbours, to cheare and comfort him. The woman lookes to the house, carrieth the husband his broths to his bed, and giues sucke to the child by him. Their Wine is made of Rice and Spice, their meat Rice, and raw flesh dressed, as is before mentioned. In this Prouince there are no other Idols, saue that euery familie adoreth the oldest man in the house, of whom they say come themselves and all they haue. They dwell for the most
40
part, in wilde and mountainous places. But Forrainers come not to those Mountaines, because the ayre would kill them, being in Summer very corrupt. They haue no letters, but make their Contracts and Obligations by tallies of wood, the halfe whereof the one keepeth, and the other, the other: which being afterward payd, the tallie is rendred. There are no Physicians in this Prouince, nor in Camdu, Vociam and Caraian: but when any is sicke, they call the Magicians, or Idoll Priests together, and the sicke partie declareth his disease vnto them: then the Magicians dance, and sound certaine instruments, and bellow forth songs in honour of their Gods, while at length the Deuill entreth into one of them skipping and playing in the dance. Then leauing the dance, they consult with him that is possessed, for what cause that disease hap-
50
ned vnto him, and what is to be done for his recouerie. The Deuill answereth by him, because he hath done this or that, or because he hath offended this or that God; therefore, he fell into this disease. Then the Magicians intreat that God to pardon him that offence, promising, that if the sicke partie recouer, he shall offer a Sacrifice of his owne bloud. But if the Deuill thinke the weake partie to be sicke of such a disease that he cannot be freed from the same, he vseth to answer: This man hath so grievously offended that God, that he cannot by any sacrifices bee appeased. But if he thinke he shall recouer, he commandeth to offer so many Rammes hauing blacke heads, and to prepare so many Magicians with their wiues, by them to offer Sacrifices, and that God may then bee appeased towards him. Which being heard, his kinsmen quickly cause those things to be done which the Deuill commanded: they kill Rammes, and sprinkle their bloud in the ayre, and the Magicians assembled with their Witches, light great Candles,
60
and perfume the whole house with incense, making fume of Lignum Alces, and sprinkle the broth of the flesh in the ayre, together with the potion made of Spices: all which being duely performed, they skip about againe in a dance in honour of that Idoll, which is supposed to haue bene fauourable to the sicke, singing, and making an horrible noyse with their voyces. These things

* Strabo in his
third booke
mentioneth
the same to be
done with the
Spaniards in
some places.
Apollonius re-
porteth the
like custome
with the Tiba-
reni. Lelius of
the Brasilians.
Tallies of con-
tracts.
The deceitfull
medicine of
the Magicians.

things being done, they aske the possessed againe, whether by these things the Idol be appeased. If he answer, No, they presently prepare themselves to fulfill another command of his. But if he answer, that he is satisfied, they sit downe at the Table, and eate the flesh offered to the Idoll with great ioy, and drinke the confections. And dinner being ended, and the Magicians payed, euery one returneth to his owne home. And when the sicke hath thus escaped the disease, through the prouidence of God, and hath beene restored to health, they attribute it to the Idoll whom they sacrificed. But if he die, then they say, the Idoll was defrauded, and that some of the Sacrificers tasted thereof first. This is not done to all but to the Richer, the Deuill deluding their blindnesse.

¶ VII.

*Of the Prouince of Mien and Bengala, how they were conquered to the Can: Of Cangi-gu, Amu, Tholoman, Cintigui, and some other parts of Cataio.
And of the Conquest of Mangi.*

ANno Dom. 1272. the Great Can sent an Armie into the Kingdome of *Vociam*, and *Carazan* to guard it, to the number of twelue thousand expert warriors, vnder the conduct of *Nestardin* a wise Captaine. As soone as the King of *Mien*, and the King of *Bengala* heard of their comming, assembling their forces, they ioyned Horse and Foot together, about threescore thousand, and about a thousand Elephants bearing Castles, and in euery Castle twelue or sixteene armed men were placed. With this Armie the King of *Mien* speedily marched towards the Citie *Vociam*, where the Armie of the Tartars rested. *Nestardin* comming forth with a manly courage to fight against the Enemie, encamped against a certaine great Wood, knowing that the Elephants with those Towres were not able to enter into the Wood. Then the King of *Mien* marcheth forth to meete them. But the Tartarian Horses perceiving the Elephants to be present, which were placed in the first front of the battaile, were terrified with so great feare, that they could not by any violence or policy be prouoked against the Elephants. The Tartars therefore were compelled to alight from their Horses, and tying them to the Trees of the Wood, they come to fight on foot against the Elephants. In the front of the battaile, all the Tartars purposely shot a multitude of Arrowes against the Elephants, which not able to indure the strokes of the Arrowes, speedily betooke themselves to flight, and with swift course went all vnto the next Wood, and brake their Castles, and ouer-threw the armed men sitting in them, which the Tartars seeing, runne vnto their Horses, and getting vpon them, furiously fall vpon the Kings Armie with great violence: and many of either Armie fell, at length the King of *Mien* being put to flight, left the victorie to the Tartars, who hasten to the Wood, and taking many Captiues, vsed their helpe to take two hundred of these Elephants. And euer since Great Can hath vsed Elephants in his Armies which before hee had not accustomed. Hereupon also he vanquished the Countries of the King of *Mien* and *Bengala*, and subiected them to his Empire.

Departing from the Prouince of *Cardandan*, is a great descent, which continueth two dayes and a halfe, nor is there any habitation there, but a very large Playne, in the which, three dayes in the weeke many men meete together for Trading. Many descend from the great Mountaines of that Countrey, bringing gold with them to change for siluer, to wit, giuing one ounce of gold for five ounces of siluer: whereupon, many Merchants from forraine Nations come thither, who bringing siluer carrie away gold, and bring thither merchandises to sell to those people. For to those high Mountaines, in which, they who gather gold in that Countrey, dwell, no stranger can come, seeing the way is vnpassable and intricate. When you are past that Playne, going toward the South, *Mien* bordereth vpon *India*, and the way lyeth fifteene dayes iourney in places not inhabited and wooddy, in which innumerable Elephants, Vnicornes, and other wild beasts wander.

After that fifteene dayes is found *Mien*, a great and noble Citie, the head of the Kingdome, and subiect to Great Can. The Inhabitants thereof haue a peculiar language, and are Idolaters. In this Citie there was a King, who being readie to die, commanded that neere to his Sepulchre, there should be made two Towres in Pyramide fashion, one at the head, the other at the feete, both of Marble, of the heighth of ten fathom. On the top was a round Ball. He caused one to be couered all ouer with gold a finger thicke, and the other with siluer. And vpon the top round about the Balls, many little golden and siluer Bells were hanged, which at the blowing of the winde gaue a certaine sound. The Monument or Sepulchre was also couered with Plates, partly of gold, partly of siluer. He commanded this to be made in honor of his Soule, and that his memorie should neuer decay among men. And when Great Can minded to subdue this Citie, hee sent a valiant Captaine, and the greatest part of his Armie were Iesters, of which his Court is alway furnished. These winning the Citie, would not violate that Monument without the Cans knowledge,

* This by relation; for they vse not to carry about three or foure.
His stratagem.

Fight & flight of Elephants.

Market in a dis-habited Playne.
Change of gold and siluer.

Vnicornes or Rhinoceroses
Mien.

The picture of the Tartars towards the dead knowledge, who hearing that the deceased had made it for the honor of his Soule, would not suffer it to be stirred: for the manner of the Tartars is, not to violate those things which belong to the dead. In this Prouince are many Elephants, wild Oxen, great and faire Stagges and Deere, and other wild Beasts of diuers kindes.

Bengala.

The Prouince *Bengala* bordereth vpon *India* toward the South, which Great *Can* subdued, when *Marco Polo* liued in his Court. The Countrey hath a proper King, and peculiar language. The Inhabitants thereof are all Idolaters: they haue Masters which keepe Schooles and teach Idolatries and Inchantments; a thing common to all the great Men of that Countrey. They eate Flesh, Rice and Milke: they haue Cotton in great plentie, and by reason thereof, much and great trading is exercised there: they abound also with Spike, Galangal, Ginger, Sugar, and diuers other Spices. Huge Oxen also are there, comparable with Elephants in height but not in thicknesse. Many Eunuches are made in this Prouince, which are afterwards sold vnto Merchants. This Prouince continueth thirtie dayes iourney, in the end whereof going Eastward is the Prouince of *Cangiu*.

Oxen as bigge as Elephants. Eunuches.

Cangiu. The Kings many wiues.

Cangiu hath his proper King and peculiar language. The Inhabitants thereof worship Idols, and are Tributaries to Great *Can*. Their King hath about three hundredth Wiues. Much gold is found in this Prouince, and many Spices, but they cannot easily be transported, seeing that countrey is farre distant from the Sea. There are also many Elephants in it, and much game of many wild Beasts. The Inhabitants thereof liue with Flesh, Milke and Rice. They want Wine, but they make good drinke of Rice and Spices. Aswell the Men as the Women vse to embroider their Faces, Necks, Hands, Bellies and Legs, making the Images of Lions, Dragons and Birds, and so firmly imprint them that they cannot easily bee put out: and the more such Images any one hath, by so much is hee esteemed the more gallant. And there be Professors of this foolish Art of flesh embroidery, which vse no other Trade but this Needle-worke, and dying of Fooles-skinnes.

Embroidred Gallants.

Amu.

Amu is an Easterly Prouince subiect to Great *Can*, whose Inhabitants worship Idols, and haue a peculiar language. They abound with Herds of Cattell, and haue plentie of Victuals, and many Horses and those excellent, which Merchants bring into *India*. They haue also many Buffes and Oxen, because there are delicate Pastures there. As well Men as Women, weare bracelets of gold and siluer of great value on their armes, also the like on their legs: but those of the Women are of most value. From *Amu* to *Cangiu* are five and twentie dayes iourney.

Tholoman.

The Prouince *Tholoman* is eight dayes iourney distant to the East from *Amu*, subiect vnto Great *Can*, hauing a peculiar language, and worshipping Idols. The Men and Women thereof are tall and goodly, of a browne colour. The Countrey is very well inhabited, hauing many and strong Castles and Cities. The men are exercised in Armes and accustomed to warre. They burne the bodies of their dead, and inclosing the Reliques of their bones in a Chest, hide them in the Caves of the Mountaines, that they cannot bee touched either of man or beast. Gold is in great plentie there, and in stead of money they vse Porcelanes brought from *India*, as also in *Cangiu* and *Amu*.

Cintigui.

Cloth made of Barkes: which are now vied in Congo. Great and hardie Dogs.

From the Prouince *Tholoman*, the way leadeth towards the East on a Riuer, by which are many Cities and Castles, and at the end of twelue dayes you come to the great Citie *Cintigui*. The Countrey is subiect to Great *Can*, and the Inhabitants thereof are addicted to Idolatrie. Excellent Clothes are made in this Countrey of the barks of Trees, wherewith they are clothed in the Summer. Very many Lions are there, so that for feare of them, none dare sleepe without doores by night. The ships which goe vp and downe the Riuer, for feare of the Lions, are not fastned to the banke. There are great Dogs in the same Countrey, so hardie and strong, that they feare not to aduenture on the Lion: And it often hapneth, that two Dogs and one Archer kill a Lion: for the Dogs set on by the man giue the onset, and the Lions nature is presently to seeke shelter from some Tree, that the Dogs may not come behind him: neither yet will his great heart suffer him to runne from the Dogs, lest he should seeme afraid; but he holds his statelie pace, the man meanwhile shooting, and the Dogs fastning on his hinder parts, but with such quicknesse, that when the Lion turnes on them they are gone. And then doth this magnanimous Beast hold on his way againe to seeke such Tree succour, that with Bitings and Arrowes he sometimes comes short, and with expence of bloud dyeth by the way. This Countrey aboundeth with Silke, which by Merchants is carried to diuers Prouinces by the Riuer. They liue on Merchandise, their money is Paper. They are valiant in Armes. At the end of ten dayes is the Citie *Sidinfa*, and twentie dayes from thence is *Gingui*, and foure dayes thence is *Pazanfa* towards the South, and is in *Cataio* returning by the other side of the Prouince. The people are Idolaters and burne their dead. There are also certaine Christians which haue a Church: all vnder the *Can* and vse Paper money. They make Clothes of Gold, and Silke, and Launes very fine. By this Citie (which hath many Cities vnder it) goes a great Riuer which carries store of merchandise to *Cambalu*, made by many Channels to passe thither. But wee will passe hence, and proceeding three dayes iourney, speake of *Cianglu*.

Sidinfa. *Gingui.* *Pazanfa.*

Cianglu.

Cianglu is a great Citie toward the South of the Prouince of *Cataio*, subiect to the *Can*, the Inhabitants are Idolaters, and burne their dead. Their money is the (Mulberie) Paper coine of the *Can*.

Can. In this Citie and the Territories they make store of Salt, for that Earth is very salt, and out of it they get Salt, after this manner. They heape vp Earth in manner of an Hill, and powre water vpon it, which drawes the saltnesse of the Earth vnto it, and then runnes into certaine Conduits, and is boyled in Pannes till it be congealed to Salt faire and white, to the *Cans* and their great gaine, being carried into other Countries to sell. There are great Peaches very good, which weigh two pounds a piece. Fiue dayes iourney beyond the Citie *Ciangli*, in *Cataio* Southward standeth another Citie, named *Ciangli* (in which way are many Cities and Castles, all subiect to the *Can*) through the middest whereof runneth a great Riuer, very conuenient for shipping laden with merchandises.

The Salt of *Ciangli*.

Great Peaches *Ciangli*.

10 Six dayes iourney thence to the South (all which way hath great Cities and Castles of Idolaters) is the noble Kingdome and great Citie *Tudinsu*, which had his proper King, before it was subdued to Great *Can*, Anno 1272. and hath eleuen Royall Cities, famous for traffick, subiect to the iurisdiction thereof. It is very delectable for Gardens and Fruits, rich in Silkes. The *Can* sent to the gouernment hereof one of his Barons, named *Lucansor*, with eightie thousand Horse: who rebelled against his Lord, but was slaine by a power of one hundred thousand vnder two other Barons sent against him, and the Countrey reduced to obedience. Seuen dayes off (riding by many Cities and Castles of Idolaters, plentifull of all things) towards the South is the famous Citie, named *Singumatu*, vnto the which on the South, a certaine great Riuer runneth, which being diuided by the Inhabitants of the place into two Riuers, floweth partly to the East towards *Cataio*, and partly to the West towards *Mangi*. By these Riuers, innumerable Vessels for multitude, and incredible for their greatnesse and wealth, bring necessities to both Prouinces. If you goe sixteene dayes iourney towards the South from *Singumatu*, you still meet with Cities and Townes where much trading is exercised. The Inhabitants of these Countries are Idolaters, subiect to Great *Can*.

Tudinsu.

Singumatu.

20 After that sixteene dayes, you come vnto a great Riuer, named *Caramoran*, which is said to flow out of the Kingdome of *Vmcan* or *Presbyter John*, of the North. It is very deepe, and carrieth Ships of great burthen: it is also stored with Fish. Within one dayes iourney of the Sea there are in this Riuer fifteene thousand Saile, each of which carrieth fifteene Horses and twentie Men, besides Victualls and the Mariners. This is the *Cans* Fleet kept there in readinesse, to carrie an Armie to any of the Ilands in the Sea, if they should rebell; or to any remote Region Neere the banke of the Riuer where these Ships are kept, is *Coiganzu*, and ouer against it *Quanzu*, one a great Citie, the other small. After you are past that Riuer, you enter into the noble Kingdome of *Mangi*. And doe not thinke that wee haue handled in order the whole Prouince of *Cataio*: yea, I haue not spoken of the twentieth part. For, *M. Polo* passing by the said Prouince, hath onely described the Cities in his way, leauing those on both hands, and those betwixt these, to preient tediousnesse.

Caramoran.

30 The Prouince of *Mangi* is the most rich and famous that is found in the East: and An. 1269. had a certaine King, named *Fanfur*, richer and mightier then any which had reigned there in an hundred yeeres, but a man peaceable and full of almesdeeds, so beloued of his subiects, that thereby, and by the strength of the Countrey, he seemed inuincible. Whereby it came to passe, that the King aswell as the People, lost the vse and exercise of Warre and Armes. All the Cities were compassed with Ditches, a Bow shoot broad, full of Water. Hee held in pay no Horses, because he feared none. And hence it came to passe, that the King giuing himselfe to pleasure more then was meete, enioyed continuall delights. He maintayned about a thousand goodly Lasses, with which he passed his time in pleasure. He nourished Iustice, and preferred Peace. No man durst offend his Neighbour, and disturbe the Peace, for feare of seuer vnpartiall punishment. So that Artificers would often leaue their Shops full of Wares open by night, and yet none would presume to enter into them. Trauailers and strangers most safely walked day and night, throughout that whole Kingdom, fearing no man. The King himselfe also was pitifull and mercifull towards the Poore, and forsooke not them that were oppressed with necessitie, or pinched with penurie. Besides, every yeere hee tooke vp twentie thousand young Infants, cast off by their Mothers, which through pouertie were not able to keepe them, which he brought vp, and set them when they were growne to some Trade, or married the young Men with the Maids which hee had in like sort educated.

Fanfur King of *Mangi*, which is now called *China*.

50 *Cublai Can* was of a differing disposition to *Fanfur*, and delighted onely in Warres and Conquests, and to make himselfe Great; he sent a great Armie leuiued of Horse and Foot, and made one, named *Chinsan Baian* (that is, one hundred eyes) Generall thereof. Hee, therefore comming with his Armie and a Fleet to the Prouince of *Mangi*, first summoned the citie *Coiganzu* to yeeld obedience to his Emperour. Who refusing the same, hee departed without any assault giuen to the Citie: and required the same of the second Citie; which likewise refusing, he marched forward to the third, and fourth, and received the like answere of them all. But he assaulted the next with great courage, and vanquished the same by force, and slue every mothers child therein; which so affrighted and terrified the rest, that they all presently yeelded. Moreouer, Great *Can* sent another great Armie after the former, with both which Armies hee marched against the chiefe Citie *Quinsai*.

Chinsan Baian, another *Argus* in the signification of his name.

Quinsai, the
Kings Court.

The flight of
King Fanfur.

* This name
Mangi and
China, are so
different that
they may seem
diuers Regi-
ons. But the
Reader is to
obserue, that
China is a
name to the
Chinois vn-
knowne, and that Kingdome hath appellations diuersly diuersified: either from the Familie reigning (which now is called *Ciu*, and the Kingdome *Min*, and *Min Ciu*, are not farre from *Mangi*) and by the *Tartars*, when they reigned, it was called *Han*, and before, *Chen*, which both put together make *Han Chen*, without any great dissonance from *Mangi*: Or else by generall appellations com-
mon to all ages, &c. See our following relations of *Ricci* and *Trigautin*.

Quinsai, where the King of *Mangi* resided: who mightily terrified, as neuer hauing seene any battell, fled with his wealth and treasures in ships which he had prepared to certaine impregnable Ilands in the Ocean (where he after died) committing the custodie of the Citie of *Quinsai* to his wife, bidding her to defend it as well as shee could; for being a woman shee need not feare death, if shee were taken. It is to be obserued, that King *Fanfur* had bene told by his Diuiners, that his Kingdome should neuer be taken from him, but by one which had an hundred eyes: which the Queene knew, and therefore was still in hope not to lose the Citie, howsoeuer streightned; thinking it impossible for one man to haue an hundred eyes. But one day she heard, that the Commander of the *Tartars* was called *Baian Chinsan*, that is to say, An hundred eyes, and was much terrified: wherefore, calling for the Commander of the *Tartars* Armie, thin-
king him to bee the man which the Astrologers spake of, shee deliuereth the Citie vnto him. Which being heard, the Citizens, and Inhabitants of the whole Prouince, reuolted to the obedience of great *Can*. The Queene was sent vnto the Court of great *Can*, and was most honourably receiued by him, and maintayned like a Queene. And now wee will speake of the Cities of * *Mangi*.

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Q. VIII.

Of the Cities of Mangi (now called China) and the rarities thereof: the many wonders of Quinsai, the Palaces, Pleasures, Rites and Gouvernement, obserued by the Natives, and the Tartars.

Coiganzu.

The Salt of
Coiganzu.
* Terraglio.

Paughin.

Caim.

Pheasants.

Tingui.

Salt pits.
Cingui.

Iangu, Head
of 27. Cities.

M. Polo Go-
uernour of
Iangu.
Nanghin.

Coiganzu is a faire and rich Citie, situate towards the South-east, and East in the entrance of the Prouince of *Mangi*, (from Cataio, whence the *Amhour* passed) where are alway great store of ships, being seated on the Riuer *Caramoran*. Great store of Merchandise is carried thither. Salt is also made there in great abundance.

Going from *Coiganzu*, you ride towards the South-east one dayes iourney on a stone * Cause; on both sides whereof are great Fennes with deepe waters, whereon they may passe with ships: neither is there any entrance into *Mangi* but by shipping (as the Captaine of the *Can* did) but by this Cause. At the end of that dayes iourney is a Citie called *Paughin* great and faire. The people make clothes of Gold and of Silke, are Merchants and Idolaters. The Paper money of great *Can* is receiued throughout that whole Countrey. It is plentiful of all necessities of life.

To the Citie *Caim*, is from *Paughin* one dayes iourney South-east, and this is also a famous Citie, abounding with fish, and game, of beasts, and fowle: especially Pheasants are found there, in exceeding great plentie, as great as Peacocks, of which you may haue three for one Venetian groat.

Proceeding further hence one dayes iourney, you come thorow a well manured and peopled Countrey to the Citie *Tingui*, which although it be not great, yet hath it exceeding great plentie of victuals. They are Merchants, and very many ships are also there: plentie of beasts and fowles: It is seated to the South-east, and on the left hand towards the East three dayes iourney off is the Ocean: and in the space betweene, are very many Salt pits; and they make great store of Salt. After this, is *Cingui* a great Citie, whence the Countrey is furnished with Salt, whereof the *Can* makes great profit, beyond beliefe. They are Idolaters, and haue Paper money. From *Cingui* riding towards the South-east, you meet with the noble Citie *Iangu*, vnder the gouernment whereof are other Cities, seuen and twentie in number. And in that Citie resideth one of the twelue Barons which are Gouernours of Prouinces chosen by the great *Can*. They are Idolaters, and liue of Merchandise. They make Armes and Harnasse for warre. And Master *Marco* had the sole gouernment thereof by commission of the great *Can*, three yeeres together in stead of one of those Barons.

Nanghin is a Prouince to the West, one of the greatest and noblest of *Mangi*, a place of great Merchandise. They are Idolaters, spend Paper money, haue store of beasts and fowle, wilde and tame. They make clothes of Gold and Silke, and are rich Merchants, and the Countrey is very commodious to the *Can*, specially by Customes of Merchandise. There is great plentie of Corne. *Sianfu* is a noble and great Citie in the Prouince of *Mangi*, and hath twelue rich and great Cities subiect vnto her iurisdiction. They make great store of Silkes and cloth of Gold, haue plentie of game and fowle, and of all things pertayning to a Citie of note: so strong, that it was three yeeres besieged, and could not be vanquished by the Armie of the *Tartars*, when the Prouince of *Mangi* was subdued. For it is compassed on euery side with Lakes, that there

Was

was no way vnto it, but on the North: so that ships came and went continually, bringing plenty of victuals: which not a little afflicted great *Can*. The two brethren Master *Nicolo*, and Master *Maffio*, then in his Court, hearing hereof, went to him, and offered their seruice to devise certaine Engines after the manner of the West, able to shoot a stone of three hundred weight, thereby to kill men, and ruine houses. The *Can* appointed them the best Carpenters which were *Nestorian* Christians, who made three (*Mangani*) of those Engines in a short space, which were proued and approued before him, and by ships sent vnto his Armie. Planting them therefore against the Citie *Sianfu*; they began to cast great stones into the Citie: and the first falling vpon a certaine house, brake it for the most part, with the violence thereof. Which the besieged Inhabitants seeing, were very much astonished, and yeelded themselves, and became subiect to the obedience of great *Can*, on the same conditions with the rest of *Mangi*; to the great repute of the two *Venetian* brethren.

From the Citie *Sianfu*, to a certaine Citie, named *Singui*, are numbred fifteene miles South-eastward, which although it be not great, yet hath it an exceeding multitude of Ships, being seated vpon the greatest Riuer in the world, called *Quian*, the bredth of which in certaine places, containeth ten miles, in other eight, and in some sixe. But the length thereof extendeth it selfe aboute an hundred dayes journey from the head to the Sea. Innumerable other Riuers flow into it, which runne thorow diuers Regions, and are nauigable, and make it so great; incredible store of Merchandise is brought by this Riuer. There are also very many other Cities, in number about two hundred, which participate of this Riuer: it floweth through the bounds of sixteene Prouinces. The greatest commoditie is Salt, wherewith all the Cities which communicate in these waters are stored. Master *Marco* saw at one time at *Singui* siue thousand ships, and yet other Cities on that Riuer haue more. All those ships are couered, and haue but one mast, and one sayle, and vsually carrie foure thousand, and so vpwards, some of them twelue thousand *Venetian* Cantari. Neither vse cordage of Hempe, except for the mast and sayle, but haue Canes fifteene paces long, which they riuie into thinne parts from one end to the other, and binding the cut pieces together, and wreathing them, make very long ropes, so that some of them containe three hundred fathom in length. And those lines are as strong as Hempen, and serue for halbes and cables to draw their ships vp and downe the Riuer, each ship hauing ten or twelue Horses for that purpose. On that Riuer in many places are rockie hillockes, on which are built Monasteries to their Idols: and all the way are Villages and places inhabited.

Cayngui is a little Citie, vpon the foresaid Riuer South-eastward, where euery yeere is brought store of Corne and Rife, carried the most part to *Cambalu*. For they may passe thither by Lakes and Riuers, and by one deepe large hand-made Riuer, which the *Can* caused to be made for passage from one Riuer to another, and from *Mangi* to *Cambalu* without going to Sea. Which worke is goodly and wonderfull for the site and length, and more for the profit thereby to the Cities. Hee hath made also great Causes to goe on land by those waters commodiously. In the mids of the said Riuer is an Island of a Rocke, on which is erected a great Temple and Monasterie, in which are two hundred Idolatrous Monkes. This is the Mother-temple and Monasterie of many others.

Cinghianfu is a Citie of *Mangi*, rich in Merchandise, plentifull of game, of wilde beasts and fowle, and of victuall. In it are two Churches of *Nestorian* Christians, built Anno 1274. when the great *Can* sent Gouvernour thither, *Marsachis* a *Nestorian*, which built them.

From the Citie *Cinghianfu*, in three dayes journey South-eastward, you find many Cities and Castles all Idolaters, and at last come to the Citie *Tingui*, a great and faire Citie, abounding with all kinde of victuals. When *Chinsam Baian*, Generall of the Armie of the *Tartars* conquered the Prouince of *Mangi*, he sent many Christians (called *Alani*) against this Citie, which was double walled; into the inner they retired; into the other the *Alans* entred, and found there abundance of Wine, whereof after a bad iourney, they began to drinke so largely, that they were all drunke: and the Citizens in their sleepe suddenly falling vpon them, slue them all, none escaping. But *Baian* hearing this, sent another great Armie against those Citizens, which shortly vanquishing the Citie, in reuenge, put them all to the sword, leauing none alieue.

The great and excellent Citie *Singui*, containeth in circuit twentie miles. Great multitudes of people are in it: it hath many rich Merchants, and cunning Artificers, and it hath also very many Physicians, and Magicians, and Wisemen or Philosophers. In the Mountaines of this Citie, Rhubarb and Ginger grow in great plenty. This Citie hath sixteen Cities vnder the iurisdiction thereof, where much trading is vsed, and very many curious Arts are exercised. Very many Silkes are made there. The word *Singui*, in their language, signifieth, *The Citie of the Earth*, as if they haue another Citie, which they call *Quinsai*, that is to say, *The Citie of Heauen*. From *Singui* one dayes journey is *Vagin*, where is also abundance of Silke, and cunning Artificers with many Merchants.

Going from *Vagin* three dayes, continually you find Cities, Castles, and Villages, well peopled and rich. The People are Idolaters, vnder the *Can*: at the end of those dayes you

Quinsai, the
Earthly Citie
of Heauen. O
how much
better is the
heauenly Ci-
tie on Earth in
grace, & more
then most in-
comparable
that heauenly
Citie of Hea-
uen in glorie?
ap. 21. & 22.
The situation.
12000. bridges.
The Ditch.

Ten Market
places.

The high street

The mayne
Channell.

The Markets.

Peares of ten
pound.

Trades of di-
uers sorts.

A saucy Citie.

The *Quinsai*
Citizens and
their condi-
tions.

come to *Quinsai*, which for the excellency hath that name (interpreted *Citie of Heauen*) for in the World there is not the like, in which are found so many pleasures, that a man would thinke he were in *Paradise*. In this Citie Master *Marco Polo* hath often bene, and considered the same with great diligence, obseruing the whole state thereof, setting downe the same in his memorials, as here shall be declared briefly. This Citie by common opinion, is an hundred miles in circuit; for the streets and channells thereof are very wide. There are Market places exceeding large. On the one side a cleere Lake of fresh water, on the other a great Riuer which enters in many places, and carries away all the filth of the Citie, and so runneth into that Lake, thence continuing his course to the Ocean: which causeth a good ayre, and commodious passage both by land, and by these channells. There may goe both Carts and Barks to carrie necessaries: and the report is, that there are twelue thousand Bridges great and small, and those on the chiefe channells are so high that a ship without her Mast may passe vnder, and aboue, Chariots and Horses.

On the other side the Citie is a Ditch, about fortie miles long, which encloseth it on that side; large and full of water from the Riuer, made by the antient Kings of that Prouince, both to receiue the overflowings of the water, and to fortifie the Citie: the earth which was taken out being layd within as a banke or hill encompassing. There are *ten chiefe Market-places* (besides infinite others along the streets) which are square, halfe a mile in each square. And from the forepart of them is a principall street fortie paces wide, running right from one end of the Citie to the other, with many Bridges trauerling it. And every foure miles is found such a Market-place, two miles, as is said, in compasse. There is also *one large channell*, which runnes against the said street, behind the Market-places, on the next banke whereof are erected great Store-houses of stone, where the Merchants from *India*, and other parts lay vp their Merchandise, at hand, and commodious to the Market-places. In each of these Market-places is a concourse three dayes in the weeke of persons betwixt fortie and fiftie thousand, which bring thither all things that can be desired for mans life, of all beasts of game, and fowles; that Lake yeelding such commodiousnesse to bring them vp, that for a *Venetian* groat you may haue two Geese, and foure Duckes for as much. Then follow the *Butcher-rows* of Veale, Beefe, Kid, and Lambe, which the great and rich men eat; for the poore eat vncleane meats without respect. There are all sorts of herbs and fruits continually, and amongst the rest *huge Peares*, weighing ten pounds a piece, white within like paste, and very fragrant: Peaches yellow and white very delicate: Grapes grow not there; but are brought from other places dried very good, and Wine also, but not so esteemed in these parts, that of Rice and Spices contenting them. Every day from the Ocean is brought vp the Riner (which is the space of fise and twentie miles) great quantitie of fish, besides that of the Lake, so much as a man would thinke would neuer be bought, and yet in a few houres is gone. All those Market-places are encompassed with high houses, and vnderneath are shops of Artificers, and all sort of Merchandises, Spiceries, Jewels, Pearles, and in some onely Rice-wine. Many streets answer one another in the said Market-places. In some of them are many Baths of cold waters accomodated with attendants of both sexes, a thing which from children they vse themselves vnto. There are chambers also in the said Baths with hot waters for strangers which are not accustomed to the cold waters. They wash every day; neither doe they eat before they haue washed.

In other streets are mercenarie Prostitutes in such number, that I dare not report it: and not onely neere the Market-places, where they haue their places appointed, but thorow all the Citie they stand very pompously with great odours, many seruants, and their houses adorned. These are very practike in making sports, and dalliances, and sweetest pleasures rauishing (*fooles*) forth of themselves. In other streets are the Physicians, the Astrologers, they which teach to reade and write, and infinite other Trades. At each end of every Market-place is a Palace, where Lords and Gouvernours are appointed by the King to determine difficulties which happen betwixt Merchants or others, as also to looke to the Guards on the Bridges, punishing the negligent. Alongst the principall Street (whereof wee spake) on both sides are great Palaces with Gardens; and neere them houses of Artificers, and such multitudes of people continually going to and fro, that a man would wonder whence such multitudes should bee provided of victuals. And Master *Marco* learned of an officer of the Custome-house in *Quinsai*, that by reckonings appeared the daily expence of Pepper in *Quinsai*, to be three and fortie *Somes*, and every *Soma* two hundred twentie three pounds. Hence may be ghesse the quantitie of Victuals, Fleish Wine, Spiceries, were there spent.

The Inhabitants are Idolaters, spend Paper money, are white and faire complexion, apparelled for the most part in Silke, which growes in all that Territorie abundantly, besides that which is brought from other places. There are twelue principall mysteries, each of which he one thousand shops; and in each shop or standing, are ten men, fiftene, or twentie at worke, and in some fortie vnder one Master. The rich Masters doe no worke with their hand but stand ciuilly adorned, or rather pompously, especially their wiues, with Jewels inualluable and although the antient Kings ordayned, that the child should bee of the fathers Trade; the rich

rich are permitted not to worke, but to keepe shop, and men working in the same Trade. Their Houses are well ordered, and wrought richly, adorned with Pictures and other stupendious costs. The Natives are peaceable, know not to manage Armes, nor keepe them in their Houses: nor is there strife and debate amongst them. They make their workes with great sinceritie. They loue in such amitie, that one Street seemes as one House, without jealousies of their Wiues, which they hold in great respect, and it would be reputed great disgrace to speake a dishonest word to a married Woman. They entertayne Merchant-strangers kindly, both in their houses, and with best aduice for their affaires. But they are loth to see Souldiers and the Guards of the Grand Can, as by whom they are bereft of their naturall Lords and Kings. Great neigh-
bourhood.

- 10 About the Lake are built faire Buildings and great Palaces of the chiefe men: and Temples of their Idols with Monasteries of many Monkes. In the midst of the Lake are two Ilands, vpon each of which is a Palace with incredible numbers of Roomes; whither they resort vpon occasions of Marriages or other Feasts; where Prouisions of Vessels, Naperie, and other things are maintayned in common for such purposes, one hundred sometime accommodated at once in feuerall Roomes. In the Lake also are Boates and Barges for pleasure, adorned with faire Seates and Tables, and other prouisions for Bankets, couered aboue and plaine, vpon which men stand with Poles to make the Boat goe, the Lake being but shallow. Within they are painted; without, are windowes to open and shut at pleasure. Nor can any thing in the World seeme more pleasant then in this Lake to haue such an obiect, the Citie so fully presenting it selfe to the eye, with so many Temples, Monasteries, Palaces, Gardens with high Trees on the Waters, Barges, People: for their custome is to worke one part of the day, and to dispenſe some part to this solace with their Friends, or with Women in the Lake; or else by Chariots riding thorow the Citie, which is also another of the *Quinsay* pleasures. For all the streets are paved with stone; as also are all the high Wayes in the Prouince of *Mangi*, onely for the Postes is left on the side, a space vn timer. The principall street of *Quinsay* is paved ten paces on each hand, and in the midst it is full of Grauell with passages for the Water, which keepe it alway cleane. On this street are alway innumerable long close Chariots, accommodated with Clothes and Cushions of silke, for six persons; which solace themselves in the street, or goe to Gardens, and there passe the time in places made by the Gardeners for that purpose, and returne at night in the said Chariots.

- 30 When one is borne, the Father sets downe the print of Time, and with that note goes to the Astrologer to consult of his future fortunes. Of these Astrologers are a great number in euery Market place. They will not celebrate a marriage without such consultation. When one dies that is of note, his Kindred clothe themselves in Canuasse, and so both Men and Women accompanie him to the burning place, playing on Instruments, and singing all the way prayers to their Idols: and being come to the place, cast into the fire many Papers of Cotton, whereon are painted Slaues, Horses, Camels, Clothes of gold and silke, Monies, which they thinke hee shall really possesse in another World; and make such minstrellie, in conceit of the ioy wherewith the Idols there receiue his Soule, where hee beginneth (they say) to liue anew. In euery street are 40 Towres of stone, whither in danger of fire they vse to carrie their goods, their timber houses being much subiect to such casualtie.

- The Can hath ordayned that on the most part of the Bridges, day and night, there stand vnder a couert ten Guardians, fise by day and fise by night: and in euery Guard is a Tabernacle of Wood with a great Bafon, whereby they know the houres of the day and night, which at euery houres end the Warders strike to notifie what houre, one, two, &c. beginning at the Sunne rising, and then againe at the beginning of the night. They walke vp and downe, and if any haue a light or fire after the deputed time, they cause him to answer it before the Iustices or Gouvernors aforeſaid; or if any walke later. If any be not able to worke, they carrie him to Hospitals, of which are exceeding many founded by the Kings of old, with great reuenues, thorow the Citie. When they are well againe, they are compelled to worke. If a fire happen; these from diuers places come to quench it, and to carrie the goods into Boats, or the Ilands, or those Towres: for in the night the Citizens dare not come out, but those who are in danger. The Can alway keepeth here store of his best and faithfulest Souldierie, as being the best and richest place in the World. Within a mile of each other are builded Rampiers of wood, where a sound is made to be heard further off, for like purposes.

- 50 When the Can had reduced all *Mangi* to his obedience, hee diuided it (being before but one Kingdome) into nine parts, and set a King ouer each, which there administers iustice. Euery yeere they giue account to the Cans Officers of the reuenues, and other accidents: and euery third yeere are charged, as all other Officers are. One of these Deputie-Kings is resident at *Quinsay*, who is Gouvernour of aboue one hundred and fortie Cities, all rich and great. Nor may this be a wonder, seeing in *Mangi* there are twelue thousand Cities, all inhabited with rich and industrious people. In euery of which the Can maintayneth a Garrison, proportionable to the greatness and occasions, one thousand, ten or twentie thousand; not all *Tartars*, but *Catayans*; for the *Tartars* are Horse-men, and keepe where they may exercise their Horses. Into *Cathay* he sends those

those of *Mangi*, and *Cathayans* hither such as are fit for Armes, of which he makes choise euery third yeere: and sends for foure or fve yeeres together into places twentie dayes journey from their Countrey, and then suffers them to returne home, others succeeding. And most part of the *Cans* Receipts are this way expended: and if any Citie rebell, he suddenly from the next Garrison rayseth an Armie to reduce or destroy them. This Citie of *Quinsai* hath in continuall Garrison thirtie thousand Souldiers; and that which hath least, hath one thousand in Horse and Foote.

Fanfurs Palace

To speake now of the Palace of King *Fanfur*; his Predecessors caused to enclose a place of ten miles circuit with high walls, and diuided it into three parts. That in the midst was entred by one Gate; on the one side and the other were great and large Galleries, the Roofe sustayned by Pillars painted, and wrought with gold and fine azure: these were smaller at the entrie, and the further the greater; the fairest at the end, the Roofe fairely adorned with gold, and on all the Walls were painted the stories of the former Kings artificially. There euery yeere on certaine

Feasts.

Idoll holy-dayes, *Fanfur* kept his Court and feasted his principall Lords, the great Masters, and rich Artificers of *Quinsai*, ten thousand at a time vnder those Terraces. This dured ten or twelue dayes with incredible magnificence, euery guest indeuouring to present himselfe in greatest pompe. Behinde this middle-most building was a wall, and going out which diuided the Palace; in which was, as it were, a Cloyster with Pillars, sustayning the Porch or Terrace round about the Cloyster: wherein were Chambers for the King and Queene curiously wrought. From this Cloyster was entrance into a Gallerie six paces wide, in length extending to the Lake, all covered. On each side of this Gallerie were ten Courts, answering one another fashioned like Cloysters, each Court hauing fiftie Chambers with their Gardens, and in them one thousand Lasses abode, which the King kept for his seruice, who sometimes with the Queene, sometimes with them, went in his Barge on the Lake for solace, or to visit his Idoll Temples.

1000. Women in 1000. chambers.

Great Parke.

The other two parts of the Serraille were diuided into Groues, Lakes, Gardens planted with Trees; in which were inclosed all sorts of beasts, Roes, Bucks, Stags, Hares, Conies: and there the King solaced himselfe with his Damsels in Charets or on Horse-backe, no man entring there. There did he cause *These to hunt* with his Dogs, wearie whereof they went into those Groues, which answered one another ouer the Lakes, and there leauing their garments came forth naked, and set themselues a swimming in the Kings presence. Sometimes hee would take his repast in those Groues being serued by those Damsels, without once thinking of Armes, which *sweet meat* cost him the foure *sauce* yee haue heard. All this was told mee by a rich old Merchant of *Quinsai*, whiles I was there, one which had bene an inward familiar of King *Fanfur*, and knew all his life, and had seene that Palace flourishing, into which he would needs bring me. The Vice-roy now resides there; and the first Galleries remayne as they were wont, but the Damsells Chambers are ruined; the wall also which encompassed the Woods and Gardens is fallen to the ground, the Beasts and Trees being gone.

The Sea Gam-
pe.

Twentie fve miles from *Quinsai* is the Ocean betwixt the East and North-east, neere to which is a Citie, called *Gampu*, a goodly Port, where arriue the *Indian* ships of merchandise. Whiles *M. Marco* was in *Quinsai*, account being giuen to the Grand *Can* of the Reuenues, and the number of the Inhabitants, he hath seene that there haue bene enrolled one hundred and sixtie Toman of fires, reckoning for a fire, the Familie dwelling in one house: euery Toman containeth ten thousand, which makes sixteene hundred thousand Families: of all which there is but one Church of *Christians*, and those *Nestorians*. Euery house-holder is bound to haue written ouer his doore, the names of the whole house-hold, Males and Females; also the number of Horses; the names added or blotted out as the Familie increaseth or decreaseth. And this is obserued in *Mangi* and *Catay*.

1600000. house-
holds in *Quin-
sai*.

Those also that keepe Innes, write in a Booke the names of their Guests, and the day and houre of their departure, which Booke they send daily to the Lords or Magistrates, which reside at the Market-places. In *Mangi* the poore which are not able to bring vp their children, sell them to the rich.

Reuenues of
Quinsai, & the
appurtenances
twentie three
Millions of
Duckats, and
200000.
Customes.

The Reuenues which accrew to the *Can* from *Quinsai*, and the others pertayning thereto, being the ninth part of the Kingdome of *Mangi*, are first, of Salt euery yeere eightie Toman of gold (euery Toman is eigltie thousand Sazzi of gold, and euery Sazzo is more then one Florin of gold) which will amount to six Millions and foure hundred thousand Duckats. The cause is, that that Prouince being nigh the Sea, there are many Lakes where the water in Summer is coagulated into Salt, wherewith fve other Kingdomes of that Prouince are serued. There is store of Sugar growing, which payeth as all other Spices doe, three parts and a third in the hundred. The like of Rice-wine. Also those twelue mysteries (which we said had twelue thousand shops) and the Merchants which bring goods hither, or carrie any hence by Sea, pay the same price. They which come from farre Countries and Regions, as from the *Indies*, pay ten *per cento*. Likewise, all things there breeding, as Beasts, and growing out of the Earth, and Silke, pay tithe to the King. And the computation being made in the presence of *M. Marco*, besides Salt before mentioned, yeerely amounts to two hundred and ten Toman, which will bee sixteene millions of gold and eight hundred thousand.

From

FROM *Quinsai* one dayes journey to the South-east are all the way Houses, Villages, faire Gardens, plentifull of Victuals, at the end whereof is *Tapinzu*, a faire and great Citie, in the iurisdiction of *Quinsai*. Three dayes thence South-east is *Vgnin*, and two dayes further may you ride that way, all the way finding Castles, Cities, and cultivated Places, in such Neighbour-hood, that they seeme to Trauellers all one Citie, all in the same iurisdiction of *Quinsai*. There are great Canes fiftene paces long and foure palmes thicke. Two dayes journey further is the Citie *Gengui*, faire and great, and travelling further South-east are inhabited places, full of People and Trades. And in this part of *Mangi* are no Muttons, but Beeues, Buffals, Goates, and Swine in great plentie. At the end of foure dayes journey is found the Citie *Zengian*, built on a Hill in the midst of a River, which with her parted Armes embraceth and encompasseth it, and then runne one to the South-east, the other to the North-west. They are in the iurisdiction of *Quinsai*, are Merchants, Idolaters, haue store of Game. Three dayes journey thence, thorow a goodly Countrey exceedingly inhabited, stands *Gieza*, a great Citie, the last of *Quinsai* Kingdome, after which you enter into another Kingdome of *Mangi*, called *Concha*. (The principall Citie thereof is *Fugin*) by the which you trauell, six dayes journey South-east, thorow Hills and Dales, alway finding places inhabited and store of Game of Beasts and Fowle. They are Idolaters, Merchants, subiect to the *Can*. There are stout Lions; there growes Ginger and Galingale plentie, with other sorts of Spices, eightie pounds of Ginger for a *Venetian* groat. There is an herbe, whose fruit hath the effect and giues the colour and smell of Saffron, but is not Saffron, vfed in their meates. They voluntarily eate mans flesh, if they die not of sicknesse, as daintier then others. When they goe to Warres, they shauo the eares and paint their faces with azure; they are all Foot saue the Captaine which rideth, and vse Swords and Launces: are very cruell, and when they kill an Enemie, presently drinke his blood, and after eate his flesh.

After those six dayes trauell is *Quelinsu*, a great Citie with three Bridges, each eight paces broad and aboue one hundred long; the Women faire, delicate; and they haue store of Silke and Cotton, are great Merchants, haue store of Ginger and Galingale. I was told, but saw them not, that they haue Hennes without feathers, hayrie like Cats, which yet lay Egges and are good to eate. Store of Lions make the way dangerous. After three dayes, in a populous Countrey which are Idolaters, and haue store of Silke, is the Citie *Vnquem*, where is great plentie of Sugar, sent thence to *Cambalu*, which they knew not to make good till they became subiect to the *Can*; in whose Court were *Babylonians*, which taught them to refine it with ashes of certayne Trees; they before onely boyling it into a blacke paffe. Fiftene miles further is *Cangiu*, still in the Realme of *Concha*: and here the *Can* keepeth an Armie in readinesse for guard of the Countrey. Thorow this Citie passeth a River a mile broad, fairely built on both sides, and stored with Ships of Sugar and other lading. This River disembokes from hence fife dayes journey South-east, at *Zaitum*, a Sea Port, from whence the rich Ships of *India* come to this pleasant and fertile Citie, as is the way betwixt, in which are Trees or Shrubs of *Camsire*.

Zaitum is a famous Port, where many Ships arrive with merchandise, thence disperfed thorow all *India*. There is such store of Pepper, that the quantitie which comes to *Alexandria* to the West, is little to it, and as it were one of a hundreth: the concourse of Merchants is incredible, it being one of the most commodious Ports of the World, exceeding profitable to the *Can*, which Custometh ten of the hundreth of all merchandise. They pay so much for hire of ships also that there is not aboue one halfe of their merchandise remayning entire to themselves, and yet is that moitie very gainfull to them. The Citie is Idolatrous, giuen to pleasure; in it is much embroidery and Arras worke. The River is great, very wide and swift, and one arme of it goeth to *Quinsai*, at the parting of which is *Tingui* situate, where Porcelane dishes are made (as I was told) of a certaine Earth which they cast vp in great Hills, and so let lie to all weathers for thirtie or fortie yeeres without stirring: after which refining by time, they make Dishes, paint them and then put them in the Furnace. You may there haue eight Dishes for one *Venetian* Groat. In this Kingdome of *Concha* the *Can* hath as great Reuenue almost as of the Kingdome of *Quinsai*. In these two *M. Marco* was, and in none of the other nine Kingdomes of *Mangi* (in all which is one speech vfed, with varietie of Dialect, and one sort of writing) and therefore will speake no more of them; but in the next Booke discourse of *India* the Greater, the Middle, and the Lesse, in which hee was both in the seruice of the *Can*, and also in his returne with the Queene to *Argon*.

Tapinzu.
Vgnin.

Gengui.

Zengian.

Gieza.

Concha.

Fugin.

Men eaters.

Quelinsu.

Hayrie Hens.

Vnquem.

Sugar.

Cangiu.

Zaitum.

Tingui, where
Porcelane is
made.

¶ IX.

*The Ships of India described, the Ile of Zipangu, the Sea Chin, and World of
Ilands, the two Iauas, Zcilan and other Ilands, with the
rarities therein.*

Here begins
the third book
of M. Polo.
Ships of India.



WE will now enter into *India* and begin with their Ships, which are made of Firre, and the Zapino Tree, with one deck, on which are twentie Cabbins (or lesse, as the Ships are in quantitie) each for one Merchant. They haue a good Rooter, and foure 10
Masts with foure Sailes, and some two Masts, which they erect or take downe at pleasure. Some greater Ships haue thirteene *Colti*, or diuisions, on the inside made with boards inched, that if by blow of a Whale or touch on a Rocke water gets in, it can goe no further then that diuision; which being found is soone mended. They are all double, that is, haue two course of boards one within the other, and are well calked with Ocam, and nayled with Iron, but not pitched (for they haue no Pitch) but anointed with the Oile of a certayne Tree mixed with Lime and Hemp beaten small, faster then Pitch or Lime. The greater ships haue three hundred Mariners, others two hundred, one hundred and fiftie, as they are in bignesse, and from five to six thousand bags of Pepper. And they were wont to be greater then now they are; the Sea hauing broken into Ports and Ilands, that the defect of water, in some places, causeth them to build lesse. They vse also Oares in these Ships, foure men to an Oare; and the greater Ships 20
haue with them two or three ships lesse, able to carry a thousand bags of Pepper, hauing sixtie or more Mariners, which lesse ships serue sometimes to tow the greater. They haue also with them ten small Boats for fishing and other seruices, fastned to the sides of the greater ships, and let downe when they please to vse them. Also they sheath their ships after a yeeres vsage, so that then they haue three course of boards; yea proceed on in this manner sometimes till there bee six courses, after which they breake them vp. Hauing spoken of the ships, we will speake of *India*, and first of certayne Ilands.

Zipangu.

De magnis ma-
iora: golden
fables; and
make differ-
ence betwixt
his owne Re-
lations and
those which
he had at the
second hand:
although it be
true of much
gilding in *Edoo*
sup. l. 4. c. 1. & 3.

This punish-
ment the Mo-
gol vsed to Cor-
porations Cap-
taines: and in
many things
you shall see
Sir T. Roe and
our Mogol Re-
lations agree
with these of
Polo: the Mogol
being of Tartar
originall.
Note for China.
Cin in Italian is
pronounced
Chin.
The Monsons.

Zipangu is an Iland in the East, one thousand and five hundred miles distant from the shoares of *Mangi*, very great, the people white and faire, of gentle behauiour, in Religion Idolaters, and haue a King of their owne. They haue gold in great store, for few Merchants come thither, and 30
the King permits no exportation of it. And they which haue had commerce there tell of the Kings house couered with Gold, as Churches here with Lead, gilded Windowes, Floores of gold: there are many Pearles. Once; the fame of these riches made *Cublai Can* to send to conquer it, two Barons, with a great fleet of ships, one named *Abbaccatan*, the other *Vonsancin*, which going from *Zaitum* and *Quinsai* arriued there; but falling out betwixt themselues, could take but one Citie, and there beheaded all they tooke saue eight persons, which by an enchanted precious stone inclosed in the right arme betwixt the skinne and flesh, could not bee wounded with Iron; whereupon, with wooden Clubs, at the command of the two Barons they were slaine. It hapned one day that a Northerne winde made great danger to the ships there riding, so that some were lost, some returned further into Sea, and others with the two Leaders and o- 40
ther Principals returned home. Out of many broken ships some escaped by boards, and swimming on an Iland not inhabited foure miles off *Zipangu*, and were about thirtie thousand, without prouisions of victuals or Armes, against whom the *Zipanguanders*, after the Tempest was calmed, set out a fleet of ships and an Armie. These comming on Land to seeke the wracked *Tartars* without order, gaue occasion to the *Tartars* to wheele about, the Iland (being high in the midst) and to get vnseene to their ships, which were left vnmanned with the Streamers displaid: and with them they went to the chiefe Citie of *Zipangu*, where they were admitted without suspicion, and found few others but Women. The King of *Zipangu* besieged them six moneths, and they hauing no reliefe yeelded themselues, their liues saued: this happened *An. 1264*. The *Can* for this disorder of his two Commanders, cut off the head of one, and sent the other to a 50
saluage Iland, called *Zorza*, where hee causeth Offenders to die, by sewing them, their hands bound, in a new-slayed hide of a Buffall, which drying shrinketh so as it puts them in a little-ease to a miserable death. The Idols in this and the adioyning Ilands are made with heads of Kine, Swine, Dogs, and other fashions more monstrous, as with faces on their shoulders, with foure, ten, or an hundred hands (some, and to these they ascribe most power and doe most reuerence) and say, that so they learned of their Progenitors. They sometimes eate the Enemies which they take, with great ioy, and for great dainties.

The Sea in which this Iland standeth, is called the Sea of *Cin* or *Chin*, that is the Sea against *Mangi*: and in the language of that Iland, *Mangi* is called *Chin*: which Sea is so large, that the Mariners and expert Pilots which frequent it, say, that there are seven thousand foure hundred 60
and fortie Ilands therein, the most part inhabited, and that there growes no Tree which yeelds not a good smell, and that there growes many Spices of diuers kindes, especially *Lignum Aloes*, and Pepper blacke and white. The ships of *Zaitum* are a yeere in their voyage, for they goe in Winter and returne in Summer, hauing Windes of two sorts, which keepe their seasons. And
this

this Countrey is farre from *India*. But I will leaue them (for I neuer was there, nor are they subiect to the *Can*) and returne to *Zaium*. From hence sayling South-westward one thousand five hundred miles, passing a Gulfe, called *Cheinan* (which continues two moneths sayling to the Northward, still confining on the South-east of *Mangi*, and elsewhere with *Ania*, and *Toloman*, and other Prouinces before named) within it are infinite Ilands, all in manner inhabited. In them is found store of Gold, and they trade one with the other. This Gulfe seemes another World.

After one thousand and five hundred miles sayling ouerthwart this Gulfe, is the Countrey *Zi-
amba*, rich and great, hauing a King and Language proper, Idolaters, and paying tribute to the
10 Grand *Can*, of twentie Elephants, and *Lignum Aloes* in great quantitie yeerely. Anno 1268. the *Can* hearing of the riches of this Iland sent thither *Sagatu* with an Armie, to inuade it. *Accambale* the King thereof was old, and made this composition of tribute. There are many Woods of blacke Ebonie.

Ziamba.

Sayling thence betwixt the South and South-east one thousand & five hundred miles, is *Iana*, supposed by Mariners, the greatest Iland in the World, aboue three thousand miles in circuit, vnder a King which payeth tribute to none, the *Can* not offering to subiect it for the length and danger of the voyage. The Merchants of *Zaium* and *Mangi* fetch thence store of Gold and Spices. South and South-westward sixe hundred miles from *Iana* are two Ilands, one *Sondur*, which is the greater; the other *Condur*, lesse, both desolate. Fifty miles South-east from them is a Pro-
20 uince of firme land, very rich and great, named *Lochac*, the people Idolaters, hauing a Language and King peculiar. There growes Brasill-wood in great quantitie, store of Gold, Elephants, wilde beasts, and fowle, a fruit called *Berci*, as great as Limons, very good. The place is mountainous and savage, and the King permits not many to come thither, lest they should know his secrets. There is store of Porcelane shells for money transported to other places.

Iana maior, I suppose this is *Borneo*, and *Iana minor* that which still is called *Iana*.

Five hundred miles Southward from *Lochac* is the Ile *Pentan*, a savage place, which produceth in all the Woods sweet Trees: sixtie miles of the way the Sea is in many places but foure fathoms: after which being sayled to the South-east, thirtie miles further is the Iland and King-
30 dome of *Malaiur*, which hath a peculiar King and Language to it selfe; and here is much Merchandise of Spices. From *Pentan* one hundred miles South-east is *Iana* the lesse, encompassing about two thousand miles, and hath in it eight Kingdomes, and as many Languages. They are Idolaters, haue store of Treasure, Spices, Ebony, Brasill, and are so farre to the South; that the North Starre cannot there be seene. Master *Marco* was in sixe of those Kingdomes, of which shall here be spoken, leauing the other two, which he saw not.

Lochac.
A South Continent, if true.
Pentan.
Malaiur.
Iana minor, in which are eight Kingdomes. The *Mahometans* by commerce first, and after by conquests & religion haue here altered all things, both Names, Peoples, and Rites; that hardly they can now be designed, and reconciled to later names. *Vnicornes*, or rather some kind of *Rhinoceros*. *Pigmeys* how made.

One of those eight Kingdomes is, *Felech*: here the Idolaters by frequent Trade of *Saracens* are conuerted to the Law of *Mahomet*, in the Cities, the Mountainers being beastly, eating mans flesh and all impure food; and worship all day what they first see in the morning. Next to that is *Basma*, which hath a Language by it selfe; they liue without Law, like beasts, and sometimes send Hawkes to the *Can* (who challengeth all the Iland) for Presents. They haue wilde Elephants, and *Vnicornes* much lesse then Elephants, like the Buffals in haire. Their feet
40 are like Elephants feet. They haue one horne in the midst of the fore-head and hurt no bodie therewith; but with the tongue and knee. For on their tongue are certaine long prickles and sharpe, and when they hurt any, they trample on him, and presse him downe with their knee, and then wound him with their tongue. The head is like to a wilde Boares, which hee carries downwards to the ground; and they loue to stand in the mire, and are filthie beasts, and not such as they (*Vnicornes*) are said to be in our parts, which suffer themselves to be taken of Maidens, but quite contrarie. They haue many Apes, and of diuers fashions. They haue Goshawkes all blacke as *Rauens*, great, and good for prey. There are certaine small Apes faced like men, which they put in Boxes, and preserue with Spices, and sell them to Merchants, who carrie them thorow the World for *Pigmeys*, or little men.

50 *Samara* is the next Kingdome where Master *Marco* stayed five moneths against his will, forced by ill weather. There none of the Starres of *Charles wane* are seene. Hee descended once on land with two thousand people, and there fortified for that five moneths, for feare of those brutish man-eaters, and traded meane while with them for victuals. They haue excellent Fish, Wine of the Date-tree, very medicinall for Phisicke, Dropisie, diseases of the Spleene; some white, some red; and *Indian Nuts* as big as a mans head, the middle whereof is full of a pleasant liquor, better then Wine: they eat all flesh without any difference.

Samara.

Dragoian is another of those Kingdomes, claymed by the *Can*, hauing a proper King and Language. I was told of an abominable custome, that when one is sicke, they send to enquire of the Sorcerers whether hee shall scape; if the Deuils answer, No; the kindred send for some
60 whose office it is, to strangle the sicke partie, after which they cut him in pieces, and the kindred eat him with great iollity, euen to the marrow of the bones, For (say they) if any substance of him should remayne, wormes would breed thereof, which would want food, and so die, to the great torture of the soule of the deceased. The bones they after take and carrie into some Caeue in the hills, that no beast may touch them. If they take any stranger they also eat him.

See of this Wine (*Taddy*) in Master Terry pag. 1469. &c. *Coco-nuts.* *Dragoian.*

Lambra

Lambri. *Lambri* is a fifth Kingdome of *Iana* in which is store of *Brasill*, of the seeds whereof *Master Marco* brought to *Venice*, and sowed them, but in *vayne*, the soyle being too cold. Some men (the most) in this Kingdome haue tayles more then a palme long, like *Dogs*, but not hairy; and these dwell in the Mountaines out of *Cities*. They haue *Vnicornes* in great plentie, and chase of beafts and fowles.

Fansur. *Fansur*, the sixth Kingdome hath the best *Camfire*, which is sold weight for weight with *Gold*. In that Prouince they take meale out of great and long trees, as great as two men can fathome, whence taking the thinne barke and wood about three fingers thicke, the pith within is meale, which they put in water, and stirre well, the lightest drosse swimming, and the purest settling to the bottome; and then the water being cast away, they make thereof paste, of which **Heauie Wood.** *Master Marco* brought to *Venice*, tasting like *Barley bread*. The wood of this tree throwne into the water sinkes like *Iron*, whereof they make *Lances*, but short, for the long would be too heauie to beare: these they sharpen, and burne at the tops, which so prepared will pierce an *Armour* sooner then if they were made of *Iron*.

Nocueran. About one hundred and fiftie miles from *Lambri*, sayling Northwards, are two Ilands, one called *Nocueran*, in which they liue like beafts, goe all naked, men and women, and worship *Idols*, haue excellent *Trees*, *Cloues*, *Sanders* white and red, *Indian Nuts*, *Brasill*, and other *Spices*; the other, *Angaman*, sauage as the former, and I was told, they had *Dogs heads* and teeth.

Angaman. Sayling hence one thousand miles to the West, and a little to the North-west, is *Zeilan*, two thousand and foure hundred miles in circuit, and of old encompassed three thousand and sixe hundred miles, as is seene in the *Maps* of the *Mariners* of those parts, but the North winds haue made a great part of it *Sea*. It is the best Iland of the *World*. The King is named *Sender-naz*. The men and women are *Idolaters*, goe naked (saue that they couer their priuities with a cloth) haue no *Corne*, but *Rice*, and *Oyle* of *Sesamino*, *Milke*, *Flesh*, *Wine* of trees, abundance of *Brasill*, the best *Rubies* in the *World*, *Saphires*, *Topazes*, *Amathists*, and other *Gems*. The King is said to haue the best *Rubie* in the *World*, one palme long, and as big as a mans arme, without spot, shining like a fire, not to be bought for money. *Cublai Can* sent and offered the value of a *Citie* for it, but the King answered, he would not giue it for the treasure of the world, nor part with it, hauing beene his *Ancestours*. The men are vnfit for warres, and hire others when they haue occasion.

A glorious Rubie.

P. X.

Of the firme Land of the Greater India.

Malabar. From *Zeilan* sayling sixtie miles to the West is the great Prouince of *Malabar*, which is not an Iland, but firme Continent, called *India the greater*, the richest Prouince in the *World*. There are in it foure Kings, the chiefe of which is *Senderbandi*, in whose Kingdome they fish for *Pearles*, to wit, betwixt *Malabar* and *Zeilan*, in a Bay where the *Sea* is not aboue ten or twelue fathome, in which diuers descend, and in bags or nets tyed to their bodies bring vp the *Oysters* in which they are. And because there are great fishes which kill the *Fishermen*, they hire certaine *Bramines* to charme them (being skilfull to charme all sorts of beafts also and birds) and these haue the twentieth, the King the tenth. These *Oysters* are found all *Aprill*, and till the midst of *May*, and not else: in *September* they finde them in a place aboue three hundred miles off, and till the midst of *October*. The King goeth as naked as the rest, saue that he weareth some honorable *Ensignes*, as a *Coller* of precious stones about his necke, and a threed of *Silke* to his breast with one hundred and foure faire *Pearles* (as *Beads*) to number his *Prayers*, of which he must daily say so many to his *Idols*: like *Bracelets* he weareth on three places of his armes, and likewise on his legs; and on his fingers also and toes. The prayers which he sayth are *Pacauca, pacauca, pacauca*, one hundred and foure times. This King hath one thousand women, and if any please, his sence he takes her; as one he did from his brother, whence warres had followed, but the mother threatening to cut off her breasts which had nourished them, if they proceeded, stayed the broyle. He hath many *Horsemen* for his *Guard* which alway accompanie him, who when the King dies, throw themselves voluntarily into the fire wherein he is burned to doe him seruice in the next *World*. This and his brethren the Kings of *Malabar* buy their *Horses* from *Ormuz*, and other parts. The Countrey breeds none, and if it happens sometimes, yet are they there bred ill-fauoured and naught. Condemned persons will offer themselves to die in honour of such an *Idoll*, which is performed with twelue *Kniues*, and twelue wounds in diuers parts of the bodie, at every blow, saying, *I kill my selfe in honour of that Idol*, and the last he thrusts in his heart; and then is burned by his kindred. The wiues also cast themselves into the fire with their husbands; they being disreputed which refuse it.

See my Pilg. l. 5. c. 12.

Bread-devotion.

Most of these following customs are still in vse, as in Linschoten, and in my Pilg. l. 5. is seene.

They worship *Idols*, and most of them *Beques*, and would not eat of so holy flesh as *Beefe*, for

for all the World. There are some called *Gani*, which eat those Bees which dye alone, may not kill them, and dawbe ouer their houses with Oxe dung. These *Gani* are of the Posteritie of those which flue Saint *Thomas*, and cannot enter the place where his bodie is, if ten men should carrie them. They sit on Carpets on the ground in this Kingdome, they haue no Corne but Rice, people; wash twice a day, morning and euening both men and women, and will not otherwise eate; which they which obserue not, are accounted Heretikes. They touch not their meat with the left hand, but vse that hand only to wipe, and other vncleane offices. They drinke each in his owne pot, and will not touch another mans pot, nor suffer their owne to touch their mouth, but hold it ouer and powre it in. To strangers which haue no pot they powre drinke into his hands to drinke with them. Iustice is seuerely executed for Crimes, and Creditors may encompasse their Debtors with a Circle, which he dares not passe till hee hath paid or giuen securitie: if he doth, he is to be put to death: and *M. Marco* once saw the King himselfe on Horse-backe thus encircled by a Merchant whom he had long delayed and frustrated, neither would the King goe out of the Circle which the Merchant had drawne till he had satisfied him, the people applauding the Kings Iustice.

They are very scrupulous in drinking Wine of the Grape, and they which doe it are not admitted to be Witnesse; a thing denyed also to him which sayles by Sea, for they say such men are desperate. They thinke Leachery no sinne. It is very hote, and they haue no raine but in June, Iuly, and August, without which refreshing of the Ayre they could not liue. They haue many Physiognomers and Sooth-sayers, which obserue beasts and Birds, and haue an vnluckie houre every day of the weeke, called *Choiach*, as on Munday betwixt two and three, on Tuesday, the third houre, on Wednesday the ninth, &c. thorow all the yeare set downe in their Bookes. They curiously obserue Natiuities: at thirteene yeares old they put the Boyes to get their owne linings, which runne vp and down to buy and sell, hauing a little stocke giuen them to begin: and in Pearle-season they buy a few Pearles, and sell them againe to the Merchants, which cannot well endure the Sunne for little gaine. What they get they bring to their Mothers to dresse for them, but may not eate at their Fathers cost.

They haue Idols Males and Females, to which they offer their Daughters, which when the Monkes (or Priests) appoint, sing and dance to cheere the Idols; and diuers times set victuals before them saying, that they eat, leauing it the space of a meale, singing the while, and then they fall to eating in deed, after which they returne home. The cause of these solaces is the household quarrels betwixt the God and his Goddesse, which if they should not thus appease, they should lose their blessing.

The great men haue Litters of large Canes, which they can fasten artificially to some vpper place, to preuent *Tarantulas* byting and Fleas, and other Vermine; and for fresh Aire. The place of Saint *Thomas* his Sepulchre, is a small Citie, smally frequented by Merchants, infinitely by Christians and *Saracens* for deuotion. The *Saracens* hold him a great Prophet, and call him *Ananias*, that is a holy man. The Christians take of the Earth where he was slaine, which is red, and carry it with them with great reuerence, and giue it mixed with water to the sicke.

Anno 1288. A great Prince hauing more Rice then roome to lay it in, made bold with Saint *Thomas* his Church in the roome where Pilgrimes were receiued, but by a Vision of Saint *Thomas* in the night was so terrified that he quickly freed the place. The Inhabitants are black, hot borne, but often anoynt themselues with *Sessamine* Oyle to obtayne that beautie: they paint the Deuill white, and their Idols blacke. The Beue-worshippers carry with them to battell, some of the haire of a wild Oxe as a preseruatiue against dangers: and therefore such haire is dearely prized.

Murphili or *Monsul* is Northward from *Malabar* five hundred miles, they are Idolaters: They haue Diamonds in their hills, which they search for after great raines. West-wards from Saint *Thomas* is *Lac*, whence the *Bramines* haue originall, which are the truest Merchants in the World, and will not lye for any thing, and trustily keepe any thing committed to their custodie, or sell, or barter Merchandice for others. They are knowne by a Cotton threed which they weare ouer the sholder tyed vnder the arme crossing the brest. They haue but one Wife, are great Diuiners, of great abstinence and long life: obserue their owne shadow in the Sunne when they are to buy, and thence coniecture according to their Discipline. They vse to chew a certayne Herbe which makes their teeth good and helpes digestion. There are some Religions of them called *Tingui*, which goe altogether naked, liue austerely, worshippe the Beue, whereof they haue a little brasse Image on their forehead, and of the Oxe bones althes make an Ointment, wherewith they anoynt their bodies in diuers places with great reuerence. They nor kill nor eate any quicke creature, nor herbe greene, or Root before it is dried, esteeming all things to haue a soule. They vse no Dishes but lay their Viands on dry leaues of Apples of Paradize. They doe their Excrements in the Sands, and then disperse it hither and thither, lest it should breed Wormes which must presently dye for want of food. Some of them liue to one hundred and fiftie yeares, and their bodies after death are burned.

Adams sepulchre.
Sogomonbarchan
the first cause
of Idolatrie.

Cans superstition.

Cael.

Cumari or
Cape Canoro.
D. by.

Pirates, still
vied.

* Hereby appears the Unicorn hee mentions, is the Rhinoceros: for India hath no other.

These Relations which follow by relation of others, are of lesse weight: yea, therefore I haue omitted the greatest part. I had trouble enough to finde and translate the truth: and for such as loue such heare-say-fables, as that of Ruch, &c. let them seeke else-where.

12700. Ilands.
India maior,
media and minor.

Abascia, or India media.
Soldan of Adem.

Frankincense.

In *Zeilan* I had forgot to tell of a high Mountayne, which none can ascend but by Iron chaines, as I was told, in the top whereof the *Saracens* say is *Adams Sepulchre*, the Idolater say it is the body of *Sogomonbarchan* the first Idol-founder, sonne to a King of that Iland, which gaue himselfe to a solitarie life on the top of this hill, whence no pleasures nor perswasions could draw him. His Father made an Image after his death to represent him, all of Gold adorned with Gemmes, and commanded all the Ilanders to worship it, and hence began Idolatry. Hither they come from farre places in Pilgrimage; and there his haire, teeth, and a dish of his are reserued, and solemnly shewed. The *Saracens* say they are of *Adam*, which report caused the *Can*, Anno 1281. to send Ambassadors thither, who obtrayned two teeth, and a dish, and some of his haire by grant of the King of *Zeilan*; which he caused to be receiued by the whole people of *Cam- 10*
balu, without the Citie, and brought to his presence with great honour.

Caal is a great Citie gouerned by *Astar*, one of the foure Brethren, very rich and a good vsur of Merchants: he hath three hundred women. All the people haue a custome to carrie in their mouthes chawing, a leafe called *Tembul*, with Spices and Lime. *Conlam* is fise hundred miles North-west from *Malabar*, they are Idolaters: there are also *Christians* and *Jewes* which haue a speech by themselves. They haue Pepper, Brasill, Indico, Lions all blacke, Parrets of diuers sorts, all white as Snow, others Azure, others Red, and some very little: Peacockes and Peahens much differing from ours, and greater, as are their fruits. They are leacherous, and marrie their sisters and kindred. There are many *Astrologers* and *Physicians*. In *Cumari* are Apes so great that they seeme men: and here we had sight of the North starre. *Dely* hath a proper King 20
and Language: the people Idolatrous and haue store of Spices. The shippes of *Mangi* come thither.

Malabar is a Kingdome in the West, in which and in *Guzzerat* are many Pirats, which come to Sea with aboue one hundred Sails, and rob Merchants. They bring with them their wiues and children, and there abide all Summer. In *Guzzerat* is store of Cotton, the Trees six fathoms (or paces) high, and dure twentie yeeres; the Cotton of the old Trees is not good to spin, after they are past twelue yeeres old, but for Quilts. There are many * *Vnicornes*: they haue artificiall embroideries. In *Canam* is store of Frankincense; it is a great Citie, where is great trade for Horses. In *Cambaia* is much Indico, Buckram, and Cotton. *Scruenath* is a Kingdome of a peculiar language, Idolaters, Merchants, a good people. *Chefmacoran* is a great Kingdome of Idola- 30
ters and *Saracens*, the last Prouince of the greater *India* towards the Northwest (*understand the Author according to his journey, from China or Mangi by Sea*) fise hundred miles from which, are said to be two Ilands, one of Men, the other of Women, those comming to these, and there staying March, Aprill, and May. The Women keepe their Sonnes till twelue yeeres, and then send them to their Fathers. It seemes the Ayre admits no other course. They are *Christians* and haue their Bishop, subiect to the Bishop of *Soccotera*; they are good Fishers and haue store of Ambar. *Soccotera* hath an Archbishop, not subiect to the Pope, but to one *Zatolia* which resides in *Baldach*, who chooseth him. The *Soccoterans* are Inchanters and great Witches, as any in the world (howsoeuer excommunicated therefore by their Prelate) and raise Windes to bring backe such ships as haue wronged them, in despite of all contrarie working.

A thousand miles thence Southward is *Magastar*, one of the greatest and richest Iles of the World, three thousand miles in circuit, inhabited by *Saracens*, gouerned by foure old men. The People liue of merchandise, and sell great store of Elephants teeth. The Currents in these parts are of exceeding force. They tell of Fowles, called *Ruch*, like an Eagle, but of incomparable greatnesse, able to carrie an Elephant (*but I am not able to carrie it.*) *Zenzibar* also is said to bee of great length, &c. there are Elephants, Giraffas, sheepe vnlike to ours: the Men and Women are very deformed. I haue heard Mariners and great Pilots of those parts report, and haue seene in their writings, which haue compassed the Sea of *India*, that there are in it twelue thousand and seuen hundred Ilands, inhabited or desart. In *India maior*, which is from *Malabar* to *Chefmacoran* are thirteene Kingdomes. *India minor* is from *Ziambi* to *Mursili*, in which are eight 50
Kingdomes, besides Ilands many. The second or middle *India*, is called *Abascia*. The chiefe King is a *Christian*; there are six other Kings, three *Christians*, and three *Saracens*, subiect to him: there are also *Jewes*. *Saint Thomas* hauing preached in *Nubia*, came to *Abascia*, and there did the like, and after to *Malabar*. They are great Warriors, alway in Armes against the *Soldan* of *Adem*, and the people of *Nubia*. I heard that An. 1288. the great *Abissine* would haue visited *Ierusalem*, but being dissuaded by reason of *Saracen* Kingdomes in the way, he sent a Bishop of holy life to doe his deuotions, who in his returne was taken by the *Soldan* of *Adem*, and circumsised by force: whereupon the *Abissine* rayfed a power, discomfited the *Soldan* with two other *Mahumeran* Kings, tooke and spoyled *Adem*. *Abascia* is rich in gold. *Escier* is subiect to 60
Adem fortie miles distant South-east: where is store of white Frankincense very good, which drops from small Trees by incision of the barke; a rich merchandise, &c. Some in that Countrey for want of Corne make Bisket of Fish, whereof they haue great plentie. They also feede their beafts with fishes. They take them in March, April, and May, &c.

Hauing spoken of the Prouinces on the Coast, I will now returne to some Prouinces more to the

the North, where many *Tartars* dwell, which haue a King called *Caidu*, of the Race of *Cingis* *Caidu and his*
Can, but subiect to none. These obserue the customes of their old Progenitors, dwell not in Ci- *Northerne*
ties, Castles, or Fortresses, but abide with their King in the Fields, Playnes, Valleyes, and Fo- *Tartars.*
rests, and are esteemed true *Tartars*. They haue no sort of Corne, but liue of Flesh and Milke in
great peace. They haue store of Horses, Kine, Sheepe, and other beasts. There are found great
white Beares, twentie palmes long, black Foxes very great, wilde Asles, and little beasts called
Rondes which beare the Sable Furses, and *Vari arcolumi*, and those which are called *Pharaos rats*,
which the *Tartars* are cunning to take. The great Lakes which are frozen except in a few mo-
neths of the yeere, cause that the Summer is scarce to bee trauelled for myre. And therefore the
10 Merchants to buy their Furses, for fourteene dayes journey thorow the Desart, haue set vp for
each day a house of Wood, where they abide and barter: and in Winter they vse Sleds without
wheels, and plaine in the bottome, rising with a semi-circle at the top or end, drawne easily on
the Ice by beasts like great Dogs * six yoked by couples, the Sledman only with his Merchant
and Furses sitting therein.

In the end of the Region of these *Tartars*, is a Countrey reaching to the furthest North, called
Darknesse, because the most part of the Winter moneths the Sunne appeares not, and the Ayre is
thicke and darkish, as betimes in the morning with vs. The men there are pale and great, haue
no Prince, and liue like beasts. The *Tartars* oft rob them of their Cattell in those darke moneths,
and lest they should lose their way, they ride on Mares which haue Colts sucking, which they
20 leaue with a Guard at the entrance of that Countrey, where the Light beginneth to faile, and
when they haue taken their prey giue reynes to the Mares, which hasten to their Colts. In their
long continued day of Summer they take many the finest Furses (one occasion of the *Tartars* go-
ing to rob them) of which I haue heard some are brought into *Russia*. *Russia* is a great Countrey *Russia.*
in that Northerne *Darknesse*: the people are *Greeke Christians*, the Men and Women faire, and
pay Tribute to the King of the *Tartars* of the West, on whom they border on the East. There is
store of Furses, Waxe, and Minerals of siluer. It reacheth, as I was told, to the Ocean Sea; in
which are store of *Gerfalcons* and *Falcons*.

* Perhaps
these are a
kind of Deere,
Region of
Darknesse.

30 To the Reader.

IN this admirable Voyage of Polo, I confesse, Inopem me copia fecit; the Translation which I had
of Master Hakluyts from the corrupted Latine, being lesse then nothing (nimirum damno auctus
fui) did me no steed but losse, whiles I would compare it with the Latine, and thought to amend it by
the Italian; and was forced at last to reiect both Latine and English, and after much vexation
to present thee this, as it is, out of Ramusio. I haue not giuen thee word for word as an exact
Translator, but the sense in all things substantiall, with longer Relations then I haue admitted in others,
because many which haue read M. Paulus, neuer saw M. Polo, nor know the worth of the worthiest
Voyage, that perhaps any one man hath written: a man credible in that which hee saw himselfe, in some
things receiued by Relation, rather telling what he heard, then that which I dare belecue, and specially
40 toward the end of his third Booke, which I haue therefore more abridged. Pitie it is that time hath so
gnawne and eaten some-where, and some-where deuoured utterly many his names and Tracts, which
new Lords and new (Lames, the Saracenicall Conquests, especially euer since his time) in those parts haue
caused. And farre easier by the Cans greatnesse then, and his employments vnder him, might hee know
the World in those times; then in the combustions long since begonne and still continued, in diuersified and
quarrelling States is possible: the Saracens quarrelling with Ethnikes, Christians, and other Saracens;
the *Tartars* diuided and sub-diuided into so many quarrellsome Serpentine heads, whereby that hugeness
is broken in pieces; the Chinois and others prohibiting ingresse of strangers, egress of their owne; that
I mention not Ethnike and Moorish Diuisions amongst themselves. In the same time with Polo,
50 liued this following Armenian, of whom Ramusio relateth, and this Discourse intimateth that the Ho-
ly Land being quite lost, Pope Clement the Fifth minding to reconer it, was giuen to vnderstand of
helpes which might be gotten from the *Tartars*, and withall of this Haiton or Antonie a Kinsman of the
King of Armenia, then liuing a Monke or Frier of the Order Premonstratensis in Episcopia in Cy-
prus; who in his young time had bene exercised in the Warres betwixt the *Tartars* and Egyptian Sol-
dans, by whom he might receiue the best Intelligence of *Tartarian* Affaires. He therefore (as hee first
remoued the Court from Rome to France, where it abode seuentie yeares) caused the said Hayton to be
brought from Cyprus to France with all his Memorials and Writings of that subiect, and being come
to Poitiers, caused one Nicolo di Falcon a Frenchman to write in French, which the other dictated in
Armenian, which was done Anno 1307. A Copie of this Storie written aboue two hundred yeares since
60 came to Ramusioes hand (whereto I here, that I say not you, are beholden) whence hee took that which
concerned the *Tartars*, omitting the rest, or remitting rather his Reader to M. Polo. Betwixt which two
some difference may seeme, but so little, that Wisemen need no aduertisement thereof.

One thing is remarkable, that the Author and the next, who in many Geographicall Notes agrees with
him, diuide Asia into two parts, one called profound or deepe, the other the greater, and diuided in the
mid

See Tom. 1. 48.
c. 4. §. 3.

Haiton and
Mandevils agree in many
things.
The reason of
our method in
thus ordering
our Pilgrimes.
* Strab. l. xi. ad
eum Nat. Ca-
sauh.
* Dionys. Alex.
περιγυρος, vid.
Eustach. com.

midst by the Caspian Sea; and Caucasus, which our Armenian calls Cocas, which Alexander passed not, nor was ever well knowne to the Ancients, who called all beyond that Hill Scythia, as we now call the most of it by a generall name Tartaria. Strabo * hath made like division of Asia into the inner and vtter, Taurus being the Vmpire; which Hill (with diuers Appellations) beginning at Pamphylia runnes Eastwards thorow the midst of Asia to the Indies, that part to the North being called Asia within (Taurus) and that to the South Asia without. Some ancient Geographers as Dionysius mentions, extended Europe to the Caspian Sea, which most of the Ancients thought to concur with the Ocean, as the Mediterranean, Arabian, and Persian doe. Dionysius his Verses are worth obseruation,

Μίαν * γῆν ἡμῶν Ἀσίαν ἔπος ἀμυγδύσκειν,
Ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ γαίης Παμφυλίδος ἀρχομένην ἰσθμῶν, &c.

They called it *Taurus*, as there followes of the Bull-forme, &c.

Οὐρενὰ Ταυροειδὲς τὰς ἀμυγδύλους ἰσθμῶν,

Hereof we are the more curious, to giue to the more curious a reason of our method in this Worke, who in our former Tome haue first encompassed the shoares of Asia from the West to the East: and then in the In-land parts haue in the eight and ninth Bookes principally (as Voyages gaue leaue) viewed Asia without Taurus, and to the South of the Caspian: but this Profound or Inner, more unknowne part, we suruay here, where we handle the Voyages and Discoveries of those parts of the World, which the Ancients knew very little or not at all. And indeed, how little was Mangi, Cataio, or Tartaria knowne, till the Tartars obtunded vpon the World, a terrible knowledge of themselves, in manner as Rubruquius and the former Friers, with these Gentlemen, Polo and Haiton describe? Tea, how were they by ignorance of following times buried againe, till Portugall, English, and other moderne Voyages haue reuiued them, as it were in a resurrection? and that often in new names, as if they had suffered that *μνηστικὸν*, so often here rehearsed, and so much credited in many Religions of those Easterne Asians, whence it comes that they are hardly knowne to be the same. The Reader must pardon me (or go to the Author himselfe) if I haue here omitted some pieces of Haiton, which you haue had in Polo and others before, specially not so pertinent to our present Tartarian subiect. The figures note the Chapters, after the Latine, from which Ramusius Diuision is much diuided, and we therefore from both.

CHAP. V.

The Historie of AYTON, or ANTHONIE the Armenian, of Asia, and specially touching the Tartars.

§. I.

Of the Kingdome of Cathay, and diuers other Prouinces of Asia, and of
the first habitation of the Tartars: and of CANGIUS, or
CINGIS his beginnings.

The largenesse
of the King-
dome of Ca-
thay.
Ilands.



He Kingdome of Cathay, is the greatest that is to be found in the World, and is replenished with people and infinite riches; beeing situated on the shoare of the Ocean Sea; In the which there are so many Ilands, that their number can no wayes be knowne. For neuer was there any man that could say he had seene all those Ilands; But those of them which haue beene frequented, are found to abound with innumerable wealth and treasures; and that which is there most e-

Oile of oliues.

steemed, and deereft sould, is Oyle of Oliues, which the Kings and Commanders there cause to be kept with great diligence, as a Soueraine Medicinable thing; And moreouer, in the Kingdome of Cathay, are many maruellous and monstrous things, which I forbear to mention. The Inhabitants of those parts are exceeding wise and subtile, replenished with all kind of skill and cunning, insomuch, that they disdain the endeauours of all other Nations, in all kind of Arts, and Sciences: saying, that they only see with two Eyes, the Latines but with one eye, and that all other Nations are blind. And albeit they are exceeding sharpe-sighted in the exercise of all bodily workes and labours; yet is there not amongst them any knowledge of spirituall things; the men of that Countrey are not bold, or couragious, but more fearefull of death then besitteth such as beare Armes; yet are they very ingenious, and haue oftner had victorie of their enemies by Sea, then by Land: the money vsed in those parts, is of square peeces of Paper, signed with

Their arro-
gant presump-
tion.
Effeminate
fearfulnesse.

the

the Kings signe, according to which signe or marke: the pieces are of greater or smaller value; and if they begin by age to be wasted, or worne out, hee that bringeth them to the Kings Court shall haue new for them; of Gold and other Metals, they make Vessels, and other ornaments. Of this Kingdome of *Cathay* it is said, that it is in the beginning of the World, because the head thereof is in the East, and there is not knowne any other Nation to inhabit more Easterly thereabouts; on the West it confineth on the Kingdome of *Tarfa*, on the North with the Desert of *Belgian*. And on the South-side are the Ilands of the Ocean, afore mentioned.

See Sir Iohn Mandevils trauesels.

2. In the Kingdom of *Tarfa* are three Prouinces, whose Rulers are also called Kings, the men of that Countrey are called *Iogour*, they haue alwayes worshipped Idols, and yet doe except the ten Kindreds of those Kings, who by the guiding of a Starre came to worship the Natiuitie in *Bethleem Iuda*. And there are yet found many great and noble among the *Tartarians* of that Race, which hold firmly the Faith of Christ. But the rest which are Idolaters in those parts, are of no estimation in matter of Armes, yet are they of a piercing wit for the learning of all Arts and Sciences. They haue peculiar Letters or Characters of their owne. And almost all the Inhabitants of those parts abstayne from eating of flesh and drinking of Wine, neither would they by any meanes bee brought to kill ought that hath life. Their Cities are very pleasant and they haue great Temples in which they worship their Idols. Corne groweth there abundantly, and all good kind of Graine. But they are without Wine, and hold it a sinne to drinke it, as doe also the *Agarens*. This Kingdome of *Tarfa* on the East-side confineth with the Kingdome of *Cathay*, as aforesaid; on the West it bordereth on the Kingdome of *Turquestan*, on the North on a certayne Desert, and on the South-side it adioyneth to a very rich Prouince called *Sym*, which is situate betweene the Kingdome of *India* and *Cathay*, and in that Prouince are found Diamonds.

Of the Kingdome of *Tarfa*.

Wit and inclination.

Manners and Rites.

Sym.

Of the Kingdome of *Turquestan*. The Inhabitants Shepherds.

Oceria. *Cursia*. *Turkes*.

3. The Kingdome of *Turquestan* on the East side is confined with the Kingdome of *Tarfa*, on the West side with the Kingdome of the *Persians*, on the North side with the Kingdome of the *Corasmians*, and on the South it reacheth out to the Desert of *India*. In this Kingdome are but few good Cities, but there are large Plaines and good feeding for their flockes, therefore the Inhabitants for the most part are Shepherds, dwelling in Tents, and houses that may easily bee removed from place to place. The greatest Citie of that Kingdome is called *Oceria*, there groweth but little Barley or Wheate: no Wine at all. Their Drinke is *Cursia*, and other made Drinks, and Milke, they eate Rice and Millet, and flesh, and are called *Turkes*. And almost all of them are of the Sect of wicked *Mahomet*, yet there are some amongst them of no Faith nor Religion. They haue no peculiar Characters of their owne, but doe vse the *Arabike* Letters in their Cities or Campes.

Of the Kingdome of the *Corasmians*.

Corasme. *Soldini*.

4. The Kingdome of the *Corasmians*, is well stored with good Cities and Townes, and there are many Inhabitants, because the Land is fruitfull and pleasant, and wheate, and other graine, is there in great quantitie; but they haue little Wine. This Kingdome is confined with a Wildernesse of one hundred dayes Iourney, in length on the West-side, it reacheth out to the *Caspian* Sea. On the North it bordereth on the Kingdome of *Cumania*, and on the South it hath the Kingdome of *Turquestan*. The chiefe Citie of that Kingdome is called *Corasme*, and the people are called *Corasmians*, being Pagans, which haue neither Learning, nor Religion. But those which are called *Soldini*, are very fierce in Armes, and haue their Language and Letters, and Ceremonies of the *Greekes*, and make the bodie of Christ after the *Greeke* manner, and are obedient to the Patriarkes of *Antioch*.

Of the Kingdome of *Cumania*. This extremitie comes by the long presence in Summer, and absence of the Sunne by Winter.

Cocas or *Caucasus*.

5. The Kingdome of *Cumania* is very great: yet by reason of the distemperature of the Ayre, it is ill inhabited: for in the Winter season, the cold is so great in some places, that neither man nor beast can any way liue therein. And againe in some places, the heate of Summer is so great, that none can endure the same, nor the flies which abound there. This Kingdome of *Cumania*, is in a manner all plaine, and there are no Trees, nor any Wood to bee found therein, vnlesse it be about some Cities, which haue certayne Orchards. The people inhabit in Fields, and in Tents burning the dung of beasts in steed of Wood: This Kingdome of *Cumania* on the East-side, hath the Kingdome of *Corasme*, and a certayne Desert or Wildernesse; on the West-side is the great Sea called *Pontus Euxinus*, and the Sea of *Tanais*: on the North-side it confineth on the Kingdome of *Cassia*, and on the South-side, it reacheth out to a certayne great Riuer called *Etis*, which every yeare is frozen, and sometimes remayneth all the yeare so hardly frozen, that men and beasts goe thereon as on Land, on the bankes of that Riuer, are found certayne small Trees. But beyond and on the other side of that Riuer, are diuers and sundry Nations inhabiting, which are not accounted of the Kingdome of *Cumania*, and yet are obedient to the King thereof: And some there are which inhabit about the Mountayne *Cocas*, which is exceeding great and high. The *Astures* and other rauinous Birds, breeding in that Mountayne, are all white, and that Mountayne is seated betweene two Seas; for on the West is the great *Euxine* Sea, and the *Caspian* Sea on the East, which *Caspian* Sea hath no entrance into the Ocean, but is as a Lake which only for his greatnesse hath the name of a Sea, for it is the greatest Lake that is to bee found in the World, reaching from the said Mountayne *Caucasus*, euen to the head of the Kingdome of *Persia*, and diuideth all *Asia* into

See after Chapter 47.

two parts, whereof that which is towards the East is called *Asia profunda*, and that which is on the West is called *Asia maior*, or the greater *Asia*, and many good fishes are in that Lake.

Indix.

Note that of Alexander the great, the Sarmatians and Pargians have many and strange Fables, neuer heard of in these parts; as here of Orlando, Arthur, Ogerus, and others. See in *Persia* and *Media* are omitted.

6. The Kingdome of *India* is very long, and situated on the Ocean Sea, which in those parts is called the *Indian Sea*. This Kingdome beginneth from the Confines of *Persia*, and extendeth by East vnto a Prouince called *Balaris*, in which are found the precious stones which wee call *Balazes*. On the North-side is that long and great Desart of *India*, where the Emperour *Alexander* is said to haue found so many Serpents, and such diuersitie of Beasts inhabiting. In that Kingdome it is that Saint *Thomas* preached the Faith of Christ, and conuerted many people and Prouinces. But because they are so farre distant and remote from other places and parts of Christendome, the Christian Religion is there much diminished; for there is but one Citie that is inhabited with Christians, the rest hauing wholly forsaken the profession of Christianitie. On the South-side of this Kingdome is a very long reach of the Ocean, in the which are many Ilands, but their Inhabitants be all blacke, going altogether naked for heat, and worship Idols like fooles. In those Ilands are found precious stones, Pearles, and Gold, and sundry Spices, and medicinable drugs helpfull vnto men. There is also a certayne Iland called *Celan* or *Zeilan*, knowne in ancient time by the name of *Taprobana*, in which are found Rubies and Saphires, and the King of that Iland hath the greatest and best Rubie that is any where to be found, which when hee is to be crowned King, he holdeth in his hand riding round about the Citie, and is afterwards obeyed of all as King.

Armenia.

Miralis, or the Iron gate, now Derbent.

9. In the Land of *Armenia* there are foure Kingdomes: yet haue they alwayes beene subiect to one King only. The length of the Kingdome of *Armenia* beginneth at the Confines of *Persia*, and reacheth out Westward euen to the Kingdome of *Turkie*. The breadth of *Armenia* begins at the Citie *Miralis*, called the *Iron Gate*, and extendeth euen to the Kingdome of *Media*. In *Armenia* there are many great and very rich Cities, of which *Tauris* is the chiefe: they haue both Characters of their owne, called the *Armenian Letters*, and others also which they call *Haloen*. In *Armenia* is the highest Hill or Mountayne that is in the World, which is commonly called *Arath*, or *Ararat*, and on the top of that Mountayne, the Arke of *Noah* rested first after the Deluge. And albeit for the abundance of Snow which is alwayes on that Mountayne, both Winter and Summer none is able to goe vp the same, yet is there alwayes scene in the top thereof a certaine blacke thing, which men affirme to be the Arke.

Georgia.

10. The Kingdome of *Georgia* on the East-side, beginneth from a certayne great Mountayne, called *Alboris*, or *Albsor*. There doe inhabit many Nations, and thereof that Prouince is called *Alania*, or *Albania*, from whence the Kingdome of *Georgia* reacheth Westward on the North-side to some Lands of the Kingdome of *Turkie*; the whole length of this Kingdome of *Georgia* lying vpon the great Sea, and on the South-side it is confined with *Armenia* the Great. This Kingdome of *Georgia* is diuided into two Kingdomes, one of which is called by the name of *Georgia*, and the other knowne by the name of *Albas*, or *Albasc*: and they haue beene alwaies gouerned by two seuerall Kings. The one of which is subiect to the Emperour of *Asia*; namely, the King of *Georgia*, But the Kingdome of *Albas* being mightie in people, and strongly situated and fortified, could neuer yet either by the Emperours of *Asia*, or by the *Tartarians* bee subdued. In this Kingdome of *Georgia* is a marvellous strange Wonder or Miracle, which I durst not haue reported or beleueed, if I had not seene it with my eyes. But because I haue personally beene there, and beene made the eye witnesse thereof, I say, that in those parts there is a Prouince or Countrey called *Hamsem*, being in circuit about three dayes iourney, whose whole extent is all couered ouer with such thicke and palpable darknesse, that none can see any thing therein, neither doe any dare to goe into that Land, because they know not the way out againe. Those that inhabit neere about it, affirme, that they haue often heard the sound of mens voices crying, of Cockes crowing, and the neighing of Horses in the Wood, and by the course of a Riuer that runneth out from that place, there appeare certaine signes that there are people inhabiting therein.

Chaldea.

11. The Kingdome of the *Chaldeans* beginneth on the East-side from the Mountaynes of *Media*, and reacheth out vnto *Ninine*. The Inhabitants of *Chaldea* are called *Nestorians*, because they are followers of the Error of *Nestorius*, and they haue their peculiar *Chaldean Characters*, others there are amongst them that vse the *Arabian Letters*, and are of the Sect of the seducer *Mahomet*.

Mesopotamia.

12. The Kingdome of *Mesopotamia* on the East-side, beginneth at the great Citie *Mosel*, (called of the Ancients *Selencia*) which is seated neere the Riuer *Tigris*, and stretcheth out vnto the Riuer *Euphrates*, and the Citie of *Robais* (or *Edeffa*.)

Euphrates. Turkie.

13. When the *Turkes* had inuaded the Kingdome of *Turkie*, and possessed themselves thereof, they could not preuaile against the Citie of *Trapezond*, nor the Territorie thereof, because of their strong Castles and other Fortifications, by reason whereof it remayned still vnder the gouernment of the Emperour of *Constantinople*, who vsed yearely to send thither a Ruler or Gouernour as his Deputie there, vntill at length one of them rebelling against him, made himselfe King in such sort that he which now holdeth that Land, is called Emperour of *Trapezond*. The

Inha-

CHAP. 5. §. I. Tartarians: beginnings of Changius their Romulus & Numa. III

Inhabitants are *Greekes*. In the Kingdome of *Turkie* are foure Nations inhabiting; namely, the *Greekes*, *Armenians*, and *Iacobines*, (or *Iacobites*, which are *Christians*, liuing on merchandise and manuring the Earth:) and the *Turkes*, which are *Saracens*, that haue invaded that Land, and gotten the Government from the *Greekes*. Some of them liue on merchandise, and labouring of the ground inhabiting in Cities and Townes: others keeping in the Woods and Fields, both Winter and Summer being Shepherds, and very good Bow-men.

Nations of
Turkie.

Syria.
Cilicia, how it
came to bee
called Armenia

Cap. 15. Of the
Saracen Em-
pire is omit-
ted.

Of the Coun-
trei where the
Tartarians for-
merly inhabi-
ted.

* Such dreames
as the *Saracens*
and *Asians*
haue of *Alexan-
der*, whom they
call *Bicornis* &c.
as before.

* Moals.
Changius as
Cingis.

14. *Cilicia* at this day is called *Armenia*, by reason that after the enemies of the Christian faith had gotten that Countrey, and held it a long time from the *Greekes*, the *Armenians* endeauoured themselves so well that they wonne it againe from the *Pagans*. In so much that the King of *Ar-*
10 *menia*, by the grace of God ruleth ouer *Cilicia* at this day: In the Kingdome of *Syria* are diuers Nations inhabiting, namely, *Greekes*, *Armenians*, *Iacobites*, *Nestorians*, and *Saracens*. There are also other Christian Nations, namely, the *Syrians* and *Maronines* (or *Maronites*.)

16. The Countrey in which the *Tartarians* first inhabited, lieth beyond the great Mountaine *Belgian*, mentioned in the Histories of * *Alexander*. And there they liued like brutish People without learning or Religion, feeding herds of Beasts, and going from place to place to seeke pasture. And being not exercised in armes they were despised of other Nations, and payed tribute to al. Of these in ancient time there were many Nations which by a common name were called, * *Mogli*, who vpon their encrease were after diuided into seuen principall sorts esteemed more noble then the rest. The first of these Nations was called *Tatar*, from the name of that Pro-
20 uince wherein they first inhabited: The second, was named *Tangur*: The third, *Cumat*: The fourth, *Talair*: The fifth, *Sonich*: The sixth, *Monghi*: And the seuenth, *Tebeth*. And whiles these seuen Nations liued vnder the subiection of their Neighbours, as is aboue said, it happened that a poore old man, being a Smith, saw a Vision in his sleepe; namely, a man armed all in white Armour, and mounted on a white Horse, which calling him by his name, said vnto him, *Changius*, It is the will and pleasure of the immortall God, that thou be Lord and Ruler ouer these Nations of the *Mogli*, and that by thee they bee deliuered from the Dominion of their Neighbours, vnder which they haue long remayned: and they shall rule ouer their Neighbours, and receiue Tribute of them to whom they formerly paid Tribute. *Changius* hearing this Word of God, was replenished with exceeding ioy, and made publicly knowne the Vision which he had seene. But the Rulers and Comm-
30 anders would not giue credite to the Vision, but rather despised and mocked the old man. But the night following, they themselves saw the same Vision of the Horse-man armed in white, who commanded them from the Immortall God, that they should be obedient to *Changius*, and cause all to obey his command. Whereupon, all the said Chieftaines and Gouvernours of the seuen Nations of the *Tartarians*, calling the people together made them to yeeld obedience and reuerence to *Changius*. Then afterwards placing a Chaire for him in the midst of them, and spreading a blacke Felt Carpet on the ground, they set him thereon, and then the seuen chiefe Rulers lifting him vp, did place him in the Throne, or Chaire of State, with great triumph and acclamation, calling him *Can* their first Emperour, and doing him solempne reuerence, with bowing their knees as to their Lord and Gouvernour.

40 Now, at this solemnitie of the *Tartarians*, and at the simplicitie of their blacke Cloth, vsed in the creating of their first Emperour, none ought much to wonder, either because haply they were not then furnished with any fairer Cloth of State, or else were so rude and ignorant at that time, that they knew no better or fairer fashion of State. But at this men might rather maruell, that the *Tartarians* hauing since that, conquered many Kingdomes, and gotten infinite riches, (and namely, commanding ouer the Dominions and wealth of *Asia*, euen to the confines of *Hungaria*) they will not yet leaue their ancient and accustomed manner; but at the confirmation of euery Emperour obserue the like order in euery point, whereof I can well be a witness, hauing bene personally present at the ceremonie vsed at the Confirmation of one of their Em-
50 perours. But to returne to our purpose, *Changius Can* being thus made Emperour by common consent of all the *Tartarians*, determined ere he attempted any thing, to make triall, whether they would all performe faithfull obedience to him, to which end he made certaine Ordinances to be obserued of all.

See sup. c. 2.

Haiton, an eye-
witness of the
Tart. Corona-
tion.
Changius ordai-
neth Lawes.

The first was, That all the *Tartarians* should beleene and obey the Immortall God, by whose will hee was promoted to the Imperiall Dignitie: which Commandement they obserued and from thenceforth vntill this day haue euer continued to call on the Immortall God in all their occasions. Secondly, Hee willed that all the men that were able to beare Armes should be num-
60 bred, and that ouer euery ten should be one appointed, and ouer euery ten thousand a great Commander, and that also ouer euery thousand should bee a Colonell, or Conducter of a Regiment, and he called an Armie of ten thousand Souldiers, a Regiment. He commanded also the seuen Rulers ouer the Nations of the *Tartarians*, that they should forthwith dismisse themselves of their former dignities: which they relinquished immediatly. But another of his Ordinances was very strange and admirable, in which he commanded those seuen chiefe Rulers to bring euery of them his eldest sonne, and each with his owne hand to cut off his head. Which Commandement appearing to bee most cruell and vniust, yet was there none that would any way gainsay
it,

Preuayleth in
fight against
his borderers.

it, because they knew him to be set ouer them by Gods prouidence, and therefore they presently fulfilled it. When *Changius Can* had seene that they were readie to obey him, euen vnto death, he appointed them all a certaine day in which they should be readie to fight. And then they rode against them which bordered next vnto them, and subdued them. Whereby, they which had beene Lords ouer them, were brought into subiection vnder them. After, hee inuaded diuers other Nations, which hee conquered with great celeritie: For hee did all his exploits with a small troupe of men, and was successefull in his enterprises.

He escapeth
by meanes of
an Owle. *Iosephus* in his 13.
Booke chap. 8.
reciteth a like
matter of *A-*
grippa the
great.
Ramusio hath
in *certo uocello*
chiamato Alloc-
cho.
The *Alloccho*
honoured.

Yet, one day it fell out, that being accompanied with a small number he was encountred with a great troupe of his Enemies, in such sort, that the fight being begun betweene them, whiles he valiantly defended himselfe, his Horse was slaine vnder him. And the *Tartarians* seeing their Lord ouerthrowne, betooke themselues to flight; so that the Enemies being all busied in pursuing of those that fled, and hauing no knowledge of the Emperour, whom they had vnhorsed and ouerthrowne; he runne and hid himselfe among certaine shrubs for safety of his life. Whither when the Enemies were returned, with purpose to spoile the dead Carcasses, and to seeke out such as were hidden, it happened that an Owle * came and sate vpon those little trees or shrubs which he had chosen for his couert, which when they perceiued, they sought no further in that place, supposing that the said Bird would not haue sate there, if any man had beene hidden vnderneath. By which meanes in the dead time of the night he found meanes to escape thence, and came by diuers vnfrequented wayes vnto his owne people, and discoursed vnto them what had befallen him. For which the *Tartarians* rendred thankes vnto the Immortall God. And that Bird which vnder God was held to be the meanes of his escape, hath euer since beene held in such reuerence amongst them, that happie is he that can get but a Feather of an Owle, which they weare in their heads with great reuerence. Which I thought fit to set downe in this Booke, that the cause might be knowne for which the *Tartarians* vse commonly to weare Feathers on their heads.

A new Victory.

The Authour
excuseth him-
selfe.

But their Emperour *Changius Can* hauing giuen great thankes to God: for his deliuerance out of so great a danger gathered his Armie together, and fiercely assaulted his former Enemies againe and brought them all vnder subiection, and so became Emperour of all the Countries lying on that side of the Mountaine *Belgian*, and possessed them quietly without disturbance, vntill it happened him to haue another Vision as shall after be declared. Neither is it any maruell that in these Histories I haue not set downe the certaine time, because albeit I haue sought of many to know the certaintie thereof, yet could I neuer finde any to instruct me fully therein: the reason thereof I take to be, because the *Tartarians* at the first were ignorant of all Learning, and knew no letters, and so passed ouer the times and memorable accidents without any Record or Register thereof kept, whereby they came afterwards to be forgotten.

II.

Of *CHANGIUS Can* his second Vision and Conquests. Of *Hoccora* and his three Sonnes expeditions; of *GINO Can*; of *MANGV Can*, who was visited by the King of Armenia, and baptised; of the expedition of his Brother *HALOON*.

17.

The second
Vision.
Iosephus men-
tions a vision
of *Alexander*,
one like the
Iewish high
Priest impos-
ing on him his
Expedition.
The Sea also
gaue him way,
Ant. l. 11. c.
l. 2.
The fatal ex-
pedition.

After that *Changius Can* had subdued all the Kingdomes and Countries on that side of the Mountaine *Belgian*, he saw another Vision in the night. For the selfe-same Horseman armed in white Armour appeared vnto him againe, saying, *Changius Can*, it is the pleasure of the Immortall God, that thou passe ouer the Mountaine *Belgian*, and direct thy course Westwards, where thou shalt possesse Kingdomes and Countries, and subdue many Nations. And that thou mayest be assured that the words which I speake vnto thee are from the Immortall God: Arise and goe with thy people to the Mountaine *Belgian*, to that part thereof which ioyneeth to the Sea, there thou shalt alight from thy Horse, and kneeling downe nine times towards the East; thou shalt worship nine times the Immortall God, and he which is Almighty will shew thee the way by which thou mayest easily passe ouer the Mountaine. At this Vision *Changius* reioyced exceedingly, and arose without farther doubt or delay: because the trueth which he had found in the first Vision gaue him assurance of the other: in such sort that he forthwith speedily assembled his people, and commanded them to follow him with their wiues and children, and all that they had. And so they went forwards vntill they came to the place where the great and deepe Sea did beate against the Mountaine, so that there appeared no way nor passage for them.

There presently *Changius Can* as had beene commanded him by God, alighted from his Horse, and all his followers in like manner, worshipping nine times on their bended knees towards the East, they beseeched the Almighty and euerliuing God, that of his infinite mercy and grace he would vouchsafe to shew them the way and passage thence where they continued in prayer all that night. And in the morning arising, they saw that the Sea was departed from the Mountaine,

taine, and had left them a way of nine feet in bredth to passe. Whereat they being all astoni-
shed exceedingly, and rendring thanks to the Immortall God most deuoutly, they passed on
the way which they saw before them, and directed their steps towards the West. But as the
Histories of the *Tartarians* doe mention, after they had passed ouer those Mountaines, they in-
dured some hunger and thirst for certaine dayes, because the land was Desart, and the waters
were bitter and salt, which they could not by any meanes drinke, vntill at length they came
where they had all necessaries abundantly. In which place they abode many dayes. And there
it happened by the will of God, that *Changius Can* grew dangerously sicke, in such sort that
the Physicians despaired of his recouerie.

10 By reason whereof he called before him his twelue sonnes, and perswaded them to vnitie
and concord by an Example. For, he commanded each of them to bring with him an Arrow,
which when he had receiued, and bound them altogether he willed the eldest to breake them if
he could, which when he had tried, but could not performe, he deliuered them to the second, and
then to the third, and then to all the rest, but none of them could breake them as they were. Then
he commanded his youngest sonne to take the Arrowes seuerally and breake them, which hee
easily accomplished. Then said *Changius Can* to his sonnes: In like manner will it be with you;
for, as long as you remayne in concord and vnitie, your Empire shall continue; but as soone as
there commeth diuision amongst you, your power is easily ouerthrowne. Many other good
examples were given by him, and gathered by the *Tartarians*, which in their Language they
call, *Iasach*, or *Instructions of Changius Can*. And afterwards hee caused the wisest and best of
his sonnes, called *Hoccota Can*, to be receiued as his Successour in his Empire, before he died: and
then rested in peace. And his sonne, called *Hoccota Can*, was placed in his Seat.

20 But before wee end this Historie we must shew how the number of Nine came to be of reue-
rence and sacred estimation among the *Tartarians*: for of a memoriall of the nine kneelings
which they made in the Mountaine *Belgian*, when they worshipped the immortall God, accord-
ing to the direction of him that appeared in white Armour, and their way of the bredth of
nine feet, through which they passed, they hold that number Nine in very high estimation.
Insomuch, that if any will offer a Present to the *Tartarian* Emperour, it must bee presented in
forme of nine seuerall things; if hee will haue it graciously accepted; and so that the number
30 of Nine be offered the gift is reputed happie, which Custome is yet obserued at this day among
the *Tartarians*.

18. *Hoccota Can*, who succeeded in the Empire, was a man of much valour and wisdom,
which made him very well beloued of the *Tartarians*, who were alwaies faithfull and obedient
vnto him. Hee therefore bethought himselfe in what manner he might best subdue all *Asia*, and
thought good to make triall first of the mightiest Prince therein before he attempted it himselfe
in person. On that enterprize therefore he sent forth ten thousand Horse-men vnder the conduct
of a wise and valiant Leader, called *Gebesabada*, and commanded him to seeke out diuers King-
domes and States, and when hee met with an Aduersarie too mightie for him, to returne. Hee
marched on, and tooke diuers Castles and Townes, and cruelly vied those which hee vanquished
in battell, for terrour to others, putting out their eyes, and taking away their Horses and Vi-
40 ctuals; dealing kindly with the weaker. Thus hee proceeded to the Iron Gate which *Alexan-
der* built at the foot of *Cochas*, and razed it, lest it might hinder his returne. *Tuannus* the Prince
of *Georgia* came out against him, and in a Plaine, called *Mogran*, they fought, but the *Tartars*
ouercame; and proceeded to *Arscor* a Citie of the *Soldan* of *Turkie*, who was so well provided
to entertayne him, that *Gebesabada* seeing his forces decayed, returned to *Hoccota Can*, then in
Cambalu. Hee desiring to subdue all *Asia*, called three of his sonnes, giuing to each a great Ar-
mie, *Iochi* the eldest he sent Westward to *Tigris*; *Baydo*, to the North; *Chagoday*, to the South:
and so diuided *Asia* among his three sonnes. *Hoccota Can* made choise of another skillfull and
valiant Captaine, called *Baydo*, to whom he gaue thirtie thousand *Tartarian* Souldiers, termed

50 *Tamachi*, or Conquerours, and commanded them to set forward the very same way that the o-
ther ten thousand went before, and not to make stay in any place till they came to the King-
dome of *Turkie*, and to trie whether they could withstand the *Soldan* of *Turkie*, which was held
the mightiest of all the Princes in *Asia*. And if haply they found him so strong that they were
not able to encounter him, they should then forbear to fight with him, and make choise of
some place where they might rest themselues till they had receiued supplie of further aide from
some of his sonnes which should bee neereft vnto them, and that afterwards they might with
more safety set vpon him. *Baydo* accordingly with his thirtie thousand *Tartarians* came to the
Kingdome of *Turkie*; and there hee vnderstood that the *Soldan* which had discomfited the first
Tartarians was dead, and that his sonne *Guiatadin* succeeded him. And this man hearing of the
60 *Tartarians* comming, was very much afraid, and got all the Mercenaries that he could to his suc-
cour both *Barbarians* and *Latines*, and amongst others hee had to his aide two thousand *Latines*
vnder his two Captaines, the one called, *Iohn de Liminado*, who came from the Ile of *Cyprus*,
and the other *Bonifacius de Molin*, who was borne at *Genua*. The *Soldan* also sent to his Neigh-
bours, promising many fauours and benefits to such as would assist him, by which meanes hauing

The miracu-
lous way.

The sicknesse
of Changius Can.

His allegorica
l exhorting of
his sonnes to
vnitie.
The like Hi-
storie hath *Sto-
baeus* serm. 82. of
Scilurus see *Tor-
nands* also of
the sonnes of
Attila disa-
greeing.

His death.

The number
of Nine, este-
med among
the *Tartarians*.
So they vse
still to the Me-
gill. sup. p. 556
Of *Hoccota Can*
the second
Emperour of
the *Tartarians*.

Gebesabada.

The *Turkes* overcome by the *Tartarians*.

Of *Gino Can* the third Emperour.

The former Friars mention theſe two, *L. de Pleno Carpini* was with the former, and *Rubruq*, with *Mangu*.

Mango Can drowned.

Cobila, or *Cubilai Can*.

Ions the great Citie.

Iochi raigenth ouer *Turkeſtan*.

Sec 47. Chapt.

The ſucceſſe of *Baydo* Northward.

His victorie ouer the *Cumanians*, ſo called as may ſeeme of the Caſtle *Cumania*, mentioned by *Pliny* *L. 6. c. 11.* now *Derbent*. Now *Muſcouia*.

His drowning in *Auſtria*.

His poſteritie. a Of him after 47. Chapt. *Cangaday* interpreted c.

b Or rather of *Bagoday* for the ſucceſſors of *Iochi*, were named in the 20. Chapter.

Of *Mango Can* the fourth Emperour.

affembled a great number of men, hee went towards the place where the *Tartarians* made their abode, whom they found nothing aſtoniſhed at his approach; for they manfully gaue him battle at a place called *Confedrack*, where they ouerthrew the Armie of the *Turkes*, and ſo the *Tartarians* wonne the Kingdome of *Turkie*, in the yeere 1244.

19. And after a little time *Hocota Can* dyed, and a ſonne of his ſucceeded in the Empire, called *Gino Can*, whoſe life was but ſhort, and after him ſucceeded a Kinsman of his, called *Mango Can*, who was of very great power and ſubdued many Prouinces, and at length with a great ſpirit he went into the *Cathayan* Sea to take a certaine Iland, which whiles he held beſieged, the Inhabitants of thoſe parts being very ſubtile and ingenious, ſent certaine Diuers ſecretly vnder water, who continued ſo long vnder the Ship, in which hee was, vntill they had made many holes therein, ſo that the water came into it (no man obſeruing nor ſtopping the leake) vntill the Ship ſunke, and *Mango Can* was drowned therein. Whereupon the reſidue of the *Tartarians* returned home and choſe his brother, called *Cobila Can*, for their Emperour, who raigned ouer them two and fortie yeeres, became a *Chriſtian*, and founded a certaine Citie, called *Ions*, in the Kingdome of *Cathay*, which is reported to be greater then *Rome*; and in that Citie he dwelled vntill his dying day. But leauing him, let vs ſpeake of the three ſonnes of *Hocota Can*, and of *Haoloon*, and of his Heires.

20. *Iochi*, the eldeſt ſonne of *Hocota Can*, rode toward the Weſt with all that people which his Father had giuen him, and there finding fruitfull and pleaſant Countries, abounding in all kinde of riches, he fixed his Tents, and ruled ouer the Kingdome of *Turkeſtan*, and the leſſer *Perſia*, euen to the River *Phison*, where his people inhabiting euer ſince, are exceedingly multiplied in perſons and riches, and the Heires of *Iochi* haue ſucceeded one the other in thoſe Dominions to this preſent, and thoſe Countries are at this day ruled by two Brothers, the one called *Chapar*, the other *Doax*, who haue diuided thoſe Countries betweene them, and doe poſſeſſe them peaceably.

21. *Baydo*, the ſecond ſonne of *Hocota Can*, with the *Tartarians* which his Father gaue him, rode towards the North, vntill he came to the Kingdome of *Cumania*, where the *Cumanians* hauing many armed men, oppoſed themſelues, and defended their Land againſt them. But being at length ouercome, they fled to the Kingdome of *Hungaria*; where are yet many *Cumanians* inhabiting. *Baydo* hauing beaten the *Cumanians* out of their Countrey, went to the Kingdome of *Ruſſia* and conquered it, and poſſeſſed the Land of *Gazaria* (which is in the Northerne part of *Taurica*) and the Kingdome of *Bulgaria*, and by the way which the *Cumanians* had fled, he came to the Kingdome of *Hungaria*. Afterwards the *Tartarians* went towards the parts of *Germanie*, till they came to a certaine River that runneth through the Dukedome of *Auſtria*: where they thought to haue paſſed ouer a Bridge which they found there. But *Frederick* the Duke of *Auſtria*, and others, that bordered neere it, had fortified the Bridge ſo that the *Tartarians* were denyed paſſage. *Baydo* thereupon, incenſed with furie, commanded that all ſhould paſſe through the water, and himſelfe was the firſt that entred, expoſing thereby himſelfe and all his followers to apparant danger of death: for ſuch was the breadth of the River and the violence of the ſtreame, that their Horſes were wearied before they could come to the farther banke of the River. Which the reſidue ſeeing which were not yet entred into the water, they were confounded with grieve, and returned to *Ruſſia*, and *Cumania* which they formerly had conquered, as hath bene declared; and neuer ſince that haue the *Tartarians* attempted againſt *Germania*. But the poſteritie of *Baydo* hath euer ſince ſucceſſfully held thoſe Lands which he ſubdued. And he which now raigenth there, is called *Tochai*, and ruleth peaceably and quietly.

22. *Cangaday* (or *Chagoday*) with thoſe *Tartarians* which his Father gaue him, rode towards the South, euen to the parts of *India* the leſſer. There he found many Deſarts, Mountaines, and drie Lands not inhabited, ſo that hee could not paſſe that way: but hauing loſt many of his People, Horſes, and other Beaſts, he turned him towards the Weſt, and after much labour came to his brother *Iochi*, to whom he related what had befallen him: who taking compaſſion on his brother, gaue him and his people a good part of thoſe Countries which hee had: and euer after, thoſe two brethren dwelled together and their Progenie, vntill this day inhabite in thoſe parts; yet in ſuch ſort, that thoſe which deſcended of the younger brother, doe beare a kinde of reuerence to the poſteritie of the Elder, and ſo being content with their Portions, they liue peaceably and quietly together: and that Succellor of *Iochi* that now liueth, is called *Barach*.

23. In the yeere of our Lord 1253. *Haython*, the King of *Armenia*, ſeeing that the *Tartarians* had in a manner ſubdued all the Kingdomes, Countries, and Lands, euen to the Kingdome of *Turkie*, taking Counſell of the wiſe, he reſolued to goe in perſon to the Emperour of the *Tartarians*, the better to inſinuate himſelfe into his fauour, and to make league with him. But firſt he ſent his brother, Lord *Sinibaldy*, Conſtable of the Kingdome of *Armenia*, to obtayne ſafe conduct for him: who carrying with him many Preſents, and going attended with a goodly compaſſie, diſpatched in good order the buſineſſe for which he was ſent, yet ſtayed hee by the ſpace of foure dayes before he came backe to *Armenia*: but at his returne, he related to the King what he had ſcene and done: who without delay departed in ſecret manner diſguiſed, becauſe it might be

be dangerous for him to be knowne in the Kingdome of *Turkie*, through which hee must needes make his iourney: and as God would, at his comming thither, he found that the *Soldan of Turkie* was ouerthrowne by a *Tartarian* Captaine, whom hee met with there and made himselfe knowne vnto him, who when he vnderstood him to be the King of *Armenia*, and that hee was going toward the Emperour, entertayned him very honorably, and caused him to bee conducted to the Kingdome of *Cumania*, and beyond the Iron gate.

Haiton King of Armenia his iourney.

And afterwards, other *Tartarian* Captaines caused him to bee conducted ouer all other Countreies and Places, vntill he came to *Almalech* (or *Cambalu*) where *Mango Can* their Emperour resided; who reioyced much at the comming of the King of *Armenia*; and the rather for that from the comming of *Changius Can* ouer the Mountaine *Belgian*, no other great Prince had come to meet him, and therefore hee receiued and entertayned him with much honour and loue, and gaue vnto him some of the greatest persons about him to attend, and associate him at his pleasure, and did him many other fauours; But the King of *Armenia* hauing rested certaine dayes, intreated the Emperour to vouchsafe him Audience in those affaires, for which hee was come, and to giue him licence to returne. The Emperour very graciously answered him, that he would most willingly accomplish all his desires, and that it was very acceptable vnto him that he came of his owne accord.

c It seemes Caracorum which then was Almalech, the Kings Citie, or Cambalu, as Ramusio hath it.

The King with good deliberation made seuen Petitions. First, He desired that the Emperour and all his people would be baptized in the Christian Faith, leauing all other Sects. Secondly, That there might be a perpetuall peace and friendship established betweene the *Christians* and the *Tartarians*. Thirdly, That in all Countreies which the *Tartarians* either had conquered or should conquer, the Churches and Churchmen, whether secular or religious, might be free and exempted from all seruitude and payments. Fourthly, That he would deliuer and free the holy Land, and the holy Sepulcher of our Lord, out of the hands of the *Saracens*, and restore them to the *Christians*. Fifthly, That he would endeavour the destruction of the *Caliph of Baldach*, who was the head and chiefe Doctor of the Sect of *Mahometisme*. Sixthly, Hee required that a speciall Charter might be granted him, that of whatsoever *Tartarians* especially such as should be nearest to the Kingdome of *Armenia* hee should bee occasioned to demand aide, they should forthwith be readie to assist him. Seuenthly, He craved that all the Lands of the iurisdiction of the Kingdome of *Armenia*, which the *Saracens* had inuaded, and were or should happen to be recovered by the *Tartarians*, might be restored to the King of *Armenia*, and that such as he should get from the *Saracens*, hee might peaceably and quietly enioy. *Mango Can* hauing considered the Petitions of the King of *Armenia*, calling before him all his chiefe Captaines and Counsellors in their presence, made him answer after this manner. Because that the King of *Armenia* of his owne accord, and not of compulsion, is come vnto vs from remote parts; it becometh the Imperiall Maiestie to yeeld him all his demands that are lawfull and honest: Therefore to you, O King of *Armenia*, Wee returne this answer, That wee will accept of all your Requests made, and will cause them all (God-willing) to bee duely accomplished: first, I my selfe being Emperour and Lord of the *Tartarians*, will bee baptized in that Faith which the

The King of Armenia his Demands.

- 1.
- 2.
- 3.
- 4.
- 5.
- 6.
- 7.

Christians hold at this day; wishing and aduising all my Subjects to doe the like: yet not intending to force any thereunto. To your second, We will and agree that there be a perpetuall peace betweene the *Tartarians* and *Christians*, yet with this caution, that your selfe bee a chiefe Pledge and Suretie that the *Christians* obserue on their behalfe the like peace and amitie towards vs, as wee for our part intend inuolably to keepe towards them. Wee grant also, That all the Churches of *Christians* and their Clergie-men whatsoever, either Secular or Religious, shall enioy their Priuiledge and Immunitie of Libertie and Exemption throughout the Dominions of our Empire, and that none shall molest them any kinde of wayes. Touching the matter of the holy Land, we say, That if we could conveniently we would willingly goe thither in person, for the reuerence we beare to our Lord Iesus Christ. But because we haue many occasions of importance to stay vs in these parts, wee will take order with our Brother *Haloan* for the due accomplishment of that seruice in all points as it behooueth, for the freeing of the Citie of *Hierusalem* and all the holy Land, out of the hands of the *Pagans*, and restoring it to the *Christians*.

The answer of the Tartarian.

- 1.
- 2.
- 3.
- 4.
- 5.
- 6.
- 7.

Concerning the *Caliph of Baldach*. We will giue order to *Baydo*, our Captaine of the *Tartarians*, which are in the Kingdome of *Turkie*, and the rest thereabouts, that they bee all obedient to our Brother, whom wee will haue to destroy the *Caliph* as our capitall and deadly Enemy. The Charter which the King of *Armenia* desireth for assistance from the *Tartarians*, Wee with it to bee drawne according to his desire, and wee are readie in all things to confirme it. Lastly, whereas the King *Armenia* requireth, That the Lands of his Kingdome, which the *Saracens* had taken from, and haue since bene recovered by the *Tartarians*, may be restored vnto him, we freely and frankly accord it, willing our Brother *Haloan* to see such restitution made without delay.

See the 18. and 24 Chap. ters.

Polo calls this Haloan, Vlan.

24. After that *Mango Can* had thus liberally accorded the Requests of the King of *Armenia*, and confirmed them by Charters, he would forthwith receiue the Sacrament of Baptisme, and was accordingly baptized by the hands of a certaine Bishop, who was Chancellor of the King of

Mango Can with his people is baptized.

Armenia.

The Voyage
of Haloon with
King Haythom.
Persia possessed
by the Tartars.

* Senex de
monte, see Po'o
S 2.
Tigado besie-
ged.

In the Latine
it is 27. Ramus 7
Polohach but 3.

Ha'oon sojour-
neth in Sorlock.
The siege of
Baldach.
The Citie and
Caliph taken.

The Parsimo-
nie of the Ca-
liph.

His death a-
mongst his
Treasure.

The fauour of
Haolono to-
wards Chri-
stians.
His Wife.

King Haythom
bringeth ayde
to Haolono.

Halappi, or A-
leppo.

Armenia, and all that were of his household with many other great Personages of both Sexes, And then he made choice of such as were to accompany his Brother Haloon, about the enterprize of the Holy Land. After Haloon and the King of Armenia departed, and rode both together vntill they passed ouer the great Riuer Phison; then Haloon with his mightie Armie inuaded the Countreyes and Lands euery where, and in lesse then six moneths hee subdued easily the whole Kingdome of Persia, because it was without a Ruler, or Gouvernour, and tooke in all the Countreyes without resistance, euen till he came to the Land of certayne Infidels, which are called *Assassini*, hauing neither Law nor Religion, but liuing as their Prince and Lord, commonly called * *Sex-montio*, instructeth them at whose pleasure and commandement they willingly and readily expose themselves to death. These had a certayne impregnable Castle, called *Tigado*, which was so well furnished with all kind of necessary prouision, and so strongly built and seated, that they feared no assault. Haloon therefore commanded one of his Captaynes to take with him tenne thousand of those *Tartarians*, which hee had left in Persia, and in no wise to depart from the siege of that Castle vntill hee had taken it, so that they remayned at the siege thereof, by the space of seuen yeares both Winter and Summer, which at last was yeelded vp by the *Assassini*, only for want of clothes, but not for any penury of victuals, or scarcitie of any other thing, whiles Haloon employed himselfe in ordering of the Kingdome of Persia, and besieging the Castle of the *Assassini*, the King of Armenia tooke leaue of him to returne, because hee had bene long out of his Kingdome: Haloon therefore licenced him to depart, and giuing him many great gifts, directed his Precept to *Baydo*, residing in the Kingdome of *Turkie*, which he had subdued, that he should conduct him safely to the entrance of his owne Kingdome, which in all things he fulfilled, so that after three yeares and a halfe of absence, the King of Armenia, through the mercie of Iesus Christ, came ioyfully home into his owne Countrey.

25. Haloon hauing ordered the Kingdome of Persia in conuenient manner, went into a certayne Prouince neere to Armenia, called *Sorlock*, where he repoied and recreated himselfe all the Sommer, and at the beginning of Winter he besieged *Baldach*, in which the Caliph resided, who was the chiefe Master and Doctor of the Irreligious Sect of *Mahometisme*, for which Enterprize Haloon re-enforced his Army with thirtie thousand *Tartarians*, that were in the Kingdome of *Turkie*, and assaulting the Citie by the shoare, hee tooke the same without any great difficultie, or delay. The Caliph was brought aliue into the presence of Haloon, and there was found in *Baldach*, so much Treasure and Riches as would scarcely bee beleued to bee in all the World besides; This Citie of *Baldach* was taken in the yeere 1258.

26. When Haloon had disposed of the Citie of *Baldach*, he caused the Caliph to be brought vnto him, and all his Treasure to be laid before him, Then he demanded of him whether he had bene Lord of all that Treasure, who affirming, it was asked againe why hee had not made vse thereof in procuring the ayde of his Neighbours, and leuyed mercenarie Souldiers to defend him and his Countrey from the power of the *Tartarians*, whose answer was that hee thought his owne people had been sufficient. Then said Haloon to the Caliph, thou art said to be the chiefe Doctor & Teacher of all that beleue the deceiuing Doctrine of *Mahomet*, & receiuest rewards and Gifts of them all; therefore such and so precious a Master must be fed with no other meate but with these precious things, which thou hast loued and kept so carefully, all which wee giue thee for thy sustenance: and so commanded that the Caliph should bee shut into a Chamber, and that his Pearle and Gold should bee set before him, that hee might eate as much as hee would thereof, but that no other meate nor drinke should be giuen him; by which meanes the miserable wretch ended his life after a miserable manner. And there was no other Caliph in *Baldach* after him.

27. After that Haloon had subdued *Baldach* and all the Countrey round about, hee distributed the Prouinces amongst his Captaines and Rulers as he thought good, giuing charge that the Christians should euerie where hee louingly vsed, and be preferred to the gouernment of Castles and Cities, and the *Saracens* held vnder streight subiection. Haloon had also a Wife called *Donscario* descended of those Kings that came from the East being guided by the Starre of the Natinitie of our Lord, which Ladie being a most deuout Christian, was a great meanes of destroying the Temples of the *Saracens*, and prohibiting the Solemnities and Ceremonies of *Mahomet*, and finally rased their Temples to the ground, and brought the *Saracens* in such subiection that they durst not shew their heads.

28. After that Haloon had rested a yeare, he sent to the King of Armenia, to meete him at the Citie *Robays*, in the Kingdome of *Mesopotamia*, because he intended to goe towards the Holy Land, that hee might restore it to the Christians, whereupon, the King Haythom of famous memorie tooke his Iourney, accompanied with a great Armie both of Horsemen and Footmen, for at that time the Kingdome of Armenia, was in so good estate, that it could raise a power of twelue thousand Horse, and threescore thousand Footmen, whereof beeing an Eye witnesse myselfe, I can will giue testimonie thereof, when the King of Armenia was come according to this appointment of *Haplan*, and had conference with him touching the Enterprize of the Holy Land, he aduised him that because the *Soldan* of *Halappi*, ruled ouer all the Kingdome of *Sy-*

ria, in which the Citie of *Ierusalem* was seated, the way to get the Holy Land, was first to besiege the Citie of *Halappi*, being the chiefe Citie of *Syria*, which when he had wonne, it would not be difficult for him to subdue all the rest of that Countrey: which advise *Haloön* liked well, and besieged the Citie of *Halappi* (or *Aleppo*) which he found to be of great strength being well walled and inhabited: therefore with Mines vnder ground, with Slings and other Engines, hee begirt it so straightly, and assaulted it so manfully on euery side that albeit it seemed impregnable, yet in the space of nine dayes he obtayned it. In this Citie they found such incredible store of wealth as would hardly be beleued, yet there was a Castle in the midst of the Citie, that held out eleuen dayes after the Citie was taken, which at length was wonne by vndermining. So the Citie *Halappi*, and afterwards the Kingdome of *Syria*, was taken by *Haoloön* in the yeare of our Lord * 1240.

Balestri.

Halapo taken.

* 1260. yet both Latine & Italian haue 1240.

29. But when the Soldan of *Halappi* named *Melechnafer* being then in the Citie of *Damascus*, vnderstood that the Citie of *Halappi*, with his Wife and Children in it, was taken, being vtterly destitute of Countell hee came and cast himselfe at the feet of *Haloön*, hoping thereby that his Wife and Children with some part of his Dominions would bee restored him. But the Soldan found himselfe therein deceiued, for *Haloön* sent him with his Wife and Children into *Persia*, that thereby he might enioy the Kingdome of *Syria*, the more securely. These things thus disposed, *Haloön* gaue to the King of *Armenia* a great part of the spoile of *Halappi*, and of the Lands which he had inuaded, whereby the King of *Armenia* was strengthened with many Castles bordering on his Kingdome, which he fortified as he thought good; and after that *Haoloön* had settled the affaires of those Cities and Countries which he had wonne, intending to goe to *Ierusalem* to free the Holy Land from *Pagans*, and to restore it to the Christians. There came to him a Messenger the third day, who brought newes that the *Tartarian* Empire was vacant by the death of his Brother *Mango Can*, and that his comming was earnestly expected to bee his Successor therein, which report made him very sorrowfull: In regard whereof hee could now proceed no further in person, but left ten thousand *Tartars* to keepe the Kingdome of *Syria*, vnder the command of a Captayne called *Guiboga*, to whom he gaue order that hee should conquer the Holy Land, and restore it to the Christians. And so leauing his Sonne at *Tauris*, hee hastened Eastward himselfe by great Iourneyes.

30

§. III.

Of *COBILA CAN* the fift Emperour, of the *Tartarians*: Of the Warre with *BARCHA*, and *Tartarian* quarrell with the Christians, *HAOLOÖNS* death. Acts of the Soldan of Egypt. Of *ABAYA* and other Sonnes and Successors of *HAOLOÖN*.

40 **B**Vt before he could come to the Kingdom of *Persia*, he heard that the Nobles & Princes had placed his Brother *Cobila Can* in the Imperial Seat of the *Tartars*, which he heard whilst he was at *Tauris*: where he vnderstood that *Barcat* (or *Barcha*) was marching thither with a great Armie, purposing to make himselfe Emperour: *Haoloön* therefore assembled his people and met with his Enemies, on a certayne Riuer which was frozen, where beganne a very great Battaille. But the Ice being broken by the great multitude of Horses and Men, there was drowned on the one side and on the other thirtie thousand *Tartars*; Insomuch, that the Armies on each side returned. But *Guiboga* whom *Haoloön* had left in the Kingdome of *Syria*, and the Prouince of *Palestina* held those Countreyes peaceably, and loued the Christians well, for he was of the Progenie of the three Kings which went to worship the Natiuitie of our Lord. But when he had laboured earnestly to reduce the Holy Land againe vnder the power of the Christians, the Deuill sowed the seed of scandall, and discord betwixt him and the Christians of those parts, which hapned on this manner. In the Land of *Belforte*, which is of the Territory of the Citie of *Sidon*, there were sundry Townes and Villages inhabited by *Saracens*, which paid certayne Tribute to the *Tartars*, on whom some of *Sidon* and *Belforte* made diuers rodes and spoyles killing sundry of the *Saracens*, and carrying others away Captiue with a great droue of Cattle. A Nephew of *Guiboga* remayning nere thereabouts, followed speedily after those Christians that had committed those outrages to tell them on the behalfe of his Vncle, that they should dismisse their bootie. But some of them vnwilling to large their prey they had taken, ranne vpon him, and slue him, with diuers other *Tartarians* that accompanied him. *Guiboga* hearing that the Christians had slaine his Nephew, rode presently and rooke the Citie of *Sidon*, dismantled the walls thereof, and slue some few Christians, the rest sauing themselves in an Iland. And neuer after would the *Tartars* trust the Christians of *Syria*, neither durst they put confidence in the *Tartars*, who were afterwards driuen out of the Kingdome of *Syria* by the *Saracens*, as shall be declared.

The Civill war betweene *Haoloön* and *Barcat* or *Barcha*. See *Polo*, §. 1. *Guiboga* of the Kindred of the three Kings that came to worship the Natiuitie of Christ.

Belforte

He destroyeth the Citie of *Sidon*.

The Soldans
enterprize a-
gainst Guiboga.

Haaloon prepa-
ring to renew
the wars, dieth.

Abaga his Son
and Successor.

Bendekar Sol-
dan of Egypt
inuadeth Ar-
menia. Ramusio
calls him Bnn-
hocdere.

He concludeth
a truce with
the Soldan.

* That the
Greeke Monkes
changed their
names, appea-
reth by the ex-
ample of Alex-
ander Comnenus
in Nicet. p. 48. 6.
and of Andro-
nicus the Em-
perour in Gre-
goras, lib. 9. p. 47
and of Canta-
cuzenus the
Emperour in
Calcondilas lib. 1.
Abaga entred
the Kingdome
of Egypt, and
destroyed
Turkie.
Paruana.

31. Whiles Haaloon was busie in the warre with Barcat, as hath beene said, the Soldan of Egypt assembling his Armie came to the Prouince of Palestina, and in a place called Hamalech, he ioyned battaile with Guiboga and his Tartars, where Guiboga was slaine, and his Armie defeated. The Tartars which escaped went into Armenia, and by this meanes the Kingdome of Syria was wholly subdued by the Saracens, sauing certayne Cities of the Christians, which were seated neere the Sea. When Haaloon vnderstood how the Soldan of Egypt had inuaded Syria, and driuen thence his people, he gathered his Armie and sent to the King of Armenia, and to the King of Georgia, and the other Christians of the East to prepare themselves against the Soldan of Egypt and the Saracens, and when his Armie was in readinesse a sicknesse seized him, of which he languished the space of a fortnight, and then dyed, by whose death the enterprize of the Ho-
ly Land had an end. Abaga his Sonne held the Dominion of his Father, who intreated the Em-
perour Cobila Can being his Vncle, to confirme him therein, to which he willingly accorded. So he was called Abaga Can, and began to reigne in the yeare of our Lord 1264.

32. Abaga was wise and gouerned prosperously in all things, two only excepted, one that he would not be a Christian, as his Father had beene, but worshipped Idols, beleeuing the Idolatrous Priests. The other, that he was alwayes in warres with his Neighbours, by reason whereof the Soldan was long in quiet, and the power of the Saracens much increased. Those Tartars (or rather Turks) which could escape from out the Dominion of the Tartars, fled vnto the Soldan, seeking to auoid the heauie burthens which the Tartars imposed on them. And the Soldan dealt politikelly, for he sent Messengers by Sea to the Tartars, in the Kingdomes of Cumania, and Russia, and made composition and agreement with them, that whensoever Abaga should moue warre against the Land of Egypt, then they should inuade his Countrey, for which he promised them great gifts, by meanes whereof Abaga could not well inuade the Land of Egypt, but the Soldan could easily without resistance inuade the Christians in the parts of Syria, inso much, that the Christians lost the Citie of Antioch, and diuers other places of strength, which they held in that Kingdome.

33. Moreouer, Bendekar the Soldan of Egypt was so fortunate that he much abased the Kingdome of Armenia. For it hapned that the King of Armenia with many of his men was gone to the Tartars, which the Soldan hearing, sent a Captayne of his to inuade the Kingdome of Armenia. The Sonnes of the King of Armenia, gathering together all that could beare Armes, encountered the Egyptians in the Confinnes of their Kingdome, and resisted them courageously; but the Armie of the Armenians being ouerthrowne, one of the Kings Sonnes was taken, and the other was slaine in battaile. So that the Saracens thereby wasted and spoyled all the Kingdome of Armenia, and carryed infinite riches thence to the great damage of the Christians, whereby the Enemies power was much encreased, and the Kingdome of Armenia wondrously weakned. The King whose endeauour was wholly bent about the destruction of the Infidels, hauing heard this most vnhappie newes of his owne Countrey, busied his thoughts night and day how to afflict the Saracens, and oft-times very earnestly dealt with Abaga, and his Tartars to attempt the ouerthrow of faithlesse Mahomet, and the reliefe of the Christians. But Abaga excused himselfe by reason of the warres, in which he was daily entangled with his Neighbours. The King of Armenia seeing that hee could not haue any present ayde of the Tartarians, sent and made truce by his Messengers with the Soldan of Egypt, that he might redeeme his Sonne which was Prisoner. The Soldan also promised him that if he restored him a friend of his called Angoldscar whom the Tartars held captiue, and yeilded vp the Castle Tempack, and some holds of the Citie of Halappi, which he had gotten in the time of Haaloon, hee would set his Sonne at libertie. Whereupon the Soldan, hauing receiued his friend, and the Castle of Tempack beeing yeilded, and two other Castles throwne downe at his appointment, deliuered his Sonne out of Prison, and restored him accordingly. Then afterwards King Haythou of famous memorie, hauing reigned fortie five yeares, and done much good to the Christians, yeilded vp his Kingdome and Dominion to his Sonne Linon, whom he had deliuered out of captiuitie, and renouncing this Kingdom of the World became professed in Religion, and was called Macharius, changing his name (according to the custome * of the Armenians) when they enter into Religion, and in short time after dyed in peace in the yeare of our Lord 1270.

34. This King of Armenia Linon was wise, and gouerned his Kingdom prouidently, and being much beloued by his owne People, and by the Tartars, he laboured earnestly to destroy the Saracens, so that in his time Abaga made peace with al his neighbors, who of long time had been his enemies. Then the Soldan of Egypt entred the Kingdome of Turkie, and slue many of the Tartars, and draue them out of many Townes. For a Saracen, called Paruana, being Captaine ouer the Tartars that were in Turkie, rebelled against Abaga, and fought the destruction of the Tartarians. Abaga hearing thereof, posted thither so speedily, that in fifteene dayes hee rode fortie dayes journey. The Soldan hearing of his comming departed suddenly, not daring to make any longer abode. Yet could not so speedily withdraw himselfe, but that the Tartars following swiftly, ouertooke the rereward of his Armie in the entrie of the Kingdome of Egypt, in a place called Pasblanke. There the Tartarians rushing on them, tooke two thousand Horsemen of the

the *Saracens*, beside much riches, and five thousand of the *Cordines* which lived in that Countrey. *Abaga* being come to the Confines of *Egypt*, was perswaded to goe no farther for heat: for that Land is very hote, and his *Tartars*, and their beasts hauing come speedily from farre, could hardly haue indured it, by reason whereof hee returned into *Turkie*, and spoiled and wasted all the Countreies that had rebelled, and yeelded to the *Soldan*. But he caused the Traytor *Paruana* with his partakers to be cut asunder in the midst, after the *Tartarian* manner; and part of his flesh to be serued in all his meats, whereof he and his Captaines did eat. Such was the reuenge of King *Abaga* on the Traitor *Paruana*.

Paruana cut asunder and eaten.

35. *Abaga* hauing effected his desires in *Turkie*, and enriched his *Tartars* with the spoyle of the rebellious *Saracens*, he called to him the King of *Armenia*, and offered him the kingdome of *Turkie*, in regard that his father and hee had bene euer faithfull to the *Tartarians*. But the King of *Armenia* being discreet and wise, rendred great thankes to *Abaga* for so great a Present, but excused himselfe from the accepting thereof, as vnable to gouerne two Kingdomes. For the *Soldan* of *Egypt* was in his full strength, and earnestly bent against the Kingdome of *Armenia*: so that hee had enough to doe to prouide for the defence thereof. Yet aduised him to settle and dispose the Kingdome of *Turkie* in such sort ere his departure, that there might bee no feare of Rebellion after wards: and in any case to permit no *Saracen* to command there. Which aduice *Abaga* accepted of, and neuer after suffered any *Saracen* to beare rule in that Countrey. The king of *Armenia* then desired him to thinke of deliuering the Holy Land out of the hands of the *Pagans*: wherein he promised all his best endeauour: and wished the King to send messengers to the Pope, and to other Princes of *Christendome* for their assistance. So *Abaga* hauing ordered the affaires of *Turkie*, returned to the Kingdome of *Corazen*, where hee had left his familie. *Bendecar* the *Soldan* of *Egypt*, after he had received such damage by the *Tartars*, was poisoned, died in *Damascus*: whereof the *Christians* of those parts were very glad. And the *Saracens* very sorrowfull: for they had not his like after, as they themselves commonly reported. For his sonne, called *Melechahic*, succeeded him, who was loone driuen out of his Dominion by one called *Elfi*, who violently vsurping, made himselfe *Soldan*.

King *Liunore* refuseth the offer of the Kingdome of *Turkie*.

Hee vrgeth the deliuering of *Ierusalem* from *Pagans*.

Corazen.

The death of the *Soldan*.

Melechahic his sonne and successor.

Elfi the *Soldan*.

36. The time appointed being come, when *Abaga* was to begin his warre against the *Soldan* of *Egypt*, hee appointed his brother *Mangodanior* to goe to the Kingdome of *Syria* with thirtie thousand men, being *Tartars*, and courageously to overcome the *Soldan*, if he came in battell against him: or otherwise to take in the Castles and Holds of the Countrey, and deliuer them to the *Christians*, if the *Soldan* should shun the fight. When *Mangodanior* with his Armie setting forward, was come neere the Confines of *Armenia*, hee sent for the King of *Armenia*, who came presently vnto him with a goodly companie of Horse: so that they entred the Kingdome of *Syria*, and went spoyleing and foraging, till they came to the Citie *Aman*, now called *Camella*, which is seated in the midst of *Syria*. Before this Citie lieth a faire great Playne, where the *Soldan* of *Egypt* had assembled his Power, intending to fight with the *Tartarians*. And there the *Saracen* on the one side, with the *Christians* and *Tartars* on the other side, fought a great battell. The King of *Armenia* with the *Christians* ruled and commanded the right wing of the Armie which inuaded the *Soldans* left wing manfully, and put them to flight, and pursued them three dayes iourney, euen to the Citie *Aman*. Another part of the *Soldans* Armie was also routed by *Amalech* a *Tartarian* Captaine, who pursued them also three dayes iourney, to a Citie called *Turara*. When they thought the *Soldans* Power vtterly ouerthrowne, *Mangodanior* who neuer had seene the conflicts of warre before, being afraid without any reasonable cause of certaine *Saracens*, called *Beduini*, withdrew himselfe out of the field, hauing the better, forsaking the King of *Armenia*, and his Captaine which had preuayled against his enemies. When the *Soldan*, which thought he had lost all, saw the field cleere, and all abandoned, he got vpon a little hill, with foure armed men, and stood there. The King of *Armenia* returning from the pursuit, and missing *Mangodanior* in the field, was much astonied, and imagining which way hee should be gone, followed after him.

Mangodanior deputed Generall by his Brother.

He commeth to battell against the *Soldan*.

Turara.

Amalech.

37. But *Amalech* returning from the enemies whom he had pursued, abode two dayes expecting his Lord, supposing that he had followed after him, as he ought, for the further subduing of his enemies, and the Countrey which they had overcome: till at last, hauing heard of his retrait, leauing his victorie, hee made speed after him; whom hee found on the banke of the River *Euphrates* staying for him. And then the *Tartars* returned to their owne Province. But the King of *Armenia* sustained much losse, and hard aduenture in his returne: for the Horfes of the *Christians* of the Kingdome of *Armenia*, were so wearied and spent with the length of the way, and want of Fodder, that they were not able to trauell, so that the *Christians* going scatteringly by vnusuall wayes, were often found out, and slayne without mercy by the *Saracens* inhabiting those parts: Infomuch that the greatest part of the Armie was lost, and in a manner all the Nobility. And this misaduenture of *Mangodanior* happened in the yeere of our Lord 1282.

The King of *Armenia*, his great losse at his returne.

1282.

Abaga prepa- red his reuenge.

When *Abaga* vnderstood the successe hereof, he assembled all his people, and when hee was readie to set forward with all his power against the *Saracens*, a certaine *Saracen*, the sonne of the Deuill, came to the Kingdome of *Persia*, and preuayled by giuing great gifts to the King that he should serue him.

He is poisoned
with his Bro-
ther.

Tangodor the
brother and
Successor of
Abaga.

Of a Christian
turne: h Sara-
cen.

Hee seeketh
to betray
the Kings of
Armenia and
Georgia.

Hee is accused
to Cobila Can.

He slayeth his
Brother.

Argon of a
Prisoner is
made King.

His reuenge
on Tangodor.

serued neere about *Abaga*, in such sort, that both he and his brother *Mangodanior* were poyso-
ned both in one day: and died both within eight dayes after. The trueth whereof was after-
wards disclosed by the mischieuous Malefactors themselues. And so died *Abaga Can* in the
yeere of our Lord 1282.

37. After the death of *Abaga Can* the *Tartars* assembled themselues, and ordayned ouer
them a brother of his, called *Tangodor*, who had ouergone the rest of his brethren. In his youth
he had receiued the Sacrament of Baptisme, and was baptised by the name of *Nicholas*. But be-
ing come to riper yeeres, and keeping companie with *Saracens*, whom hee loued, hee became a
wicked *Saracen*, and renouncing *Christian* Religion, would be called *Mahomet Can*, and labou-
red by all meanes to turne all the *Tartarians* to that irreligious Sect of *Mahomet* the sonne
of Iniquitie; in such sort, that those that hee could not compell by violence, hee allured by
preferments and rewards: insomuch that in his time many of the *Tartarians* became profes-
sed *Saracens*, as at this day appeareth. This Child of perdition commanded the Churches of the
Christians to be destroyed, and forbade them to vse any of their religious Rites or Ceremonies.
Hee caused the doctrine of *Mahomet* to be publicly preached, the *Christians* to be banished,
and their Churches in the Citie of *Tauris* vtterly to be destroyed. Hee sent Messengers also
to the *Soldan* of *Egypt*, and concluded a Peace and a League with him, promising that all the *Chri-
stians* within his Dominion should become *Saracens*, or else lose their heads, which gaue the *Sa-
racens* cause of much reioycing, and made the *Christians* very sad.

Hee sent moreouer to the King of *Armenia* in *Georgia*, and to the other *Christian* Princes of
those parts to come vnto him without delay. But they resolued rather to die in battell then to
obey his commandement, for other remedie they could finde none. And the *Christians* being
now in such anguish and bitternesse of heart, that they rather desired to die then to liue, euen
God (which neuer refuseth them that put their trust in him) sent consolation to them all. For
a Brother of this *Mahomet*, with a Nephew of his also, called *Argon*, opposing themselues,
and rebelling against him for his euill deeds did signifie to *Cobila Can* the great Emperour of the
Tartarians, how he had forsaken the steps of his Ancestors, and was become a wicked *Saracen*:
labouring with all his might to bring the rest of *Tartars* to be *Saracens* also. Which when, *Co-
bila Can* vnderstood he was much displeased thereat: insomuch that he sent and required *Ma-
homet* to reforme his euill wayes, for otherwise he would proceed against him. Which message
replenished him with wrath and indignation, insomuch that he being perswaded there was none
that durst gainsay his proceedings but his Brother and his Nephew *Argon*, he caused his Brother
to be slayne: and intending the like to his Nephew, he went against him with a mightie Armie.
Argon being not of strength to withstand his forces, betooke himselfe to a strong Hold among
the Mountaines; which that Sonne of Iniquitie besieged with his deuillish Armie.

Argon finally yeelded himselfe, with condition that he might still enioy his Dignitie and Do-
minion. But *Mahomet* deliuered him to the Constable and others of the Nobilitie, to bee kept
in Prison. And departing towards the Citie of *Tauris*, where he left his wiues and children, he
gaue direction that his Armie should come softly after him: but appointed the Constable, and
such as he trusted most, to put his Nephew to death secretly, and to bring him his head. These
things thus hastily ordered and directed, there was amongst those that had receiued the com-
mand of that bloody execution, a man of some Place and Authoritie, brought vp vnder *Abaga*
the Father of *Argon*, who hauing compassion of his distresse, tooke Armes, and in the night
time slue the Constable of *Mahomet* and all his followers, and deliuering *Argon*, made him Lord
and Ruler of all: some for feare, and others for loue being obedient to his will and commande-
ment. *Argon* being thus established, accompanied with his faithfull followers, pursued present-
ly after *Mahomet*, whom he ouertooke and seized on before he came to *Tauris*, and caused him
after their manner, to be cut asunder in the midst. And such was the end of that cursed Caitiffe
Mahomet, before he had sate two yeeres in his seat.

§. IIII.

Of *ARGON* the Sonne of *ABAGA*, and *REGAITO* his Brother; of
BAIDO, and of the exploits of *CASAN* against the
Soldan of *Egypt*, and others.



IN the yeere of our Lord 1285. after the death of *Mahomet*, *Argon* the sonne of *Ab-
ga Can*, would not take on him the title of *Can*, vntill he had receiued commandement
from the great *Can* Soueraigne Lord and Emperour, to whom he dispatched Messen-
gers which were honourably receiued, and entertayned by the great *Can*, who reioy-
ced much of his successe against *Mahomet* and sent some of his great Officers, to confirme *Ar-
gon* in his Dominion, who was thenceforth called *Can*, and much respected of all. For he was
of a goodly aspect and preface, couragious and wise in his proceedings, much regarding and
honou-

Argon is con-
firmed by *Co-
bila Can*.

honouring the *Christians*. The Churches over-throwne by *Mahomet* he repayed. The Kings of *Armenia* and *Georgia*, with the other Christian Princes of the East, came vnto him, desiring his best counsaile, and helpe that the holy Land might be freed from the *Pagans*. *Argon* very graciously answered, That he would gladly doe any thing that might tend to the honour of God, and the aduancement of Christian Religion, and that he intended to make peace with his Neighbours, that hee might the more freely and securely follow that enterprife. But *Argon*, before the execution of these good designments, dyed in the fourth yeere of his raigne. And a Brother of his, called *Regaito*, succeeded him, who was a man of small valour, as shall be after declared.

39. In the yeere of our Lord 1289. after the death of *Argon Can*, his brother *Regaito* was his Successor, being a man of no Religion: in Armes he was of no valour, but was altogether giuen ouer to beastly luxurie, and satiating his insatiable appetite with superfluous meates and drinckes: and did nothing else by the space of six yeeres which he raigne, insomuch that being hated of his subiects and contemned of strangers, he was finally strangled by his Peeres. After whose death *Baydo*, a Kinsman of his succeeded him, who was vpriight and constant in Religion, and did many fauours to the *Christians*, but he soone ended his dayes, as shall be declared.

40. In the yeere of our Lord 1295. after the death of *Regaito*, his Kinsman *Baydo* ruled ouer the *Tartars*. He being a good *Christian* builded the *Christian* Churches, and commanded that none should Preach or publish the Doctrine of *Mahomet* amongst the *Tartarians*. But because those of the Sect of *Mahomet* were many, they could hardly be induced to bee obedient to that commandement of *Baydo*, and therefore sent Messengers secretly to *Casan* the sonne of *Argon*, promising to giue him the Dominion which *Baydo* held, and to make him their Lord and Ruler, if he would renounce the *Christian* Religion. *Casan* caring little for Religion, but greatly affecting Dominion, promised to doe whatsoeuer they would, and so began an open rebellion, whereupon *Baydo* assembled his people, thinking to haue taken *Casan*, not knowing of the Treason which his people had wrought against him. But when they came to the Field, all the *Mahometists* leauing *Baydo*, fled vnto *Casan*, so that *Baydo* being forsaken, thought to haue escaped by flight, yet was pursued and slaine by his Enemies.

41. After the death of *Baydo*; *Casan* being made Ruler ouer the *Tartars*, at the beginning of his raigne, durst not gainsay what hee had promised the *Mahometists* that had promoted him thereto, and therefore shewed himselfe for a while very austere to the *Christians*. But when hee found himselfe well and firmly settled in his Dominion, hee began to honour and cherish the *Christians*, doing them many fauours as shall be declared. First, therefore hee destroyed many great Ones, who had beene perswaders with him to become a *Saracen*, and to persecute the *Christians*. Then hee commanded all the *Tartars* within his Dominion, to bee readie with their Armour and all necessarie furniture, to attend him for a Conquest of the Kingdome of *Egypt*, and ouer-throw of the *Soldan*, and sent to the King of *Armenia*, and the King of *Georgia*, and other Christian Princes of the East in that behalfe. At the beginning of the Spring *Casan* gathered his forces, and first set forward towards *Baldach*: and at length turned towards the Land of *Egypt*. The *Soldan*, called *Melechnaser*, who had long before some intelligence of the coming of the *Tartars*, assembled all his power, and came before the Citie of *Aman*, which is seated in the middest of the Kingdome of *Syria*. *Casan* vnderstanding that the *Soldan* meant to giue him battaile, forbore to besiege any Citie or Castle, but hasted speedily to the place where the *Soldan* was, and pitched his Tents but one dayes iourney from him in certaine Meadowes, where was plentie of forrage and feeding, where he rested his Followers and their Horses which were wearied with their trauell. Amongst whom was a *Saracen*, called *Calphack* (or *Capchick*) who had serued the *Soldan*, and was fled from him to *Casan*, for feare of imprisonment and punishments for his misse-demerits. This *Calphack* had receiued sundrie fauours and rewards of *Casan*, who reposed great confidence in him: yet, like a wicked Traytor, he disclosed the counsaile and purpose of *Casan* to the *Soldan* and *Saracens*, acquainting them by Letters how *Casan* meant to abide in those Meadowes, vntill they had sufficiently rested their Horses which were wondrously wearied, and therefore counsailed the *Soldan* to set vpon him before his Horses were refreshed, whereby he might easily ouer-come the *Tartarians*.

The *Soldan* who thought to haue expected the *Tartars* at the Citie of *Aman*, did hereupon change his resolution, and with a chosen companie hasted with all speede to assaile *Casan* at vnawares. But his Espials and Scouts giuing him notice of their approach. *Casan* commanded his men presently to be set in order and manfully to resist them. He himselfe more bold then a Lion with such companie as hee had about him, rode to meete the *Saracens*, who had approached so neere that they could not auoid the battaile. *Casan* seeing that the residue of his companie were spread so farre abroad in the Countrey for the feeding of their Horses, that they could not suddenly come to him, he commanded those that were with him to dismount from their Horses, and placing them in a Circle, made as it were a Wall of them, and with their Bowes and Arrowes caused his men to expect their Enemies, and not to shoote vntill they were sure to reach them, by which meanes the *Tartars* shooting altogether, wherein they are very skillfull and readie, wounded the foremost Horses of their Enemies in such sort that they fell before the rest, where-

M

by

He dyeth.

Baydo succeedeth him.

The death of *Baydo*.

Casan succeedeth.

Melechnaser the *Soldan*.

Calphacks double dealing.

The *Soldans* sudden on-set.

He dealeth positively.

by the rest following on with great furie, and finding the former ouerthrowne, fell themselves head-long ouer them: insomuch, that of all the *Saracens* there escaped few, which were not either ouerthrowne or else wounded to death, with the Arrowes of the *Tartars*.

The *Soldan* himselfe being in the Armie, fled as fast as hee could, which *Casan* perceiuing, made his men get vp on their Horses, and manfully to set on their Enemies, being himselfe the foremost amongst them that entred the Armie of the *Soldan*, who with some small companie remaining so long, sustayned the brunt, vntill the *Tartars* came in Troupes well ordered to fight, and then came the whole Armie on both sides to battaile, which endured from the Sunne rising till the Ninth houre. But in the end, the *Soldan* with his *Saracens* fled, being not able to withstand the courage of *Casan*, who did wonders with his owne hand, and pursued them with his people, killing on euery side vntill it was darke night, and made so great slaughter of the *Saracens*, that the Earth was couered euery where with their dead carcases. That night *Casan* rested at a place, called *Caneto*, reioycing exceedingly at that great victorie which God had giuen him against the *Saracens*. This fell out in the yeere of our Lord 1301. on the Wednesday before the Feast of the Natiuitie.

42. Then *Casan* sent the King of *Armenia*, and a Leader of the *Tartars*, called *Molay*, with fortie thousand Horse, to pursue the *Soldan* as farre as the Desert of *Egypt*, being twelue dayes journey distant from the place where the battaile was fought, and willed them to expect him or some Messenger from him at the Citie *Gazara*. And they departed speedily before the Sunne rising, to follow after the *Soldan*. But some three dayes after, *Casan* sent for the King of *Armenia* to returne, because he purposed to besiege the Citie of *Damascus*, and willed *Molay* with the fortie thousand *Tartars* to pursue with speede after the *Saracens*, and to put what hee could take to the sword. Yet the *Soldan* himselfe flying very swiftly, and riding on Dromedaries both night and day, in the conduct and companie of certaine *Beduini*, escaped into the Citie of *Babylon* very strangely. But others of the *Saracens* fled seuerall wayes, as they thought they could best saue themselves, and a great number of them going by the way of *Tripolis*, were slaine by the *Christians*, which inhabited the Mountayne of *Libanus*. The King of *Armenia* returning to *Casan*, found that the Citie of *Aman* had yeelded vnto him, so that the whole treasure of the *Soldan*, and his Armie was brought into his presence: which was so great that euery one maruailed, why the *Soldan* carried so much treasure with him when he went to fight. *Casan*, when he had gathered together all the riches and spoiles which they had gotten, bestowed them bountifully amongst the *Tartars*, and the *Christians* his followers, whereby they were all made rich.

And Friar *Haytho*, the Compiler of this Historie, who was present in all Expeditions and Battailles, which the *Tartars* had with the *Soldan*, from the time of *Halo* to this day, yet did I neuer see nor heare that any of the *Tartarian* Lords accomplished more in two dayes then did *Casan*. For the first day, with a small companie of his owne, he ouer-came a great Armie of his Enemies, and did such exploits in his Person, that he wanne fame and commendations aboue all the rest. On the second day, such was his largesse, and so great this liberalitie of his heart, that of all the infinite wealth and treasure which hee got, hee kept nothing for himselfe, but a Sword and a Purse, in which was contayned certaine writings concerning the Land of *Egypt*, and the number of the *Soldans* Armie. And this was most maruailous aboue all the rest, how in so little a body, and of so bad presence (for he seemed like a Monster) there could be so much vertue and rigour contayned: for among neere two hundred thousand Souldiers, there could hardly one of lesse stature, or of worse aspect be found. Therefore, because this *Casan* liued in our time, it is fitting wee made the more ample narration of his Acts. And in regard that the *Soldan* who was ouerthrowne by *Casan*, is yet liuing at the writing of this Historie, they which intend to destroy, or any wayes to endamage the *Saracens*, may receiue many aduertisements out of these Collections.

After some few dayes rest, *Casan* directed his course towards the Citie of *Damascus*: where the Citizens hearing of his approach, and fearing lest if hee tooke them by force, they should die without mercy, by the aduice of the wisest amongst them, sent with one consent their Messengers vnto him with offer of their Citie, which hee willingly accepted, and after a while rode towards the Riuer of *Damascus*, on whose Bankes hee pitched his Tents, forbidding any damage to be done to the Citie. Then the Citizens sent him diuers gifts, and plentie of victuals for his Armie. There *Casan* made his abode fise and fortie dayes with all his Followers, except those fortie thousand *Tartars* which were sent with *Molay*, who stayed his coming at the Citie of *Gaccara*.

43. While *Casan* reposed himselfe neere *Damasco*, there came newes vnto him, how a Kinsman of his called *Baydo*, had entred into the Kingdome of *Persia*, and committed great spoile there in his absence: and thereupon hee resolved to returne to his owne. Leauing therefore his chiefe Captaine *Cotolusa*, with part of his Armie for the custodie of the Kingdome of *Syria* (whom hee willed *Molay* and the rest of the *Tartars* to be obedient vnto as to his Lieutenant) he set Rulers and Gouvernours ouer all the Cities, and committed the government of *Damascus* to the Traytor *Calfach*, being not yet acquainted with his trayterous disposition. Then calling to

He ouer-cometh.

Caneto.

Gazara.

Beduines are wilde Arabs.

Aman yeelded. Aytan present at these and the other Expeditions, from Halo to till this time.

Casan's dwarfish stature and ill-fauoured feature.

1307.

Cotolusa.

to him the King of *Armenia*, and acquainting him with his purpose, hee told him that hee would willingly haue deliuered the Lands which hee had conquered into the *Christians* hands, if they had come to him, and that if they came hee would giue order to *Cotolusa* to restore them the Lands which they had formerly holden: and to yeeld them conuenient supply for the repaying of their Castles and Fortresses. These things thus ordered, *Casan* tooke his journey towards *Mesopotamia*, but when hee came to the Riuer *Euphrates*, hee sent word to *Cotolusa*, that leauing twentie thousand *Tartars* vnder the command of *Molay*, hee should come speedily to him with the rest of the Armie. *Cotolusa* did as was commanded him, so that *Molay* remayned Lieutenant in *Syria* for *Casan*, who est-soones by perswasion of the

Calfachs treason.

10 Traitor *Calfach*, remoued towards the parts about *Ierusalem*, to a place called *Gaur*, to finde good feeding and prouision for his Horses.

Gaur.

But in the Sommer time, *Calfach* (who had formerly hatched Treason in his heart against *Casan*, sent word secretly to the *Soldan*, that hee would restore him *Damascus*, with the other Townes which *Casan* had taken. The *Soldan* liked hereof, and couenanted to giue him *Damasco* in perpetuall keeping, and part of his treasure with his siter to wife. Insomuch, that shortly after, *Calfach* became Rebell, and caused all the strong places to rebell against the *Tartars*, bearing themselves bold on the heate of Sommer, in which they knew the *Tartars* could not ride nor yeeld any aide vnto their friends. When *Molay* perceiued that they rebelled euery where, hee durst not stay any longer with so small a companie, but tooke the shortest way

view

20 towards the Kingdome of *Mesopotamia*, and signified thence to *Casan* all that had hapned in the Kingdome of *Syria*. Who seeing hee could not any way redresse it at that season, by reason of heate, yet when the Winter approached, hee made very great preparation on the bankes of the Riuer *Euphrates*, and sent ouer *Cotolusa* before with thirtie thousand *Tartarian* Horse-men, directing him that when hee came to the parts of *Antiochia*, hee should call vnto him the King of *Armenia*, and the other *Christians* of the East, and of *Cyprus*, and with that strength should enter into the Kingdome of *Syria*, whiles hee prepared to come after with the strength of his Armie. *Cotolusa* did as hee was commanded, and with his thirtie thousand *Tartars* went forwards till hee came to *Antioch*, and then sent to the King of *Armenia*, who came vnto him with his Armie. The *Christians* also in the Kingdome of *Cyprus* hauing

view

30 heard of the comming of *Cotolusa*, came speedily with their Gallies and other Vessels to the Ile called *Anterada*, among whom was the Lord *Tyron* brother to the King of *Cyprus*, Master of the Hospitall of the Temple, with their Brethren of their Societie. And these being all ready to vnder-goe the seruice of Christ, there came a rumour that *Casan* was dangerously sicke, that men dispayred of his recouerie. Whereupon *Cotolusa* with his *Tartars* returning towards *Casan*, the King of *Armenia* returned also into his Countrey; and the *Christians* at the Ile of *Anterada* to the Kingdome of *Cyprus*, by which meanes the businesse of the Holy Land was vicerly abandoned, which happened in the yeere of our Lord 1301.

Tyron.

Again, in the yeere of our Lord 1303, *Casan* assembling a mightie Armie, came with great preparation to the Riuer *Euphrates*, intending to enter into the Kingdome of *Syria*, and there

Casan reneweth the warre of Syria.

40 to destroy the whole Sect of *Mahomet*; and to restore the Holy Land to the *Christians*. But the *Saracens* fearing the comming of *Casan*, and doubting that they should not be able to withstand him when they had reaped and gathered their Corne and other fruits of the Earth, and had housed their cattell in strong holds, they set fire on the rest, that the *Tartars* when they came might not find victuals for themselves, nor for forrage for their beasts. When *Casan* vnderstood what the *Agarens* had done, and how they had waited all the Land, considering that his horses could not there be fed nor sustayned, he resolved to remayne that Winter vpon the bankes of the Riuer *Euphrates*, and to beginne his Journey at the beginning of the Spring, when the grasse began to sproute. For the *Tartars* are euery more carefull of their Horses then of themselves, being contented with the smallest pittance of any kind of nourishment for themselves.

The Saracens burne and waste their owne Countrey.

50 Then *Casan* sent for the King of *Armenia*, who came to him without delay, and lodged himselfe on the Riuer. *Casan* extended three dayes Journey in length euen from a certayne Castle called *Cacabe*, to another Castle called *Bir*, which Castles appertayned to the *Saracens*; yet yeelded without any assault vnto *Casan*. But while *Casan* abode there, expecting the conuenient season for effecting his desire on the *Saracens*, and to deliuer the Holy Land out of their hands, the Deuil cast a new Obstacle in his way, for he had newes againe that *Baydo* had entred, and made more spoyles on his Land then before; so that it was necessary for him to returne to his owne, whereat being much grieued, in respect that he was constrained so long to delay the businesse of the Holy Land, he commanded his Captayne *Cotolusa* with fortie thousand *Tartars* to enter into the Kingdome of *Syria*, and to take *Damasco*, and kill all the *Saracens*; and that the King of *Armenia* should ioine his people with *Cotolusa*. *Casan* then returned into *Persia*.

Cacabe. Bir.

Baydo rebelleth againe.

Cotolusa the third time Lieutenant of Syria.

60 *Cotolusa* and the King besieged the Citie *Aman*: and hauing certayne Intelligence that the *Soldan* was at the Citie *Gazara*, and would not stirre from thence, they tooke it by assault putting all the *Saracens* one with another to the sword. There they found great store of wealth and munition.

Aman taken.

*Damascus
sieged.*

*The obstinacie
of Cotuloffa.*

*The Soldan a
wary Warrior.*

*Cotuloffa his
fruitlesse at-
tempt.*

*The Tartars in-
dangered by
the waters.*

*He aydeth him
with men and
money.*

Thence they went to the Citie of *Damascus* to besiege it, but the Citizens sent their Mes-
sengers, desiring a Truce for three dayes which was granted them. The Scouts of the *Tartars* be-
ing almost a dayes Journey beyond *Damascus*; tooke certayne *Saracens* whom they sent to *Co-
tuloffa* that he might examine them. *Cotuloffa* being aduertized by these that there were about
twelue thousand *Saracens* Horsemen; within two dayes Journey from thence, which expected
daily the comming of the *Soldan*. He rode presently with all speed, hoping to take them at vn-
awares: But it was almost night before *Cotuloffa* and the King of *Armenia* could reach thither,
and they had Intelligence that the *Soldan* was come newly before them. Therefore being decei-
ued of their expectation to assaile those twelue thousand alone, some aduised them for the best
to repose themselves that night being now somewhat late; and to set vpon the Enemy in the
morning. But *Cotuloffa* despising the *Soldan*, and his people would not hearken to any aduice,
but commanded his Armie to bee forthwith put in order: which the *Saracens* perceiuing, kept
their standing, being on the one side fenced with a Lake, and with a Mountayne on another side,
and knowing that the *Tartars* could not come to assault them without danger, they would not
goe forth to fight, but remayned in the place where they were, and when the *Tartars* thought
without any impediment to haue assailed their Enemies; they found a small Riuer betwene
them, which in some places had no passage ouer: by meanes whereof much time was spent be-
fore they could passe ouer the Riuer; but after they had passed the greatest part over the Riuer,
they set manfully on their Enemies. Yet the *Soldan* stood still and would not remoue from the
place he was in; betwixt the Lake and the Mountayne; which *Cotuloffa* perceiuing because the
darke night approached he withdrew his company for that night and lodged them neere the
Mountayne, only about a thousand *Tartars*, which could not passe the Riuer, were not with him
that night. The day comming, the *Tartars* againe couragiously set vpon the *Soldan*; but as before,
he would by no meanes come forth to fight, but defended himselfe in that place of aduantage.
So the *Tartars* continuing their assault from the morning vntill the ninth houre, being thirstie
and ouer-wearie for lacke of water they retired themselves in good order, leauing the *Soldan*
and came to the Plaine of *Damascus*, where they had plentie of pasture and water at will,
where they determined to abide vntill they had sufficiently reposited themselves and their
Horses.

But the Inhabitants knowing, that the Armie of the *Tartars* was spread abroad in that
Plaine, opened the Sluces of the Riuer in the night-time, whereby the waters rose so high in
eight houres ouer all the Plaine, that the *Tartars* were constrained on the sudden to arise and de-
part, so that the night being darke, and the Ditches all-filled with water, and no wayes nor
pathes to be seene, they were all amazed in such sort that many Horses perished, and much Ar-
mour was lost, insomuch, that the King of *Armenia* endured much losse, yet the day comming
through the goodnesse of God, they escaped the waters, but the Bowes and Arrowes of the
Tartars being their chiefe weapons which they vse, and the rest of their Armour being all wet
and vtterly vnersuiceable, they were so astonied therewith, that if their Enemies had then pur-
sued them, they might haue bene taken or slaine. Afterwards, the *Tartars* by reason that ma-
ny had lost their Horses, returned softly by small Iournies to the bankes of the Riuer *Euphrates*,
yet none of their Enemies durst follow or pursue them, but the Riuer being risen and swolne
through the abundance of raine that fell, many of the *Armenians*, as also of *Georgians*, perished
therein, more then of the *Tartars*, whose Horses knew better to swimme: so returned they in-
to *Persia* ruined and disgraced, not by the power of the Enemy, but by accident partly, partly
by euill aduice. A great cause whereof was the obstinacie of *Cotuloffa*, who would not regard any
aduice that was given, for if he would haue harkened to the counsell of the wise, he might easily
haue preuented those dangers.

And I *Frier Haytho* the Compiler of this Historie, was present at all these proceedings: and
if happily I create more largely thereof then shall be thought conuenient. I craue pardon in re-
gard that I doe it to this end, that on like occasions happening these courses may bee called to
minde. For these actions that are ordered by counsell, haue commonly good and commenda-
ble euents, but the rash and improuident Enterprizes, doe vsually faile of their wished successe.
After that the King of *Armenia* had passed the Riuer *Euphrates* with some losse, he resolved to
goe to *Casan* before he returned to his Kingdome of *Armenia*; and therefore hee went streight to
the Citie of *Ninie* in which *Casan* then resided. He entertayned the King with much honour,
kindnesse, and magnificence, and being compassionate of his losses to make him some recompence
of especiall fauour vnto him, he granted him a thousand *Tartarians*, continually in pay at his
charge for the defence of his Kingdome, and also granted him out of the Kingdome of *Turkie*, a
yeerely pension, for the maintenance of another thousand *Armenian* Horsemen yeerely at his
pleasure, the King thus recompenced, hauing taken his leaue, returned to the Kingdome of *Ar-
menia*, which *Casan* had enioyned him to watch warily ouer, vntill God pleased to enable him
personally to goe to the reliefe of the Holy Land.

¶ V.

CASAN dyeth, CARBANDA succeedeth; his Apostasie. The Authors
entrance into a Religious Habit. Of TAMOR Can the sixth Empe-
rour, and of CHAPAR, HOCHTAI, and CAR-
BANDA, three other Tartarian
Kings.

10 **H**He King of Armenia returned safely to his Kingdome, but after hee came thither hee found little rest there, for after it so pleased God, that Casan was surprized with a grievous infirmitie, and hauing gouerned wisely in his life, hee was no lesse willing that his wisdom should be commended in his death. Therefore hee made his last Will and Testament, appointing his Brother Carbanda (or Carbaganda) his Heire and Successor and hauing ordered all things concerning the Affaires of his Kingdome and his House in prudent manner, he made many good Ordinances and Lawes which for a memoriall he left behind him, being at this day inuolably obserued by the Tartarians. Then dyed Casan, and his Brother Carbanda succeeded in his Kingdome.

Carbanda his Successor.

20 This Carbanda was the Sonne of a Ladie of famous memorie, called Eroccaton, who was very deuout and religious in Christianitie, while she liued, and had euery day Diuine Seruice celebrated before her, keeping a Priest and Chappell of her owne, so that this Carbanda was baptized and named Nicholas in his Baptisme, and continued a professed Christian as long as his Mother liued. But after his Mothers death, delighting in the societie of Saracens, he forsooke the Christian Religion to become a Mahometist. The King of Armenia vnderstanding of the death of Casan, was much troubled therewith, and his Enemies began to lift vp their Crests very high. For the Soldan of Babylon thereupon sought by all meanes to endamage him and his people, sending all the yeare almost euery moneth great troupes of armed Souldiers, which foraged and wasted the Kingdome of Armenia, and did more damage and spoyle on the plaine Countrey

30 then they had euer sustayned before in any mans memorie. But the Almighty and most mercifull God who neuer forsaketh altogether those that put their trust in him, had compassion on the poore afflicted Christians: for it fell out that in the moneth of Iuly, seuen thousand Saracens of the best Families vnder the Soldan, made a roade into the Kingdome of Armenia, wasting and spoiling all as farre as the Citie of Tharsus, in which the blessed Apostle Saint Paul was borne, and when they had committed many spoyles in that Prouince, and were vpon their retorne, the King of Armenia, hauing gathered his people together, encountred and set vpon them neere the Citie of Giazza, where more by Gods goodnesse then our worth, they were vtterly overthrowne in such sort, that of seuen thousand Saracens there escaped not three hundred, but were either taken or slaine, albeit they thought in their Pride, they could haue ouer-runne the

The Soldan maketh roades into Armenia.

40 whole Kingdome of Armenia, and deuoure all the Christians there at a morsell. This was performed on the Lords Day, being the eighteenth of Iuly, after which conflict, the Saracens durst no more enter into the Kingdome of Armenia. But the Soldan sent to the King of Armenia to make truce with him, which was agreed betweene them.

The King of Armenia ouerthroweth his Enemies.

The Victorie brings peace.

46. I Frier Haythou, hauing beene present at all the said proceedings, had purposed long before to haue taken a Regular Habit vpon me, and to haue entred into Religion. But by reason of many impediments and difficulties in the Affaires of the Kingdome of Armenia, I could not with my honour forsake my friends and kindred in such extremities. But seeing that Gods goodnesse had beene so gracious vnto me, as to leaue the Kingdome of Armenia, and the Christian people there after my manifold labours and trauels in quiet, and peaceable estate, I then tooke the time to performe that Vow which before I had vowed. Therefore hauing taken my leave of my Lord the King, and of the rest of my kindred and friends, euen in that field where God gaue the Christians Victorie over their Enemies, I beganne my Iourney, and comming to Cyprus in the Monasterie of Episcopia, tooke a Regular Habit of the Order Premonstratensis, to the end that hauing serued the World as a Souldier in my youth, I might spend the rest of my life in the Service of God, forsaking the pompe of this World, which was in the yeere of our Lord 1305. Therefore I render thanks vnto God, that the Kingdome of Armenia, is at this day in a good and peaceable estate, and well reformed by the Moderne King Liouono, Sonne to King Haythou, who is a Looking-glasse or patterne to all other Kings in all kinde of eminent vertue.

The Author of himselfe.

He taketh the Habit of a Premonstratensis. An. Dom. 1305.

60 Moreouer, the Compiler of this Worke affirmeth, that he hath come three manner of wayes to the knowledge of those things which hee declareth and writeth in this Booke. For from the beginning of Changins Can, who was the first Emperour of the Tartars vntill Mango Can, who was their fourth Emperour, I faithfully deliuer what I gathered out of the Histories of the Tartarians. But from Mango Can to the deh of Haloon, I write, that which I receiued of an

The credit of this Historie.

Vncle of mine, who writ the same by the commandement of *Haiton* King of *Armenia*, and was present then at all the foresaid occurrences, and with great diligence did often discourse & make rehearfall of them to his Sonnes and Nephewes, that they might remayne the better to Posteritie, and from the beginning of *Abaga Can* to the end of this third part of this Booke, the Author relateth those things which hee knew of himselfe, as hauing bene present at them all, whereby he is enabled to giue testimonie of the truth. Now albeit we haue hitherto treated of the Histories and Deeds of the *Tartarians*, there remaineth yet somewhat to be said concerning their Power and Dominion, especially of those that are now liuing, that it may the better bee knowne.

Tamor Can.

Long, or Ions,
see *sup. 19. §. 1.*

Three inferior
Kings of the
Tartars.

Chapar.
Hochlai.
Carbanda.
Chapar.

Hochtay, of wh^o
came the *Za-*
gatai Tartars,
and *Tamerlane.*
* That is the
Huns of whom
the *Hungarians*
had originall.
Carbanda.

The diuision of
Asia.

The *Derbent.*
The Citie cal-
led the *Iron*
Gate.

The Birds cal-
led *Seyferach.*

47. The great Emperour of the *Tartars* which now holdeth the Empire, is called *Tamor Can*, 10
being their sixt Emperour, who keepeth his Residence in the Kingdome of *Cathay*, in a very
great City called *Long*, which his Father caused to be built, as is aboue declared, his power is ve-
ry great. For this Emperour alone is able to doe more then all the *Tartarian* Princes together, and
the Nations vnder his gouernment are reputed more noble and rich, and better stored of all ne-
cessaries, because that in the Kingdome of *Cathay*, in which they now liue, there is great abun-
dance of riches.

Besides this great Emperour, there are three other great Kings or Princes of the *Tartars*,
which rule each of them ouer many Nations, yet are they all subiect to the Emperour, and ac-
knowledge him their naturall and Leige Lord. And the differences which happen betweene
them are decided in the Emperours Court, and determined by his Iudgement. The first of these 20
Kings is called *Chapar*, another *Hochtay*, and the third *Carbanda*. This *Chapar* hath his Domi-
nion in the Kingdome of *Turquestan*, being the neereft to the Emperour. It is thought that he is
able to bring into the field foure hundred thousand Horsemen, and these are bold and good War-
riours, but not so well furnished of Horse and Armour as were expedient. The Emperours sub-
iects doe many times make warre vpon them, and they on the other side doe often inuade the
people of *Carbanda*. The Dominion of this *Chapar* was in ancient time subiect for the greatest
part to a Lord called *Doay*.

Hochtay keepeth his Seat of Residence in the Kingdome of *Cumania*, in a Citie called *Asaro*,
(or *Sara*) and it is said, that he is able to bring six hundred thousand Horsemen to the fight, yet
are they not so much commended in Feats of Armes, as the men of *Chapar*, albeit they haue bet- 30
ter Horses. These make warre sometimes on the Subiects of *Carbanda*, sometimes against the
Hungarians, and sometimes amongst themselves. But *Hochtay* who ruleth at this present hol-
deth his Dominion peaceably and quietly.

Carbanda hath his Dominion in the Kingdome of *Asia* the Great, and maketh his chiefe a-
bode in the Citie of *Tauris*, being able to bring three hundred thousand Horsemen to the field.
But these are gathered out of diuers parts being rich and well furnished with necessities. *Cha-*
par and *Hochtay* doe sometimes make warre vpon *Carbanda*, but hee neuer medleth first with
them: neither moueth warres against any but that he sometimes inuadeth the *Soldan* of *Egypt*:
against whom his Predecessors haue fought many Battailles. *Chapar* and *Hochtay* would willing-
ly take from *Carbanda* his Dominion, if they were able to effect it.

The reason whereof is this, *Asia* is diuided into two parts, the one part whereof being called 40
the *Lower or Deepe Asia*, is inhabited by the Emperour, and those two Kings called *Chapar*
and *Hochtay*. The other part being the higher, is called *Asia the Greater*, in which *Carbanda* inha-
biteth and hath Dominion. Now there are only three wayes by which men may passe out of the
Deeper or Lower Asia, vnto the high Countrey called *Asia Maior*. The one is out of the King-
dome of *Turquestan*, to the Kingdome of the *Persians*; another way there is called *Derbent*,
which lyeth neere the Sea where *Alexander* built the Citie called the *Iron Gate*, as in the Histo-
ries of *Cumania* appeares; the other way is to goe ouer the Sea, called *Mare mainus*, which way
lyeth through the Kingdome of *Barca*. By the first way the subiects of *Chapar* cannot passe to
the Territories of *Carbanda*, without great danger and difficultie, because they should find no
feeding for their Horses in many dayes trauailes, the Land being so dry and barren, that before 50
they could come to any fruitfull inhabited Countrey, their Horses would be starued, or at least
so faint and wearied that they might be easily overcome, and therefore that way they will not
take. By the way of *Derbent* the people of *Hochtay* may passe into the Countrey of *Carbanda*,
only fixe moneths in the yeare, which is in the Winter time. But that way *Abaga* hath caused
great Trenches and Fortifications to bee made in a place called *Ciba*: and is alwayes kept and
especially in the Winter with a Garrison of armed men to defend the passage. The people of
Hochtay haue assayed many times to passe that way by stealth and secretly: but they neuer
could, neither can by any meanes doe: for in a Plaine called *Monga*, there are alwayes in the
Winter time certaine Birds about the bignesse of Pheasants hauing very faire feathers to behold, 60
and these Birds (which are called *Seyferach*) when any people come into that Plaine, straight
flye away ouer those Watchmen and their Trenches, whereby the Souldiers there are eft-soones
assured of the comming of their Enemies, and preuent the surprize: and by the way of the Sea
called *Mare mainus*, they neuer attempted because that way goeth through the Kingdome of
Barca

Barca, which is so mightie in people and so strongly situated, that they are without hope to preuaile there, and by meanes hereof hath *Carbanda* and his Predecessors beene secured from the power of so potent Neighbours. Now we will briefly say somewhat of the manners and fashions of the *Tartars*.

Barca in the Latine Copie is called *Abcas*.

48. The *Cataians* do so much differ from other Nations in their fashions and manner of living, that it were tedious to treat of the manifold diueritie and strange varietie found amongst them. They acknowledge and confesse one Immortall God, and they call vpon his Name: yet they neither fast nor pray, nor any wayes afflict nor humble themselves, for feare or reuerence of him, nor doe any good workes. The killing of men they hold to bee no sinne: but if they happen to leave their Bridle in their horse-mouth when hee should feed, they thinke therein they offend God mortally. Fornication and Letherie is held by them as no sinne. They marrie many wiues, and the custome is, that the Sonne must marrie his Step-mother after the death of his Father: and the Brother is married to his Brothers Wife after his decease. In matter of Armes they are very good, and more obedient to their Superiour then other Nations are: and doe easily know by certaine signes in Battaille the will of their Commander: whereby the Armie of *Tartarians* is easily ruled and commanded. Their Lord bestoweth not any stipend on them, but they liue on hunting and such prey as they can get: and their Lord may take from them when hee list whatsoever they haue.

The Religion of the *Cataians*, or *Tartarians* of those parts, Impunitie of Manslaughter.

Polygamic.

Warfare.

When the *Tartars* ride vpon any enterprize, they take with them great store of Horse, drinking their Milke, and feeding on their flesh which they reckon very good food. The *Tartars* are very readie and excellent Archers on horse-backe, but on foot they are but slow, they are dexterous and ingenious in taking of Cities and Castles, and are for the most part victorious over their Enemies; yet will they not forbear to turne their backs in the skirmish if it be for their aduantage. And this aduantage they haue in the field that they will fight with the Enemies when they list themselves, and yet they cannot be compelled to fight but at their pleasure. Their manner of fight is very dangerous, so that in one conflict or skirmish of the *Tartars* there are more slaine and wounded then in any great Battaille of other Nations, which hapneth by reason of their Arrowes, which they shoot strongly, and surely out of their Bowes; being indeed so skilfull in the arte of shooting, that they commonly pierce all kind of Armour, and if they happen to be routed, yet they flye in troupes and bands so well ordered, that it is very dangerous to follow or pursue them, because they shoot their Arrowes backwards in their flight, wounding and killing oft-times both men and horses that pursue them.

Eating of Horse-flesh.

Their Hospitality.

Delight in lying.

The Armie of the *Tartars* maketh no great shew, because they goe trooping close together, so that an Armie of one thousand *Tartars* will scarce seeme five hundred. The *Tartarians* doe courteously entertayne strangers, giuing them part of their Viands, and expect the like offers to bee made them, for otherwise they will take it by violence. They are much more skilfull in conquering of Countries then in keeping of them. When they are weake they are humble and gentle; stout and proud when they are growne the stronger. They cannot endure lying in other men, yet themselves are much giuen to lying, vnlesse it be in two especiall things. The one being in matter of Armes, in which none dareth affirme, that he did any exploit which was not done by him, or denie any faire Act which hee hath committed: The other is, That whosoever hath done any offence, though it deserueth death, he confesseth it presently to his Lord if he be examined thereon. This may suffice at this time, concerning the manners of the *Tartars*, because it were long to rehearse all the different customes and kinds of behauiour.

The other Chapters which follow, pertayning rather to aduice fitting those Times, and the holy Land affaires, then the *Tartarian* Historie, I haue omitted. And in the next place will present some Extracts of our Countreiman, that famous Traueller Sir Iohn Mandevile, whose Geographie Ortelius commendeth, howsoeuer he acknowledgeth his Worke stuffed with Fables. For my part, I cannot but deplore the losse of such a Treasure, but know not how to recover or repaire it (as Ramusio hath done for Polo) and here haue beene forced to deale with him, as Historians doe with our famous Arthur, daring to say little, because others haue dared so much and such incredibilities. For his merit, and for his Nation I haue giuen a touch of him, these few Latine Extracts; referring him that hath a minde to reade him, to Master Hakluits first Edition of his Voyages, where his storie in Latine is to be seene at large. I suspect that some later Fabler out of the Tales of Ogerus the Dane hath stuffed this storie; some of which, for a taste, I haue here left remayning; not that I take pleasure in lyes, but that thou maist see, from what Fountayne I suppose this corruption flowed: and in that mistie Age (when humaner learning was inhumanely imprisoned, and Diuine Scripture was vulgarly buried, and Printing not at all borne) what Huskes poore Christian Prodigals (prodigall to beleene such lyes) were fed with in stead of Bread; not onely in the Church by Legends, but in their priuate studies, by Archurs, Orlandos, Benifes, Guyes, Robin Hoods, Palmerins, and I know not what monstrous changeling-births of Historie. Such was this Ogerus: and in great part such was Odericus a Friar and Traueller, in whom perhaps some Friar hath trauelled, with him at least in this Author (whose age was before him, and therefore could not cite ought out of him.) Neither is it for nothing (though for worse then nothing, a lye is both) that Friars are in this storie so often mentioned and praised: I smell a Friars (Lyars) hand in this businesse. Our Man.

Ogerus a Dane, of whom they write that hee conquered India, &c.

Odericus in M. Hak. publish. d.

Mandevile travelled from Ierusalem beyond Ierico, from Christendome to remotest Ethnikes, and hath fallen among Theeves: The Friarly Priest and Leuite not onely neglected him, but I am afraid played the Theeves thus to rob and wound him; wayming the two former parts, and juggling in the third, which I have therefore chopped off; not daring in the former but with the Nilus Dogge to taste and away, for feare of a false Crocodile. Here you may finde lyes by retaile efficta, afficta, affixa, to this Mandevile; who there, is made a maunde vile full of such pealerie, unworthy thy sight.

CHAP. VI.

Briefe Collections of the Trauels and Observations of Sir Iohn Mandevile; written by Master BALE, Cent. 6.



Mandevile, Knight, borne in the Towne of Saint Albons, was so well giuen to the studie of Learning from his childhood, that he seemed to plant a good part of his felicitie in the same: for he supposed that the honour of his birth would nothing auaille him, except hee could render the same more honorable by his knowledge in good Letters. Hauing therefore well grounded himselfe in Religion by reading the Scriptures, he applied his studies to the Art of Physick, a Profession worthy a noble wit: but amongst other things, hee was rauished with a mightie desire to see the greater parts of the World, as Asia and Africa. Hauing therefore provided all things necessarie for his iourney, hee departed from his Countrey in the yeere of Christ 1332. and as another Ulysses returned home, after the space of foure and thirtie yeeres, and was then knowne to a very few. In the time of his trauaile he was in Scythia, the greater and lesse Armenia, Egypt, both Lybias, Arabia, Syria, Media, Mesopotamia, Persia, Chaldaea, Greece, Illyrium, Tartarie, and diuers other Kingdomes of the World: and hauing gotten by this meanes the knowledge of the Languages, left so many and great varieties, and things miraculous, whereof himselfe had beene an eye witnesse, should perish in obliuion, hee committed his whole Trauell of three and thirtie yeeres to writing in three diuers Tongues, English, French, and Latine. Being arriued againe in England, and hauing seene the wickednesse of that Age, hee gaue out this speech: In our time (said hee) it may bee spoken more truly then of old, that Vertue is gone, the Church is vnder foot, the Clergie is in error, the Deuill raigneth, and Simonie beareth the sway, &c. Hee dyed at Leege, in the yeere 1372. the 17. day of Nouember, being there buried in the Abbey of the Order of the Guilielmites.

The Tombe and Epitaph of Sir Iohn Mandevile, in the Citie of Leege, spoken of by Ortelius, in his Booke called Itinerarium Belgia, in this sort.

Magna & populosa Leodij suburbia, ad collum radices, in quorum iugis multa sunt, & pulcherrima Monasteria, inter qua magnificum illud, ac nobile D. Laurentio dicarum, ab Raginardo Episcopo. Est in hac quoque Regione, vel suburbijs Leodij, Guilielmitarum Canobium, in quo Epitaphium hoc Ioannis à Mandeville, excepiimus.

Epitaphium.

Hic jacet vir nobilis, D. Ioannes de Mandeville, aliter dictus ad Barbam, Miles, Dominus de Campdi, natus de Anglia, Medicinæ Professor, deuotissimus, orator, & bonorum largissimus pauperibus erogator, qui toto quasi orbe lustrato, Leodij diem vitæ suæ clausit extremum. Anno Dom. 1371. Mensis Nouembris, die 17.

Hec in lapide: in quo calata viri armati imago, Leonem calcantis, barba bifurcata, ad caput manus benedicens, & vernacula hæc verba: Vos qui paleis for mi, pour l'amour deix proies por mi. Clipens erat vacuum, in quo olim fuisse dicebant laminam aream, & eius in ea itidem calata insignia, Leonem videlicet argenteum, cui ad pectus lunula rubra in campo caruleo, quem Limbus ambiret denticulatus ex auro. Eius nobis ostendebant, & cultros, ephipiag, & calcaria quibus usum fuisse asserabant, in peragrande toto fere terrarum orbe, ut clarius testatur eius Itinerarium, quod typis etiam excusum passim habetur.

Epistola.

Principi Excellentissimo, præ cunctis mortalibus præcipue venerando, Domino Edwardo ejus nominis Tertio, diuina prouidentia, Francorum & Anglorum Regi Serenissimo, Hi-bernæ Domino, Aquitanie Duci, mari ac eius Insulis Occidentalibus dominanti, Christianorum encomio & ornatui, vniuersorumque arma gerentium Tutori, ac Probitatis & strenuitatis exemplo Principi quoque inuicti, mirabilis Alexandri Sequaci, ac vniuerso Orbi tremendo, cum reuerentia non qua decet, cum ad talem, & tantam reuerentiam minus sufficientes extiterint, sed qua paruitas, & possibilitas mittentis ac offerentis se extendunt, contenta tradantur.

Cum

Cum terra Hierosolymitana, terra promissionis filiorum Dei, dignior cunctis mundi terris sit habenda multis ex causis, & præcipue illa, quod Deus conditor cæli & mundi, ipsam tanti dignatus fuit estimare, ut in eo proprium filium Salvatorem mundi Christum exhiberet generi humano per incarnationem ex intemerata Virgine, & per eius conversationem humillimam in eadem, ac per dolorosam mortis sue consummationem ibidem, atq; inde per eius admirandam Resurrectionem, ac Ascensionem in cælum, & postremo quia creditur illic in fine sæculi reuersurus, & omnia iudicaturus: certum est, quod ab omnibus qui Christiano nomine à Christo dicuntur, sit tanquam à suis proprijs heredibus diligenda, & pro cuiusq; potestate ac modulo honoranda. Verum quia iam nostris temporibus verius quam olim dici potest, Virtus, Ecclesia, Clerus, Dæmon, Simonia, Cessat, calcatur, errat, regnat, dominatur, ecce iusto Dei iudicio, credita est terra tam inchoata, & Sacrosancta impiorum manibus Saracenorum, quod non est absq; dolore pjs mentibus audiendum, & recolendum. Ego Ioannes Mandeuil militaris ordinis saltem gerens nomen, natus & educatus in terra Angliæ, in Villa Sancti Albani, ducebar in Adolescentiam tali inspiratione, ut quamuis non per potentiam, nec per vires proprias possem præfatam terram suis heredibus recuperare, irem tamen per aliquod temporis spacium peregrinari ibidem, & salutarem aliquantulum de propinquo. Unde in Anno ab Incarnatione Domini 1322. imposui me navigationi Martiliensis maris & usq; in hoc temporis, Anni 1355. scilicet, per 33. annos in transmarinis partibus mansi, peregrinatus sum, ambulavi, & circuiui multas, ac diversas Patrias, Regiones, Prouincias, & Insulas, Turciam, Armeniam maiorem & minorem, Ægyptum, Lybiam bassam & altam, Syriam, Arabiam, Persiam, Chaldeam, Æthiopix partem magnam, Tartariam, Amazoniam, Indiam maiorem, & mediam, ac partem magnam de maiori, & in istis, & circum istas Regiones, multas Insulas, Cuitates, Kybes, Castra, Villas, & loca, ubi habitant variæ gentes, aspectuum, morum, legum acritum diuersorum: Attamen quia summo desiderio in terra promissionis eram, ipsam diligentius, per loca vestigiorum filij Dei perlustrare curavi, & diutius in illa steti. Quapropter & in hac prima parte huius operis iter tam peregrinandi, quam nauigandi, à partibus Angliæ ad ipsam describo, & loca notabiliter sancta, quæ intra eandem sunt breuiter commemoro & diligenter, quatenus peregrinis tam in itinere quam in præuentione valeat hæc descriptio in aliquo deservire.

Qui de Hibernia, Anglia, Scotia, Noruegia, aut Gallia iter arripit ad partes Hierosolymitanas potest saltem usq; ad Imperialem Greciæ Cuitatem Constantinopolim eligere sibi modum proficiscendi, sine per Terras, siue per Aquas. Et si peregrinando eligit transigere viam, tendat per Coloniam Agrippinam, & sic per Almanniam in Hungariam ad Montisfauent Cuitatem, sedem Regni Hungariæ. Et est Rex Hungariæ multum potens istis temporibus. Nam tenet & Sclauoniam, & magnam partem Regni Comannorum, & Hungariam, & partem Regni Russiæ. Oportet ut peregrinus in finibus Hungariæ transeat magnam Danubij flumen, & vadat in Belgradum; Hoc flumen oritur inter Montana Almanniæ, & currens versus Orientem, recipit in se 40. flumina antequam finiatur in mare. De Belgrade intratur terra Bulgarix, & transiit per Pontem petrinum fluij Marroy, & per terram Pyncenars, & tunc intratur Græcia, in Cuitates Sternes, Asmopape, & Andrinopolis, & sic in Constantinopolim, ubi communiter est sedes Imperatoris Greciæ. Qui autem viam eligit per aquas versus Constantinopolim nauigare, accipit sibi portum, prout voluerit, propinquum siue remotum, Marthiæ, Pisi, Ianuæ, Venetijs, Romæ, Neapoli, vel alibi: sicq; transeat Tulciam, Campaniam, Italiam, Corsicam, Sardiniam, usque in Siciliam, quæ diuiditur ab Italia per brachium maris non magnum. In Sicilia est Mons Ætna ingiter ardens, qui ibidem appellatur Mons Gibelle, & præter illum habentur ibi loca Golthan ubi sunt septem leuæ quasi semper ignem spirantes: secundum diuersitatem colorum harum flammarum estimant Incola annum fertilem fore, vel sterilem, siccum vel humidum, calidum, vel frigidum: hæc loca vocant caminos Infernales, & à finibus Italiæ usq; ad ista loca sunt 25. miliaria. Sunt autem in Sicilia aliqua Pomeria in quibus inueniuntur frondes, flores, & fructus per totum annum, etiam in profunda hyeme. Regnum Siciliæ est bona, & grandis Insula habens in circuiu fere leucas 300. Et ne quis erret, vel de facili reprehendat quoties scribo leucam, intelligendum est de leuca Lombardica, quæ aliquanto maior est Geometrica; & quoties pono numerum, sub intelligatur fere, vel circiter, siue citra, & dictam intendo ponere, de 10. Lombardicis leucis: Geometrica autem leuca describitur, ut notum est, per hos versus.

Quinque pedes passum faciunt, passus quoque centum
Viginti quinque stadium, si millia des que
Octo facis stadia, duplicatum dat tibi leuca.

Constantinopolis pulchra est Cuitas, & nobilis, triangularis in forma, firmiterq; murata, cuius due partes includuntur mari Hellesponto, quod plurimi modo appellant brachium Sancti Georgij, & alij Buke, Troia vetus. Versus locum ubi hoc brachium exit de mari est lata terra planities, in qua antiquitus stetit Troia Cuitas de qua apud Poetas mira leguntur, sed nunc valde modica apparent vestigia Cuitatis. In Constantinopoli habentur multa mirabilia, ac insuper multa Sanctorum veneranda reliquia, ac super omnia, preciosissima Crux Christi, seu maior pars illius, & tunica inconsutilis, cum spongia & arundine, & vno clauorum, & dimidia parte Corona spineæ, cuius altera medietas seruatur in Capella Regis Franciæ, Parisijs. Nam & ego indignus diligenter pluribus vicibus respexi partem vtramq;: dabatur quoq; mihi de illa Parisijs unica spina, quam usq; nunc preciose conseruo, & est ipsa spina non ligneæ sed velut de iuncis marinis rigida, & pungitua. Ecclesia Constantinopolitana in honorem Sanctæ Sophiæ, id est, ineffabilis Dei sapientiæ dedicata dicitur, & nobilissima vniuersarum mundi

Pars prima, continens capitula 23.

Cap. 1. Commendatio brevis terræ Hierosolymitanæ.

Ioannis Mandeuil peregrinatione, per tres & triginta annos continuata.

Cap. 2. Iter ab Angliâ tam per terras quam per aquas vique in Constantinopolim. Regis Hungariæ olim potentia.

Mons Ætna.

Æolides Insulæ. Temperies Siciliæ Insulæ.

Leuca Lombardica. Quid sit dicta.

Cap. 3. De urbe Constantinopoli, & reliquijs ibidem contentis

Ecclesia Sanctæ Sophiæ.

Regina Helena
Britanna.

Imago Iusti-
niani.
Aristotelis tum-
ba & festum.

Cap. 10.
De conductu
Soldani, & via
que in Sinai.

Literæ Solda-
ni in gratiam
Mandevilli
concessæ.

Cap. 11.
De Monaste-
rio Sinay, &
reliquijs bea-
tæ Catherine.
Omittuntur
sequ. vid. sup.
l. 8. c. 13.

Cap. 14.
De Ecclesia
gloriosi Sepul-
chri Domini
in vrbe Ieru-
salem.

Templum Se-
pulchri.

Melech Mandy-
bron Soldanus.

Mandevillus de
hoc dubitat.
vid. sup. l. 3. c. 2.

mundi Ecclesiarum, tam in schemate artificiosi operis, quam in servatis ibi Sacrosanctis Reliquijs: nam & continet corpus Sanctæ Annæ Matris nostræ Domine translatum illic per Reginam Helenam ab Hierosolymis: & corpus Sanctæ Lucæ Evangelistæ translatum de Bethania Iudeæ; Et corpus Beati Ioannis Chrysostomi ipsius Civitatis Episcopi, cum multis alijs Reliquijs preciosis; quoniam est ibi vas grande cum huiusmodi reliquijs velut marmoreum de Petra Enhydros; quod iugiter de seipso desudans aquam, semel in anno inuenitur suo sudore repletum. Ante hanc Ecclesiam, super columnam marmoream habetur de ære aurato opere fusorio, magna Imago Iustiniani quondam Imperatoris super Equum sedentis. De prædicta terra Thraciæ fuit Philosophus Aristoteles oriundus in Civitate Stage- res, & est ibi in loco tumbæ eius velut altare, ubi & singulis annis certo die celebratur à populo festum illius, ac si fuisset Sanctus. Temporibus ergo magnorum consiliorum conveniunt illic sapientes terra, reputantes sibi per inspirationem immitti consilium optimum de agendis. Item ad divisionem Thraciæ & Macedoniæ sunt duo mirabiliter alti Montes, unus Olympus, alter Athos, cuius ultimi umbra O- riente sole apparet ad 76. miliaria, usq; in Insulam Lemnon. In horum cacumine montium ventus non currit, nec aer movetur, &c.

Prædictum est de reuerentia Soldani, quando ad ipsum intratur exhibenda. Sciendum ergo, cum ab eo petitur securus conductus, nemini denegare consuevit, sed datur petentibus communiter sigillum eius, in appenditione absque literis: hoc sigillum, pro vexillo in virga aut hasta dum peregrini ferunt, omnes Saraceni videntes illud flexis genibus in terram se reuenter inclinant, & portantibus omnem exhibent humanitatem. Verumtamen satis maior sit reuerentia literis Soldani sigillatis, quod & Admi- rabiles, & quicunq; alij Domini, quando eis monstrantur, antequam recipiant, se multum inclinant: Deinde ambabus manibus eas capientes ponunt super propria capita, postea osculantur, & tandem legunt inclinati cum magna veneratione, quibus semel aut bis perlectis, offerunt se promptos ad explendum quicquid ibi iubetur, ac insuper exhibent deferenti, quicquid possint commodi, vel honoris: sed talem conductum per literas Soldani vix quisquam peregrinorum accipit, qui non in Curia illius stetit, vel noti- tiam apud illum habuerit. Ego autem habui in recessu nico, in quibus etiam continebatur ad om- nes sibi subiectos speciale mandatum, vt me permitterent intrare, & respicere singula loca, pro meæ placito voluntatis, & mihi exponerent quorumcunq; locorum mysteria distincte & absque vilo velamine veritatis, ac me cum omni sodalitate mea benigne reciperent, & in cunctis rationa- libus audirent, requisiti autem si necesse foret de ciuitate conducerent in ciuitatem. Habito itaq; peregrinis conductu, ad Montem Sinay, &c.

Mont Sinay appellatur ibi desertum Syn: quasi in radice Montis istius habetur Cænobium Mo- nachorum pergrande, cuius clausura in circuitu est firmata muris altis, & portis ferreis, pro metu be- stiarum deserti. Hi Monachi sunt Arabes, & Græci, & in magno euentu, multum Deo deuoti. O- stendere solent & caput ipsius Catherine cum inuolumento sanguinolento, & multas perterea sanctas, & venerabiles reliquias, quæ omnia intuius sum diligenter & sæpe, oculis indignis, &c.

Ierusalem cum tota terra Promissionis, est quasi vna de quinq; Prouincijs vel pluribus, quibus Reg- num Syriæ distinguitur. Iungitur autem Iudæa ad Orientem Regno Arabiæ, ad meridiem Egypto, ad Occidentem mari magno, & ad Aquilonem Regno Syriæ. Iudæa terra per diuersa tempora à diuer- sis possessa fuit Nationibus, Cananæorum, Iudæorum, Assyriorum, Periarum, Medorum, Macedo- num, Græcorum, Romanorum, Christianorum, Saracenorum, Barbarorum, Turcorum, & Tar- tarorum. Cuius rei causa merito potest estimari, quod non sustinuit Deus magnos peccatores longo tempore permanere in terra sibi tam placita, & tam sancta.

Itaque peregrinus veniens in Ierusalem primo expleat suam peregrinationem, ad reuerendum & Sa- cro sanctum Domini nostri Iesu Christi Sepulchrum: cuius Ecclesia est in ultima ciuitatis extremitate, ad partem Aquilonarem, cum proprio sui ambitus muro ipsi ciuitati adiuncto. Ipsa vero Ecclesia est pul- chra & rotunde forma cooperta de super cum tegulis plumbeis, habens in Occidente turrem altam & fir- mam, in pauimenti Ecclesia medio ad figuram dimidij compassi habetur nobili opere Latonico adificatum paruum Tabernaculum quasi 15. pedum tam longitudinis quam latitudinis, & altitudinis miro artifi- cio intus extraq; compositum, ac multum diligenter diuersis coloribus ornatum. Hoc itaq; in Taberna- culo seu Capella, ad latus dextrum, continetur incomparabilis thesaurus gloriosissimi Sepulchri, habentis octo pedes longitudinis, & quinque latitudinis. Et quoniam in toto habitaculo nulla est apertura præ- ter paruum ostium, illustratur accedentibus peregrinis pluribus lampadibus, (quarum ad minus vna co- ram sepulchro iugiter ardere solet) ingressus.

Sciendum, quod ante breue tempus solebat sepulchrum esse ingressis peregrinis accessibile, ad tangen- dum & osculandum: sed quia multi vel effringeant, vel conabantur sibi effringere aliquid de petra se- pulchri, iste Soldanus Melech Mandybron fecit illud confabricari, vt nec osculari valeat, nec adiri, sed tantummodo intueri. Et ob illam causam in sinistro pariete in altitudine quinque pedum immurari effracturam petreæ sepulchri ad quantitatem capitis humani, quod tanquam pro sepulchro ibi ab omni- bus veneratur, tangitur, & osculatur.

Dicitur ibi quoq; communiter præfatam lampadem coram sepulchro singulis annis in die Sancta Pa- rascheues, hora nona extinguí, & in media nocte Pascha sine humano studio reaccendi. Quod (si ita est) euidentis diuini beneficii miraculum est. Et quamuis id plurimi Christiani simpliciter in magno pietatis merito credant, plerisq; tamen est in suspitione. Fortè talia Saraceni custodes sepulchri fingent- tes divulgauerunt, pro augendo emolumenta tribui, quod inde resuscitaret, seu oblationum. Singulis

Singulis autem annis in die Coena Domini in Parascheve, & in vigilia Pasche, tribus his diebus manet Tabernaculum hoc apertum continue, & patet omnibus Christianis gentibus accessus, alias vero non per annum sine redditione tributis. Intra Ecclesiam, prope parietem dextrum, est Calvarie locus, ubi crucifixus pependit Christus Dominus. Per gradus ascenditur in hunc locum, & est rupis velut albi coloris, cum aliqua rubedine per loca commixta, habens scissuram, quam dicunt Golgotha, in qua maior pars preciosi sanguinis Christi dicitur influxisse: ubi & habetur Altare constructum, ante quod consistunt tumbe Godefridi de Bullion, &c.

Tumba Godefridi de Bullion.

10 Ultra duo stadia ab Ecclesia ad Meridiem sancti Sepulchri habetur magnum hospitale sancti Ioannis Hierosolymitani, qui caput & fundamentum esse dignoscitur ordinis Hospitaliorum modo tenentium Rhodum Insulam: in quo recipi possunt omnes Christiani peregrini cuiuscunque sint conditionis, seu status, vel dignitatis. Nam Saraceni pro levi cura anxii rumoris, prohibent ne apud quenquam suorum Christianum pernoctet. Ad sustentationem edificij huius hospitalis, habentur in eo 124. columnae marmoreae, & in parietibus distincti 54. pilarij. Satis prope hunc locum in Orientem, est Ecclesia quae dicitur, de Domina nostra magna: & inde non remote alia, quae dicitur nostra Domine Latinorum, edificata super locum, ubi Maria Magdalene, & Maria Cleophae cum alijs pluribus, dum Christus cruci affigebatur, flebant & dolores lamentabiles exercebant.

Cap. 15.
De tribus alijs Ecclesijs, & specialiter de Templo Domini.

20 Item ab Ecclesia sancti Sepulchri in Orientem ad stadium cum dimidio habetur edificium mirabile, ac pulchrum valde, quod Templum Domini nominatur, quod constructum est in forma rotunda, cuius circumferentia Diameter habet 64. cubitos, & altitudo eius 126. & intrinsecus pro sustentatione edificij, multi pilarij. In medio autem Templi est locus altior 14. gradibus, qui & ipse columnis undiq. est stipatus: & secundum quatuor mundi plagas habet Templum quatuor introitus per portas Cypressinas artificiosae compositas, nobiliterq. sculptas, & excisas. Et ante portam Aquilonarem intra Templum fons est aquae munda, qui quamvis olim exundabat, tamen nunc minime fluit. In toto circuitu edificij extrinsecus est valde pro atrio latum spacium loci, stratum per totum pavementum marmoribus. Hoc Templum non ducitur stare in eodem loco ubi Templum Dei stetit in tempore Christi, quo post Resurrectionem a Romanis destructo, istud longo post tempore Adrianus Imperator extruxit, sed non ad formam Templi prioris: praedictum tamen excelsum in medio Templi locum vocant Iudaei Sanctum Sanctorum.

30 Scitis itaq. quod Saraceni magnam exhibent huic Templo reverentiam, & honorem, sapienter illud discalceati intrantes, & positis genibus devote Deum Omnipotentem exorantes, nulla enim ibidem habetur imago, sed multa lampades relucens. Neminem Christianorum seu Iudaeorum ingredi sinunt hoc Templum, reputantes eos indignos ad hoc, & nimium immundos, unde nisi virtute literarum quas habui a Soldano, nec ego fuisset ingressus. Ingressus autem cum meis sodalibus deposuimus calciamenta, recogitantes cum multa cordis devotione, nos magis id facere debere, quam incredulos Saracenos.

Litterae Soldani traditae Mandavillo.

Porro in eo loco ubi staterat idem Rex ante Templum Altare holocausti, videlicet extra portam Templi Occidentalem, habetur & nunc Altare, sed non ad instar, nec ad usum primi: Nam Saraceni, quasi nihil curantes, traxerunt in eo lineas tanquam in Astrolabio figentes in linearum centro batellum, ad cuius umbram per lineas discernuntur diei hora.

40 Viaturo ad dextram satis de propinquo habetur & alia Ecclesia, quae nunc appellatur schola Salomonis: rursumq. ad Meridiem est & aliud Templum siue Ecclesia, quae vocatur Templum Salomonis, quod olim fuit caput, & fundamentum totius ordinis Templariorum, &c.

Cap. 16.
De pluribus locis sacris iuxta urbem.

50 Dominus Soldanus quodam die in Castro, expulsis omnibus de camera sua, me solum retinuit secum tanquam pro secreto habendo colloquio. Consuetum enim est ijs eicere omnes tempore secretorum: qui diligenter a me interrogavit qualis esset gubernatio vitae in terra nostra, breuiter respondebam, bona, per Dei gratiam, qui recepto hoc verbo dixit ita non esse. Sacerdotes (inquit) vestri, qui seipso exhibere deberent alijs in exemplum, in malis iacent actibus, parum curant de Templi seruitio: habitu & studijs se conformant mundo: se inebriant vino, continentiam infringentes, cum fraude negotiantes, ac prava principibus consilia ingerentes. Communis quoque populus, dum festis diebus intendere deberent deuotioni in Templo, currit in hortis, in spectaculis, in Tabernis usque ad crapulam, & ebrietatem, & pingua manducans & bibens, ac in bestiarum morem, luxuriam prauam exercens. In usura, dolo, rapina, furto, detractione, mendatio & periurio viuunt plures eorum euidenter, ac si qui talia non agant, vt fatui reputantur, & pro nimia cordis superbia nesciunt ad libitum excogitare, qualiter se velint habere, mutando sibi indumenta, nunc longa, nunc curta nimis, quandoque ampla, quandoque stricta ultra modum, vt in his singulis appareant derisi potius quam vestiti: pyleos quoque, calcios, calligas, corrigias sibi fabricant exquisitas, cum etiam e contra deberent secundum Christi sui doctrinam simplices, Deo deuoti, humiles, veraces, inuicem diligentes, inuicem concordantes, & iniuriam de facili remittentes. Scimus etiam eos propter peccata sua perdidisse hanc terram optimam quam tenemus, nec timemus eam amittere, quam diu se taliter gubernant. Attamen non dubitamus, quin in futurum per meliorem vitam conuersionem merebuntur de nostris eam manibus recuperare.

Colloquium Soldani cum Mandavillo. Reprehensio Sacerdotum.

Reprehensio vulgi iustissima

Vestimento- rum varietas reprehensa.

60 Ad hoc ego ultra confusus & stupefactus, nequius inuenire responsum, verebar enim obloqui veritati, quamuis ab Infidelis ore prolata, & vultu praerubore demisso percunctatus sum, Domine, salua reuerentia, qualiter potestis ita plene hoc noscere? De hominibus (ait) meis interdum mitto ad modum Mercatorum per terras & Regiones Christianorum, cum Balsamo, Gemmis, Sericis, ac Aromatibus,

ac

ac per illos singula exploro, tam de statu Imperatoris, ac Pontificum Principum, ac Sacerdotum, quam Prælatorum, nec non Equora, Prouincias, ac distinctiones earum.

Igitur peracta colloquutione nostra satis producta, egressos Principes in cameram reuocauit ex quibus quatuor de maioribus iuxta nos aduocans, fecit eos expresse ac debite, per singulas diuisiones in lingua Gallicana distinguere per partes, & singularum nomina partium, omnem Regionem terra Anglie, ac alias Christianorum terras multas, ac si inter nostros fuissent nati, vel multo tempore conuersati. Nam & ipsum Soldanum audiui cum ijs bene & directe loquentem idioma Francorum. Itaque in omnibus his mente consternatus obmutui, cogitans, & dolens de peccatis singulis, rem taliter se habere, &c.

Secunda pars.

Cap. 26.
De Ethiopia,
& Diamanti-
bus, & de infi-
ma India.

India triplex.

Cap. 28.
De Ecclesia &
corpore sanctæ
Thomæ Apo-
stoli.

Regio Mabron
vel Malaber.
Calami, vel
Calumè.

Idolum in
Templo sancti
Apostoli ere-
ctum.

A Ethiopia consistit à terra Chaldaeorum in Austrum, qua distinguitur in Orientalem Ethiopiam, 10
& Meridionalem, quarum prima in illis partibus vocatur Culh, propter hominum nigredinem, altera Mauritania.

De Ethiopia intratur in Indiam mediam, nam triplex est, videlicet Infima, que in quibusdam suis partibus est nimis frigida ad inhabitandum: Media que satis temperata est, & Superior, que nimis calida, &c.

Hinc Meridiem pluribus exactis Insulis per viam decem dietarum venit in Regnum Mabron. Illic in ciuitate Calamiæ, seruatur in magno Templo corpus beatissimi Thomæ Apostoli Domini noster Iesu Christi in capsula honorificata. In quo loco & martirizatus fuit, licet dicunt quidam, quod in E-dissa ciuitate. Iste populus non est multum tempus transactum, quin fuit totus in fidei religione, sed nunc est ad pessimos Gentilium ritus peruersus.

Per certas historias habetur Ducem Danorum Ogerum conquisuisse has terras, & in exaltatione sanctarum Apostoli reliquiarum fecisse fieri prafatam spectabilem Ecclesiam, &c.

In hac ipsa beati Thomæ Ecclesia statuerunt multa mira magnitudinis simulachra, ex quibus unum quod maius est multo alijs, apparet sedens homo in alto solio adoperto aureis sericis, & lapidibus pretiosis, habensq; ad collum suspensa pro ornatu multa cinctoria pretiose gemmis, & auro contexta. Ad hoc autem Idolum adorandum conflunt peregrini à remotis partibus, & propinquis, in satis maiori copia, & valde feruentiori deuotione quam Christiani, ad sanctuum Iacobum in Galizia, quia multi eorum per totum peregrinationis iter, non audent erigere palpebras oculorum, ne forte propter hoc deuotio in-termittatur.

Alij de propè venientes superaddunt labori itinerandi, ut ad tertium vel ad quartum passum semper 30
cadant in genibus. Nonnulli quoque Demoniaci inspiratione semetipsos per viam peregrinationis lanceolis, & cultellis nunc minoribus, nunc maioribus sanciant vulneribus per singula corporis loca, & dum ante Idolum perueniunt, excisum frustum de carne propria projiciunt ad Idolum pro offerenda, ac plagis durioribus se castigant, & quandoque spontaneè penitus se occidunt: in solemnitatibus verò, sicut in de-dicatione, & sicut in thronizatione simulachrorum, fit conuentus populi, quasi totius Regni. Et ducitur cum processione maius Idolum per circuitum ciuitatis, in curru preciosissimo, modis omnibus perornato, & precedunt in numero magno puellæ cantantes binæ, & binæ ordinatissime: succeditq; pluralitas Musi-corum cum instrumentis varijs symphonizantes, quos continuè subsequitur currus cuius lateribus coniun-git se peregrinorum exercitus, qui & venerunt de remotis.

Ibique cernitur miserabilis actus ultra modum. Nam aliqui victi ultra modum diabolica deuotione 40
projiciunt se sub rotis curru precedentis, ut frangantur sibi crura, brachia, latera, dorsa, nec non & colla in reuerentiam Dei sui (ut dicunt) à quo remunerationem sperant, venire ad Paradisum terrestrem.

Occidunt se in
honorem Idoli

Et post processionem postquam statuerunt Idolum in Templo suo loco, multiplicatur coram simula-chris numerus sepe plangentium, & Occidentium ultra quam credi sit facile. Ita quod quandoq; in illa unica solemnitate inueniuntur ducenta corpora, vel plura occisorum. Et assistentes propinqui amici talium Diaboli martyrum, cum magna musicorum melodia decantantes in sua lingua offerunt Idolis corpora, ac demum accenso rogo omnia corpora comburunt in honorem Idolorum, assumentes sibi singuli aliquid de ossibus aut cineribus pro reliquijs, quas putant sibi valituras contra qualibet infortunia, & tempestates. Et habetur ante Templum, aque lacus, velut seruatorium piscium, in quo projicit populus largissime 50
suas oblationes, Argentum, Aurum, Gemmas, Cyphos, & similia, quibus ministri certis temporibus exhibentes prouident Ecclesie, ac simulachro, ac sibi ipsis abundanter.

Cap. 29.
De Iaua, &
quibuldam a-
lijs meridiona-
libus Insulis.

Inde ulterius procedendo in Austrum per multas & mirabiles terras quinquaginta duarum dietarum spacio, habetur magna Insula Lamori. Illic omnes nudi incedunt, & ferè omnia sunt singulis communia; nec utuntur priuatis clauibus siue seris, imò & omnes mulieres sunt communes omnibus & singulis viris, dummodo violentia non inferatur: sed & peior est ijs consuetudo, quod libenter comedunt teneras carnes humanas; unde & negotiatores adferunt eis crassos infantes venales: quod si non satis pingues afferun-tur eos saginant sicut nos Vitulum, siue Porcum.

Mandeuillus v-
sus astrolabio.
Iaua Insula,
grandis.
Multa Aroma-
ta in Iaua.

Hic apparet in bona altitudine Polus Antarcticus & incipit modò apperere in alta Lybia, ita quod in alta Ethiopia, eleuatur octodecem gradibus, prout ipse probauit Astrolabio.

Et est valde grandis Regio Iaua, habens in circuitu ambitum leucarum duarum millium. Huius Rex est valde potens, & imperans septem Insularum vicinarum Regibus. Terra ista est populosa, valde, & cres-cunt in ea Species, & abundantia Gingiberis, Canella, Gariofoli, Nuces Muscata, & Mastix, cum
Aro-

60

Aromatibus multis. Sed & quod ibi nascatur vinum, non habent: Aurum & Argentum est ibi in copia immensa, quod patet in Regis Iauæ palatio, cuius palatii nobilitas non est facile scribenda.

Cuncti gradus ascendentes ad palatii aulæ, & aularum cameras, & ad thalamos camerarum sunt solidi de argento vel auro, sed & omnis statura pavementorum in alijs habetur ad similitudinem scacarj, unam quadratam argenti, alteram auri, laminis valde crassis, & in ipsis pavementis, sunt excelsa gesta, & historia diuersæ. In principali verò aula, est plenarie expressa Dani Ducis Ogeri historia, à natiuitate ipsius, quousque in Franciam fantastice dicatur reuersus, cum tempore Caroli Magni Regis Franciæ, ipse Ogerus armata manu conquisiuit Christianitati ferè omnes partes transmarinas à Ierosolymis usque ad arbores Solis & Lune, ac propè Paradisum terrestrem.

- 10 Pro hac Regione Iaua, (quæ tangit fines Imperij Tartariæ) sibi subiungenda, Imperator Grand Can multoties pugnavit, sed nunquam valuit expugnare. Hinc per mare veniunt ad regnum * Thalamassæ, quod & * Pachon dicitur, in quo habetur magnus numerus bonarum ciuitatum. Intra hanc Insulam, quatuor sunt genera arborum, de quarum una accipitur farina ad panem, de secunda mel, de tertia vinum, & de quarta pessimum venenum. Extrahitur autem farina de suis arboribus isto modo.

* Vel Tholomassi.

* Vel Patena.

Farina ex arbore.

- Certo tempore anni percussitur stipes arboris undique prope terram cum securi, & cortex in locis pluribus vulneratur, de quibus recipitur liquor spissus, qui desiccatus ad solis æstum & contritus reddit farinam albam, ac si de frumento esset confectus, attamen hic panis non est triticeæ saporis, sed alterius valde boni. Simili modo de suis arboribus mel elicitur, & vinum * liquitur: excepto quod illa non sicut graminum prima desiccantur. Fertur quoque ibidem extractionem huius farinae, mellis, & vini, per Angelum primitus fuisse ostensam prædicto Danorum Duci, illic fame cum suo exercitu laboranti. Contra venenum quod de quarto arboris genere stillat, solum est intoxicato remedium, ut de proprio fimo per putant aquam distemperato bibat.

* Taddie.

- In litore maris Calanoch miraculose veniunt semel in anno, per tres continuos dies, quasi de omni genere piscium marinorum, in maxima abundantia: & præbent se omnibus libere capiendos ad manum. Nam & ego ipse cepi quamplures. Unde notandum, quod eodem tempore anni quo super dicta extrahitur farina, mel, & vinum, conueniunt in hoc isti pisces: quæ ambo mirabilia fecit uno tempore Deus olim pro Duce suo Ogero, quæ & in memoria illius, usque nunc, singulis annis innotantur.

Calanoch,

- Et sunt in hoc territorio testudines terribilis quantitatæ, sitq; de maioribus Regi ac Nobilibus delicatus ac preciosus cibus: mentior, si non quasdam ibidem viderim testudinum conchas, in quarum una se tres homines occultarent, suntq; omnes multum albi coloris. Si hic vir vxoratus moritur, sepelitur & vxor una cum eo, quatenus, sicut ibi credunt, habeant eam statim sociam in seculo alio.

Testudines grandissimæ.

- In istis autem meridionalibus partibus apparebat mihi eleuatio poli Antartici 33. graduum, cum 16. minutis. Et sciendum quod in Bohemia, similiter & in Anglia eleuatur polus Arcticus 52. gradibus vel citra: Et in partibus magis septentrionalibus, ubi sunt Scoti 62. gradibus cum 4. minutis. Ex quo patet respiciendo ad latitudinem cæli, quæ est de polo ad polum, itinerario meo fuit per quantum Horizontis spheræ terræ, & ultra per 5. gradus, cum 20. minutis. Cum ergo secundum Astrologos, totus terræ circuitus sit 31500. miliarium, octo stadys pro miliario computatis, & septinginta stadia respondeant ad unum gradum, quod patet ad latitudinem terræ, perambulanti 66733. stadia cum uno tertio, quæ faciunt 4170. leucas Geometricas cum dimidia vel propè.

Australis latitudo 33. grad. 16. minut.

Hæc erat Eratosthenis computatio.

- 40 Cum igitur tot & talia in istis Insulis vidimus monstra (quæ si explicarem scribendo vix à legentibus omnia crederentur) non curauimus ulterius procedere sub polo Australi, ne in maiora pericula incideremus: sed propter auditam & inusitam nobis famositatem potentie, nobilitatis, & gloriæ Imperatoris Tartarorum, vertebam faciem cum socijs navigare magis versus Orientem. Cumq; per multas dietas sustinuissimus multa pericula maris, peruenimus in Regnum Manchus, quod est in confinibus superioris Indiæ, & iungitur ab una parte Tartariæ. Hæc Regio Manchus pro sua quantitate reputatur melior, delectabilior, & omnium bonorum abundantior de cunctis ibi prope Regionibus. Nam & homines, bestie, & volucres maiores & corpulentiores sunt alijs, & præ ubertate vix inuenirentur in una ciuitate decem mendici. Formosi sunt viri, sed femina formosiores. Sed viri loco barba, habent perpaucos pilos, rigidos, & longos ab utraque oris parte, quemadmodum nostros videmus cattos habere.

Cap. 32. De bona Regione Manchus (forte Mangi.)

- 50 Prima quam ingrediamur ciuitas est Lachori, distans una dieta à mari, & mirabamur, & gauesum nos inuenisse integram ciuitatem Christiane fidei. Nam & maior pars Regni credit in Christum. Ibi habetur in leui precio copia rerum omnium, & præcipue victualium: unum genus est ibi serpentum in abundantia quod manducant ad omne conuiuium, & nisi pro finali ferculo ministraretur de illis serpentibus, conuiuium quam modicum diceretur.

Christiani.

Suntq; per hoc regnum pleraque ciuitates & Ecclesiæ, & religiones quas instituit Dux Ogerus, quia hoc est unum de quindecim regnis quæ quasunt, sicut infra dicitur. Illic sunt elegantes albæ gallinæ, quæ non vestiuntur plumis ut nostre, sed optima lana. Canes aquatici, quos nos luras nominamus, sunt ibi multi edomiti, quod quoties mittuntur in flumen, exportant domino piscem.

Sunt huiusmodi etiam canes in India occidentali, teste Petro Martyre, in Decadibus. Canis, vel Quintay, & eius descriptio.

- Ab hoc loco per aliquas dietas, veniunt ad huius regionis maximam urbem Cansay, hoc est dicere, 60 Ciuitatem Cæli, imò de vniuerso orbe terrarum putatur hæc maxima ciuitas; nam eius circuitus 50. leucis est mensus, nec est facile dicere, quam compressæ à quamplurimis populis inhabitatur. Hæc sedet in lacu maris, quemadmodum, & Venetiæ: & habentur in ea plures quam mille ducenti pontes, & in quolibet turres miræ magnitudinis, ac fortitudinis, munitæ pernigili custodia, & pro urbe tuenda contra Imperatorem Grand Can. Multi sunt ibi Christiani, & multi Religiones Christianorum, sed

sed & de ordinibus Minorum, & Predicatorum, qui tamen ibi non mendicant; est magna pluralitas ex diuersis Nationibus Mercatorum. Per Regionem nascitur vinum valde bonum, quod appellatur Bigon. Et ad leucam extra Ciuitatem; Abbatia magna est, non de Religione Christiana sed Pagana: & in ea forrestum, siue hortus magnus undiq; circumclusus, constans arboribus, & arbutis in cuius etiam medio mons altus simul & latus, habens hortum ubi solum inhabitant bestiola mirabiles, sicut Simie, marmota, Lanbon, papiones, foreti & huiusmodi ad varia & multa genera, & ad numerum infinitum.

Eadem narrat
Odericus.

Omni autem die post refectiorem conuentus Abbatia, qui est valde Monachosus, deferuntur reliquie ciborum cum magno additamento, in vasis auro lucentibus ad hunc hortum: & ad sonitum Campana argentea, quam Eleemosynarius manu gestat descendentes, & occurrentes de bestiis duo millia aut plures sese componunt residere ad circulum more pauperum mendicorum, & traditur singulis per seruos, ali- 10
quid de his cibarijs, ac denuo audita campana segregando recurrunt: Cumque nos tanquam redarguen-
tes, diceremus, cur hac non darentur egenis, responderunt, illic pauperes non habentur, quod si inueniren-
tur, potius tamen dari deberent bestiis. Habet enim eorum perfidia, & Paganismus, animas nobilium
hominum post mortem ingredi corpora nobilium bestiarum, & animas ignobilium corpora bestiarum ig-
nobilium & vilium, ad lucenda videlicet crimina, donec peracta penitentia transeant in Paradisum: ideo-
que nutriunt, prout dicunt, has nobiliores bestias, siue bestiolas, quod à quibusdam nobilibus fundaba-
tur in principio hac Abbatia. Multa sunt alia mira in hac Ciuitate, de quibus sciatis, quod non om-
nia vobis recitabo.

Cap. 33.

Insula Pygmaeorum non est protensa, sed fortè 12. Ciuitatum. Quarum una est grandis, & bene mu-
nita, & quam Grand Can facit cum fortibus armaturis curiose seruari, contra Regem Mangi.

Iamchan.

* Cuman.

Hinc proceditur per Imperium Grand Can, ad multas Ciuitates, & Villas morum mirabiliter diuer- 20
sorum, usq; in Regnum Iamchan, quod est vnum de 12. Prouincijs maximis, quibus distinguitur to-
tum Imperium Tartarorum. Nobilior Ciuitas huius Regni seu Prouincia dicitur Iamchan, abundans
mercimonijs, & diuitijs infinitis, & multa prestans proprio Regi tributa, quoniam sicut illi de Ciuitate
spatentur, valet annue Regi quinquaginta milia * Cuman Florenorum auri. Nota. In Iamchan Ci-
uitate est Conuentus fratrum Minorum: in hac sunt tres Ecclesie Monasteriorum: reditus simul as-
cendit ad 12. Cuman. Odericus. Vnus Cuman est decem millium. Summa tributi annui, quinquaginta
millia millium Florenorum. In illis namq; partibus magnas numerorum summas estimant per Cu-
man, numerum 10. millium qui & in Flamingo dicitur latte. Ad quinque leucas ab hac Ciuitate est
alia dicta Meke, in qua sunt de quodam albisimi genere ligni Naues maxima cum Aulis & Thalamis, 30
ac multis edificijs, tanquam Palatium tellure fundatum.

Ciuitas Meke.
Maximæ na-
ues, quales ho-
die ostentat
china.

a Siue Lan-
rin.
b Vel Care.
moron.
Cathay Calay.

Inde per idem Regnum ad viam octo dierum per aquam dulcem, multas per Ciuitates, & bonas
Villas, venimus * Laucherim, (Odericus appellat Leuyim) urbem formosam opumq; magnarum, si-
tam super flumen magnum b Cacameran. Hoc flumen transit per medium Cathay, cui aqua infere
damnum, quando nimis inundat, sicut Padus in Ferraria, Mogus in Herbipoli: & illud sequentes in-
trauimus principalem Prouinciā Imperij Tartariæ, dictam Cathay Calay: & ista Prouincia est mul-
tum distenta, ac plena Ciuitatibus, & Oppidis bonis, & magnis omnibusq; referta mercimonijs, maxi-
mè Sericosis operibus, & Aromaticis speciebus.

c Engarmago.
Vilitas serici.
Vel Camba-
leck.

Caydo Ciui-
tas.

Nauigando per dictum flumen versus Orientem, & itinerando per hanc Cathay Prouinciā ad
multas dietas per plurimas Vrbes & Villas, venit in Ciuitatem c Sugarmago, abundantiorē omni- 40
bus in mercimonijs antedictis: quando sericum est hic vilissimum quadraginta libra habentur ibi pro de-
cem Florenis. Ab hac Ciuitate, multis Ciuitatibus peragratis versus Orientem, veni ad Ciuitatem
Cambalu, que est antiqua in Prouincia Cathay: Hanc postquam Tartari ceperunt, ad dimidium mi-
liare fecerunt vnā Ciuitatem nomine Caydo, & habet duodecim portas, & a porta in portam duo sunt
grossa miliaria Lombardica, spaciū inter medium istarum Ciuitatum habitatoribus plenum est & cir-
cūitus cuiuslibet istarum ambit 60. miliaria Lombardica, que faciunt octo Teutonica. In hac Ciuita-
te Cambalu residet Imperator Magnus Can, Rex Regum terrestrium, & Dominus Dominorum ter-
restrium. Atq; inde ulterius in Orientem intratur vetus vrbs Caydo, ubi communiter tenet suam se-
dem Imperialem Grand Can in suo Palatio. Ambitus autem vrbs Caydo, est viginti fere leucarum,
duodecim habens portas à se distantes amplius quam stadia 24.

Cap. 34.
De Palatio
Imperatoris
Grand Can.

Palatium Imperatoris Grand Can, quod est in Caydo Ciuitate, continet in circuitu proprii muralis
ultra duas leucas & sunt in eo aula quam plures, in forma nobiles, & in materia nobiliores. Aula autem
sedis, que est maxima ceterarum, habet intrinsecus pro sui sustentatione 24. areas columnas factas opere
fusorio, de auro puro, & omnes parietes ab intus operas pellibus quorundam animalium, qua vocantur
Pantheres: he sanguinei sunt coloris, & ita remicantes, ut Sole desuper relucente, vix oculus valeat hu-
manus sufferre splendorem, tantāq; fragrantia ut illi approximare non posset aer infectus, unde & ista oper-
tura parietum appreciatur super tegmen aurearum laminarum, &c.

Mandevillus
suis pedibus
mensurauit
aulam Imper-
atoris.

Istius autem ostia aula, dum in ea residet, aut deambulat Imperator, multi Barones ingressum seruant
intente & ne limen tangatur, quod hoc haberent pro augurio: & bene verberaretur, quia Imperatore præ-
sente, nemo nisi adductus in quacunque camera, vel habitatione intromittitur, donec interrogatus iusserit 60
Imperator. Latitudinem huius Basilicæ estimo ad spaciū de meis pedibus centum & longitudinem vl-
tra quatuor centum.

Præterea, iuxta Palatii ambitum, habetur grandis parci spaciamentum, diuersi generis arboribus
repletum, fructu ferentibus varios, & nobis inuisos, & in parte media, aula super excelsum collem de
tam

sam mira & pulchra structura, ut eius nobilitas de facili ad presens non possit describi. Et undiq³, per collis gyrum aqua fossatum profundum, & latum, ultra quod pons unicus ducit ad collem. Atq³, ex duobus montis lateribus, stagnum cum diuersorum copia Piscium, & volucrum indomitum, ut aucarum, annatum, cignorum, ciconiarum, ardearum, & collectorum in magna pluralitate: nec non & per parcum, multa sylvestres bestie, & bestiole quatenus per aula fenestras possit Dominus pro solatio respicere volucrum aucupationes, bestiarum venationes, & piscium captiones.

Præter palatium hoc in Caydo, habet Imperator similiter tria: unum in ciuitate Sadus; versus Septentrionem, ubi competens est frigus, ibi moratur in æstate. Cambalu, ubi competens calor, ibi moratur hyeme. Tertium in ciuitate longh, in quo & in isto Caydo, ut sapiens seruat sedem, eo quod in istis est aer magis temperatus, quamuis semper calidus videtur Nostratibus.

Haitenus me-
minit longh.

Sciat is quod ego, meiq³ sodales, pro fama magnificentie huius Imperatoris, tradidimus nos stipendarios esse in guerris, contra Regem Mangi prænominatum. Et fuimus apud ipsum 15. mensibus, & cerè inuenimus multo maiorem partem hominum, in mediam partem nobis non fuisse relatum: hominum (exceptis custodibus bestiarum & volucrum) qui intra palatium certa gerunt ministeria est numerus decem cuman.

Cap. 35.
De quatuor
solennitati-
bus, quas Ma-
nus Can cele-
brat in anno.

Nota. Traxi moram in Cambalu tribus annis: fratres nostri locum habent in Curia sua speciali-ter, & festis diebus statutis dant benedictionem. Odericus. Et quoniam Imperator habet satis plures quam decem mille Elephantos edomitos, & velut ultra numerum alias bestias (quarum quedam tene-ntur in caneis, stabulis mirabilibus, vel catenis) nec non & aues rapaces, & Accipitres, Falcones, Ostro-

Vixit in Cam-
balu tribus
annis.

20 nes, Gryfandos gentiles, Laneroys, & Satyros, sed & Aniculas loquentes, & Papingos, & similes, aliaq³ cantantes: reputatur numerus hominum de istis curam & laborem gerentium, ultra sex cuman, & præterea ingiter ad Curiam equites cum plenariis armaturis, quinq³ cuman, & de peditibus cum præliandi armaturis, cuman decem. Sed & omnes de natione quacunq³ mundi venientes, qui petunt describi pro Curia, recipiuntur. Sic enim iussit Imperator. Habet & medicos Paganos viginti, & totidem Physicos, atque sine his Medicos Christianos ducentos, & totidem Physicos, quoniam iste Grand Can maiorem gerit confidentiam in Medicis Christianis, quam in sua propria nationis medicis.

Sex cuman sã
mulorum.
Quinq³ Cu-
man equitum.
Decem Cu-
man peditum.
Medici Chri-
stiani, 200. in
aula Grand Can.
Vnus Cuman
continet de-
cem milia, ut
in cap. 33.
Monera de co-
rio vel papyro.

Hoc ergo firmiter scias, quod de Curia Regis accipiunt necessaria sua ingiter ultra triginta cuman hominum, præter expensas animalium & volucrum, cum tamen in festis maioribus sint homines propè in duplo tanti. Nec valet hic Dominus defectum vllum pati pecunia, eo quod in terra sua non currit moneta de argento, vel auro, aliò metallo, sed tantum de corio vel papyro: horum enim forma denariorum signo Imperatoris impressorum precatur minoris aut maioris valoris, secundum diuersitatem impressio- nis, qui per visitationem, detrui vel rupti, cum ad Regis thesaurarios deferuntur, protinus dantur pro illis noui.

Quatuor festa.

Circumcisio
quædam.

Quater in anno celebrat Imperator festiuitates solennes. Primam de die propria Natiuitatis. Secundam, de die sua prima presentationis in eorum Templo, quod appellant Moleath, ubi & fit q³, ne- scio quod genus circumcissionis. Tertiam, in thronizatione sui Idoli in Templo. Quartam, de die quo Idolum cepit dare responsum, seu facere diabolica mira. Plures enim in anno non tenet solennitates, nisi si quando nuptia filij aut filie celebrat. Itaq³ in istis solennitatibus est populi multitudo absq³ numero, &c.

40 Celebratio post hoc prandio satis morose, quia nunquam est ultra semel edendum in die, de quo & eius administratione nunc longum est scribere, adsunt gesticulatores, mira visu, suauitq³, auditu pedibus, manibus, brachijs, humeris, caputibus, & toto corpore, ac ad singulos gestus, correspondentes debito vocis sono. Et semper finem horum mirabilium cantilena subsequitur musicorum. Ex hoc ioculatores præstò sunt, & Magi, qui suis incantationibus præstant præstigia multa.

Cap. 36.
De ludis &
præstigijs in
suo festo, & de
suo comitatu.
Semel in die
comedunt.
Magi insignes.

Insignis sen-
tentia.
1. Sam. II. 2.

Certum est illic homines esse subriles ad quasdam humanas artes, & ingeniosos ad fraudes super omnes, quas noui mundi partes, unde & inter se dicunt prouerbum, se solos videre duobus oculis, & Christianos uno, ceteros autem homines cecos: sed mentitur iniquitas sibi, quoniam ipsi vident solo oculo terrena & transitoria, & nos Christiani duobus, quia cum terrenis videmus spiritualia, & mansura: percussit enim Naas, id est, humani generis hostis cum illis fœdus, ut erueret omnibus oculos dextros, scilicet spirituales.

50 Post annos Christi 1100. prima Tartaria fuit nimis oppressa seruitute sub Regibus circumiacentium sibi nationum. Quando autem Deo placuit, maiores illius Tartariæ eleuauerunt de seipsis sibi Regem dictum Guis Can, cui & promiserunt subiectissimam obedientiam. Idem cum esset prudens & strenuus 12. viriles habens filios, debellauit cum ijs & populo suo, & vicit, ac subiecit cunctos in circuitu Reges, quibus terra indebitè diu subiacerat. Quin etiam apparente sibi in visione Angelo Dei velut milite in albo equo, & candidis armis, & hortante se, ut transiret Alpes, per montem* Beliam, & per brachium maris, ad terram Cathay, & ad alias illic plurimas regiones transiit, & cepit cum filiis suis aliquas ex illis debellare, & subycere, Deo in omnibus adiuuante potenter. Et quoniam in equo albo ei Angelus apparuit, qui etiam ante passum prædicti maris nouem orationes Deo facere iussit, ideo successores vsque hodie diligunt equos albos, & nouenarium numerum habent præ ceteris in gratia. Dunc³ Guis Can morti præ senio appropinquaret, conuocatos ante se filios hortabatur, & monebat exemplo 12. telorum in simul colligatorum, quæ à nullo filiorum pariter frangi potuerant, sed dissoluta vnumquodq³ per se facile frangebatur: sic filij (inquit) dilectissimi, si per concordiam vos inuicem dilexeritis, & vixeritis seniori fratri obediens, confido in Deo iuxta promissionem mihi ab Angelo factam, quod omnem latissimam

Cap. 37.
Quæ de causa
dicitur Grand
Can.
Vera ratio hu-
ius nominis
can.
Guis Can.
Vel Belgiam.
Cur albi equi,
& nouenarius
numerus Tar-
taris sint in
pretio.

Grand Can.

Ochoto Can.

Gui Can.

Mango Can.

Cobila Can.

Echiant Can,
Imperator
Tartarorum
tempore Man-
devilli.
Serochan vxor
Grand can.Yroga, Deus
Naturæ.Cap. 38.
De Territorio
Cathay, & mo-
ribus Tartaro-
rum.
12. Prouinciæ
Chinae.
Cathay.
Asia triplex.
Vestitus Tar-
tarorum,Porcus & pa-
nis rariss.Formæ domo-
rum.Tartari Ha-
maxouij, i. in
plaustris vi-
uentes.
Nouilunium
in precio.
Ceremoniæ
Tartarorum,
& peccata.

istam terram, & optimam illius imperio subycietis, quod & post patris discessum strenuissime, ac fidelis-
sime (Deo sibi prosperante) perfecerunt. Et quia cum proprijs nominibus habebant cognomen Can, pri-
mogenitus pro differentia obtinuit nomen Grand Can, id est, Magnus Can, videlicet supra ceteros fra-
tres, qui sibi in omnibus obediebant.

Itaq; iste secundus Imperator vocabatur Ochoto Can. Post quem filius eius regnavit dictus Gui
Can. Quartus autem, qui Mango Can baptizabatur, permansitq; fidelis Christianus, qui etiam misso
magno exercitu cum fratre suo Hallaon in partes Arabiæ & Egypti mandavit destrui in toto Maho-
meti superstitionem, & terram poni in manibus Christianorum. Et fratre tum procedente, accepit ru-
mores de fratris sui Imperatoris morte inopinata, quapropter & redijt negotio imperfecto. Quintus Co-
bila Can, qui etiam fuit Christianus, & regnavit 42. annis, & edificavit magnam ciuitatem Iong, 10
maiores satis vrbe Roma, in qua & continetur valde nobile palatium Imperiale. Hinc usq; hodie om-
nes successores Paganismo sedantur.

Tempore autem meo erat nomen Imperatoris Echiant Can, & primogenitus eius Cosue Can, prater
quem & alios filios habuit 12. de quorum nominibus conscribendis non est cura presentis.

Prima vxorum suorum vocabatur Serochan, quæ & est filia Presbyteri Ioannis, scilicet Impera-
toris Indiæ. Secunda Verouchan. Tertia Caranth Can.

Istis duobus Imperatoribus non creditur inueniri maior Dominus sub firmamento Cæli. In literis
quæ huius Imperatoris Tartariæ scribuntur nomine ponitur semper iste Titulus. Can filius Dei excel-
si, omnium vniuersam terram colentium summus Imperator, & Dominus dominantium omnium.
Circumferentia magni sui sigilli, continet hoc scriptum. Deus in Cælo, Can super terram, eius for-
tudo. Omnium hominum Imperatoris sigillum. Sciendum quoq; quod quamuis populi ibi dicun-
tur, & sunt Pagani, tamen & Rex & omnes credunt in Deum immortalem, & Omnipotentem, & in-
rant per ipsum appellantes, Yroga, id est, Deum Naturæ. Sed nihilominus colunt & adorant Idola, &
simulachra aurea, & argentea, lapidea, lignea, filtria, lancea, & linea.

Totum Imperium Imperatoris Grand Can distinctum est in 12. magnas Prouinciæ, iuxta numerum
duodecim filiorum primi Genitoris Can. Harum Prouinciarum maior, & nobilior dicitur Cathay,
quæ consistit in Asia profunda. Tres enim sunt Alie, scilicet quæ profunda dicitur, & Asia dicta masor
quæ nobis est satis propinquior & tertia minor intra quam est Ephelus beati Ioannis Euangelistæ sepul-
tura, de qua habes in precedentibus.

Omnes tam viri quam femine similibus in forma vestibus inducuntur, videlicet valde latis, & breui-
bus usq; ad genua cum apertura in lateribus quam firman (dum volunt) ansis quibusdam, nam uterq;
sextus est brachijs seu femoralibus plenè tectus. Nunquam utuntur toga aut collobio, sed nec caputio,
unde nec per aspectum indumentorum potest haberi differentia inter virum & mulierem in nuptam. Sed
nupta gestat per aliquod tegumentum in capite formam pedis viri. Nubit illic vir quotquot placet mulie-
ribus, ut nonnulli habeant decem vel duodecim vxores aut plures. Nam quisq; maritus iungitur licenter
cuiuslibet mulieri, exceptis matre, & amita, sorore, & filia. Sicut viri equitant, tendunt, & currunt per
patriam pro negotijs sic & mulieres, quoniam & ipsæ operantur omnia ferè artificia mechanica sicut pan-
nos & quicquid efficitur de panno, corio, sericoq; minantq; carrucas, & vehicula, sed viri fabricant de
ferro & de omni metallo lapidibus atq; ligno, nec vir nec mulier nobilis aut degener comedit ultra semel
in die communiter. Multa nutriunt pecora sed nullos porcos, parum comeditur ibi de pane exceptis ma-
gnatibus & dinitibus, sed carnes edunt pecorum, bestiarum, & bestiolarum utpote Boum, Onium, Ca-
prarum, Equorum, Asinorum, Canum, Cattorum, Murium, & Rattorum, ius carniū sorbentes, &
omnis generis lac bibentes.

Nobiles autem bibunt lac Equarum, seu iumentorum, pro nobilissimo potu & pauperes aquam bulli-
tam cum modico mellis, quia nec vinum ibi habetur, nec ceruisia conficitur: & multi ac plurimi fontes
consulant in sua siti, per villas, & rura. Domus, & habitacula rotunda sunt forma, composita & con-
texta paruis lignis, & flexilibus virgulis, ad modum cauearum quas nos facimus pro auiculis, habentes
rotundam in culmine aperturam præstantem duo beneficia habitationi, quoniam & ignis quem in medio
domus constituunt fumum emittit, & pro aspiciendo lumen immittit. Intrinsecus sunt parietes undiq; de
filro, sed & tectum filtrum est: has domus, dum locum habitandi novare volunt, vel dum in diutina
expeditione procedunt, ducunt secum in planstris quasi tentoria.

Multas superuacuas observant ceremonias, quia respiciunt in vanitates & insanias falsas: solem
& lunam præcipue adorant, eisq; frequenter genua curnant, & ad nouilunium, quicquid est magni esti-
mant inchoandum. Nullus omnino vititur calcaribus in equitando, sed cogunt equum flagello scorpione,
reputantes peccatum non leue, si quis ad hoc flagellum appodiat, aut iumentum percuteret suo freno: plera-
que similia, quæ parum aut nihil nocent, ponderant ut gravia, sicut imponere cultellum in igne, os esse
confringere, lac seu aliud potabile in terram effundere, nec non & huiusmodi multa. Sed super hæc,
tenent pro grauiori admissio mingere intra domum quæ inhabitatur, & qui de tanto crimine proclamare-
tur affuetus, mitteretur ad mortem. Et de singulis necesse est ut confiteatur peccator Flaminii sue legis,
& soluat summam pecuniarum delicti. Et si peccatum deturpationis habitaculi venerit in publicum, o-
portebit reconciliari domum per Sacerdotem, priusquam ullus audebit intrare. Insuper & peccatorem
necesse erit pertransire ignem, semel, bis, aut ter iuxta iudicium Flaminis, quatenus per ignis acrimo-
niam purgetur à tanti iniquatione peccati.

Neminem hominum probibent inter se habitare, sed indifferenter receptant, Iudæos, Christianos,
Saracenos,

Saracenos, & homines cuiuscunq; nationis, vel legis, dicentes se satis putare suum ritum non ita secum ad salutem, nisi quandoq; traherentur ad ritum magis salutarem, quem tamen determinate nunc ignorant, imò multi de nobilibus sunt iam in Christianitate baptizati.

Porrò Tartari in præcincto expeditionis habent singuli duos arcus, cum magna pluralitate telorum: Nam omnes sunt sagittarij ad manum & cum rigida & longa lancea. Nobiles autem in equis preciosè phaleratis ferunt, gladios, vel spatias breues & latas, scindentes pro vno latere, & in capitibus galeas de corio cocto, non altas, sed ad capitis formam depressas. Quicunq; de suis fugerit de pralio, ipso facto conscriptus est, ut si quando inuentus fuerit occidatur. Si castrum vel ciuitas obfessa se illis reddere voluerit, nullam acceptant conditionem nisi cum morte omnium inimicorum, vel si quis homo singularis se dederit victum nihilominus absq; vlla miseratione occidunt, detrahentes illi protinus aures, quas postea coquentes, & in aceto (dum habuerint) ponentes mittunt inuicem ad conuiuia pro extremo ferculo: dumque ipsi in bellis arte fugam simulant, periculosum est eos insequi, quoniam iaciunt sagittas à tergo, quibus equos & homines occidere norunt. Et quando in prima acie comparant ad bellandam, mirabiliter sese constringunt, ut media pars numeri eorum vix credatur.

Generaliter noneritis, omnes Tartaros habere paruos oculos, & modicam vel raram barbam: In proprijs locis raro inter se litigant, contendunt, aut pugnant, timentes legum pergrauas emendas. Et inuenitur ibi rarius vispilio, latro, fur, homicida, iniurius, adulter, aut fornicarius, quia tales criminatores inuestigatione sollicita requiruntur, & sine redemptione aliqua perimuntur. Dum quis decumbit infirmus figitur lancea iuxta illum in terra, & cum appropinquauerit morti, nullus remanet iuxta ipsum, cum vero mortuus esse scitur, confestim in campis, & cum lancea sepelitur.

Imperator Grand Can postquam eius cognita fuerit defunctio, desertur mox à paucis viris in parco palatij, ad preuisum locum ubi debeat sepeliri. Et nudato prius toto illo loco à graminibus cum cespite figitur ibi tentorium, in quo velut in solio regali de ligno corpus defuncti residens collocatur, paraturq; mensa plena coram eo cibarijs preciosis, & potu de lacte iumentorum. Instabulatur ibi & equa cum suo pullo, sed & ipse albus, nobiliter phaleratus, & onustatus certo pondere auri & argenti. Et est totum Tentoriij pauimentum de mundo stramine stratum.

Tuncq; effodiunt in circuitu fossam latam valde, & profundam ut totum tentorium cum omnibus contentis descendat in illam. Eoq; facto ita equaliter terram planificantes adoperiunt graminibus, ut in omni tempore locus sepultura non valeat apparere. Et quoniam ignorantie nubilo turpiter excacati putant in alio seculo homines delectationibus frui, dicunt quod tentorium erit ei pro hospitio, cibi ad edendum, lac ad potandum, equus ad equitandum, aurum & argentum ad respiciendum, sed & equa lac semper præstabit, & pullos equinos successine generabit.

Post has itaq; Imperatoris defuncti miseræ exequias, nullus omnino audebit de ipso loqui coram uxoribus & filijs, & propinquis, sed nec nominare, quia per hoc putarent derogari paci, & quieti illius, qua non dubitant eum dominari, in maiori satis gloria Paradisi quam hic stetit.

Breuitè & nunc intendo cursum describere aliquarum magnarum Regionum & Insularum Imperij Tartariæ. Et primo illas qua descendunt à prouincia Cathay per septentrionalem plagam, vsq; ad fines Christianitatis Prussiæ, & Russiæ.

Ergo prouincia Cathay descendens in sui Oriente à regno Tharsis iungitur ab Occidente regno Turquescen, in quo & sunt plurimæ ciuitates, quarum formosior dicitur Octopar. Ipsum autem Turquescen regnum iungitur ad Occidentem sui regno seu Imperio Persiæ, & ad Septentrionem regno Coralinæ, quod spaciosum est valde, habens versus Orientem sui ultra centum diuitas deserti: hoc regnum est multis bonis abundans, & appellatur eius melior ciuitas etiam Corasine.

Isti quoq; regno iungitur in Occidente versus partes nostras regnum Commanorum, quod & similiter longum est, & latum, sed in paucis sui locis inhabitatum: Nam in quibusdam est frigus nimium, in alijs nimius calor, & in nonnullis nimia muscarum multitudo.

Sunt autem in Persia due regiones: vna alta Persiæ, qua à regno Turquescen descendens, iungitur ad Occidentem sui fluuijs Pyson. In ista habentur renominate ciuitates, quarum meliores due dicuntur Bocura & Seonargant, quam aliqui appellant Samarkand: Et altera Regio Bassa Persiæ, descendens à flumine Pyson, qui ad sui Occidentem iungitur regno Mediæ, & terra minoris Armeniæ, & ad Aquilonem mari Caspio, & ad Austrum terra minoris Indiæ. In hac bassa Persia tres principales ciuitates sunt Æstabor, Saphaon, Sarmalaule, &c.

A finibus regni Bachariæ supradicti ubi contiguatur Imperio Indiæ, eundo per multas diuitas intratur in regnum Pentoxyriæ quod est magna latitudinis, & abundantia in multis bonis: huius nominatio ciuitas, dicitur Nyse, & in ea habet Imperator palatium Imperiale, in quo residet dum sibi placet. Imperator iste semper vocitatus est Presbyter Ioannes, cuius nominis causam audieram quandoq; non veram: sed in illis partibus accepi rationem indubitam, quam breuiter hic enarro. Circa annum ab Incarnatione Domini Octingentesimum, Dux Ogerus de Danemarchia, cum quindecim cognationis sue Baronibus, & armatis viginti milibus transiit mare Greciæ, & fauente sibi Deo conquissit Christianitati per multa prælia penè omnes Terras, Regiones, & Insulas, quas esse de potestate Grand Can prædixi, nec non & omnes, qua sunt de potestate Imperij huius Imperatoris Indiæ. Eratq; inter Barones vnus denominatus Ioannes filius Goudebucf, Regis Frisonum: qui dictus Ioannes Deo deuotus fuit, & dum licuit Ecclesiarum limina inuit, vnde & Barones ei dabant quasi per iocum Presbyter Ioannes vocabulum. Dum ergo Ogerus dictas regiones expugnatas diuideret in hys quindecim suis cognatis,

Arma Tartarorum.

Tartari retro sagittantes.

Tartari habent paruos oculos & raram barbam. Mos sepulturae.

Cap. 39. De sepultura Imperatoris Grand Can, & creatione successoris.

Cap. 40. De multis regionibus Imperij Tartariæ subiectis. Turquestan. Octopar. Corasine. Regnum Commanorum. Bocura, vel Bohare. Samarkand. Seu Nessabon & Spahan. Sarmasane. Tertia Pars.

Cap. 41. De magnificentia Imperatoris Indiæ & preciositate Palatij. Seu Pentoxyria. Ciuitas Nyse. Fabula de rebus gestis Ogeri Ducis Daniz, quales de Orlando, Guidone, Benij &c. Vnde Presbyter Ioannes sic dictus.

4000. Insule.

& quemlibet eorum in suo loco constitueret Regem, quatenus Christiana religio in illa Orbis superficie semper stabilis permaneret, tradidit isti Presbytero Ioanni superiorem Indiam, cum 4000. Insulis, Regionibus, & ipsum prefecit Imperatorem super reliquos cognatos, ut ei certa tributa impenderent, & in omnibus obedirent, atq; ex nunc omnes successores Indiæ sunt vocati Presbyter Ioannes, & vsq; in hodiernum tempus boni manserunt Christiani, & Religionis amulatores, &c.

CHAP. VII.

The Voyage of NICOLÒ di CONTI a Venetian, to the Indies, Mangi, Cambalu and Quinsai, with some Observations of those places.

This is taken out of Ramusio's discourse of this voyage.



Nicolò di Conti a Venetian, having travelled quite thorow India, after five and twentie yeeres returned home; and because to save his life he had made denyall of his Faith, hee went to the Pope (then Eugenius the Fourth, An. 1444.) being at Florence to obtayne absolution; who enioyned him in way of penance, truly to make Narration of his Voyage, and whole Peregrination to his Secretarie Poggius, who writ it in the Latine tongue. 20
Ramusio sought for it in Venice and other Cities of Italie in vaine, and at last heard that it was translated into Portugall by the care of King Emanuel, An. 1500. a Copy whereof he procured from Lisbon, but so corrupt, that he doubted to publish it, which yet for want of better he did; and we out of him these Observations.

Desart-denils.

Nicolò di Conti a Venetian being a young man, then at Damasco, and having learned the Arabike Language, went with his merchandise in a Caravan of six hundred Merchants, with whom he travelled into Arabia Petrea, and thence into Chaldaea, till he came to Eufrates. In the Defarts of Arabia, once about midnight they heard a great noyse, which they thought were the wilde Arabs comming to rob them, but saw a great multitude passe by neere their Tents without hurting them, which some of the Merchants said were Devils which hanted these Defarts. 30

Baldac.

From Baldac is eight dayes journey to Balsera, and thence foure dayes to the Persian Gulfe, where the Sea ebbeth and floweth. After five dayes sayling therein, he came to Calcut, and after to Ormuz; thence to Calatia a Port of Persia of great traffick, where he remayned to learne the Persian tongue. Afterwards clothed in the habit of the Countrey (which hee used to doe in all his journey) he went with certaine Moores and Persians, having sworn to be faithfull to each other, and sayled to Cambaia, and after to Pacamuria and Dely, where store of Ginger growes.

Ormuz.

Calatia.

Bisnagar.

Thence they went farre into Sea, and came to Bisnagar sixtie miles about, at the foot of a high Mountayne; in which are one hundred thousand men fit for armes; they marry as many wives as they will, which are burned with them when they die. The King is the mightiest King in India, and hath twelue thousand Women, foure thousand of which attend him on foot whither soever he goeth, and are busied in the service of his Kitchin; foure thousand others ride on Horses, or are carried in Litters; two thousand are to burne with him, which is holden a great honor. Pelagonga is subiect to him, eight dayes journey thence and ten miles in circuit: from whence in twentie dayes by Land hee came to Pudisetania (leaving in the way Odeschiria, and Cenderghisia, where red Sanders grow) and thence went to Malepur where Saint Thomas is buried in a great and faire Church. The Inhabitants are Nestorians, which are Christians dispersed thorow all India, as Iewes amongst vs. And all this Prouince is called Malabar. 40

Pelagonga.

Nestorians dispersed thorow India.

Malabar.

Cinamon.

At the end of that Countrey is Zeilam a famous Iland, two thousand miles about, where are Rubies, Saphires, Cats-eye stones; and store of good Cinamon; the Tree like a Willow but thicker, the boughs growing more in breadth then height, the leaues like those of the Bay Tree, but greater: the Barke of the boughs is best, that of the Trunke is not good: the fruit like Bayberries of which they make good Oile to anoint them. There is a Lake in which is a Citie of three miles circuit, gouerned by Bramines, which spend their liues in the studies of Philosophie, and are much giuen to Astrologie.

After that

is a great Iland called Sumatra, which the Ancients called Taprobana, where hee stayed a yeere. There growes the best Pepper, the Tree like to Ivy. In a part of the Iland, called Batech, they eat mans flesh. Thence he sayled to Terraassari: and thence to the mouth of Ganges, and vp the streame (which is very great) to Cernouam, and to Maarazia; whence crossing ouer Land he came to Racha, and thence in seuentene dayes to Ana fiftene miles about, where they are much giuen to spend the Time in drinking and fellowship both Men and Women. There are certaine old women which get their liuing by selling Bels of gold, siluer, brasse, of the bignesse of Nuts, which they put in mens yards betwixt the skin and flesh, when they are of age to vse Women, and in short time cure the place; and the men much please themselves to heare the sound of them as they goe. Here the Copy is defective. 60

This Bell or Ball-fashion is there still in v.c.

Mangi

Mangi is full of Elephants of which the King nourisheth ten thousand: they serue him in the warre, and carrie Castles in which stand eight, ten, or twelue men with Lances, Bowes and Slings. They take them with a tame female Elephant, vied to feed in a place encompassed with a wall with two gates to goe in and out; into which in the coupling season the male enters at one gate, and thence flees out at the other, many men attending with devices to take him, both gates being shut; and with fasting, and accustoming other tame Elephants to him, tame him in few dayes.

Either this story is not true, or this *Mangi* is not *China* but *Polos Mien*, or some other place.

The men of this Countrey haue but one wife, and all both men and women paint or embroide their skinnies with Iron pennies, putting indehible tinctures thereunto. They worship Idols, yet when they rise in the morning, they turne to the East, and with hands ioyned, say, *God in Trinitie keepe vs in his Law.* This Countrey produceth Serpents as grosse as a man, fixe cubits long, without feet, which they eate for great dainties; as they doe also certaine red Ants. There is a beast headed like a Swine, tailed like an Oxe, with a horne in the forehead like an Vnicorne a cubit long, of the colour and stature of an Elephant; with whom hee continually fighteth. The horne is much esteemed against poyson. In the furthest parts of this Countrey towards *Cataio*, are white and blacke Kine, some haired and tailed like Horses, some with haire like feathers of which they make Fannes.

Beyond *Mangi* is the greatest Prouince in the World, called *Cataio*, the Lord whereof is called the great *Can* which signifieth Emperour: and the chiefe Citie is called *Cambalu*, which is foure square and hath eight and twenty miles in circuit. In the midst thereof is a Fortresse, and in it a Palace for the King; and at euery of those foure corners is a Castle, each foure miles about, in which are Armouries of diuers sorts, and Engines for battery. From the Palace is a way on the wall to all those Castles, that if the people rebell he might betake himselfe thither. Beyond this Citie fifteene dayes iourney is *Quinsai* another great Citie, which within this little while hath bene new made by this King. It hath thirty miles compasse, and is more peopled then the former. In these two Cities it was told him that the Houses and Palaces are after the manner of *Italie*, and the men richer and wiser then in other places.

Cataio.

Notes.

After he was gone from *Aus*, alongst the Riuer to the Sea in seuentene dayes he arriued at *Zaiton*, a great Port, where he tooke Sea, and in ten dayes came to a great and populous Citie, called *Pauconia*, which is of twelue miles compasse where he stayed foure moneths. There are a few Vines, which runne vpon Trees, and they make no Wine of them. There grow Abre-cockes, white Sanders, and Camphire, &c.

Zaiton.

Pauconia, perhaps *Paquin*.

I am loth to returne into India with this Author, whose defects and corruptions haue made him so little seruiceable, together with the changed names of places since his time. It is remarkable that hee sayth that the Indian Mariners sayled by the Starres Antartike, and not by the compasse; vsing certaine measures and rules in that Starre-observation. Hee also relateth the huge greatnesse and treble sheathing of their Ships. But of India, whereof all his Relations are, wee haue already given you better, that is more punctuall, methodicall, and credible Authors. Yet before we leaue him, let vs obserue what *Aeneas Syluius*, or *Pope Pius Secundus* hath, cited out of him. Hee sayth, that hee sayled the Indian

No compasse; which yet in the next age was there in vse,

Sea a moneth beyond Ganges, and then came to the Riuer *Ratha*, which being sayled in fixe dayes, hee found a Citie called by the same name. And thence after seuentene dayes passing desert Hills he came into champaine Countreies; which hauing passed in a fortnight with great labour, hee found a Riuer greater then Ganges, called *Dua*: and hauing sayled therein a moneth, came to a famous Citie fifteene miles in circuit, named *Dua*, where the women are exceedingly libidinous, the men contented with one wife. The Prouince is called *Macin*, full of Elephants, ten thousand of which the King keepe for his warres, and is himselfe carried on a white Elephant, wearing a golden Chayne distinguished with gemmes, and hanging to his feet. The men and women rase themselves, &c. (as before) but of the King, he sayth, that the same Kine haue tayles long and hairy to the feet, the haire subtile like Feathers, of much esteeme, and used on the tops of Lances as Ensignes. These things hath this *Nicholas* (sayth *Siluius*) of *Macin*, noting without doubt, the Region *Serica*. For our age placeth the Easterne *Scythians* in *Cathay*. That of *Dua* greater then Ganges, and that of ten thousand Elephants nourished by a King not knowne by fame, are hard to be beleued: but longinquitie cannot easily be confuted.

En. Syl. de 2. Asiae parte c. 10.

Macinum: here by appeares his *Macin* is about *Siam* or *Pegu*, &c.

* And yet how many things more incredible are, now found true.

TO THE READER.

Reader, I here present thee a piece of a Historie, so much as abuts on *Tartaria*, and *China*. *Alhacen*, a learned *Mahumetan* was the Author; whether an exact Historian, euery where literally to be understood; or whether in some part he be parabolicall, and presents a *Tamerlane* like *Xenophons* *Cyrus*, (in some things rather what he should haue bene, and what the Author could say, then what he was) I undertake not to determine. The *Abbat* of *Mortimer* takes it for a mist Storied, and so doth *Master Knolls* in his *Turkish Historie*. If it be an Historie partly parabolicall, yet doth the decorum exact of the Author a verisimilitude euery where of actions and places (sufficient to procure our pardon, if not thanks) the veritie of a great part being euident in other Storied. It is true that some things

seeme

seeme false for want of truth in our intelligence, rather then in themselves. And so hath it fared with all (the subject of this Booke) Tartarian and Chinesian affaires: of which we had as little knowledge as of Tamerlan, farther then terrors of Tartarian Armes, and some mens speciall occasions and trauels haue giuen vs light. Euen the Sunne riseth in those parts whiles it is not day-breake with vs, and hath attayned almost his Noon-point before we see him: and worthy wee are still to abide in a blacke night of ignorance, if we welcome not what light we can get (if we cannot get what wee would) from so remote an East. Once; Tartarian affaires (as it happens in Conquests) were changeable, and their New Moone was quickly at the full; diuers chances and changes succeeding after Poles dayes to these; such wealth whetting the Tartars to get and hold, and no lesse the Chinois to recouer; the China State being vnquiet so long as the Tartar greatnesse continued, and freed (for the most part) with their diminishing, and diuision into diuers Estates. As for these times of Tamerlan (if this Story be exact) it is like the Can held the North parts of China from Quinsay forward, with Cataio; and the King of China the rest; then Nanquin being the Seat Royall, as since the expulsion of the Tartars Paquin. Or perhaps the Quinsay heere mentioned, is that which Conti hath in the former Page told vs, was lately built by the Can: and not that which Polo speakes of; in Catay and not in China: which cleareth this doubt of the Cans residence and rule in China. To reconcile all doubts is for mee too hard a taske, because Cataio and China are euen still bewysted, and leane their Surrueys perplexed, bounding the search of the most curious in searching their mist bounds, how farre they are the same or differing; where in our Iesuites will more amuse and amaze vs (where wee will cleare our selues as well as we can) when wee come to them. I haue premised Conti, though Tamerlane be a little Elder for his Religions sake, and to recreate with a little Relation, before this longer Storie.

CHAP. VIII.

Extracts of ALHACEN his Arabike Historie of TAMERLAN,
touching his Martiall Trauels, done into French by IEAN
DV BEC, Abbat of Mortimer.

P. I.

TAMERLANs Birth and Person, his Expedition against the Muscouite;
his Marriage with the Cans daughter; his overthrow-
ing of CALIX.



Vndry Histories doe attribute, as a great want vnto the happie fortune of Tamerlan, not to haue a Writer in his dayes, which might haue left in writing his Historie vnto posteritie. But without any cause did they moane him, insomuch as his Historie is very famous amongst the Turkes, and Arabians; his Conquests very largely discoursed, and many of his worthy and notable sayings collected, with an infinite number of Noble deeds left vnto the memoriall of posteritie.

Very true it is, that he had not an Homer, but a great and worthie person, learned as well in naturall Philosophie, as in Astrologie, who was in the time of this Prince, a companion and familiar of his Conquests, named Alhacen, an Arabian by birth, and of Mahometers Religion. This Authour then being fallen into my hands, in my Voyage into the East Countrey, I caused the same to be interpreted vnto mee by an Arabian, who did speake Frank (as they terme it) that is to say, Italian, and some time I spent, in associating my selfe so with this man, who commended greatly vnto me the eloquence and grauitie of this Authour, wondering at his digressions, and entring againe into his matter so well to the purpose. It grieved mee much that I had not the perfection of this Language, to be a helpe vnto the richer of this Historie, for to deliuer it vnto my Nation with some grace: but I tooke thereof as much as I could in his Language, which was corrupted, as is the Franke Tongue (so they terme it) which is a kinde of Italian, mingled with Slanon, Greeke, and Spanish Tongues very common at Constantinople, with the Arabian and Turkish Tongues: so as I could not gather but onely the trueth thereof, and not the drifts and grauitie of the Declaration, wherein the Authour had collected it for posteritie (and as he said) by the commandement of the Prince, who was a loue of learning, and excellent in the knowledge of Astrologie and Diuinitie, as the custome of those Nations is to ioine them ordinarily together, studying vpon the vertue of names, and of the turning of letters, euen in their placing, writing them vnderneath Starres, whereof they make sentences, by meanes whereof they wrought miraculously in the things of Nature. This is that Zoroastrien and Bactrien Science, that of Balaam, and some others in my opinion, which hath succeeded vnto so many Arabian,

The History of
Tamerlan fa-
mous amongst
the Turkes and
Arabians.

Alhacen.

The Franke
Tongue a-
mongst the
Turkes.
Yee often haue
reade that
Franke in the
East, euer since
the Frankes ta-
king Ierusalem
signifies all the
West of Europe.
Tamerlan his
learning.
The Tartarians
strange kinde
of Astrologie.

Arabian Astrologians. Now then, this Prince was endued with such knowledge; as made him admired of the people where he commanded, who are for the most part great wonderers, inso-much as this caused him to be accounted a Prince accompanied with the Diuine vertue, considering the iustice he vsed in all his actions. This hath proceeded euen so farre that some *Italians* haue written foolish things thereof, as of certaine kinds of Tents which he caused to be pitched, when he besieged any Citie; one white, signifying peace, it yeelding vnto his mercy; another red, signifying cruelty to follow; and the third blacke, signifying mourning to ensue. But I finde not this in our Author, and I beleue them to be fables.

I will now declare vnto you with my *Arabian*, who this great Prince *Tamerlan* was. Hee was then of the blood of the *Tartarian* Emperours, and his father *Og* had for his portion the Countrey of *Sachetay*, whereof hee was Lord. This Countrey lying betweene the North and the East, is the ancient Countrey of *Parthia*, vpon the Coast of the *Zogdians*, and the chiefeft Citie of his estate was *Samercaud* situated vpon the Riuer of *Iffarle*. Some of our Historiographers would needs haue him to be the sonne of a shepherd; but this haue they said, not knowing at all the custome of their Countrey, where the principall reuenue of the Kings and Nobles consisteth in Cattell, despising Gold and Siluer, but making great reckoning of such riches, wherein they abound in all forts: this is the occasion wherefore some call them Shepherds, and say also that this Prince descended from them. So his Father *Og* was Prince of * *Achetay*, abounding in such kinde of wealth. And being come vnto the age of fifteene yeeres, his father being already old, deliuered vp vnto him the gouernment of his Kingdome, with the commandement ouer all his Men of warre. His father *Og* being giuen vnto peace, withdrew himselfe vnto a solitary life, for to serue God, and end the rest of his dayes in quiet. Hee gaue vnto his sonne *Tamerlan* (which signifieth *Heauenly grace* in their Tongue) two sufficient personages for to guide and assist him in the gouernment of his Estate: the one was called *Odmar*, and the other *Aly*, persons in great dignitie and credit with his father. Now this Prince was well instructed in the *Arabian* learning, and exercised himselfe much therein, and at such time as they thought him to be either in the Bathes, wherein they are very curious in that Countrey being their chiefeft delicacies, he was in the contemplation and studie of heauenly things. This Prince had within his eyes such Diuine beautie, being full of such maiestie, that one could hardly endure the sight of them without closing of their eyes, and they which talked with him, and did often behold him, became dumbe, inso-much as he abstayned with a certaine modestie and comlineffe, to looke vpon him that discoursed vnto him. All the rest of his visage was curteous and well proportioned: he had but little haire on his chinne: hee did weare his haire long and curled, contrary to the custome of his Countrey, who are shaued on their heads, hauing the same alwaies couered, but he contrariwise was alwaies in a manner bare-headed, and said, his mother came of the race of *Samson*, for a marke whereof shee aduised me to honour long haire. This was the cause that made him respected of his men of Armes, and the most part of them did beleue there was some vertue in those haire, or rather some fatall destinie, the which many did beleue to be so; and verily they were of a dusky colour drawing toward a violet, the most beautifull that any eye could behold. His stature was of the middle sort, somewhat narrow in his shoulders, he had a faire leg and strong, the strength of his body was such as no body did surpasse, and often on the festiual dayes he made triall of his strength with the most strong: and this he did with such grace and humanitie, that he whom he ouercame held himselfe therein most happie, although it bee a disgrace amongst the *Tartarians* to bee throwne to the ground in wrastling. Now, as he was Martiall, and desirous of glorie: the first warre that hee attempted was against the *Moscouite*, who came and spoyle a Citie which had put it selfe into his protection, and had entred also into his Countrey, and being retired, proclaymed open warre against him, gaue him battell neere to the Riuer *Mascha*, although the *Moscouite* had a great Armie, which hee had gathered together long before. On the other side, the Prince determining to resist him, assembled all his forces, and those of his allyes. Now the *Moscouite* had very great forces, and men well trayned vp in the warres, hauing had alwaies warres with his neighbours, the King of *Polonia*, with whom hee had then friendship, and the ayde of ten thousand very good Horse. There were also with him many *Hungarian* Gentlemen, led by *Vdelclaus* a *Hungarian* Gentleman, who had brought with him more then eight thousand Horse; the opinion was, that hee had in his Armie fourscore thousand Horse, and a hundred thousand foot-men. Our Prince *Tamerlan* had in his Armie about six-score thousand Horse, and a hundred and fifty thousand men on foot, but not so skilfull in points of warre as those of the *Moscouite*: for our Estate had long enioyed peace, and our Souldiers were indeed trayned vp in discipline of warres, but not in the practice thereof. The order of *Tamerlan* was this; that is, he caused all his Armie to bee diuided into squadrons, each consisting of sixe thousand Horse, except his owne, which was of ten thousand, so as he made eightene squadrons, his owne being reckoned which made nineteene. The Auant-guard was conducted by *Odmar*, who led nine squadrons, flanked with fortie thousand men on foot, diuided both on the right and left sides, who should shoot an infinite number of Arrowes. The Battell was conducted by *Tamerlan*, who led ten squadrons, his owne being therein

The off-spring and stocke of *Tamerlan*.

The flockes of the *Tartarian* Kings are their stockes, and the *Tartars* beasts are their best wealth.

* This name seems deriued from *Sochtai*, mentioned before in *Haitons* of whom these *Tartars* are still called *Zagetai*.

Tamerlans name: some make it to signifie *Lame-leg* by reason of that accident falling from his Horse, *Michon*, *Tamerlan* his studies and learning. Maiestie in his eyes. The like is reported of *Augustus*.

The custome of the *Tartarians*. *Tamerlan* wore long haire, and why. The description of *Tamerlan*.

Our Authors tell vs he was lame, and that he was therefore so called. *Tamerlan* his first warre against the *Moscouite*.

The Armie of the *Moscouite*. The Armie of *Tamerlan*.

The order of *Tamerlans* Battell.

great *Cham*, and for his benefit as well as for the Princes. Therefore to accomplish his Enterprize, in the meane-time that he attended for the returne of his Embassadors; he caused his forces to come forwards from all parts, appointing vnto them for the place of meeting his owne at the *Horda* of *Baschir*, where all his Armie assembled: and other ayding troupes of the great *Cham* in the Deserts of *Ergimul*, at a certayne day, in which place he should joyne with all his Army. The Army of the great *Cham* consisted of two hundred thousand fighting men; wherein were all the braue men of his Court, who were accustomed vnto the Wars, the Emperour which then reigned, and was old, hauing greatly increased his limits, and conquered a great Countrey, so as these men were well trayned vp in the Wars; and accustomed vnto trauell and paines. Now then the Embassadors which were sent, returne and informe the Prince of the will of (this proud King of the World) this King of *China* (who was named so) who puffed vp with vaine glorie, was astonished how any durst denounce Warre against him, making this proud Answer; That *Tamerlan* should content himselfe that hee had left him that which hee might haue taken from him, and that his Armes and Forces were of another sort, then those of whom he published the victorie, to bring thereby terrour vpon his Neighbours.

This Answer being heard, our Prince marched directly vnto the Army, and gaue order for the conueyance of victuals from all parts, sent to hasten forward his Confederates, imparted the Answer vnto the Emperour by Embassadors dispatched from him, caused the boldnesse of the King of *China* to be published, to make manifest vnto all the World the justnesse of his cause. Before his departure he went to take leaue of his Father, who endued with a singular and Fatherly affection, said he should neuer see him againe, and that he hastened vnto his last rest, and hauing made solemne Prayers ouer the Prince his Sonne for his prosperitie, kissing him a thousand times, drew off his Imperiall Ring, and gaue it vnto him, not asking whether his Iourney tended: and calling *Odmur*, he bade him farewell, recommending his faithfulness vnto his Son. Then he departed and drew towards *Samarcand*, where the Emperesse his Wife remayned; whom he carryed with him as is the custome of that Nation, and after he had (being Religious) visited the Tombe of his Seruant *Hally*, hee caused his soule three dayes to bee prayed for, according to the Rites of his Law: whereupon he presently departed, hauing taken order for the well gouerning of his Kingdome in his absence, committing the charge thereof vnto *Samay*, a man well practised in Affaires, and he who had the charge of our Prince in his youth. So then he marched forward in the middest of his Army, which consisted but of fiftie thousand Horse, and one hundred thousand men on foot, relying principally on the Forces of the great *Cham* his Vncle; who about all desired this War: he did not forget to giue in charge, that the rest of his Forces should be readie vpon the first Commandement, as soone as he should be ioyned with the forces of the great *Cham*, and marching forwards he had stayed by the way, by reason of some distemperature which had surprized him through changing of the Ayre, as the Physicians affirmed. But yet, notwithstanding, the forces which *Calix*, Captayne of the Army of the great *Cham* conducted, went daily forwards. Now the newes was spred into an infinite number of places of his distemperature, yet did he not neglect to send vnto the great *Cham*, and often aduertize him of the estate of his health, to the end the same should not cause any alteration, the which hee did fore-see by reason of his preferment vnto this Empire, by the great *Cham* his Vncle: and hee was in doubt of a certayne Lord named *Calix*, who was discontented therewith, and had not as yet neither gratified nor acknowledged him as all the other subiects had done.

Now concerning his delay, it was by sundry diuersly interpreted; some said that hee had bin aduertized of some vproare to be attempted, when he should be farre seuered from thence, and had passed ouer the Mountaynes of *Pasanfu*, and that *Calix* stayed vpon nothing else, inso much as the Companies of the great *Cham* were gone forwards, euen beyond the Mountaynes, hauing passed the Riuer of *Meau*, and were encamped at *Bonpron*, the which *Calix* vnderstanding, thought he should haue the meanes to worke his enterprize. Thereupon hauing assembled great store of his most faithfull followers, he tooke counsell with them, that this was the meanes to ouerthrow the purposes of *Zachetay*, who would reigne ouer, and bring them vnder his Empire: & that seeing their Prince had bin so badly minded as to do the same of his own mind without calling of them which had interest in that election, that now was the time to assure their libertie, which was in doubt to be lost, & caused also a rumor to be spred of the sicknes of this Prince, that the great *Cham* was old, the greatest part of his forces, far separated from him, forthwith dispatching a Messenger vnto the great *Cham* their Prince, to assure him that they bent not their forces against him, but were his faithful and obedient subiects: but they armed themselves, because they would not be gouerned by the *Parthians*, their ancient enemies. Thus *Calix* thought greatly to trouble him, when he rose in Armes against him, and did thinke that he had already assaulted the Wall which the King of *China* had made against the *Tartarians*. As soone then as the Prince was aduertized of the pretences of *Calix* thus discovered, hee marched one dayes Iourney forward, to the end he might approach vnto *Calix*, and impart the same vnto him, what face soeuer *Calix* set on the matter, he harkened what would become of *Calix*, that hee might likewise make some commotion: there was left with him to command ouer the *Parthians*, the Prince

This was as the *Chinois* report built before, and perhaps now by age ruined, (which may be a cause *Polo* mentions them not) and by this King repayed 100. yeares after *Polo* time. In which space also the *Chinois*, if this story be true, had recovered part of their Empire conquered before by *Cublai*. A kind parting betweene the Father and the Sonne.

Samay made Gouverneur of *Sachetay* in *Tamerlan* absence. *Tamerlan* his Armie marching against the King of *China*.

The conspiracie of *Calix* against *Tamerlan* in his absence.

Good directions
from Tamerlan.

Prince of *Thanaïs*, without whom he could not doe any thing, for that hee led the Auantgard. Thus was the Army deuided in two parts; the King of *China* remayning long before he was aduertized of all this, and thought he had all the forces both of the *Tartarians* and *Parthians* vpon his Armes, so as this was of no small importance to fauour our Affaires: for *Tamerlan* had especially giuen commandement, that the passages which are easily gotten, might as diligently be kept, to the end that the King of *China* should not be aduertized of the tumult. Then *Tamerlan* set forward his Auantgard vnder the leading of *Odmar*: hee promised vnto himselfe shortly a happie successe in his Affaires, and aduertized the Emperour of all: but it came vnto him when he was sicke. And surely it was high time for *Tamerlan* to march forward, or else all had bene reuolted, so leauing his Footmen, he made great Iournies. Now during the time that he had bin aduertized, and made his abode to consult, which was the space of two moneths: *Calix* hauing presented himselfe with a hundred thousand fighting men before *Cambalu*, a very great Citie, and chiefe of the Prouince of *Catayo*, the Inhabitants thereof came out to meete him, and did also receiue him with all the joy that might be.

Brore.

Now whilst our Army marched towards *Caindu*, and from thence vnto *Calatia*, whether our Army went easily, looking for the Forces of his Native Countrey of *Zachetay*, to come and joyne with him: he did not yet forget to send forward daily of our Souldiers towards *Cambalu*, so as they supposed all our Forces to be on the necke of them already, which gaue great terrour vnto the people. *Calix* perceiuing that the people did repent, hee thought best to withdraw himselfe out of *Cambalu*, determining to oppose himselfe against *Tamerlan*, and sent for his power from all places, putting all vpon the euent and hazard of a battell. He drew out of *Cambalu* full fiftie thousand men, as well Burgeses, as Souldiers which were there in Garrison, hauing wonne all the Captaynes which the old Emperour had placed there in Garrison, amounting to the number of thirty thousand men, and him that commanded ouer them, who had consented vnto the reuolt of this great Citie. To make it short, hauing assembled all his Forces, he had fourescore thousand Horse, and a hundred thousand Footmen, the which hee had gathered together from all parts. Our Army then marched with all diligence, in such sort as certayne Scouts which were two thousand Horse, had newes of the Armie of *Calix*, the which came forwards directly towards vs, whereof they caused the Emperour to be certified speedily, who sent thither two thousand Horses more, to the end they should keepe the passage of a Riuer called *Brore*, by the which our victuals were conueyed vnto the Armie, and also for to winne alwayes time, the Prince knowing right well that the motions of Ciuill Warres bee furious at the beginning, and that it is the best to resist them slowly, drawing them alwayes out at length if it be possible. For the people in the end acknowledging their faults, their meanes and money fayling them, and oftentimes victuals also. On the contrary side in a Royall Army none of all this doth happen, where all things are fauourable, and the Souldiers well disciplined, obedience and order beeing wisely obserued. Then had the Emperour the guiding of his owne purposes, for he had receiued commandement from the Emperour his Vncle, to hazard therein all for all, deliuering vp into his hands the safegard of his life and estate, that he might thereby end his dayes in peace, willing him likewise to punish this arrogant fellow and his partakers. By this meanes came forces from all parts vnto *Tamerlan*; but on the contrary part, the Enemies Army was then in his chiefeest force, and began to feele the want of victuals.

Axalla.

Many Christians.

Calix was of the age of fortie, he was a Captayne renowned with the great *Cham*, hee was one of the chiefeest in dignitie and place, and they had alwayes respected him within *Tartarie* as a person most worthy of the Empire, if the glory of *Tamerlan*, and his reputation had not so far excelled. The Armies began to be viewed the one of the other about eight of the clock in the morning, where there were very many skirmishes before they came vnto the mayne Battayle (according to the fights of these Nations) it was a great Plaine wherein they met at that time, with like aduantage on eyther part; *Odmar* led the Auantgard, wherein there was fortie thousand Horse, and threescore thousand Foot-men; he made three Squadrons, whereof hee set forward one before him that began the Battayle. *Tamerlan* marched in the same order, but his Squadrons were much stronger, the Foot-men both of the Auantgard and of the Battayle were on the right and left wings. *Tamerlan* had drawne out sixe thousand *Parthian* Horse, and two thousand *Tartarian* for the Arier-ward, and had committed the charge thereof vnto a faithfull Seruant of his called *Axalla* (a *Genuois* borne) a man of great iudgement, his vnderstanding being good and quicke, and a Captayne in great estimation amongst the Souldiers, although hee worshipped God in another manner then wee did, and was a Christian. And hee had many of them with him, whom he caused to come from the *Georgians*, and from *Pont Euxin*, who fought with great agilitie; this day did hee shew his great fidelitie and courage vnto his Prince. *Calix* on the other-side, who was a well spoken man, was encouraging his Souldiers to fauour his fortune, and the libertie of his Nation: he had diuided his troupes into three mayne Battayles onely, his Foot-men vpon the right hand, his owne person was in the midst of the mayne Battayle, with many Foot-men which compassed him round about (according as wee vse to fight.)

In

In the end, valiantly fighting, he fell into *Axallas* hands, which with one voyce he proclaymed through all his Campe, which ouerthrew the courage of all his Souldiers. Hee was kept vntill the next day, and was iudged by all the Counsell worthy of punishment: whereupon *Tamerlan* caused his head to bee smitten off, the which hee sent to bee presented vnto the Inhabitants of *Cambalu*: he caused the like to be done vnto all the chiefe Leaders, not for crueltie, but for necessity, knowing very well, that the meanes to cut off the Foot of ciuill warres, is to punish the Heads of the same, for they be *Hydras* which grow vp too fast.

Calix taken
prisoner by
Axalla.
Calix behea-
ded, bloud
and
gorged
the
ground

§. II.

10 Cataio, Cambalu; Tamerlan's expedition into China, entering the Wall, conquering the King, and disposing of the Countrey, and returne to Cataio.



After this the Armie marched into the Kingdome of *Cataio*, a Countrey rich in grasse, and in all kinds of pastures, abounding with great quantitie of Beasts, and People, which knew not what warre meant. The Prince gaue commandement that these people should not be accounted as Enemies, but his good Subjects, that hee would vse

all the Cities well, as *Cangi*, *Sochgi*, *Gonza*, *Tagni*, *Togara*, *Congu*, which had reuolted, and were come to sue for pardon at his hands, in humbling themselves before him; the which he granted vnto them, enjoying them onely to prouide sufficient victuals for his Armie: which was of no small importance for the appeasing of others, who had put all their hope in extremitie, which is in losing their owne liues to make others doe the like: and especially the Inhabitants of *Cambalu* had taken this resolution: but being informed of the Emperours clemency, changed their opinions. In the meane while our Armie daily approched, and at such time as we came neerest, the more did the feare of all the Citie increase, insomuch as the Prince was aduertised daily from those which fauoured his side, of all things within the Citie, and he was assured that every one determined to obey the Conqueror, and to doe whatsoeuer he commanded. The which being knowne vnto the Prince, he left all his Armie at *Gonza*, and himselfe went directly vnto the Citie of *Cambalu*, where all things were made quiet, by the meanes of thirtie thousand Souldiers, being the ordinarie Garrison, whom hee caused to enter thereinto before him, and two houres after entred into the same himselfe, being receiued with great magnificence, not yeelding as yet to pronounce the word of pardon, referring all vnto the Emperour, and to the ordinarie course of Iustice. He stayed for the returne of one of his Favourites, whom he had sent vnto the Emperour, to carry him newes of the victorie, and of the death of *Calix*, and that the chiefe of this Faction remayned prisoners with him; also to know what Iustice the Emperour would appoint to bee inflicted on those Citizens, which were the first beginners of the reuolt of this Citie: for the Prince being desirous to be esteemed mercifull, and to win loue within this great Citie, would not execute justice of himselfe, nor in his owne name, but by the Emperour his Vncle, whom hee did gratifie herein; leauing the authoritie wholly vnto himselfe, and by this means hee was not esteemed cruell. Thus the Prince after hee had remayned here eight dayes, departed. He was not many dayes journey from the Citie before he receiued tydings, how the great *Chan* his Vncle, willed that justice should bee executed on them which were the first Mouers of this reuolt; the which was executed accordingly in the name of the Emperour, and by his speciall ministers; in such sort, that as the people accused the crueltie of the Emperour, they commended the mercy of *Tamerlan*. Thus was this warre brought vnto an end, to the great honour and reputation of *Tamerlan*.

The ordinarie
Garrison at
Cambalu of
30000. Souldiers.

As soone as our Prince was returned vnto his Army where hee found *Odmar*, who there attended his coming, hee was receiued of his Souldiers, and with a loud voyce called by all his Captaines and Souldiers; Most great Emperour and most victorious, as they are accustomed to doe amongst the *Tartarians*. The Prince after he had long discoursed with his Captaines both of the beautie and greatnesse of the Citie of *Cambalu*, hee arriued at his Tent, where after hee had declared vnto *Odmar* in what sort all things had passed at *Cambalu*: he asked his aduice, whether hee should goe and visite the Emperour his Vncle. *Odmar* well perceiued that the Prince desired it, and called vnto his remembrance the honour which hee had receiued when hee was at *Quinzai*, and that hee would haue bene very willing to spend the Winter with the Emperesse, staying for the Spring for to returne vnto the enterprise of *China*, with a long speech dissuaded him. The Emperour answered him, that he had euer knowne his fidelitie and loue, and that the cause of his sadnesse was, for that hee did not find in himselfe abilitie to recompence the same; and that when he thought to giue himselfe some ease, then was the time hee must in stead of the delicacies and pleasures of *Quinzai*, make the Desarts of *Cipribit* the resting place from the trauailes of his new victorie: that it was ended, and his purposes determined: I haue also heard the Prince say, that *Odmar* did not speake vnto him like an earthly but diuine man, and that he verily beleueed that God by his meanes did call him back from some misse-hap which would haue light vpon him, to make his glorie increase the more. Now, the rumour was already

Tamerlan wel-
commed vnto
his Armie,
with new and
strange accla-
mation.

Tamerlan his
Oration vnto
his Souldiers
vpon his going
forward a-
gainst the
King of China.

spread ouer all, that the Princes determination was to goe and visit the Emperour his Vncle, the which tickled euery man with desire to returne into his Countrey, hoping to inioy the sweetnesse of his native soyle. When as commandement was giuen for a generall reuiue of the whole Armie: where the Emperour spake vnto his Souldiers in this manner: *Wee haue begonne (my faithfull Souldiers) an enterprize to goe and assault the King of China, who haib of late repulsed euen beyond the Mountaynes the Tartarian name; but wee were hindered to our great grieve by the foolish rashnesse of Calix, and were driuen to turne the bridle for to punish him, wherein you haue all assisted mee. It grieveth mee that I cannot as well bragge of the fresh spoyle of a stranger, as I may vaunt (by the meanes of your weapons) of those our unfaithfull Citizens; and in times past with your owne selues making tryall of my first Armes against the boldnesse of the fierce Moscouite, although for this last ciuill victorie I am further indebted vnto you, for your greater endeouour, and the hazarding of your persons being much greater, so were they our owne people, who would not acknowledge vs, whereof I cannot speake without shedding of teares, desiring rather to burie such a victorie, what glorie and honour soeuer wee haue gotten thereby. Neither doe I recount these things vnto you, but for to manifest that I forget not your faithfulness, and the great trauaile you haue endured with mee. Wee must not therefore bee wearie, but must turne our weapons against those which thinke that wee are greatly troubled, whereas wee are victorious. Wee haue left our Companions, who haue temporized to heare the euent and successe of our affaires, all our munitions bee there; wee must in that place (my Souldiers and friendly Followers) passe ouer the rest of Winter; our Companions looke for vs. The Enemy is secure and looketh not for vs at this season of the yeere: for hee perceiueth that our Armie which is there is not sufficient for offence, but onely for defence. You shall receiue double pay, the better to furnish you against the iniurie of cold: and as wee shall bee clothed with double garments, I hope wee shall bee also apparelled with double glorie. Let vs march on merrily, I my selfe will goe with you, and bee companion of your glorie. After hee had thus spoken vnto his Souldiers, they all cryed; One God in Heauen, and one Emperour on the Earth: and bowing downe all their heads in token of humilitie, they shewed how agreeable they were to obey that which he commanded.*

The crye of the
Souldiers vpon
the Emperours
Oration.

Thus euery one returned into his Tent, where they abode yet eight dayes more. The Prince sent back againe *Zamai* vnto *Sachetay* with some five and twentie thousand Horse, and fiftie thousand Foot-men, for the safetie of his estate in those parts. Thus after prayers were said, all the Armie being assembled together in the presence of the Prince (according to the custome of our Emperours) our Armie began to march forward. Hee forgot not likewise to dispatch one vnto the Emperour his Vncle, to giue him vnderstanding of all this resolution, the which hee very well liked of. The Prince by the same Messenger did beseech him, to send vnto him in the Spring of the yeere some fiftie thousand men to repayre his Armie, and certayne money also for the payment of his men of Warre, which hee granted him. Moreouer, the conducting of good store of warlike munition, and plentie of victuals for to renew ours: for this warre was principally enterprised for the profit and greatnesse of the *Tartarians*, and for the importance which the losse of the Lordships of *Paguin* and *Quifu* was vnto them, whereby the King of *China* had greatly strengthened and assured his estate, in so much as hee might at his pleasure enter vpon the *Tartarians*, and the *Tartarians* could not enterprize against him without great forces, for that hee had caused a wall to bee made betweene the spaces of the Mountaynes, which was fortie leagues long, so as they were defended hereby from the ordinarie incursions, the which continually did greatly enrich them, because they brought much Cattell through the same, wherein the Countrey of *China* doth greatly abound, by reason it is situated in a temperate ayre, being neither too hot nor cold. This was the cause that made the Emperour his Vncle to desire this warre; whom our Prince, according to his dutie, would to the vttermost of his power gratifie, as also his new Subiects.

A wall builded
by the King of
China, fortie
leagues long.
Perhaps this
was not the
ancient wall,
of which the
Chinois write,
but some o-
ther betwixt
Cathay and
those parts of
Mangi, which
the *Tartars* ha-
uing gotten
in *Polos* dayes,
might soone
after lose, and
the *Chinois* re-
couer; the *Tar-
tarians* stil hol-
ding *Quinsay*
& some other
parts of *Mangi*
or *China*, as
this storie (if
wholly true)
seemes to im-
port.

The Prince of
Tbanais gay-
neth a Lord of
the Mountaynes
to doe the Em-
peror seruice.
Vauchefu.

So wee began to march, and in thirtie eight dayes wee arriued at *Cipribit*, the Armie hauing found great discommodities: there had wee newes of *Calibes*, who was very glad to vnderstand how the affaires had passed: hee came to visit the Prince, who shewed vnto him a very good countenance, and gaue him particular vnderstanding of his determination, and vnderstood at large of *Calibes*, all that had passed within the Kingdome of *China*. The next day the Prince mounted on horse-back, and came vnto *Pazanfon*, where the forces commanded by *Calibes* were at that present, the which had often fought with and tryed the forces of the *Chinois*: but found them much inferiour vnto their owne. The Emperour caused a generall reuiue to bee made of all the forces which were vnder *Calibes*, and after he beheld the countenances of these Souldiers throughout all their rankes, he caused them to muster, and to receiue money, euery one crying, *God saue the victorious and invincible Emperour*, according to their custome.

The Prince of *Tbanais* (who commanded the Armie in *Calibes* absence, going to meet *Tamerlan*) with great diligence had marked the Wall, and the places by the which hee might enter by force, and sent many Spyes into the Countrey of *China*, by certayne little wayes that were within the Mountaynes, who aduertised him of all. Hee had also gayned through his courtesie a Lord of the same Mountaynes (called the Lord of *Vauchefu*) who ruled a great Countrey, with whom

whom he had so well profited, that he made him desirous of a new Master, and to submit himselfe vnto the Emperour, receiuing daily great discommoditie by the warres which the *Tartarians* and *Chinois* made: so as he comming to visit the Prince of *Thanais*, hee assured him of his desire to doe the Prince seruice, and to helpe him in the warre against the *Chinois*, the which the Prince of *Thanais* had wisely concealed from *Calibes*. But as soone as the Prince was arriued, he imparted the same vnto him, the which made *Tamerlan* desirous to haue some speech with him, so that as soone as the Prince had receiued commandement from the Emperour, hee sent vnto *Vauchefu* to aduertise him of the Princes arriual, and of the commandement which hee had receiued: whereof the other was very glad, and hauing appointed a day, the Prince tooke his journey (without stirring of the Armie) into the campe of the Prince of *Thanais*, which was neere vnto the River of *Langenne*, whither hee had caused this foresaid Lord to come, who met him there.

- Then the Prince after he had heaped vpon him gifts of faire Horses, rich Furrer, and other rare things, he willed him to vtter that which he had to say vnto him. This Lord spake then in this manner: Know my Lord, that it is but losse of time to thinke, that with your Armes you should bee able to force the Wall, which the *Chinois* haue built against the incursions of your subjects; the Defendants haue too much aduantage therein. I doubt not of your Souldiers stoutnesse and of their courage, I know you haue conquered many Nations with them, and that whatsoever you command them, they will die or doe the same. I know you haue great and wise Captaines with you, that your Person is onely of all the World worthy to command them: but all this will bee but in vaine against the Wall of the *Chinois*, where I assure you there are fiftie thousand men to keepe it, and you cannot stay there so short a time, but there will come thither fiftie thousand more, led by the *Xianxi* who hath such a commandement. The King of China will himselfe march forward also, who will giue you battell with two hundred thousand Horse and as many Footmen. After you haue fought, I beleene that the fortune and valour of your men may obtayne the victorie, the which will cost you deare: but for to shew vnto you how much the reputation and mildnesse of your men hath bound mee vnto them, I will shew you a meanes by the which you may cause fiftie thousand men to enter into the Kingdome of China, whom I my selfe will conduct; and they shall bee on them which keepe the Wall, in a manner as soone as they shall perceiue it. In the meane time you shall cause your men to goe vnto a place that I will tell you, which will bee very discommodious vnto the *Chinois*, by reason of a Mountayneouer against them, which you must cause them to winne: for I assure my selfe, that when they shall perceiue your Souldiers to bee passed, they will lose their courage, and you may easily winne the passage for to fauour those men of yours which shall bee passed over with mee. And for to shew vnto you the affection and fidelitie of that I speake, I will deliuer into your hands an onely Sonne I haue, and two little Daughters with my Wife: I haue also one Brother, who I am assured will follow mee to doe you seruice. The Prince hauing heard this Lord speake, receiued great ioy thereof, hoping that his affaires should happily succede, and this hee kept very secret, for euen the Prince of *Thanais* knew not the meanes that this Lord had, seeing there was onely present the Prince and an Interpreter, and the Prince after hee had thus spoken vnto him, gratifying him with all hee could possibly, this Lord retyred himselfe, accompanied with the Prince of *Thanais*, who conducted him backe againe with all the honour that might bee. So the Emperour returned from thence into his quarter, and the next day after hee had imparted the whole vnto *Odmar*, and heard *Calibes* concerning that which hee had learned of the departing of the King of *China*, and of his preparation, which was great. This enterprize seeming hard vnto him, after due reuerence yeelded vnto the Prince, hee spake vnto him in this manner: Know my Lord, that I am your Slaue for to obey you: but seeing you require mee to giue you an account of all that I know of the estate of the Kingdome of *China*, for that I haue remayned these six moneths vpon the borders by your commandement, to hinder them from passing the same, whereby they might hurt your enterprizes, I can assure firme vnto you, that the King of *China*, who aigneth at this present, is of great reputation, and hath increased the limits of his Kingdome more then any of his Predecessors. His strength consisteth in this Wall opposed against vs, the which hee hath caused to bee made by reason of the ordinarie roades of our Nation. I am of opinion, that there bee betwene fiftie and three-score thousand men at the guard of that Wall, men for the most part trayned vp in the Garrisons of the King of *China*, and his best Souldiers, and I know no good meanes to force this Wall without great hazard and much losse of your men. I haue vnderstood, that towards the Lake *Hogeen* you may finde more easie entrance into the Kingdome: after euery one had declared his opinion, hee said; that hee hoped the great God (the Vnitie, of whom hee would maintayne against such Idolaters) and his iust right should answer the reasons which doe contradict his purpose, and the valiant arme of his Souldiers shall quite ouerthrow whatsoever opposeth it selfe against the same; and concealed from his Souldiers that which hee held as assured to execute it, to the end, the honour of a happy conducting might be ascribed vnto him onely.

Now, our Prince hauing satisfied euery one of the Kings and Lords that did accompany him, hee appointed the meeting place for his Armie to bee at a certayne place, where hee meant to choose

The speech of
the Mountaine
Lord vnto *Ta-*
merlan.

Calibes Orati-
on vnto Prince
Tamerlan.

The Lake
Hogeen.

Quagnifou.

Fiftie thousand
men sent into
China by a se-
cret passage,
vnder the lea-
ding of the
Prince of Tha-
nais and Axalla.

A secret way
found into Chi-
na, by the con-
duct of the
mountaine
Lord.

Axalla ouer-
threw the Chi-
nois that kept
the wall of
partition.

Quantion.

The custome
of the Chinois
in religion.

The Emperour
wonne the
wals of China.

The mountain
Lord rewarded
with great
gouernment.

A good aduer-
siment for
Generals.

chooſe fiftie thouſand fighting men, and deliuer them vnto the commandement of the Prince of *Thanais*, vnto whom he ioyned the Lord *Axalla* a *Genuois* (for that hee knew him to bee diſcrete) for to accompanie him, commanding him to giue credite vnto him, for his experience and fidelitie. The day appointed being come, the Lord with his brother came to the Emperour, hauing viewed the place againe, and found it to bee forceable and fit to paſſe, aſſuring the Prince once againe of the happy ſucceſſe of their enterpriſe, and the Prince beeing aſſembled with them to conferre together, reſolued in the end, that his perſon with all the army ſhould approach vnto the walles directly ouer againſt *Quagnifou*, in which meane ſpace the fiftie thouſand men ſhould march forwards vnto the place appointed, and where they were aſſured to paſſe, conducted by the *Chinois* Lord, vnder the charge of the Prince of *Thanais* and *Axalla*. The Emperour hauing not failed to deliuer vnto them the beſt ſouldiers of his armie, and hauing ſet downe the order by them to bee obſerued, hee willed that the Lord *Axalla* ſhould leade twentie thouſand of them, and ſhould march the firſt, the reſt led by the Prince of *Thanais*, and that euery one ſhould haue one of thoſe Lords to guide them, that by their meanes the enterpriſe might bee more ſafely directed. So hauing marched ten leagues, they arriued at the paſſage, the which was won, not finding any man there to reſiſt them: and hauing taken a light repaſt, they beganne to march forward other ten leagues which yet remained, where the *Chinois* were, who ſuſpected no ſuch thing, hauing onely an eye vnto them which marched for to force their walles, aſſuring themſelues to haue the maſtry, conſidering their aduantage.

But it fell out much otherwiſe, for euen at the very ſame time the *Chinois* did perceiue the Princes armie to approach vnto their wall, as ſoone did they diſcry *Axalla* with twenty thouſand men, who aduanced forward being followed by the Prince of *Thanais* with thirtie thouſand ſouldiers choſen out of the whole army, who without any communication ſet vpon the *Chinois*, which came preſently vnto them, hauing left a certaine number of their Campe for the guard of the wall: but they were preſently won by the footmen led this day by *Odmar*, who paſſed ouer ſo as the *Chinois* were cut off betweene our Armies. When *Axalla* began the battaile, he ouerthrew them in a manner all, the Prince of *Thanais* not hazarding himſelf therein: there was great riches gotten this day, the King of *China* his Couſin (whom he called King) was taken priſoner: There was a great quantity of gold amongſt them, as well on their armes as on their horſe and furniture: they ſhewed no great ſtoutneſſe. The newes heereof being come vnto the King of *China*, who at that preſent time was at *Quantion*, brought vnto him great aſtoniſhment, for that hee iudged it a thing that could not poſſibly come to paſſe, you might haue ſeene euery one filled with fright, teares and cries, bewailing the loſſe of their friends. The King gathering together ſouldiers from all parts (as the cuſtome is of theſe people) cauſed all the Prieſtes and ſuch as had the charge of holy things to come vnto him, and after exhortations vſed, he (as their head) commanded them to offer ſacrifice vnto their Gods, of whom the Sunne is the principall commanding in heauen (whom they hold opinion to bee the chiefeſt cauſe of their being, accounting it immortall and impaſſible, mouing it ſelfe onely for the benefit of liuing creatures) this did hee command to bee obſerued through out all his Cities; and the ſecond thing was, that euery one able to beare armes ſhould mount on horſebacke, and come vnto the King at *Paguinfou*, whither hee doubted that we would go, becauſe it was one of the neereſt townes vpon the borders.

I haue forgotten to declare that this Lord who had the charge to conduct fiftie thouſand men vnto the frontiers, at ſuch time as they which were there had need thereof, was ſoone in a readineſſe, and came to oppoſe himſelfe againſt the Princes Armie which entred, and being ſkilfull in the wayes of the countrey, troubled much the Armie: for a great number of his men were on horſebacke. The Prince determined to beate downe all the wals, the better to aſſure his returne, as alſo all the fortrefſes which were there vpon all the paſſages, all of them hauing yeelded themſelues after his victorie, ſhewing himſelfe very courteous vnto the people of theſe mountaines, he gaue vnto this Lord a ſmall portion of land, wherein there be ſeuen or eight good townes, *Archij*, *Ymulij*, *Faliquien*, *Fulij*, *Cohenſen*, *Qualij*, *Pulij*, *Quianlu*, who came and deliuered vp their keyes vnto him, being neighbours vnto this Lord, and gaue him the gouernment of the frontier province of *Xianxij*, ſhewing himſelfe to be a Prince of his word, and acknowledging the notable ſeruices the which this Lord had done him. He referred the honouring of his brother vntill he had meanes to doe the ſame: the Prince had receiued newes, how that the King of *China* aſſembled his forces & marched forwards, and that he was there in his owne perſon, & that he ſtrengthened alſo his Cities which are ſufficiently fortified, and vpon theſe doubts hee thought good to haue the aduice of his Captaines, and after ſundry opinions, his reſolution was, to leaue nothing behind him, and to aſſault ſome famous Citie, and take it, by meanes whereof he may nourish his Armie, and ſecondarily call the enemy vnto battell. The which the conqueror ſhould alwaies ſeek, & the defender the leaſt he can hazard the ſame. For that it is a very doubtfull thing to commit themſelues vnto a battell, his dutie being rather to delay, vndermining the conqueror by lengt hand by wearineſſe, and light skirmiſhes, then to fight in open field.

It was concluded, and the aduice of euery one was, to conquer the Countrey by little and little, so as their enterprife was to draw directly vnto *Paguinfon*, which as it was a great Citie, and one of the chiefest, so is it also strongly fortified, and well replenished with people.

Then he dispatched *Odmar* with fourteene thousand Horse, to aduance forward and summon the same, as for to hinder victuals from being conuayed thereinto out of the champaine Countrey: to the end that the Cattell remayning in the fields, should be a meanes to maintayne and nourish his Armie. I had forgotten to tell you, that for the acknowledging of the Lord *Axalla* his seruices, the Prince had made him Captaine generall of all his Foot-men, which was one of the principall honours of the Armie. Hee caused the said Lord *Axalla* to march after *Odmar*, with all the Foot-men, which was very neere a hundred and fifty thousand men, well trayned vp in the warres, and good expert fighters. He marched himselfe immediatly after with all his Horsemen, Artilleries, Engines, and other munitions belonging vnto warre, directly vnto *Paguinfon*. *Odmar* did ride twentie French leagues this day, so as he arriued there contrary to their expectation, looking rather for the King then for the Enemie, and hauing taken much Cattell, wherewith the Countrey greatly aboundeth, he pitched his Tents, leauing the Citie betweene him and vs, and stayed for his footmen, who marched forwards in the meane space, sending continually vnto the warre, for to wearie the Enemie. This endured three or foure dayes, vntill our footmen led by this braue Christian *Genuois*, shewed themselues in the Playne of *Paguinfon*. Then the Citie was summoned to yeeld obedience vnto the Emperour, or else they should receiue the Law of the Conquerour. They made answer, that they were determined to live and die in the seruice of their Prince.

Now you must vnderstand that it was fortie yeeres, or thereabouts, since the Father of the King which reigneth at this present ouer the *Chinois*, had conquered it from the Empire of the *Tartarians*, and hauing driuen out all the Inhabitants, they had planted therein new Colonies, so thorowly, that there were but few of the first remembrance, but only they of the flat Countrey, and small walled Townes, who came from all parts and brought their Keyes, most willingly submitting themselues vnto the obedience of the Prince: so as there was great abundance of victuals within our Armie: and if wee had bene within our owne Countrey, there could not haue come greater store; a thing which made our Prince hope for a happie successe, there being no other difficulty which for the most part can ouerthrow a great Armie as ours was, and withdraw them from their enterprife. And thus the Citie of *Paguinfon* is besieged, and our footmen camped round about within an Arrowes shot of the walls. They within the Citie did vse great endeavour for their defence, and our Prince omitted nothing for their offence.

Axalla hauing viewed a great and strong Suburbe, which was in length almost halfe a league, supposed that those of the Citie kept no watch there: that this must needs bee, for that they would not make him obstinate; he had a determination to winne it in the night, and hauing imparted it vnto the Prince, vpon the first watch all his men were ready, all of them hauing made prouision of Ladders, and of such things as are necessary for winning thereof with hand-bloues, and hauing assaulted it on sundry parts, after the fight had continued two houres, *Axalla* remayned the Conquerour, and cut in pieces eight thousand men at the least which were within the same: the spoyle was great, there were many of *Axalla* his men slayne of one side, which was that by the which they doubted to be assaulted. But on the other side, by the which it was taken, there was scarce any one slayne. The taking of this Suburbe did greatly astonish those of the Citie, who had marked the lustinesse of our men, and beganne to enter into doubt of their safety, which vnto this day they accounted as most assured. Now you must vnderstand that the situation of the Citie was of hard accessse, being seated vpon a Playne, the which was enuironed round about with Mountaines, one of them onely approaching the Citie, which overlooked it on front vpon the North side, where was a Valley by the which they passed, and there did runne a Riuer: on this side was the Suburbe situated which had been taken, so as the meanes to succour the Citie was stopped, our Souldiers keeping the passages of these Mountaines, the which were in the old time the borders of the Kingdome: for *Paguinfon* was once gouerned by the *Tartarians*, which kept it for a defence against the *Chinois*, but had lost the same, and these Mountaines were the limits of *China* against the aforesaid *Tartarians*, who gouerned *Paguinfon* at that time, so as these Mountaines were of hard accessse, and there remayned no other way but on the side of the Suburbe, the which a Riuer compasseth about, running all along the side of a bordering Mountaine, vpon the which wee caused many bridges to be built, for to haue thereby a way for to succour our Souldiers, which kept the passages of the Mountaines on the enemies side.

In this meane time the King of *Chinas* Armie approached which was very great, as they brought vs word daily, the Prince determining to goe in person and meet with the Enemie, accompanied with his principall Hors-men, and to leaue the greatest part of his Foot-men at the siege, whereunto he had a great desire, omitting nothing that might wearie the besieged, who defended themselues couragiously. So the Prince beganne to batter, causing his Engines to approach; as Rammes, and other munitions: insomuch as the Citie was assaulted on two sides ver-

Axalla made
Captaine ge-
nerall of all
the foot-men;

Paguinfon be-
sieged;

Note these
changes of
state betwixt
the *Tartars* and
Chinois.

A great Sub-
urbe wonne by
Axalla in the
night.

The situation
of the Citie of
Paguinfon.

The siege of
Paguinfon.

The Citie of
Paginfu yeel-
ded vnto Ta-
merlan vpon
the death of
their Gouver-
neur.
Axallas choise.

Tamerlan his
kind of godli-
nesse.

The King of
China his mag-
nificence.

The custome
of the Chinois.

Tunichenoy.

Pannibu.

Tiauchenoy.

The order of
the Princes
battaile a-
gainst the
King of China.

ry courageously. In the end through the valour of *Axalla*, who gaue an assault with twenty thou-
sand of his best Souldiers, he wonne the wall, and lodged there, the Prince hauing so comman-
ded him to doe, to stop the heat of the Souldiers from going any further. Now the Princes pur-
pose was to compound for the Citie, and not to force it, for two reasons. The first was, for that
he feared, the Citie being great and rich, that when the Souldiers should sacke it, the Enemie
who was but thirty leagues from thence, should come vpon them, and by this meanes his Armie
should be found in disorder, also rich Souldiers neuer serue well: The other was, for that hee
would draw out of that Citie which was rich and wealthy, those commodities which were ne-
cessary for the sure accomplishing of his enterprise, seeing it was necessary to haue such a Citie
for to make a Store-house of necessary things for the Armie. Thus although the wall was won, 10
the Enemies wanted not courage yet to defend themselves valiantly, looking for ayde according
to the newes they had receiued, that the Kings Armie marched forward. Whilest these things
were in doing, one of our Engines shooting a bullet, slue the Gouverneur, whereupon they did
resolue for to yeeld themselves vnto the Princes mercy, sauing their liues, and the Souldiers en-
ioying their horse and weapons. The conditions were agreed vpon, and there came out of the
Citie eightene thousand Souldiers, the Inhabitants remayning in a manner all: there were
therein thirtie thousand Souldiers at the beginning: the siege continued two moneths. The
honour of taking the Citie and the happy successe therein was attributed vnto *Axalla*, to whom
was giuen the gouernment of the Citie with the Countrey already conquered. But hee besee-
ched the Prince that it would please him to bestow it vpon some other, and for himselfe hee re- 20
serued the hope of his Master, wherein hee should haue part. This answer did greatly content
the Prince, for hee greatly desired the seruice of *Axalla*. Vpon his refusall this charge was be-
stowed vpon the Prince of *Thanais*, with the Title of Vice-roy. Now, as I haue already told
you, our Prince after hee had giuen such order as was necessary, and aduertised his friends in all
parts, and aboue all the Emperour, he marched forward, hauing contented his Souldiers, and
made a generall muster of his Armie, as well of the horse as footmen, the which hee found to
be diminished of ten thousand men onely. Now, our Prince after he had solemnely called vpon
the Immortall, Inuincible, and Incomprehensible God, and spent one whole day in prayer, wee
enterprised to goe on forward, and to goe directly vnto the Enemie, who was at *Simehu*, with
all his owne forces, and of all his Allies. As soone as he receiued newes that our Armie was pas- 30
sed ouer the Riuer of *Chulifu*, the King of *China* marched directly vnto vs with great magnifi-
cence: there was nothing to bee seene but gold and precious stones in his Armie: hee himselfe
was commonly in a Chariot, wherein there was such a quantitie of gold and rich stones, that
euery part was full of Diamonds, Rubies, and Pearles.

The King of *China* was of the age of three and thirtie yeeres, who for the most part had beene
brought vp in pleasures, and not in militarie exercises, nor vnder the bloudie ensigne of *Mars*,
laden with Iron, boisterous and furious, not with gold, precious stones, and with such kinde
of riches: so as he was very insolent in threatnings, brauadoes, and in defying vnto the battaile.
He often said that we had surprised him, and had not warned him to prepare himselfe, and that
we had stricken him without speaking any word: for this is the custome of the people in those 40
parts, to doe in this manner. Hee had two or three Kings also with him, his Neighbours and
Allies, who marched with the same preparation. The rumour of these riches gaue great courage
to the Souldiers, for they were couetous of iust gayne, as is that gotten by a battaile. So both
our Armies went forward each to approach the other, and there was a Citie yeelded vnto the
Prince called *Tunichenoy*, the which helped our Armie greatly. The next day, to the end wee
might giue occasion vnto the Enemie for to approach neerer, we sent to summon, and at the same
time to take possession of the Citie of *Pannibu*, the which in aduancing forward wee left a little
behinde vs. The King of *China* had put many men thereinto, and it was a Citie sufficiently well
fortified: from *Tiauchenoy* to *Pagunubu* there were ten leagues. He aduanced his Armie within
a league of the Citie *Tiauchenoy*, about noone the next day they had more certaine aduertise- 50
ment of the Enemies comming. The Prince commanded his Armie to take the place for the
battaile, which he had chosin in his iudgement with most aduantage, and hauing set downe vn-
to *Odmar* the order he would haue to be obserued, he desired to see the comming of this Armie:
so sending before him fise or six thousand Horse as Scouts, hee aduanced forward, and *Calibes*
with him. After he had seene this great confused Armie which continually came forward, hee
commanded *Calibes* to retyre himselfe as soone as they drew neere vnto him, and bring vnto
him this great cloud, the which hee hoped soone to disperse. So the Prince returned backe vn-
to his men for to assure them of the battaile: hee caused all his footmen to bee placed all along
by a great Mountayne, so as they had but one head for to doubt. And hee planted great store
of Artillerie for the guard of his footmen. I am of opinion, that the Prince had about six- 60
score thousand footmen, whereof many were armed after the *Christian* manner, and all
they were commanded by sundrie Captaines; but all obeyed *Axalla*, who commanded them
as Generall.

Our Horse-men were in battaile array in a great leuell Playne, hauing the Footmen on the
left

left hand, and on the right was the comming of the Enemie, so as vpon the least disfaour that might happen, hee would retyre to bee assisted by his footmen. Wee had foure score thousand horse: *Calibes* with the *Scythians* were in the Auantguard, and had the commandement of thirtie thousand horse, who should receiue him at such time as he did draw on the Enemie, as he was commanded. It was diuided into three troupes, each one consisting of ten thousand. *Odmar* had also thirtie thousand horse who should assist him. The Prince remayned in the Arier-ward at the one of the wings of his footmen, which held one of his principall forces: his purpose was to suffer the threescore and six thousand horse to maintayne the fight against the *Barbarians*; being led by two good Captaines, and if any of them remayned, the Emperor hoped after of them to haue a good market, by causing his footmen to march forward, and himselfe with whom there abode twentie thousand of the best horse, which were sufficient without hazarding his Person for to giue a new battaile, if so be that any disfaour should happen vnto them: for hee had vnderstood that this was the custome of the Kings of *China*, to enclose themselues within the middest of their Chariots with their footmen, and not to hazard themselues but vpon the extremitie. So the Enemie fayled nothing at all to march directly vnto *Calibes*, and all the Armie marched after following of him and setting vpon him, and hee euen as the *Scythians* are alwayes accustomed to doe, with his six thousand horse in retyring gaue many charges, killing some of them, and they likewise killing some of his men. It was a beautifull fight to see this great Armie march, for it seemed to bee twise as great as ours, therein being an infinite number of armed Chariots, wherein he put his principall trust against the furie of our Souldiers; so many gildings of gold and siluer as well in the trappings of their Horses, as on their Armour, that it glittered, and was of vs all much admired. The Prince who with a troupe of horse did see the Armie march after *Calibes*, commended greatly the manner of casting their men out of the ranks, for to compell this troupe vnto fight, and did see this Armie come in good order, and he tryed with his eye to note the place where the Kings Person was, hauing neere him the *Chinois* Lord to instruct him, who knew well their manner of fighting. Now, they had neither Auantguard nor battaile, but onely an Arier-ward commanded by the King, and inclosed (as I haue said) with his Chariots: the which being shewed vnto him by this Lord, the Prince turned himselfe vnto vs, and in our language said: *Yet must wee this day disperse this cloud here so gilded,*

30 *and the King of China and my selfe must make a partition thereof.*

Now, hauing seene the Enemie sufficiently aduanced, and iudging that he had had seene them march a good league, he thought it not conuenient to suffer them for to take breath, nor for to put themselues againe into their order; he sent vnto *Calibes* for to will him to set forward the fight, and that if those whom he had led with him should be weary, they should come vnto him; but it was not in *Calibes* power to haue this commandement ouer them. For as soone as they heard this word of fighting vttered, they required the first charge, with a young Lord, who commanded ouer them, called *Zioctabanes*, who made appeare vnto the *Chinois* to what end their flight was, charging very stiffely vpon the foremost of the Enemies, the which was an occasion to begin the first fight. And I assure you, there could not be seene a more furious thing, nor any for to fight with more desire to manifest the valour of his Nation, and for to procure honour vnto his Prince. Now, this endured a long houre before the *Chinois* had ouerthrowne *Calibes*. The Prince did see all patiently, saying alwayes, that the great multitude how confused soeuer it were, would carry it away from the order and valour of his Souldiers: you could not yet perceiue any alteration in the Princes countenance, Aduersitie and Prosperitie were so indifferent vnto him. His thirty thousand Horse were all *Scythians*, who obserue not the same order the *Parthians* doe. Now, before the Prince retyred with his men, hee did see the first charge giuen. *Calibes* being wounded, retyred himselfe neere vnto the Prince, hauing with him two thousand horse ioyned together againe, and many more ioyning themselues together neere vnto the Prince, who commanded that they should cure *Calibes*, viewing the place of his wound, hee

40 caused him to bee conducted behind his footmen, and the other which were hurt with him also. Now, *Calibes* was not able to pierce through this Armie, being beaten back; but *Odmar* with almost all the *Parthian* horse-men, did handle them more roughly, for hee ranne cleane thorow them, and returned by one of the right wings of the Armie, where hee fought most valiantly, and hauing beaten them back euen within the Kings Chariots, he thought that he should not doe wisely to goe about to breake such forces.

The King of *China* comming forward, and the horse-men which had beene broken by *Odmar*, ioyning themselues together for his ayde, *Odmar* onely remayning in the battaile sent vnto the Prince for the footmen, and for to set forward the Artillerie, and that hee should assure himselfe of the victorie. The Prince, who had already set forward, kept aloofe off, and sent vnto him fiftie thousand footmen, with a part of the Artillerie, giuing charge thereof vnto *Axalla*, who forthwith set forward, hauing commandement to set vpon the Chariots, and to make an entrance: he set forward the Artillerie before him, the which did greatly astonish the enemies: for the Gouvernours of the horses, belonging to the Kings Chariots, could not hold them; it made also a great spoyle. As soone as he perceined this disorder, hee set forward, and

50 came

The beautie
and richnesse
of the King of
Chinas Armie.

Tamerlan his
speech of the
King of *Chinas*

The battaile
betweene the
King of *China*
and *Tamerlan*
of the King
of the *Bar*
into the *Bar*
prouinc
of *Tamerlan*
and

Calibes doe
noting the
of the
of the
of the

of the
of the
of the

The King of
China wounded
and taken Pri-
soner.
Tamerlans vi-
ctory over the
King of China.

came to hand-blowes, there were a hundred and fiftie thousand men, as yet about the Kings person. *Axalla* full of courage fought so valiantly, that they neuer beheld any doe more braue-ly. *Odmar* during this fight charged againe the Horsemen, who were retyred vnto the Kings ayde, whom he put to flight. Then the Prince aduanced forward with the rest of his Foot-men, gaue ayde vnto *Axalla*, and came euen vnto the person of the King of *China*, who was as yet enclosed within a second ranke of Chariots with thirty or forty thousand men: and after hee had fought two or three houres, the Horse-men assisting the Foot-men, and they principally whom the Prince had reserued, the King remayned wounded within the power of the Prince, the battaile being wonne, and all the Enemies Campe forced; the fight endured eight houres, and it was euen night, which saued the liues of many of the Enemies. There were slaine two Kings the Allyes of the King of *China*, and one taken Prisoner: there was inestimable riches gotten, as well in golden Vessell as precious stones, and the most rich and faire Chariots that could be seene. 10

The Prince would not see the captiued King vntill the next day, being mounted on Horse-backe, and passing through the Campe of the Battayle for to stay the slaughter, and to ioine together againe his men, to the end the accustomed watch might bee kept, whereof hee gaue the charge vnto *Axalla*; to whom he gaue likewise commandement to keepe the King of *China* within the middest of his Souldiers, hauing bin already dressed of a wound he had receiued in his right arme. It was a strange thing to behold the Enemies Weapons, and the diuersitie of streamers wherewith they were decked, the which seemed vnto vs as far off as beautifull, as the diuersity of colours plentifull. But to say the truth, the multitude was great which this King had, notwithstanding there was much difference betweene their valour and ours: and it is reported, that hee had ranged in Battayle this very day three hundred and fifty thousand men, whereof there were an hundred and fiftie thousand Horse-men, the rest on foot: the greatest part of them were rude and barbarous people, which suffered themselues to bee slaine one vpon another, not marking their aduantage, nor hauing any Warlike knowledge, as our men haue: there were slaine of the Enemies some threescore thousand. Now the next day after the buriall of the dead, the Prince hauing giuen thanks vnto God for his victorie, caused the wounded to bee cured, and amongst the others *Calibes*, who by reason of the vntemperatenesse of the Ayre, rather then by the blow of the wound he had receiued, found himselfe very ill, yet would he not omit his dutie, to com- 30 mand alwaycs his Auant-gard, the which was a great pleasure vnto the Prince, for he alone had Commandement ouer the Emperours Forces, being a *Scythian*, and greatly beloued of his Nation.

Pannibu.

The Prince dispatched away thirty thousand Horse in the pursuit of one of the King of *China* Brothers, who was fled away, hauing ioined together againe some twelue or fiftene thousand Horse. The Prince sent to summon *Pannibu*, the which did yeeld it selfe vnto him: where-vpon our Army approached neere vnto it, for to aduance our selues the further into the Coun-try. Now I forget to declare how the Prince hauing the next day caused his Tents to bee pitched most stately, and his Guards ordered according to his greatnesse, the principall of his Army being also neere his person: for all the night hee had remayned continually on Horse-backe, 40 vntill about two of the clocke, when as they brought him a Tart and his water, for hee neuer dranke Wine; and lay downe on a Carpet where hee passed the rest of the night. I was neere vnto him and neuer left him: but I neuer heard any vaunting or boasting to proceed out of his mouth. Then hee sent a commandement vnto *Axalla* to bring vnto him the imprisoned King: who being come, the Emperour issued out of his Tents, and went to receiue him. This King of *China* came with a very proud and haughtie countenance, and like a couragious man, approaching neere vnto the Emperour, hee demanded of *Axalla* by an Interpreter, which was the Emperour, and being shewed him, hee spake fiercely vnto him after this manner: The Gods whom I worship, being prouoked against my Nation and people, and conspired against my good fortune, haue made mee at this day thy Prisoner: but forasmuch, as it is 50 reported ouer all the World, that *Tamerlan* maketh warre for the honour of his Nation: thou shouldest be contented that thou hast wonne it this glory, that the Lord of the World, the Child of the Sunne, is in thy power, to receiue such Law as it shall please thee to prescribe him. This hee said in a braue manner, and without any other humbling of himselfe. The Emperour on the other-side hauing saluted him very courteously, led him into his Tent.

200. Cities.
A description
of China.
Rhubarbe.

He is surely a great Prince, and which hath had two hundred famous Cities within his Kingdome. There be many Mynes of Gold and Siluer, much Muske, and also of an Herbe which the *Christians* call *Rhubarbe*. There bee in like manner within the Kingdome of *China* fiftene very large Prouinces, the which haue Gouvernours. It is reported that hee hath threescore and tenne Kings wearing Crownes, Tributaries vnto him. We call this Region *China*, the which they in 60 their Language name *Tame*, and the people *Tangis*, the which we call *Chinois*. This Kingdome doth abound in fish, and in great numbers of wild-fowle, by reason of the great abundance of running waters which doe ouerflow the Countrey, the which is reasonable temperate: they abound greatly in Silkes, and the meanest are apparelled therewith, hauing small quantitie of

Tame, or Tamin
and Tamegius.

Wooll

Wooll, and not vsing the same: they haue much Cotton and Linnen in stead thereof. The men doe weare their haire long, the women combe them: they haue as many Wiues as they are able to maintayne. Next vnto the King, there is a Gouvernour Generall whom they call *Tutan*, the which was the Brother vnto the imprisoned King. The Prince hauing assembled his counsell, to the end he might be aduised how he should vse his Prisoners and the rest of the Victory: hee receiued newes by *Odmar*, how that the Kings Brother was arriued at *Quantou*, the which hee had fortified, and that great store of forces did ioyne themselves vnto him. This was the cause that the Prince hauing somewhat rested his forces, commanded two thousand *Parthian* Horse to conuey the Prisoners vnto *Paguinfou*, and from thence after they had made abode there, to passe ouer the Mountaynes, and to remayne at *Burda* (a Citie of olde time faithfull vnto the Emperours of *Schytia*) and there to keepe them faithfully. The purpose and resolution of the Prince was, that it behooued to assault *Quantou*, and to shut vp, if it were possible, the Kings Brother within the same, being one of the principall seates belonging vnto the King of *China*, and a Citie greatly peopled and strong: it was forty leagues from the place where the battayle was fought. But *Odmar* being aduanced thither, would not retyre before he had expresse Commandement from the Prince; who hauing sent thither, pitched his Tents round about the said Citie: hauing summoned many small Cities, the which yeelded themselves wholly vnto the Princes mercy, making great lamentation for their King taken. Notwithstanding, the gentlenesse vsed by the Conquerour made them to take all their losses with patience: and because it was also reported, that he had vsed the King most friendly, and all the Prisoners: the Kings Brother had sent Embassadours to obtayne leaue for to know of the Kings health, and for to see him, the which the Prince did willingly suffer, to the end this other should not declare himselfe King, who would haue brought him more trouble then the other. He attended for the euent of *Quantou*, and had his eye vpon the successe of this siege. Now the Kings Brother hauing receiued newes of the Affaires of the besieged, he determined eyther to succour it, or to fight a Battle, and came straight vnto *Porchio*, and made a bridge of Boats, whereof there be great store in these same Countreyes.

Now being enformed when the halfe part were passed, which was fiftie thousand men good, *Odmar* finding them in very ill order, and nothing at all aduertised of the Enemies nearnesse, gaue the charge, and vterly ouerthrew them: there remayned dead vpon the ground some fiftie thousand men, but it was not without great fight, strengthened with the fauour of water, and a great Marish wherein they were encamped. Notwithstanding, our Foot-men hauing wonne the banke of the Riuer, beganne also to winne the Boats, and to seuer them by the meanes of a great Boat, the which we with diligence caused to runne downe beeing full of artificiall fire, so as at the same very time that they which were within the Boate did draw neere, they retyred out of the same, hauing first kindled the fire within the Boate, the which with a great force rushed against the Bridge of Boats and ouerthrew it, and where it was resisted it did burne. This did greatly astonish them that were passed, to see their retorne cut off. The Kings Brother was not yet passed vnto the other-side of the water, and he which first had gone ouer was the King of *Cauchina*, who was slayne at the first charge, fighting very valiantly, in the fore-front. The Kings Brother did see his men slayne and drowned, and could not remedie the same. This second ouerthrow was of no small importance, although it was but the third part of the Kings Brothers Army, and that there remayned vnto him as yet a hundred thousand fighting men: but there was no great hope that he durst present himselfe before our Army. The newes hereof being reported at *Quantoufou*, they desired to make tryall of the Emperours clemency. *Axalla* dispatched one of his faithfull friends of his Countrey vnto the Prince, to carry vnto him these good newes: which was more welcome vnto the Prince, then the ouerthrow he had giuen vnto the Enemy, and agreed vnto all that *Axalla* demanded, referring all vnto his sufficiency and fidelitic. The Kings Brother hauing sent to demand safety for to treat, the Prince granted so much vnto them, for such as would come vnto him.

In this meane-time *Quantoufou* yeelded it selfe into the hands of *Axalla*, who caused the Garrison to come out of the same, receiued the Inhabitants into the Princes protection, and they which would might remayne therein vnarmed: and he entred therein with the joy of all the Inhabitants, who did determine to receiue the Emperour into the same with all the magnificence that might be. He caused thirty thousand men of War to enter thereinto; vnto whom was money deliuered for to maintayne them there, vntill such time as all the Foot-men should receiue pay for three monethes due vnto them, whereof the Inhabitants of *Quantoufou* did furnish the Prince, to the summe of eight hundred thousand Tentins, the which do amount vnto foure hundred and fifty thousand crownes or therabout. The Prince at this present sent me vnto *Axalla*, whom I found feasting of his Captaines and souldiers, staying for the commandement that I brought vnto him, the which was to remaine within *Quantoufou*, and to cause all his footmen to set forward directly vnto him, the which was done by the Prince, to the end it should strike a greater terror into the minds of the enemies, who seeing all his footmen arriued, he supposed they wold nothing doubt (*Quantoufou* being taken) but that he would march forward, inso much

Quantou

Burda

Porchio

Odmar set vpon the Kings Brother at the passing of a Riuer, and slue fiftie thousand of his men. A stratagem.

Axalla

An Embassage
from the King
of China's Bro-
ther vnto Ta-
merlan, to treat
for peace, and
the Kings de-
liverance.

Conditions a-
greed vpon
betweene Ta-
merlan and the
Chinois.

Odmars left Go-
uernour of
China for Ta-
merlan.

as he hoped this would greatly aduance his Affaires, considering the estate they were in. I retur-
ned from *Quantoufon* vnto the Emperour, hauing seene a beautifull and great Citie well forti-
fied, and wonderfully peopled, and round about it there was a fruitfull Countrey.

Thus the Embassadors being arriued, who were of the Kings chiefest Vassals, *Tamerlan* recei-
ued them with all humanitie, causing his greatnesse to appeare vnto them; and therewithall the
agilitie of his Horsemen, to make them see with their eyes, that it would be the destruction of
the *Chinois* name, if he proceeded any further. So hauing saluted the Emperour with all reue-
rence, they vttered their Embassage vnto him, which was that the Kings Brother had sent them
vnto him to treat for two causes: the one, was for the liberty of their King, the other, for pre-
seruation of their Countrey. The Prince hauing heard them, answered them, that they had rea-
son to trust vnto his mildnesse, and seeing at this present, they desired it, he would yeeld there-
vnto. Thereupon the Prince rose vp, and caused to be said vnto them, that they should deliuer
their offers in writing, and that present answer should bee made thereunto. Thus went they
out of the Princes presence with great joy, and as it were assured of Peace, and to recouer their
former prosperities. The conditions which they offered, were to leaue *Pagunfon*, and all the
Countrey beyond it, with all the Fortresses of the Mountaynes; that they would pay all the
charges of his Army, since the day of answer made vnto his Embassadors; that they would
giue two Millions of Gold, for their King. This being presented vnto the Lord, hee made an-
swer thereunto, which was; that he would keepe that which hee had conquered within the
Countrey, which was his owne justly, seeing his armes had giuen it vnto him; that hee would
haue the River where he was now encamped to be his Frontier, stretched vnto *Hoshioy, Taban-
cezug, Canchio, Lulun*, euen vnto *Pofchio* bordering vpon the Sea; that the King of *China* should
pay vnto him yearely three hundred thousand Crownes, the which should bee deliuered at *Pa-
guinfon*, for acknowledgement of submission vnto the Empire, as well for his Successors as him-
selfe; that they should pay five hundred thousand Crownes in ready money for the charge of the
Army, that the King of *China* should be deliuered, and all the *Chinois* Prisoners should pay ransom
vnto particular men that took them, except those which carried the name of Kings, who should
pay one hundred thousand Crownes for peace with his Armes: that no *Chinois* should
bee kept as slaue, nor sold for such hereafter, being vnder the Princes obedience, that
Traffique and Entercourse of Merchants should be free betweene both the Nations; that the
King of *China* should deliuer his Brother as Prisoner, and two Kings named, with twelue prin-
cipall men of the Countrey for assurance of the peace. They accepted of such conditions of
peace as pleased the Conquerour, hoping that time would bring againe vnto them their ancient
liberty, and that for a time it behooued them to beare with patience the yoke of their bondage.
Now the Prince had sent two thousand Horse, to fetch the King of *China*, to the end that being
at liberty, he might sweare to the peace solemnly, the which he hauing performed at *Quantou-
fon*, whither the Prince caused him for to come, he brought with him vnto *Pagun*, all the pled-
ges, and amongst the rest, the Kings eldest Sonne, and his Brother. The King being departed
for to performe his promise, according to the Treaty by him confirmed, he was received, and as
it were worshipped within his Countrey, with all the joy that might be.

In the meane time the Emperour, after hee had prouided for the assurance of his new con-
quest, he left *Odmars* there to gouerne them, and gaue vnto him an estate of thirty thousand
Horse and fifty thousand Foot-men, to furnish all the Fortresses and strong places, the Prince
hauing led with him many of the new conquered people, desiring to haue them for to dwell
within his Countrey, and to send other Colonies in their places, to assure himselfe the better of
the lightnesse of this people, hauing noted them to bee inclined vnto Nouelties. Hee gaue in
charge vnto *Odmars* to make his principall abode at *Quantoufon*, and to fortifie well the passage:
and also commanded a Fortresse to be made at *Dermio*, the better to strengthen his Borders; and
after he had left him all things necessary, he recommended vnto him the seruices of that Lord,
who had manifested vnto him his great affection. The Emperour hauing well tryed his faith-
fulnesse in his Affaires as they fell out, he carryed with him a Brother of his, vnto whom he gaue
great gifts within *Sachetay*.

Then we turned our faces straight vnto *Cambalu*, hauing aduertized the Great *Cham* of the
happy successe of our Affaires. The Prince remayned in deed King of *China*, holding in his pos-
session, two of the fairest and greatest Cities of all the whole Countrey, hauing an hundred good
leagues thereof vnto himselfe, and many lesser Cities; hauing extended his Borders vnto a River,
by which he might goe vnto the Enemy, but they could not come vnto him without passing o-
uer the same: hauing good meanes to keepe it and with aduantage. Now the Prince desired a-
boue all that the Idols which were within his Conquest should be beaten downe, and comman-
ded the worship of one God, establishing the same after the forme of his owne Countrey, for he
made account that in short time all would bee reduced vnto our customes. Our Army wherein
was much sicknesse, began to march, and on the third day hauing newes of forces which came
towards vs, the Prince sent them a Commandement not to come any further forward, and that
they should march straight vnto *Cambalu*, where the Prince did suppose to finde the Emperour
his

his Vncle, who had set forward towards that place to haue the good hap for to see him, being determined to receiue him at *Cambalu* with magnificence and triumphs, as hee well deserued.

Now I will declare by the way, how *Oamar* being seuered from vs, all the Princes fauour was turned vnto *Axalla*, vnto whom hee committed the whole charge of his Armie, inso much as *Axalla* although he was alwaies in great reputation, notwithstanding the same was much encreased by the Prince at *Quantonsou*, where the Prince did trust him with the Armie, in so weighty an enterprise as that was, and the which he so gloriously atchieued: likewise the manner of entring into the Kingdome of *China*, the intelligences hee had: so as the report of his valour did flie throughout all the Empire. *Calibes* led the Auant-guard, and *Axalla* was in the battell neere vnto the Emperour, who gaue him the chiefeft place, bestowing vpon him two hundred thousand crownes yeerely, for to maintayne his ordinary expences. After certaine dayes journey, wee receiued newes of the Emperours arriuall at *Cambalu*, the Prince hauing left his Armie in a faire Countrey for to winter, where he dismissing many of our Souldiers, wee arriued within foure leagues of *Cambalu*, whither all the Princes of the Emperours Court, came for to receiue him, together with all the principall Inhabitants, for to gratifie our Prince for his happie Voyage. The Prince hauing receiued euery one, according to his wonted curtesie, retayning notwithstanding conuenient Maiestie, hee was beheld to the great contentment of all his Subiects. Hee had with him the Empresse his wife, who had not left him in his Voyage. The next day the Emperour did him so much honour, as to come and meet him, with all the magnificence that might bee. Hee gaue a present vnto the Emperour his Vncle, of all the richest Chariots, and fairest Horses hee had wonne. The Emperour was very desirous to see his daughter: he caused her Chariot to bee vncovered, and caused her to enter into his: but the Prince remayned on Horse-backe, whom the eyes of all the people could not be satisfied with admiring. The Prince presented *Calibes* vnto the Emperour, and making a recitall of his faithfulness, and the endeauour of euery one, hee caused the Emperour to giue vnto him an hundred thousand crownes of encrease vnto his pension. *Axalla* was also presented vnto the Emperour, who being informed of his valour, hee was receiued with all the best fauours that might be, and he gaue vnto him of the reuenues belonging vnto the Empire, an hundred thousand *Tartarins* of gold in a Principalltie, that he might the better declare vnto him how much he esteemed of his fidelitie.

Tamerlan turned his fauour vnto *Axalla*.

200000. crowns of yeerley rent giuen vnto *Axalla* by Tamerlan.

The meeting betwene the great Cam and Tamerlan at the Citie of *Cambalu* in *Cataio*.

Axalla rewarded, by the great Cam for his good seruice and faithfulness.

§. III.

The differences betwixt TAMERLAN and BIAZET the Turke; his returne to Samercand, and expedition against BIAZET; the battell, and vic-torie, his caging of BIAZET, and making him his Foot-stoole.

His ioy and pleasure continued with vs all the Winter, where the Prince hauing receiued aduertisement how *Biazet* Emperour of the *Turkes*, had enterprised to ioyne the Empire of *Greece* vnto his owne, and fully determined to besiege *Constantinople*: the which he vnderstanding, and succour being required of him by the *Greece* Emperour, he dispatched one towards *Biazet*, for to declare vnto him his pleasure herein, and warned him on his behalfe, not to trouble the Emperour *Paleologue* who was his confederate. Now this motion came from Prince *Axalla*, who had wrought this league, being of kinne vnto *Paleologue*, and also thrust forward with desire to maintayne his Religion in *Greece*, where he was borne of the *Gennois* race. Whereunto being answered very proudly, by *Biazet* vnto our Emperour, asking what he had to doe therewith, and that he should content himselfe, with enioying lawes vnto his Subiects, and not vnto others, seeing he was not borne his Subiect. This answer being made, *Axalla* procured to be very ill accepted of the Emperour, and in such sort, that he determined to hinder this enterprise of the *Ottomans*.

A message sent by Tamerlan vnto *Biazet*.

The proud answer of *Biazet*.

Now the Prince had obtayned of the Emperour his Vncle an hundred thousand Foot-men, and fourescore thousand Horse, hoping to haue as many from *Sachetny*, besides the Lords who would accompanie him for to winne glorie, from whom he made account also of fifty thousand men more that they would bring vnto him, besides the other forces. Hee supposed that he had abilitie to deliuer the Empire of *Greece* from the bondage of the *Ottomans*. Thus the Prince departed, leauing the Empresse with the Emperour her father, for to serue him as a comfort of his age: it was not without a hard farewell of the Emperours part towards his Nephew; but more grieuous on the Princes part towards his wife, who had neuer left him since the time they were married: but nothing with-held our Prince, where there was either glorie, or meanes to encrease his reputation, and profit the Common-wealth: saying often, that he was borne to this end, and that he must take in these exercises his principall delights: for euery other thing wherein he did exercise himselfe was but borrowed, being appointed and called of God to punish the

Heauyparting.

A notable saying of Tamerlan.

pride

Tamerlan his
dreame.

Tamerlan's jour-
ney against
the Turke.

Tamerlan re-
turneth from
the conquest
of China vnto
Samerland.

Consultation
about the way
the Armie
should take to
the Turkes Em-
pire.

Tamerlan his
chiefest trust.

Bachu.

Tamerlan hun-
ted by the way
towards the
Turke.

Baiazet mar-
ched vnto the
siege of Con-
stantinople.

The govern-
ment Axalla
did chuse.

Notable iu-
stice amongst
the Tartarians.

pride of Tyrants. Neither will I here omit a dreame, which our Prince had the night before hee departed from *Cambalu*, which was, that he did see as hee thought, a great multitude of reue-
rent men, who put forth their hands vnto him, requiring his succour against the violence of cer-
taine Tyrants, who did afflict them with sundry kinds of torments: he said, that he did neuer see
more reuerent countenances, & that some of them were apparelled in white, and others in cloth
of gold, some hauing as it were Crowns of gold vpon their heads, and it seemed vnto the Prince,
that he gaue them his hand, and lift them very high. This dreame he recited vs the next morning,
but no body was able to giue him the interpretation thereof, & himselfe thought no more of it.

The Prince was accompanied also with *Calibes*, & he commanded the Prince of *Tanais*, to take
vpon him the state of Colonell of the footmen, which *Axalla* had left: vnto whom he gaue the
charge of Lieutenant generall within his Armie, with commandement to leade his Avant-guard,
and *Calibes* the Arere-ward, being accompanied with farre greater forces then euer he had in any
of his Armies: for they came vnto him from all parts. The *Chinois* Lord was licenced by *Odmir*
to goe with 20000. men of the subiects newly conquered, being desirous to shew himselfe vnto
the Emperour, as also for to learne our manners and fashions. The Prince tooke his Voyage di-
rectly vnto *Samerland*, the place of his birth, three yeeres being past since hee had bene there.
Zamay came to meet him, and I verily beleeeue, a million of men, blessing and praying him in
all manner of songs: All the Princes of the Countrey also ranne to visite him; he abode there a
moneth. *Axalla* in this meane time was already at the meeting place at *Ocera*, who prepared
all things, looking for the Princes commandement for to goe vnto him, aduertising him often of
the doings of *Baiazet*.

We departed from *Samerland*, for to goe vnto *Ozara*, where was the meeting place for all the
Princes troupes: and hauing in that place taken aduice for his journey, that is to say, for to know
whether should be most expedient and fauorable, either to goe by the coasts of *Moscouie* directly
vnto *Capha*, or rather on the other side of the Sea *Bachu* to passe by the skirts of *Persia*. It was
resolved in the end, after sundry opinions, although the way were the longer, to passe vnto *Capha*
for to come vnto *Trebisonda*, and to the *Georgians*, and from thence to enter into the limits of the
Ottomans. Then our Armie after the accustomed ceremonies & prayers made vnto God, wherein
our Emperour hoped to finde his principall succours, we drew straight vnto *Maranis*, where the
Armie abode three dayes, looking for the forces which *Odmir* did send, whereof they receiued
newes. There did the Emperour cause all his Armie to be payd, and a generall muster was made.
He had newes also there of the forces that the *Moscouite* did send vnto him: he likewise caused
an infinite quantitie of victuals, and the most part of his furniture to be conuayed by the Sea of
Bachu, there being some twentie leagues where was want of water and victuals, through the
which our Armie must needs passe, causing all things necessary to be carried by water, the which
was a great commoditie vnto vs: and there was a commandement giuen at all the shoares of the
Sea, that they should bring all the vessels for to carrie the munition of the Armie: so as this fore-
fight did greatly ease our Armie. The Prince went continually coasting the Sea-shoare, passing
away his time in hunting, and his Armie came not neere him by ten leagues, except such as came
to seeke necessaries for the Armie, the which did extend it selfe some twenty leagues, it was so
great. The Prince abode at *Sarasich* during the time his Army passed the Riter of *Edel* at *Me-
cher*, and at two or three other Bridges, the which they had caused to bee made; there had hee
ceertaine newes how *Baiazet* marched vnto the siege of *Constantinople*, hauing reduced vnto his
obedience all *Bythinia*, and *Bursia* a very noble Citie, the which hee caused to bee fortified, and
diuers other Cities, vsing all the cruelties that might be, insomuch as all the adioyning Prouin-
ces yeelded themselves his tributaries: amongst the rest the noble Citie of *Capha*: the Citie
was by the Prince giuen vnto *Axalla* for to dispose of the same: which hee did, going thither
to see his kins-folke, and to take such order there, as he thought was for the preservation of the
Citie, as one not vngratefull vnto his Countrey: he rather placed his hope in this little shoare
of *Mar Maiore*, then in the limits of *Scythia* and *China*, and for to succeed after his Master vnto
all his great conquests, for that he had all the Souldiers at his commandement, and great credit
amongst all the people ouer whom his Prince commanded. *Baiazet* hauing a very great and
mightie Armie, neither beleeeued, nor once thought that wee would come vpon him, so excee-
ding barbarous was he, that he would not indure any man so much as to speake onely vnto him
of our Armie, as despising it, he was so proud: and there he caused all the bordering people pub-
licly to bee forbidden, to make any vowes and prayers for our prosperitie. Iustice raigned so
amongst vs, insomuch as if a Souldier had taken but an Apple, he was put to death, and this was
seuerely obserued ouer all, a thing vsuall, and especially in this Journey, the which was the one-
ly cause of ouerthrowing the tyrannie of the *Ottomans*, and of this proud *Baiazet*. So we ar-
riued at *Bachichiche*, where the Armie refreshed it selfe for the space of eight dayes. Vnto this
place came the Embassadors of *Guines*, vnto the Emperour, whom the Prince did greatly reue-
rence for his holinesse. The Emperour after he had caused generall prayers to be published, *Tamer-
lans* Armie departed from *Bachichiche*, and they reckoned that there was in our Armie, three hun-
dred thousand Horse-men, and five hundred thousand Foot-men, of all kinds of Nations. Our
Armie

Armie came vnto *Garga*, where it passed the River *Euphrates*, the Auant-guard at *Chinserig*; and the generall meeting of the Armie was appointed to bee at *Gianich*, the which did yeeld it selfe: and there had we newes that *Baiazet* his Armie was neere vnto vs, within some thirty leagues, which caused vs to march more close. All the Cities yeelded; the Emperour receiuing them graciously, and those which refused obedience, were cruelly punished, especially such Inhabitants as were *Turkes*, but the *Christians* set in full libertie, vnder the name of the *Greeke* Emperour *Emanuel*, whom the Emperour would wholly gratifie; *Axalla* hauing receiued this commandement from the Prince: so hee caused them to sweare fidelitie vnto *Emanuel*. The great Armie of *Baiazet* thought to haue surpris'd our men within *Sennas* (which they had taken) but as soone as they drew neere, our men set it on fire, and the greatest part retyring, there remayned some hundred Horse to performe the same, who retyred themselves in very great disorder. Now, the Prince of *Circas* had diuided his men into two troupes, and giuen commandement vnto the first troupe, that as soone as they perceiued the Enemies to pursue the hundred Horse, they should receiue them, and retyre ioyntly together. Now, hee had the rest of his power in a valley neere vnto a Wood, and hauing suffered some two thousand of the Enemies Horse. *Turkes* Auant-currers to passe by him, he charged them behind, and fought with them; they not fighting but fleeing as soone as they did see themselves pressed: many were slayne, and many were taken prisoners. This was the first time wee fought, and carried away the victorie: all the prisoners were sent vnto the Prince, amongst the rest the *Bassa* of *Natolia*, who led this troupe. The next day *Baiazet* his Armie drew neere vnto the sight of ours, the which marched two leagues: and wee encamped within a league the one of the other. All the night long you might haue heard such noyse of Horses, as it seemed the heauens were full of voyces, the aire did so resound, and euery one was desirous to haue the night passed; for to come each one vnto the triall of his valour. Vnto the *Scythian* Nation, the which is desirous of goods, they propounded the great riches they should get by the victorie ouer the *Ottomans*. Vnto the *Parthian* Nation ambitious of rule, the honour and glorie of the Nation, being Conquerours of them, who onely were able to take from them the Empire of *Asia*. The *Christians* who made the fourth part thereof, assured themselves to conquer their greatest Enemy. Behold, now euery one spake during the night time, according to his humour. The Prince this night went through his Campe hearing all this, and was very glad to see the hope that euery one of his Souldiers did conceiue already of the victorie; and I being neere him, he did me the honour to tell me, that at the time he fought the battell against the *Moscouites*, he did heare all the night long all kindes of songs, the which resounded in his Campe, seeing in a manner no bodie sleepe: I hoped then (said hee) to haue some good hap, and I trust to receiue the like now. Now after the second watch the Prince returned vnto his lodging, and casting himselfe vpon a Carpet, hee meant to sleepe: but the desire of day would not suffer him; he then commanded me to giue him a booke, wherein he did reade: therein was contayned the liues of his Father and Grandfather, and of other valiant Knights, the which he did ordinarily reade: he called me, hauing light vpon (in reading) the discourse of a battell that his Grandfather had lost against the *Persians*, the which he had thought to haue gotten (very vndiscreetly) hauing assaulted his Enemy, many aduantages being propounded vnto him, whereof he might haue made good vse, all which he neglected, trusting vnto his owne valour and that of his Souldiers. And hauing ended his speech, he commanded mee to reade the same before him, and said vnto me, I alwaies reade this before I beginne a battell, to the end I should not so much trust vnto the Lions skin, wherein I wrap my arme, that I should not serue my selfe with the Foxes, to wrap therewith my head: for thus (said he) my Grandfather was in a place of aduantage, and he went out of it to seeke his Enemy, who was lodged strongly, and whatsoeuer his men said to him, hee went on headlong, shutting his eares against all the counsell and aduise of his seruants.

Seeing the *Turkish* Foot-men march, whom they doe call *Ianizaries*, the which were placed in the midst, and vpon the two fronts, two great squadrons of Horse-men, the which seemed to be thirty thousand Horse, and another which aduanced and couered the battalion of the *Ianizaries*: Hee thought this order to be very good, and hard to breake, and turning himselfe vnto *Axalla*, who was neere vnto him, he said, I had thought to haue fought on foot, but it behooueth me this day to fight on horsebacke, for to giue courage vnto my Souldiers to open the great battalion: and my will is, that they come forward vnto mee as soone as they may: for I will aduance forward an hundred thousand Foot-men, fifty thousand vpon each of my two wings, and in the midst of them forty thousand of my best Horse. My pleasure is, that after they haue tryed the force of those men, that they come vnto my Auant-guard, of whom I will dispose (and fifty thousand Horse more) in three bodies, whom thou shalt command, the which I will assist with fourescore thousand Horse, wherein shall be mine owne person, hauing an hundred thousand Foot-men behind me, who shall march in two troupes; and for my Arere-ward forty thousand Horse, and fifty thousand Foot-men, who shall not march but vnto my ayde. I will make choise of ten thousand of the best Horse, whom I will send into euery part where I shall thinke needfull within my Armie, for to impart my commandements.ouer the first forty thousand

The causes of
Tamerlans
warre against
the *Turkes*.

A stratagem.

How Tamerlans
Armie passed
the night be-
fore the battell
fought against
the *Turkes*.

Tamerlan his
custome be-
fore a battell.

The manner
of the march
of the *Turkish*
Foot-men.

The order of
Tamerlan his
battell.

What the
Turks Ianzar-
ies be.

Mamaluks.

Tamerlan his
principall ma-
xime of warre.

The battaile
betweene Ta-
merlan and Ba-
jazet.

Tamerlan his
notable victo-
rie obrayned
against Bajazet
wherein hee
was taken pri-
soner.
Tamerlan his
wisdome the
cause of the
victorie, and
wherein per-
formed.

thousand the Prince *Ciarcian* commanded: ouer the foremost footmen was the Lord *Synopes*, a *Genuois*, kinsman vnto *Axalla*, and he which was his Lieutenant ouer the footmen, a Captaine of great estimation. That ouer which the Prince *Axalla* commanded, consisted of fise squadrons of horsemen. *Bajazet* his Armie seemed faire and great, which was aduanced continually forward towards vs, who stirred not one whit from the place of the battaile. There were many light horsemen, as well *Scythians*, *Parthians*, as *Moscouites*, who left their rankes, and shot Arrowes, and brake Lances betweene the two Armies. There was a Spie who brought word that *Bajazet* was on foot in the middest of his *Ianzaries*, where he meant to fight, that hee did not forget to mount on horse-back, giuing order ouer all for the wants of his Armie: but purposed to fight in the middest of those *Ianzaries*, who are a number of trusty men, brought vp in exercises from 10 their youth to all manner of warfare, and chosen out of al Nations, the fairest and strongest men, so as they are inuincible. By this bringing vp the which they haue had together, they doe fight with a great force and courage for their Prince and Lord, who being in the middest of them, they are as in a halfe circle within the Armie. Now, they were thirty thousand men in this order, wherein *Bajazet* put his principall hope: he had many other footmen, but gathered together of all sorts. His battaile of horse was very faire, amounting vnto the number of an hundred and fortie thousand horse, well exercised in all manner of fights. The *Soldan* of *Egypt* hauing ayded him with thirty thousand *Mammolues*, very good horse-men, and with thirty thousand footmen. Their Armie in that order seemed almost as great as ours: for they were not so knit together as we were, our forces being directly one after the other, and theirs all in a front.

So the Enemies Armie aduanced forward continually with an infinite number of cryes, and ours was in great silence. After that common prayer was ended, the Emperour himselfe aduanced continually forward, beholding the first charge giuen, and caused *Axalla* to set forward after he returned into his order, continually exhorting his men before hee left them. There could not be seene a more furious charge giuen, then was performed by the *Ottomans* vpon the Prince of *Ciarcian*, who had commandement not to fight before they came vnto him: there could not haue beene chosen a fairer Playne, and where the skilfull choise of the place was of lesse aduantage for the one then for the other, but that wee had the Riuer on our left hand, the which was some aduantage for the Emperour, hauing giuen commandement, that in any case they should not lose the same, and that the Enemies, whatsoeuer came thereof, should not win it: this hee 30 did for to haue the aduantage of the hand in fight. The Emperour, who aboue all Maximes of warre, did vse to deale in such manner, that the Enemy might bee the first Assaulter; hee had straightly commanded them which were appointed for the first charge, to suffer the Enemy for to giue the on-set. Now (as I haue already declared) this young Prince of *Ciarcian* with his forty thousand horse was almost wholly ouerthrowne, hauing fought as much as hee could, but hee entred euen into the middest of the *Ianzaries*, where the person of *Bajazet* was, putting them in disorder, where he was slaine. About this time *Axalla* set vpon them with the Auantguard, where as he was not in any such danger; for hauing surprised one of the enemies wings, hee cut it all in pieces, and his footmen comming to ioyne with him, as they had beene commanded, hee faced the Battalion of the *Ianzaries*.

The Prince seeing the charge *Axalla* had vpon his arme, sent ten thousand horse from his battaile for to succour him, and knit together the mayne battaile of *Axalla*, and to giue once againe a charge vpon another Battalion of footmen, the which did shew it selfe, and came to ioyne with and strengthen that of the *Ianzaries*, who behaued themselues valiantly for the safetie of their Prince. This fight continued one houre, and yet you could not haue seene any scattered, fighting resolutely the one against the other. You might haue seene the Mountaynes of horses rush one against another, the men die, crie, lament, and threaten at one very time. The Prince had patience to see this fight ended, and when hee did perceiue that his men did giue place, hee sent ten thousand of his Horse to ioyne againe with the ten thousand appointed for the A-rierward, and commanded them to assist him, at such time as hee should haue need thereof. At 40 this very time the Emperour chargeth, and made them giue him roome, causing the footmen to assault, ouer whom the Prince of *Thanaïs* commanded; who gaue a furious on-set vpon the Battalion of the *Ianzaries*, wherein was yet the person of *Bajazet*, who had sustayned a great burthen. But the multitude, and not valour, did preuaile; for as much as might bee done in fight, was by the *Ianzaries* performed, for to preserue the person of their Prince. But in the end the Horse-men, wherein was the Emperours person, gaue a new charge, and his Auantguard was wholly knit againe vnto him, hee renewed another forcing, and was fully victorious. *Bajazet* hauing retyred on horse-back out of the troupe of *Ianzaries* wounded, fell alique into the hands of *Axalla*, vnto whom hee yeelded himselfe, supposing it had beene *Tamerlan*: then *Axalla* seeing him so followed (being for a time not knowne but for some great 60 Lord of the *Ottomans*) twentie thousand horse did not fight at all, but onely in pursuing the victorie, and they made a great slaughter. The Prince had his horse slaine vnder him with the blow of a Lance, but he was soone remounted againe on horse-back. This day the wisdome of the Emperour gaue the victorie vnto his Souldiers: for the iudgment which he had in tiring of the strong forces

forces of the *Ottomans*, was the safeguard of his. For if all had gone vnto the battaile in one front, surely, the multitude had put it selfe into a confusion: but this manner of aiding his men made euerie one profitable. The Emperour iudging (like a great Captaine) of the need that euerie one of his souldiers had, so that this manner of proceeding was the getting of the victory. They accounted threescore thousand men slaine of the *Ottomans*, and twentie thousand of ours. The Prince of *Tirzis* was slaine, as I haue said: the head of the *Georgians* slaine, *Calibes* was verie sorrie hee had so easie a reckoning in his Arrier-ward; being very couragious, and a gentle Knight: the Despote of *Serua* was taken prisoner, who did accompanie *Baiazet*, and was a Christian: they gaue him this day of battaile much reputation. The Emperour gaue vnto him very good entertainment, reproouing him, for that hee did accompanie *Baiazet* against him, who did come in fauour of his Emperour. Hee answered him, that it was not according to his dutie, but the prosperitie of *Baiazet*, vnto whom it seemed, that all the world did bend for to subiect it selfe vnto him, and that his safetie had caused him to set forward. The Emperour presently thereupon gaue him leaue to depart at his pleasure. Hee tooke care to get into his hands *Baiazet* his children: hee gaue commandement that *Baiazet* should bee cured, and after brought before him: who at such time as hee was there neuer made any shew of humilitie. The Emperour saying vnto him, that it lay in him to cause him to lose his life, he answered: Do it, that losse shall be my happinesse. And demanding of him what made him so rash, for to enterprise to bring into subiection so noble a Prince as was the Emperour of the *Greekes*. Hee answered him, the desire of glorie and rule. Wherefore dost thou (said the Emperour vnto him) vse so great crueltie towards men, so farre forth that neither thou nor thine doe pardon either sex or age? This doe I (answered hee) to giue the greater terrour to my enemies. Then said the Emperour, so shalt thou receiue the like reward: and causing him to bee conueyed againe out of his presence, hee turned vnto his followers, and said, behold a proud and fierce countenance, hee deserueth to be punished with crueltie, and it is necessarie that hee bee made an exemplarie punishment to all the cruell of the world, of the iust wrath of God against them. I acknowledge that God hath this day deliuered into my hands a great enemy, wee must giue thanks vnto God for the same: the which was performed, being yet day: for the battaile was wonne at foure of the clocke, and there was as yet five houres of day-light. The children of *Baiazet* were brought before him: hee caused them to bee vsed curteously, and as the children of an Emperour. The next day hee commanded the dead to bee buried: they found the Prince of *Tirzis* dead in the midst of the *Ianizaries*, where he remained enclosed. The Emperour did greatly lament this young Prince, who was his kinsman, and would haue beene one day worthie for to doe him great seruice. In that battaile there died manie Captaines, & almost the chiefe *Ottomans*. This was a great Battaille, the which was fought from seuen vnto foure of the clocke, in such sort that they knew not vnto whom the victorie did incline. Our Armie stayed vntill the next day, euerie one causing his friends to bee buried. The Prince of *Tirzis* was emblamed, and conueyed with two thousand horse vnto *Samarcand* vntill the Emperour returned. All the other dead bodies were buried at *Sanas* with all the honour that might be. *Axalla* was much grieved for his kinsman, because hee was verie well beloued of the Prince: his charge was giuen vnto one of his brethren who was verie famous; in fighting this same day, we might iudge the euent of the matters of the world. Behold this Emperour *Baiazet*, who was, as hee thought, superiour to fortune, which in an instant found himselfe and his estate by one battaile onely ouerthrowne euen vnto the lowest place, and at such time as hee thought least thereof. Hee vsed to say, that hee was iustly punished; for despising the multitude we had, for the assurance that hee had in the valour of his horsemen, and especially of his *Ianizaries*. Hee was three dayes (as they report) before he could bee pacified, as a desperate man, seeking after death, and calling for it. The Emperour did not vse him at all curteously, but caused small account to bee made of him: and for to manifest that he knew how to punish the proud; vpon festiuall dayes, when as hee mounted on horseback, they brought this proud man vnto him, and he serued him in stead of a foot-stoole: this did he for to manifest the folly and arrogancie of men, and how iustly God had humbled him. The next day the Prince marched directly towards *Bursia*, whither all the remainder of *Baiazet* his Armie was retired, with the *Bassa Mustapha*. All the countrie yeelded vnto vs, and the Prince caused all the holdes and fortresses to bee ouerthrowne and destroyed, and punished all those which were so euill aduised as to stay vntill they were besieged. I had forgotten to declare, how hee caused the Prince of *Tirzis* bodie to bee accompanied with diuers prisoners chained and tied together, whom hee did send vnto *Samarcand*, the which the Prince had determined to make great, for a perpetuall memorie of his greatnesse. Euen so had hee greatly peopled with people of *China*, which had beene taken in the Battailles, and of those likewise which were taken out of the two great Cities, *Pagunfon*, and *Quantonfon*. Now this battaile did bring great astonishment vnto all the countries possessed by *Baiazet*, and nobodie resisted vs, euen vnto *Bursia*, whither this Armie was fled, and therein were also two sonnes of *Baiazet* verie young. *Axalla* being alwaies aduanced forward before

Baiazet
brought before
Tamurlan, with
his pride.

Tamurlan his
saying of *Baiazet*.

The despaire
of *Baiazet* af-
ter he was ta-
ken prisoner.

Baiazet *Tamurlan*
his foot-stoole
to mount on
horseback.

Tamurlan his
pollicie for to
encrease his
Citie *Samar-*
cand.

*Axalla cruell
against the Ot-
tomans for the
deliery of
Greece.*

*Presents sent
by Tamerlan
vnto the great
Cham his
Vncle.*

our Armie, with fortie thousand Horſe, and an hundred thousand Foot-men without any cariages, who hindred the Enemies from joyning themſelues againe together: and hee made a cruell Warre vpon the *Ottomans*, deliuering the *Gracians* from the tyrannie of *Baiazet*. Hee approached neere vnto *Burſia*, where the *Ottomans* did not ſtay the comming of *Axallas* Armie, but only they which could not runne remayned behind. *Baiazet* his two Sonnes were ſent vnto the *Greekiſh* Emperour for to bring them vp, and to haue mercie vpon them; the reſt went vnto *Gallipoli*, for to goe vnto *Andromopoli*, the which they held, hauing conquered it from the *Gracians*. Now the Prince (for to returne vnto my purpoſe) diſpatched towards the Emperour his Vncle, and vnto the Empreſſe his Wife, one of his Familiars, called *Lieban*, Captayne of his Chamber, for to carrie him newes of this Victorie, and to ioine it alſo vnto all the reſt. He ſent vnto him *Baiazet* his Sword and Bow, and the Capariſons of his Horſe, the which was eſteemed to be worth aboute two hundred thouſand Duckets. You may eaſily thinke that Prince *Lieban* was well entertayned of the old Emperour, and of the young Princeſſe, bringing word vnto them, that all the World did bend it ſelfe to make our Prince victorious, who ſurely receiued theſe Victories from God without inſolencie, and at ſuch time as hee ſent him moſt glory, then did his men note him to be leaſt puffed vp. He was neuer bold, but in the day of battaile, and on the Eue for to command ſeuerely, and with greater Maieſty. To tell you what he was in aduerſitie, I did neuer ſee him in that eſtate: but it is to be thought, that they which bee not inſolent in proſperitie, are not faint-hearted in aduerſitie. So our victorious Prince marched directly vnto *Burſia*, loaden with Spoyle and Trophies which hee daily got, departing from the Cities which did come and yeeld themſelues vnto him; therein obſeruing the ſame manner of proceeding, the which we did in the Conqueſt of *China*; they which did yeeld vnto him without fighting, were well vſed, and the obſtinate well puniſhed, the Prince knowing that reward and puniſhment are the Moderators of Common-wealthes, the one to bee vſed towards the good, and the other towards the euill. In the end we receiued newes by *Axalla*, that he had receiued *Burſia* in the Emperours name, and how the Inhabitants thereof had puniſhed the Garriſons of *Baiazet*, hauing driuen them away, and ſlaine many.

But I dare not follow our Author any further from Tartaria, for whoſe ſake I haue entertayned him. Leaving therefore his agreement with the Greeke Emperour, and ſecret viſiting Conſtantinople; his comming to Ieruſalem, and Expedition againſt the Soldan, With his Exploits in Egypt, Syria, Perſia, we will returne with him to Samarcand.

§. IIII.

*Increase of Samarcand; Affaires of China: Funerals of the Can-
comming to Quinza, and deſcription thereof. His diſpo-
ſition of his eſtate and death.*

Perſia, as long as he liued was much affected vnto him: which greatly ſerued him for the keeping as well of *Syria*, as of the *Soldans* Empire, leauing continually men there, and drawing out Colonies, the better to ſettle his Affaires in thoſe places. So the Emperour leauing the Prince of *Thana*, with his Army to attend his pleaſure, he marched with the reſt of his forces into his owne Countrey with all the loyes and Triumphes that might be poſſible, the chiefeſt Priſoners marching before the Emperour, amongſt the which was *Baiazet* Emperour of the *Turkes* all chayned, and was a Spectacle vnto all the World of Fortunes inſtancy: hee continued notwithstanding in the ſame fierceneſſe was wont to be in him. So whereſoeuer the Emperour paſſed, the people aſſembled themſelues by thouſands, praying and ſinging his Victories. We arriued at the laſt at *Samarcand* with all our ſpoyle, in very great magnificence: where after we had bene the ſpace of one moneth or two in Feaſtings and Manificences, the Emperour with his accuſtomed Deuotion, hauing in great ſolemnitie vowed a Church and Hoſpitall vnto his God, the moſt magnificent that might bee deuifed. Whereupon to performe the ſame, he began to ſearch out all ſorts of Handicrafts men for to honour this Citie, the which hee had a deſire to make one of the ſtateliſt Cities in the World. And in one of the corners thereof he began, and did build there his Temple and Hoſpitall, making an account to increaſe yet this Citie, as large againe as it was, and to people the ſame, with ſo many ſeueral kinds of people and Nations as hee had brought with him, giuing libertie vnto them all to frame and build their Houſes, cauſing money to be diſtributed to do the ſame, and giuing all kinds of Priuiledges and Freedomes vnto the Priſoners, for to giue them a greater deſire to build and ſettle themſelues there: and hauing cauſed the ſtreets and places to be plotted, and hauing appointed a place for euery one to build vpon, hee tooke no other pleaſure, neither had he any other care then the preſeruing the good will of his moſt famous Souldiers, whoſe name hee hauing cauſed to bee written in a generall Muſter-booke, the which hee

*Tamerlan his
vow vnto God*

commanded to be made, from day to day, they (not thinking thereof) received honours, and good turnes of the Prince, in recompence of their so great seruices. Now he declared the death of the Emperour his Vncle vnto his Councell (of which he before had received Intelligence, but kept it close) and forgot no Ceremony due vnto the honour of the said Emperour outwardly; shewing the griefe he conceiued for his death; where after hee had rested some eight dayes, hee determined to goe vnto *Quinzai* for to see the Empreffe, and hauing left *Baiazer* in the custodie of the Gouvernour of *Zachetay*, the Emperour set forward with his ordinary Court which was of forty thousand Horse, and threescore thousand Foot-men.

The Emperour being come vnto *Cambalu*, receiued newes of the Battell *Odmar*, had wonne against the King of *Chinas*, Captayne Generall, and how he pursued his Victory, hauing taken three or foure great and rich Cities, the which did yeeld themselves vnto him, and that againe the *Chinois* did desire peace. The Emperour sent the Articles he required; which were that before all other things the King of *China* should pay the Arretages of the Tribute, the which hee had agreed with the Emperour. First, he should come in person to doe homage vnto his Majesty, and acknowledge himselfe as Vassall vnto his Empire. That the Army should withdraw it selfe during his Voyage, and he should deliuer vp vnto him all his Cities, sauing three such as the Emperour should nominate; and that the things should be restored vnto the same estate they were in before the Warre, when the Emperour made the first peace; that hee should pay the Army for fixe moneths, and should also satisfie all the expences of the War, seeing he had begunne it, and was Author of the breach of peace. Then the Emperour gratified *Odmar*, sending vnto him for Wife one of his Sisters with all magnificence that might be, for to make him the more affectioned vnto him. I will declare how the Emperour was receiued at *Cambalu* by his Subjects, with all the magnificence possible; the Emperour for to gratifie them hauing restored their Priuiledges, the which he had taken from them, for the Rebellion they had committed with *Calix*: so as the Emperour went ouer all gratifying his Subjects for this new Succession that was lately fallen vnto him, all the Companies comming vnto him: for in these Countreyes they haue no certayne dwellings, they are alwayes wandering in troupes wheresoeuer they goe: thither the Empreffe (hauing left Prince *Axalla* to gouerne at *Quinzai*) came vnto him. The Prince remayned there almost two moneths, hauing in this place giuen order for all the Affaires he had. *Cambalu* was also neere vnto mount *Altay*, where they vse to bury the *Scythian* Emperours, whom we doe call the great *Cham*.

The Emperour caused the body of the Emperour his Vncle to be brought thither, and himselfe would conduct it with all pompe, honouring not only his body, but also all that hee had loued in the World, and although it was not the custome to cause women for to assist the Funerals, yet would he afford this honour vnto the Empreffe, that she should assist the bringing of the body, going neere vnto the same. This he did, the more to make appeare how much he honoured the memory of the late Emperour in his Wife, being his Daughter, and also to the end that if God did take him away, his children being small, shee should haue the greater authority, and bee the better acknowledged worthy to gouerne in the minoritie of his Children; and also for that shee had beene brought vp alwayes in authority, euen since shee was marryed. The Prince desiring thereby the more to acknowledge the honour the Emperour his Vncle had done him, by adopting him as his Sonne, and in hauing left him so great and large an Empire, as that was, whereof he left vnto him the possession. Now the Emperour loued her onely, hauing no other affection in such pleasure, but only the happinesse of a faire Off-spring, the which he hoped for. Now the body of the late Emperour being come vnto *Cambalu*, he determined to conduct it vnto the buriall according vnto the accustomed Ceremony, and to put the body with the Kings and Emperours his Ancestors. After he had from point to point performed the last Will and Testament of the late Emperour, he returned from thence vnto *Cambalu*, where he spent all Winter in Tilt and Turnying, going a hunting, making his abode there, because he was in a place neere vnto the Kingdome of *China*, to know how matters passed there, hauing now brought thither his last Affaires, purposing to goe thither in person the next Winter, if *Odmar* did not make an end of the Wars already begunne, and if the King of *China* did not submit himselfe wholly vnder his obedience, hauing determined not to depart from *Cambalu*, vntill this Countrey were pacified, the marke he shot at, being only to keepe that which his valour was able to conquer through his good fortune; being desirous to spend the rest of his life in enjoying the fruits of his trauels, and for to publish his prayses vnto his people, and with Millions to maintayne them in peace. He had also a purpose to bring vnto an end that which hee had determined to doe at *Samarcand*.

Now *Axalla* was at *Quinzai*, as well vnto the contentment of all the men of Warre, as the Inhabitants, who desired much to see their Prince, and hauing caused Prince *Axalla* in their behalfe to beseech it, that it would please the Emperour to cause his Sonne to bee brought vp amongst them there, the which he did grant vnto them in fauour of the said Prince *Axalla*, establishing him for to command in the absence of the Prince his Sonne, whom hee made Gouvernour of *Quinzai*, from *Cambalu* euen vnto the Sea. This Countrey was replenished with some three hundred Cities, and was in largenesse more then foure hundred leagues, besides an finite

Articles of a new agreement betweene Tamerlan and the King of China.

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4

The magnificent Funerals of the great Cham of Tartaria.

Tamerlan his vertuous and chaste loue vnto his good Wife.

The young Prince made Couernour of Quinzai and ouer all the Countrey; which seemeth to bee the North parts of China, and perhaps in these times, Nan-quin was the Seat of the K. of China and Quinzai, of the Tartar Can.

Axalla appointed the young Prince's Gouverneur, and authorised ouer all the Kingdomes of *Tamerlan*, as Gouverneur generall.

The King of *China* came vnto the Emperour *Tamerlans* Court, and did sweare vnto him once againe obedience.

The meane apparell of *Tamerlan*.

* This battell for breuitie is omitted, as is also the most part of the Booke.

The description of the Citie of *Quinsay*, with the wonderfull situation thereof.

Tamerlan receiued with great magnificence into *Quinsay*, with rich and rare presents.

The order hee tooke for his sonnes education.

Tamerlan his notable saying of succession in his Empire

The Emperesse deliuered of another sonne at *Samarcand* in *Parthia*.

Tamerlan his recreations, and notable saying thereof.

The admiration and exceeding loue the people of *Quinsay* did beare vnto their Emperour. The nature of the people of *Quinsay* toward their Emperour.

number of Villages. To make short, it was that the Emperour his Vncle gouerned, where this Prince *Axalla* was his Lieutenant generall, vnder the authoritie of the young Prince his sonne, vnto whom he deliuered him in charge for to be his Gouverneur, authorising him vnto the gouernement generall of all his Kingdomes: for the great wisdom that was in this Knight, made him beloued in all the Countreys vnder the Emperours obedience: the seruices also and great victories the which he had caused the Emperour to obtayne by his stout courage, and good conduct, who for these occasions put his principall trust in him, and after himselfe hee thought him onely worthie to preferue for his children his Kingdome and Emperesse.

The King of *China* came to visit him at his Court, according vnto the couenants offered vnto him, the which he accepted: he did sweare once againe obedience vnto the Emperour, who caused him to see all his greatest Cities, for to make himselfe the more to be feared of this *Barbarian*, who kept no more promise then pleased himselfe. Hee was astonished to behold so many Souldiers, and the Countrey so well replenished with people; and aboue all, that they vsed so little curiositie of riches in their apparell and garments, wondring that the Emperour was apparelled in meane Cloth of one colour, without any other fashion: but to counteruaile that, he had about him men which seemed to bee Kings. At the same time when the King of *China* was at the Court, the Emperour receiued newes of the * victorie against the *Soldan*, for the which the Emperour reioyced, making feasts and turneys in his Court in token of mirth, and this reioycing continued for the space of eight dayes. After the Emperour had giuen order for the double paying of his Armie that came into *Persia*, vnder the conduct of the great Chamber-
laine, and *Synopes* Colonell generall in the Imperiall Armie, the Emperour went vnto *Quinsay* for to see his sonne, and visit the people of this Countrey.

The Emperour arriuing neere vnto *Quinsay*, Prince *Axalla* comming to meet him two dayes journey off, with all the chiefe Lords of the Countrey, together with the principall Citizens, who were preparing for the Emperour the most magnificent receiuing that might bee, as well by water as by land. As this Citie is one of the richest in the world, so is it one of the greatest, and of the most wonderfull situation, being all wholly diuided and ouerthwarted with channels, vpon the which are framed wonderfull and stately buildings, accompanied with an infinite number of Bridges, vpon the which they passe ouer channels: this Citie aboundeth with all kinde of spices, and in great quantitie, likewise with all manner of merchandises. The Emperour as soone as he was arriued, receiued presents of the Citizens, the which were esteemed to be worth about two millions of Gold, with a wonderfull variety of all rare and singular things, the which they presented vnto him, for to testifie the loue and obedience they did owe vnto him. The Emperour was desirous to see his sonne, whom they brought vp with the accustomed greatnesse of Princes: and hauing caused the child to be brought before him, being of the age of seuen yeeres: he forbad from hence forward they should suffer him to weare any thing vpon his head, and himselfe did hang a Bowe about his necke, saying aloud, that they which from their birth were called vnto soueraignties, should bee vsed both vnto cold and heate, and should bee exercised in Armes betimes, and not brought vp delicately and easily, reprehending them which had the bringing of him vp, demanding of them, if they meant to make a woman of him? And they answering, that he was tender. If he be not borne (said he) for to be strong in Armes, he will not be worthy to succeed mee: for he must not be an effeminate Prince that shall preferue the *Parthian* Empire. Now he had sent the Emperesse vnto *Samarcand* to be deliuered, where shee was honourably receiued, hauing neuer bene there since shee was married. Hee receiued newes that shee was there deliuered of another goodly sonne, a thing which hee caused to be published ouer all, and himselfe in token of ioy, made feasts fiteene dayes, with all kindes of magnificent turneys: this he did for to shew his agilitie vnto this people, to the end, that as he excelled all his Court in vertues, that they should also iudge him worthie to gouerne them aboue all other men. After he continued there a moneth, and hauing visited all the Seawtownes neere vnto *Quinsay*, hunting all kindes of chases, neglecting nothing notwithstanding which belonged to his charge, saying often, that the recreations hee did take, were helps for to ease him in the paines of his publike affaires whereunto God had called him. Hauing vpon his returne called together all the people, he published his lawes, which were all reuerenced of this people, as though they had proceeded from the Diuinitie, so much admiration had euery one of the greatnesse of this Prince. The which I will truly declare vnto you, that so long as the Emperour was there, this people did almost nothing, being for the most part busied in beholding of him, not finding any greater contentation then that. Some of his Courtiers, and among it the rest, Prince *Axalla* said one day vnto him, that this was a Citie fit for his abode. O my friend, it is not so: if they should see mee daily, they would make no more account of mee. It is a maxime, that the Lord of this great Citie must not goe thither but once in ten yeeres, and when he is there, it behooueth him to temper his actions, as if he were vpon a Scaffold ready for to play some Comedie, where grauitie and good grace is necessary for to content the beholders: for the people doe easily receiue an euill impression of their Prince, as they also doe a good, if you performe it well vnto them.

- Now I haue forgotten to tell you how the Emperour sent Prince *Axalla* in his name from *Quinsay* into *China*, and his Imperiall Maiestie did not depart out of the Prouince before he returned: he went thither with great diligence for to establish peace there. Prince *Axalla* went forward towards *Paguin*, where he was receiued of the Gouvernour with all possible honour. And hauing assembled all the Emperours forces, hee set forward towards the borders of *China*, haue an enteruiew at *Pochio*, where the meeting place was agreed vpon. He passed by *Quantou*: went forward vnto *Pochio*, whither the King came also to meet with him; and hee entred full fiftie leagues into the Countrey newly conquered. It seemed vnto him a thing too much derogating from the greatnesse of the Emperour, the maiestie of whose person hee represented, if he went any further to see this barbarous King, being more fit that he should come forward into the Countrey conquered lately from him by *Odmar*, after he had obtayned the victory, then to goe into his Countreys although he had subiected them vnto the Emperour, and did pay a very great tribute. So the King of *China* arrived within a league of *Pochio* with all his Court: hee set forward vnto a Plaine, where he and Prince *Axalla* did see each other, who was much better accompanied, from whom the King did as much differ as from the Emperours owne person. They met three severall times together: the King desired to bee admitted into a Citie, which the Emperour had granted vnto him by the treatie. Prince *Odmar* declared that it was of great importance, therefore Prince *Axalla* was by the Emperour appointed for to bee Iudge of this controuersie. In the end they required another further within the Countrey, the which the King accepted: so hee was put into possession of that Citie, the situation whereof was very pleasant, being compassed about with a Lake. *Axalla* hauing discovered that this barbarous King, did earnestly desire it onely for his pleasure, and not for any other euill intent, the Citie which hee deliuered being seated vpon a Riuer further within his Countrey, and that other within our Countrey compassed about with our fortresses: but *Odmar* did not allow of that, and supposed it to bee for an euill purpose, as for to contriue some new practises. *Odmar* being an olde man, who knew the Kings vnfaithfulnesse, although hee had made him know it well enough vnto his smart, hauing (as I haue said) wonne twenty or thirty Cities from him; and aboue fourescore leagues of Countrey, at such time as hee obtayned the last Battell, during the time that the Emperour was in his last Voyage against the *Persians*.
- So the enteruiew continued yet betweene Prince *Axalla* and the King of *China* on the Plaine, a Tent being pitched, whither Prince *Axalla* did come vnto him, whom hee continually honoured as much as the Emperours owne person, where after they had long time treated by Interpreters, it was in the end agreed, that the King of *China* should enter againe into *Quinanci*, not suffering him to put any Garrison into it, nor to fortifie the same: but euen as a Prisoner and Subiect vnto the Emperour, hee should enioy it, and it should bee his owne, enioying all the reuenue thereof, neither should hee carrie any kingly Ensignes, without the expresse leaue of the Gouvernour for the Emperour: hee should notwithstanding haue a guard of three hundred men for his person; and should giue knowledge vnto the said Gouvernour of his journey, before he entred into the Emperours Countries, the which hee must passe for to goe thither. Now the Citie was situated in the midst of a very great Lake, in the which were many Ilands, wherein there were an infinite number of houses of pleasure, and it had bene alwaies a very delicate place, where the Kings of *China* were wont to recreate themselves in all kindes of pleasures that were there to be found: in so much as this barbarous King did not respect the conditions propounded vnto him, so as he might make his abode there, as it were in an Hermitage. Hauing left vnto his brother the gouernment of his whole Kingdome, through the displeasure he had of his bondage whereunto he was brought; a courage certainly magnanimous, and worthie a Nation made ciuill with the best learning, and vnworthie the name of a *Barbarian* wherewith we called him.
- Three times in the weeke at *Samercand*, *Tamerlan* ministred open iustice vnto the meanest, in his Imperiall Maiestie, a thing which made him beloued of the people ouer whom hee commanded. In the other dayes hee gaue secret audience for the affaires of his Estate, and tooke aduice for matters of importance, which were decided daily in his presence. He had such seueritie in his counsell, that they must needs deale truely before him, and without all passion in discourting: notwithstanding he alwaies shewed himselfe courteous in his conuersation, and made himselfe both beloued and feared of his people: hee neuer changed his seruants, except they committed great faults against him: of all the seruants of the late Emperour his Vncle he did not change one of them, but hee did withall encrease their estates, making them in this change to feele his liberalitie, which he made strangers for to taste also, vnto whom he was accustomed to giue, to binde them vnto him. He drew great store of money yeerely for tribute of the *Moscovites*: but he distributed it within the same countrey for to maintayne his authoritie there, winning those for his which might haue hurt him, by meanes of giuing vnto them. Hee had great care of his reuenues, and he had such a readinesse, that he did see his estate from three moneths vnto three moneths within one houre, both the ordinarie and extraordinarie expences, they presented it so well digested vnto him.

Prince *Axalla* sent into *China* for to establish a peace there.

The meeting of Prince *Axalla* with the King of *China* at *Pochio*.

The resolution of the meeting betweene *Axalla* and King of *China*.

King of *Chinas* brother succeeds.

The iustice of *Tamerlan*. *Tamerlan* his great liberalitie.

Tamerlan his care of his reuenue.

The death of
the Emperour
Tamerlan.
Prince Sauto-
chio proclay-
med Emperor
and signed di-
spatches.

Prince Sauto-
chio nineteene
yeeres old
when he came
vnto his Em-
pire.

But our haste of other voyages permits not our stay here. Onely we will adde, that after all things or-
dered, Sicknesse arrested and Death conquered this great Conquerour: and this Traueller travelled the
way of all flesh into another world. Presently after his death they ranne to call his sonne, who as
soone as he was come shut his eyes, powring out teares, as also did all his seruants. The Prince
Sautochio his eldest sonne, within two houres after was proclaymed Emperour throughout all
the whole Armie, and dispatches were made from all parts to aduertise the Gouvernours of Pro-
uinces thereof, the Letters being signed with the hand of the new Emperour, who hauing as-
sembled all the Armie together, hee made an Oration vnto the Captaines and Souldiers, and
caused them to make a generall muster, gratifying all the ancient Seruants of the Emperour his
Father: he would not dispose of any thing before he had seene Prince *Axalla*, and was ioyned
with the Imperiall Armie. This young Prince, when he came vnto this Empire was nineteene
yeeres old, hee was faire, and had much of the Emperour his Fathers naturall disposition. They
hoped that hee would wisely (through the good counsell that was about him) maintayne this
great Empire: but they feared greatly the young Prince *Letrochio* his brother (whom his mo-
ther loued) would cause diuisions, as it happened in the times of their great grand-father be-
tweene two brethren, who had beene occasion of the destruction of their estate, the which was
releued and lifted vp againe vnto his height by the valour of Tamerlan.

CHAP. IX.

* or Gilam.

Reports of CHAGGI MEMET a Persian of Tabas in the Prouince of * Chilan,
touching his Trauels and Obseruations in the Countrey of the Great Can,
vnto M. G. BAPTISTA RAMUSIO.

Succuir and
Campion men-
tioned by M.
Polo.



He said that he had beene at Succuir and Champion, Cities of the Prouince of Tan-
guish, in the entrance of the State of Grand Can, who (said he) was called Daimir
Can, and sent his Officers to the gouernment of the said Cities, which are the
first toward the Muslemans, and are Idolaters. He went thither with a Cara-
uan, which went with merchandises out of Persia, and from the places adioy-
ning to the Caspian Sea, for the Regions of Cataio; which Carauan they permit
not to pierce further then Succuir and Champion, nor any other Merchant therein, except he goe
Ambassadour to the great Can.

No passing in-
to the Coun-
trei.
Succuir descri-
bed.

Rhubarbe de-
scribed.

This Citie of Succuir is great and populous, with faire houses of hewen stones after our man-
ner; and hath many great Temples with their Idols of stone. It is situate in a Playne where
runne infinite Rioulets; is abundant in victuals of all sorts, and yeelds silke there made of the
black Mulberies in great quantitie: hath no Wine growing, but they make a drinke with Hony
as it were Ale. Of fruits, by reason the Countrey is cold, there grow none but Peares, Apples,
Apricocks, Peaches, Melons and Cucumers. Hee said that Rhubarb (of this commoditie Memet
had brought great store at that time to Venice) growes all ouer the Countrey; but the best, in
certaine high stony Hills neere adioyning, where are many Springs and Woods of diuers sorts of
high Trees, and the Land is of a red colour, and by reason of many Raynes and Springs almost al-
way myrie. He shewed out of his bosome a picture of the Plant, brought out of the Countrey
(which Ramusio in his Preface to M. Polo hath also presented with this discourse) the description of
which is this. The leaues, he said, are ordinarily two spans long, more or lesse as the Plant is in
bignesse; narrow below and broad aboue, downy with (as it were) small hayres in their cir-
cumference; the stalke or trunk is Greene foure fingers high, and sometimes a span from the
ground: the Greene leaues with age grow yellow and spread on the ground. In the midst of the
trunk growes a thin branch with flowres fastned within, like the *Mamole* violets in forme, but
of the colour of Milke and Azure, and greater then those violets, of a noysome sent. The roote
within ground is a span or two long, of a tawny colour in the barke, some as bigge as a mans
thigh or legge; out of which grow little Roots or Sprigs, which spread in the ground, and are
cut away from the great Roote; which within is yellow with many veynes of faire red, full of
red and yellow iuyce, cleauing to the fingers and making the hand yellow: and being cut in
peeces the viscus iuyce issueth out and the roote becomes light; they lay them therefore on
boards turning them vp and downe diuers times a day, that the iuyce should incorporate there-
in, lest it lose the goodnesse; after foure or six dayes hanging them to drie in the winde, where
the Sunne may not come at them, being in two moneths drie and perfect. They ordinarily take
it out of the ground in the Winter, the vertue being then most vnted in the Roote (the Spring
there beginning at the end of May) which at other times is disperfed into the leaues and flowers,
that iuyce also being gone and the roote light and hollow.

The Root and
Iuyce and pro-
paring.

A cold climate.

Six Saggi
make an
ounce.

They sell one of their Cart lodes of Roots with leaues for sixteene siluer Saggi (not much vn-
like ours) for they haue no Coynes, but make their gold and siluer in small thin rods, and thence
cut

cut peeces of a Saggio weight, which in siluer is twentie Soldi Venetian, and in gold a Duckett and halfe. He said that they would not gather it, if forren Merchants should not come to trade for it, themselves making no reckoning thereof: and that the Merchants of China and India carry away the greatest part; who if they should cut and dresse it as before is exprest, after it is brought in Carts, in foure or six dayes it would corrupt; and seuen burdens greene (hee said) would not yeeld aboue one drie. When it is greene it is intolerably bitter; and in Cataio they vse it not for medicine, but beate and mixe it with other odoriferous compositions for perfumes to their Idols. In some places there is such store that they burne it dried in stead of wood; others giue it their crased horses, so little doe they esteeme it in Cataio. But there they much prize another small Roote, which growes in the Mountaines of Succuir, where the Rubard growes, and call it *Mambroni cini*, very deare, vsed for diseases, those specially of the eyes; nor did he thinke any of it was brought into these parts. He said also, that in all Cataio they much vse the leaues of another herb, which they call *Chiai Catai*, which growes in a place of Catai, called *Cacianfu*. They boyle it, whether new or drie, and taking off a Beaker or two of that decoction fasting (as hot as can be borne) takes away the Feauer, payne of the Head or Stomack, Back, Ioynts, and other diseases, especially the Gowt, and it is good for digestion. They vse to carry it with them in their Voyages, and will giue a sack of Rubarb for an ounce of *Chiai Catai*. And the *Cataians* say, that if our Merchants, *Persians* and *Frankes*, knew the goodnesse thereof, they would buy no *Rauend Cini*, so they call Rubard.

I asked him of his Voyage from thence to Constantinople, and hee answered mee by *Mambre* our Interpreter, that hee returned not that way he went with the Carauan, by reason that the Greene-head Tartars called *Iscilbas*, sent an Embassador at that time when hee was to come away, with a great company, by the way of *Tartaria Deserta*, aboue the *Caspian Sea* to the great Turke at Constantinople, to make a league against the *Persian* their commonemie. Whereupon he thought good to come with them, and so did to *Cassa*. I asked of the way he went. He said he should haue returned from *Campion* to *Gauia* in six dayes (eight Farfences, each of which is three Italian miles, are a dayes iourney, but on the Hills and Deserts they goe not halfe so much) from *Gauia* to *Succuir* in five dayes, from *Succuir* to *Camul* in fifteene, here the *Muslimans* (or *Malumetans*) begin: from *Camul* to *Turfon* is thirteene. From *Turfon* they passe three Cities, *Chialis* ten dayes iourney thence, after that *Cuchia* other ten, and after that *Acfu* in twentie. From *Acfu* to *Casfar* are other twentie dayes all rough Desart, all the former way being thorow places inhabited. From *Casfar* to *Samarcand* are five and twentie dayes. From *Samarcand* to *Bochara* in *Corassan*, five; from *Bochara* to *Eri*, twentie; from thence to *Veremi* in fifteene; from *Veremi* to *Cashu* in six; thence to *Soltania* in foure, and thence to *Tauris* in six dayes.

Now for some particulars of those places, he related that *Campion* is subiect to *Daimir Can*, great Emperor of the Tartars; the Citie placed in a fertile Playne all cultivated and abundant in prouisions. They are appparelled in black Cotton cloth, furred in Winter with skins of Wolues and Sheepe if they be poore; the richer with Sables and Marterns of great price. They weare black Bonets sharpe like a Sugar-loafe; the men rather small then great, wearing beards as we doe, specially a certayne time of the yeere. Their houses are of stone like ours, with two or three lofts, slope-roofed, and diuersly painted, and they haue one street onely of painters. The great men for magnificence make a great Loft or Pageant, and thereon erect two Tents of silke embroydered with gold, siluer, pearles, and jewels, and there stand with their friends. This they cause to bee carried by fortie or fiftie Slaues, and so goe thorow the Citie in solace. The Gentlemen are carried on a simple Pageant, by foure or six men without other furniture. There Temples are made like our Churches, so great that they may contayne foure or five thousand persons; and haue in them two Statues, of a Man and a Woman, each fortie foot long, all of one peece, stretched on the ground, and all gilded. They haue excellent stone cutters. They bring quarry stones two or three moneths iourney on shod Carts of fortie wheelles very high, drawne by five or six hundred Horses and Mules. There are also small Images with six or seuen heads and ten hands, all holding diuers things, one a Serpent, another a Bird, a third a Flower, &c. There are some Monasteries in which liue men of holy life, immured within their houses that they cannot goe out whiles they liue, and haue victuals euery day brought them. There are innumerable, like our Friars, which goe vp and downe the Citie. They haue a custome, when one of their kindred dyes, to clothe themselves in white many dayes made of Cotton; their garments are made long to the ground with wide sleeves. They vse Printing of their Books, which he thought somewhat like those I shewed him at *Mr Thomas Giuntos* printing house. Their Citie is fortified with a thick wall, within filled with earth, able to carry foure Carts abreast, with Towres and Artillery as thick as those of the great Turke. The Ditch is wide and drie, but they can make it runne with water at their pleasure. They haue a kind of very great Oxen with long, thin and with hayre. The *Cataians* and *Idolaters* are forbidden to goe out of their Countreies, to goe on merchandise thorow the World.

Beyond the Desart aboue *Corassan* to *Samarcand*, and till the *Idolatrous* Cities, the *Iscilbas* rule,

The way of the Carauan betwixt Tauris and Campion in Catai.

Campion described.

Apparell.

Bearded men.

Houses.

Pageants.

Temples and Idols.

Huge carriages.

Anchorets.

Friars. White mourning.

Printing.

Fortification.

Polo and Contell of such Oxen.

The Ieslbarts or
Green-head
Tartars.

Chimia, Simia,
Limia.

Prating moun-
tebanks and
Juggling
maues.

rule, which are *Tartars*, *Musulmans*, wearing greene sharpe Turbants of felt, so making a difference betwixt them and the *Persians*, which weare them red: and betwixt them two for diuersitie of opinions in Religion are continual warres, and disagreement about their Confinnes. *Bocara* and *Samarcand* are two Cities of these Green-heads, each a Signorie of it selfe. They haue three particular sciences, *Chimia* (in the same sense as here) *Limia*, to make and cause loue, and *Simia*, to make men see that which is not. The moneys which they haue are not Coyned, but euery Gentleman and Merchant makes thin rods of gold and siluer, as is before said of *Campion* and *Succur*. In the market place of *Campion* are euery day many Mountebanks which haue that science of *Simia*, which compassed with a great multitude present strange sights, as to cause a man to cut off his arme, or thrust himselfe thorow with a sword, and seeme to bee all 10
bloudy, with other like.

CHAP. X.

A Treatise of China and the adioyning Regions, written by GASPARD A CRVZ a Dominican Friar, and dedicated to SEBASTIAN King of Portugall: here abbreviated.

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§. I.

Of Camboia and the Bramenes there; the cause of his going to China: of China and the neighbouring Regions.

Camboia.
Siam.
Champa.



Being in *Malaca* building an house of my Order, and preaching, was informed that in the Kingdome of *Camboia* (which is subiect to the King of *Siam*, and lyeth toward the parts of *China*, and doth confine with *Champa*, whence cometh 30
the most precious *Calambach*) was great oportunitie to preach the Gospell, and to reape some fruit. Having leaue of my Prelate, I tooke the iourney in hand. And after the passing many troubles and hunger in the iourney, with dangers and sicknesses, I came a land, and after I had reasonably informed my selfe by a third person, conuersing with the People and with the Fathers, euen before I knew it I found all to the contrary of that which they had told, and that all were deceits of the simple Laytie, which of light matters were moued to presume of the people that which was not in them. And besides this, I found many hinderances for the obtayning of my desires and intent; for first, the King is a *Bramene*, and the *Bramenes* are his principall men and his fauourites, and most familiar, because they are Witches, for they are much giuen to bee pleased with witchcrafts, and they doe nothing without consulting the Witches and *Bramenes* that are in the Kingdome (for by this meanes they thrive) 40
by the Deuill. And so the first thing that the King asked me, was if I were a Witch.

Probar missur.
Pralocussur.

The *Bramenes* doe worship among others one God, which they call *Probar missur* (which they said made the Heauens and the Earth; and another God, which they call *Pralocussur*, this also hauing obtayned power of another which they call *Praissur*, for to giue this licence to *Probar missur*) and I shewed them, that not onely he had not made the Heauen and the Earth, but that hee had beene a very wicked man and a great sinner: wherefore these Priests said, that they would worship him no more, hauing worshipped him thitherto with their God *Praput prasar metri*: whereupon the hatred of the *Bramenes* increased towards me, and from thence forward I had disfaours of the King, which was moued for the zeale of his God, and the God of his *Bra-* 50
menes. There met about these matters, the Priests of the Idols, and all of their troupe, which goe for Priests, and hold themselves for religious men, and in their conuersation and life they are separated from all other people, which to my thinking is the third part of the people of the Land; the King thereof setting an hundred thousand men in the field. This religious people, or that holds it selfe for such, are exceedingly proud and vaine, and aloue they are worshipped for gods, in sort that the inferiour among them doe worship the superiour like gods, praying vnto them and prostrating themselves before them: and so the common people haue a great confidence in them, with a great reuerence and worship: in sort that there is no person that dare contradict them in any thing, and their wordes among them are held for so sacred, that in no wise they will endure to be gainsayed. Insomuch that it hapned sometimes whiles I was preaching, 60
many round about me hearing me very well, and satisfying themselves of that which I said vnto them; if there came any of these Priests, and said this is good, but ours is better, they would all depart and leaue me alone. Further, they being very ignorant presumed to be very wise, and the common people did hold them for such, all their knowledge being ignorances and Heathenish follies.

Men aliue
worshipped.

They

They make seuen and twenty Heauens, some where there is meate and drinke and faire women whether they say all liuing things doe goe, euen the Flea and the Lowse, for they say, that as they haue soules, that they must liue in the other World. And to these, they say, all doe goe that are not Religious men as they are. They place others higher, whether they say, their holy Priests doe goe that liue in the Wildernes, and all the felicitie they giue them there, is to sit refreshing themselves with the wind. They place others yet higher, the gods of the which, they say, haue round bodies like Bowles, those which goe to these Heauens, and the honour which they giue them is, to giue them round bodies as the Gods themselves haue. And euen as they make many Heauens, so they doe many Hels, for they make thirteene, to the which they goe according to the griuoufnesse of the finnes of euery one, eyther higher or lower.

Twenty seuen Heauens.

Thirteene Hels.

They haue a diuision of their religious men, for some they call *Massanchraches*, which are as supreme, which sit aboue the King: others they call *Nascendeckes*, which are as our Bishoppes here. These sit equal with the King. Others they call *Mitres*, which are in the common degree of Priests, which do sit vnder the King: vnder the which there are yet two degrees, which they call *Chaynizes* and *Saxes*. And all these they ascend in degree, so they doe in vanitie and pride, and are more reuerenced. Besides all this, there is another very great inconuenience, that except the Priests and all those that holds themselves for Religious men, all the rest are slaues of the King, and when the owner of the House dyeth, all that is in it returneth to the King, and let the Wife and Children hide what they can, and begin to seeke a new life: the people of the Country is of such a nature, that nothing is done that the King knoweth not: and any bodie be he neuer so simple may speake with the King; wherefore euery one seeketh newes to carry vnto him, to haue an occasion for to speake with him: whereby without the Kings good will nothing can be done, and wee haue already shewed before, that hee is vnwilling to the matter of Christianitie. To these things was joynd some disorders of the *Portugals*, so that by all meanes I beene in the Country about a yeare, and seeing I could make no fruit beside the passing of griuous sicknesses, I determined to leaue this Country, and because they told mee many things of *China*, and the people of it to haue a disposition to Christianitie, and that they loued reason, I determined, seeing in this Country I did no good, nor baptized more then one *Gentile*, which I left in the Caue, to goe to *China* in a ship, of *China* which was then in the Country; in which they carryed me with a very good will, giuing me the best roome in the ship, not taking any interest of me; yea, they dealt very charitably with me. This name *China* is not the proper name of the people of this Country, nor of the Country it selfe, neither is there commonly in the Country notice of such a name, onely among all the people of *India*, and among those which dwell in the South parts, as in *Malaca*, *Siam*, *Iaoa*, this denomination of *Chinas* goeth currant, and also among those *Chinas* which doe traffique among vs. The proper name of the Country is *Tame*, the e. not well pronounced, but almost drowning it: and the name of the people of the Country is *Tamgin*, whence this name *China* doth come, which is currant among the strangers we know not, but it may be conjectured, that the people which in old time did sayle to those parts, because they passed by the Coast of a Kingdome, which they call *Cau-chin-china*, and traffique in it, and victuall, and take refreshings there for the Iourney of the Country that lyeth forward, which is that of *China*, in the which Kingdome they liue after the manner of the *Chinas*, and is subject to the *Chinas*; it seemeth, that omitting *Cauchin*, from the denomination of this other Kingdome, they called all the Country that lyeth along *China*.

Massanchraches
Nascendeckes
Mitres.

* As this word
Tame in English

China is a great part of *Scythia*; for as *Herodotus* saith, *Scythia* extendeth it selfe vnto *India*, which may be vnderstood, because the *Chinas* did possesse many parts of *India*, and did conquer them of old time, whereof at this day there are some Monuments, as in the Coast of *Choromandell*, which is towards the Coast of the Kingdome of *Narsinga*, on that side which we call *Saint Thome*, because there is a House built by the Apostle, and the Reliques of his bodie. There is at this day a great Temple of Idols, which is a marke for the Nauigators to know the Coast which is very low, the which as the men of the Country affirme, was made by the *Chinas*, of whom there remayned among them a perpetuall memory, and therefore they call it *Pagode*, of the *Chinas*, which is to say, Temple of the *Chinas*. And in the Kingdome of *Calicut*, which is the head of *Malabar*, there be very ancient fruit-trees which the men of the Country say were planted by the *Chinas*, and on the shoales of *Chilao*, which doe runne from the Iland of *Ceylan*, toward the Coast of *Cheromandel*, is affirmed, by the men of the Country, a great Army of the *Chinas* to be cast away which came for *India*, which was lost, because the *Chinas* were but young in that Nauigation. And so the men of the Country say the *Chinas* were Lords of all *Iaoa*, and of *Iautana*, which is the Kingdome of *Malaca*, *Siam*, and of *Chapaa*, as it is commonly affirmed in those parts: wherefore some doe affirme, many of this people to bee like the *Chinas*, that is, hauing small eyes, flat noses, and long faces, for the great commixture that the *Chinas* had with all of them, especially with them of *Iaoa*, which commonly are more *China*-like. But the King of *China* seeing that his Kingdome went to decay, and was in danger by their

The *Tartars* rather let forth fleets from *China* to these Ex-ploits as in *Po* lo you reade.

their seeking to conquer other strange Countreyes, he with-drew himselfe with his men to his owne Kingdome, making a publike Edict vnder paine of death that none of the Countrey should sayle out of the Kindome of *China*: the which lasteth to this day.

Liquos an Island

The *Liquos* are not continued with mayne Land, but it is an Island which standeth in the Sea of *China*, little more or lesse then thirtie leagues from *China* it selfe. In this Island liue these people, which is a well disposed people, more to the white then browne. It is a cleanly and well attyred people; they dresse their haire like women, and tye it on the side of their head, fastened with a siluer bodkin; their grounds are plentifull of many and good waters; it is a people that sayle very seldome being in the midst of the Sea. They weare good short Swords, they were in times past subject to the *Chinas*, with whom they had great conuersation, therefore are very like the *Chinas*. Now this Island remayning to the Sea from *China*, as we haue said, the Coast of *China* runneth, winding from the Prouince of *Cantano*, and from her Coast vnto the Coast of the Prouince of *Nanquin*, whether to the *Portugals* haue sayled, the Coast making neuer a point as the Maps doe make, the which may be seene well pointed in the Sea-cards and in the Maps made among the *Portugals*.

Cauchin china.
Daman an
Island.

The *Tartars* are reckoned among the *Scythians*, and runne so far along *China*, with the which it hath continuall Warre, that commonly they affirme to haue betweene the *Chinas* and the *Tartarians*, a Wall of an hundred leagues in length. And some will affirme to bee more then a hundred leagues: the first Kingdome that doth confine with it on the Sea-side of *India*, is one that is called *Cauchin-china*, which hath about an hundred leagues little more or lesse a long the Sea-coast, the Sea maketh a great entrance betweene it and the Ile *Daman*, which is of fiftie leagues in length, and is already of the *Chinas*: and in the end of this entrance this Kingdome abutteth with the Kingdome of *China*, and is subiect to the King of *China*. The people of this Kingdome in their Habit, Policie, and Gouernment, doe vse themselves like the people of *China*. The Countrey is much inhabited and of much people; it is also a very plentifull Countrey. They haue the same Writing that the *Chinas* haue, although their speech be diuers. Beyond this Kingdome of the *Cauchin-chinas*, lyeth another very great Kingdome, which runneth within the Land along *China*, which some doe call *Laos*, and others *Siones*, *Maons*: this by the otherside towards *India*, doth confine with the Kingdome of *Camboia*, and with the great Kingdome of *Syam*, and with the rich Kingdome of *Pegu*, with all the which Kingdomes it hath Traffique: in sort that there remayneth to this Kingdome towards the Sea of *India*, all the Coast of *Pegu*, vnto the ends of the Kingdome of *Champa*, which doth confine with *Cauchin-china*. And so there remayne to these *Laos* toward the side of the *Indian* Sea, the great Kingdome of *Pegu*, the Kingdome of *Tanagarin*, and that of *Quedaa*, and that of *Malaca*, and the Kingdomes of *Pan*, of *Patane*, of *Syam*, of *Camboia*, and of *Champa* which abutteth vpon the *Cauchin-chinas*. This Kingdome of the *Laos*, or *Sions*, *Maons*, was subdued by the *Bramas* (of the which we will speake presently) in the yeere of fiftie fixe, and among some which they brought captiue to *Pegu*, they brought some *Chinas* which the *Laos* held Captiues, as one *George Mello* affirmed vnto mee, which went for Captayne of the Voyage to *Pegu*. And though commonly there be no Warres betweene these *Laos* and the *Chinas*, because of the great Mountaynes that are betweene them, on the which the *Chinas* haue good forces on that side in the Prouince of *Camsi*, which doth confine with these and with the *Bramas*: and in the forces they haue continually men in Garrison for the defence of those parts: there bee notwithstanding, continually assaults on the one side and of the other: whereby the *Laos* might haue some *Chinas* captiue. Before that these *Laos* were subdued by the *Bramas*, they carryed to *Sion*, to *Camboia*, and to *Pegu* some very good Muske and Gold, whereof is affirmed to be great store in that Countrey, and these people hauing Muske, makes a conjecture the great store of Muske which the *Chinas* haue, they get it from the many beasts that are in the Confines of this Kingdome in the Prouince of *Camsi*, from whence they bring it.

1559.

Muske what
it is.

The Muske is the flesh and blood of certayne beasts, which they say, to be as bigge as Foxes, the which beaten with strokes and killed, they tye the skinne with the flesh together in lumps, the which they cut after the flesh is rotten, and so they sell it, which the *Portugals* do call Muske Cods. And when it commeth fresh, presently it appeareth to be rotten flesh and blood: the rest they sell loose, holding these Cods for the finer Muske. Returning to the *Laos*, whereof we were speaking, these be the Wares which they brought to the aboue-laid Kingdomes, carrying in returne Cotton-clothes and other things they had need of. This people is not very browne, they weare their haire all cut round vnderneath, and all the rest aboue ruffled, rayfing it many times vpward with their hands, that it remayneth to them like a Cap, and serueth in stead of one, for they weare nothing on their heads; they goe naked from the middle vpward, and from the hips downward, they weare certayne Cotton-clothes girt about them all white: the women goe couered from the breasts to the halfe legge: they haue their faces some-what like the *Chinas*, they haue the same Heathenish Ceremonies that the *Pegu* and *Siones*, and the *Camboias*: The Priests of their Idols doe weare yellow clothes girt about as the rest of the people, and a certayne manner of yellow Copes, with certayne folds and seames in which they hold their Superstitions.

Of

Of this people I saw many in *Camboia*, which remayned there the yeere before by the way of Traffique, and that yeare that I was there, they came not because of the Warres, wherein (as I said) they said they were subdued by the *Bramas*. These *Laos* came to *Camboia*, downe a River many daies Iournie, which they say, to have his beginning in *China*, as many others which runne into the Sea of *India*: it hath eighty fiftene, and twentie fathome water, as my selfe saw by experience in a great part of it: it passeth through many vnknowne and desert Countries of great Woods and Forrests, where there are innumerable Elephants, and many Buffes, of which I saw many wild in that Countrey, and *Merus*, which is like a good Mule, and certayne beasts which in that Countrey they call *Badas*: of the which the Male have a pointlike and blunt Horne in their fore-head, and some of the Hornes are spotted with singular colours, and others all blacke, others of a waxe colour, but they have no vertue, but only for the Hemorroides, or Piles: and after the Elephant there is no other greater beast: the haire of it is browne and footed like an Elephant, the head like a Cow, and it hath a great lump of flesh that falleth vpon his head, whereof I did eate travelling in those parts. There are also many other wilde Beastes. There bee some Thorny Trees, like Limons and Oranges, and many wilde Grapes through the Woodes. When these *Laos* doe returne to their Countrey, going against the streame, they goe in three moneths. This River causeth a wonder in the Land of *Camboia*, worthy of reciting. Comming neere to a place which they call *Chudurmuch*, which is twelue leagues from the principall Citie of *Camboia*, it maketh a passage to another River which commeth from a great Lake, that is in the vttermost parts of *Camboia*, and hath *Siam*, on the other side: in the midst of the which his bignesse being great, yee can see no Land on neither-side, and this River passeth by *Loech*, which is the principall Citie of *Camboia*, vnto *Chudurmuch*: the waters of this River, which is also verie great, the most of them doe passe to the River that commeth from the *Laos*, neere to *Chudurmuch*, and the rest doe run downe the River directly to the Sea, when the great Winter floudes doe come, which happen when it raines not in the Countries of *Camboia*. The many waters which doe come by the River that commeth from the *Laos*, which there they call *Sistor*, doe make a passage right against *Chudurmuch*, to the River that passeth through *Loech*, with so great furie, that where the waters of *Loech* did run downward, by multitude of the other that entreth into it, they are turned backe and run vpward with a great current: in sort that it ouerfloweth all the Countrey of *Camboia*, whereby all the Countrey is not trauelled in the time of these flouds, but in Boates, and they make their Houses all with high lofts, and vnderneath they are all ouerflowne, and sometimes these flouds are so high, that they are forced to make higher Roomes with Canes to keepe their household-stuffe in, and to lodge themselues. This River runneth vpward from Iuly to September, and with the passing from the River that commeth from the *Laos*, (or from the River *Sistor*, which is his proper name) of so many waters to the River of *Loech*, it doth not leaue his running to the Sea, making below verie great armes, and goeth verie high ouer-flowing many Countries downward, but not so much as above. The *Portugals* did shew mee in *Loech* a field, a great hill of Earth, ouer the which they affirmed that in the time of the flouds a great ship that was made in the Countrey did passe without touching, which ship might well haue layled from *India* to *Portugall*.

Beyond these *Laos*, follow the *Brames*, which is a great people, and very rich of Gold and Precious stones, chiefly of Rubies. It is a proud Nation and valiant, these are now Lords of *Pegu*, which subdued it by force of Armes some yeares before they subdued the *Laos*, they are men of good complexion, and well made, they are browne. They haue *Pegu* and part of *Bengala* toward the Sea of *India*. It is a Countrey very scarce of victuals, they apparell themselves as we said of the *Laos*, but that their clothes are fine, and many do weare them painted or wrought: they are also somewhat like the *Chinas* in the faces, they haue very rich and gallant shippings garnished with Gold, in the which they sayle in the Rivers: they vse Vessels of Gold and of Silver, their Houses are of Timber very well wrought, the Kingdome is very great, they haue not commonly warre with the *Chinas*, because of the great Mounraynes that are betweene the one and the other, and because the *Chinas* are well fortified on that side: notwithstanding this, sometimes there are Robbers on the one side, and the other that doe make assaults, whereby the *Chinas* haue some *Bramas* Captiues, as some *Portugals* which were Captiues in those parts, which saw them did affirme, and did speake with them in the great Citie of *Camsi*: and these slaues told them, that from thence it was not very farre to *Brama*, and that in *Pegu*, they had seene *Portugals*.

There followeth along the *China* beyond the *Bramas*, the Kingdome of the *Patanes*, which now are Lords of *Bengala*, and after them the *Mogores*. Beyond these *Mogores* there runneth along the *China*, the *Tartarians*, which doe extend themselves from *Mogor* to the Lake *Meotis* and the River *Thanais*, which is a very great Kingdome and of much and innumerable people. This people are commonly red and not white, they goe naked from the waste vpward, they eate raw flesh, and anoint themselves with the blood of it: whereby commonly they are stinking and haue an ill sent.

which to haue
River of the
Laos,
Merus are a
kind of wild
Asses,
Badas are the
Rhincerores:
by the fore-
head vnder-
stand the face;
for the horne
is lower then
the fore-head.
Chudurmuch.

Loech.

Sistor.
in the bowle
Strange ouer-
flow, a
fresh River
running vp
without sea-
force.
and breake
at some bns
conagillor

The Brames.

to alwaynt
and

The Patanes.

An old man of *China* did affirme vnto me, that sometimes when they came against the Countries of *China*, if the wind stood on that side where they came, they were discerned by their smell: and when they goe to warre they carry the flesh raw vnder them for to eate, they eate it in this manner, and anoint themselues with the blood to make themselues the more sturdie and strong, and to prouoke themselues to crueltie in the Warre: these also fight on Horsebacke with Bowes and Arrowes, and vse short Swords. With these is the continuall Warre of the *Chinas*, and as I haue said the *Chinas* haue an hundred leagues (others saying there are more) of a Wall betweene them and the other, where are continually Garrisons of men for the defence of the entries of the *Tartarians*. It may bee beleued that this Wall is not continued, but that some Mountaynes or Hills are intermixt betweene; for a Lord of *Persia* affirmed to me, that the like Workes were in some parts of *Persia*, with intermixing some Hills and Mountaynes.

It was affirmed to the *Portugals* which were Captiues, and in Prison in their Dungeons, in the year 1550, that some yeares there is Truce betwene the *Chinas* and the *Tartarians*: and in the same yeare the *Tartarians* made a great entry in *China*, in the which they tooke a very principall Citie from them: but a great number of people of the *Chinas* comming and besieging the Citie, and not being able to enter it by force of Armes, by the Councell of a man of low degree, they had a meanes whereby they killed them and their Horses, and remaind Lords againe of the Citie. The same *Portugals* which after ward were set at libertie, affirmed, that all the Prisoners made great Feasts, and made a great stirre when the *Tartarians* made this entry, with the hope of being set at libertie by the meanes of the *Tartarians*, if they did possesse *China*.

In the Citie of *Canton* I saw many *Tartarian* Captiues, which haue no other captiuitie then to serue for men at Armes in other places farre from *Tartarie*, and they weare for a difference red Caps, in all the rest they are like the *Chinas* with whom they liue: they haue for their maintenance a certayne stipend of the King, which they haue paid them without faile. The *Chinas* call them *Taras*, for they cannot pronounce the Letter *r*. Above the Lake where *Thanaïs* hath his beginning, they doe confront with the skirts of high *Almayne*, although on the side of *Europe*, and betweene them and *Almayne* are Hills that doe diuide them: and of these people of the skirts of the Mountaines, the *Chinas* say that the King of *China* hath many men of Warre in pay, that doe keepe the weake passages and the Wals on the side of the *Tartarians*: and say, they are great men with great Beards, and weare cut Hose, and Caps, and blunt Swords, and a *Portugall* that was carryed captiue the Land inward, told me that he heard the *Chinas* say, that they called these * *Alimenes*.

See Pinto.

* Here fol-
lowed the divi-
sion of the
Countrey into
shires or King-
domes, with
their Cities,
&c. which wee
referred to later
and better In-
telligence.

8. II.

Canton described; the publick and private buildings and Government. The Shipping and Husbandry of China; their contempt of the idle, and provision for impotent

Being to intreate of the Citie of *Cantan*, I give first a warning to the Readers, that among many Noble Cities, *Cantan* is one lesse Noble then many of *China*, and farre inferiour in building then many other: although it be more populous then many; this is said by all them that saw it, and travelled within the Land, where they saw many other. This aduice presupposed, it is to be noted, that *Cantan* in his compasse, is of very strong Wals, very well made, and of a good height, and to the sight they seeme almost new, beeing eightene hundred yeares since they were made, as the *Chinas* did affirme: they are very cleane without any cleft, hole, or rift, or any thing threatning ruine. They are of free stone about a mans height, and from thence vppward of bricke made of a clay like vnto that of the Porcelaine Dishes, whence it causeth them to bee so strong, that I building a Chappell in *Malaca*, one of these (which was brought from *China*) could scarcely bee broken with a good Pick-axe. Jointly with this there is in this Citie and in all the rest an Officer of the King which onely hath care to ouer-see the Wals, for the which he hath a good stipend. And every yeare when the Gouernour of the Borders commeth to visit the Prouince, hee doth visit this as well as the other Officers, to know if he doth well his Office, and finding him in any fault, or negligence, hee is put from his Office, and punished. And if he standeth in need of any expence for the mending of the Walls, the Ouer-seer of the Rents is bound to giue him that which is necessarie, vnder paine, that if the mending remayneth vndone, he shall bee well punished. For this cause the Wals of all the Cities are continually kept sound and in good reparation. These Walles are within the Citie little more then the walke of the same Citie in their height, which is the cause of beeing much more cooler. The Wals haue in compasse 12350. paces, and it hath eighty three Bulwarks.

The wals of
CANTON.

This

This Citie (and so all the rest) hath on the one side the Riuer, along the which, as well this as the rest are built almost in a Valley; and on the other side they haue a Ditch full of water of a good breadth, betweene the which and the wall remayneth a good distance where there may runne together a good troupe of people, and the Earth that was taken out of the Ditch, was cast betweene it and the wall, whereby the foot of the wall remayneth a great deale higher then the other ground. Besides the ditch, notwithstanding, this wall hath a great blemish, for it hath on the contrarie side to the Riuer without the wals, and the ditch a little, Hillocke that disco- uereth all the Citie within the wals.

The Riuer and
Town-ditch.

This wall hath seuen gates: the entries of the which are sumptuous and high, strong and well made, with Pinacles aboue, not square but made like steps. The other places of the wals haue no Pinacles: the wall at the entring of the gates is twelue paces thicke: the gates are all ou- uer plated with Iron, and all of them haue their draw-bridges very strong, which are alwayes vp, and are neuer let downe, but are ready against they be needfull: all the gates at the entrings haue Courts, and the Courts that are toward the side of the Suburbs, which lyeth along the Ri- uer haue euery one three gates, one in the front and two on the sides, which remayne for the seruice of streets that lye along the wall, the wals of the Courts are almost of the height of them within: the gate which is in the front in the Court, is like vnto that of the wals within: it hath also a draw-bridge; the gates which are in the side of the Courts are small. The Courts that are on the other-side of the field where no Suburbe is, haue no more but one gate, and this not right against that of the wals, but stand on the one side: the streets of the Citie are all drawne by a Line very straight without any manner of making a nooke or winding: all the crosse wayes are as straight as the streets: in sort that there is neyther street nor trauerse that maketh any tur- ning. All the streets and traueres are very well paved, the pauements going along the Houses, and lower in the middest for the course of water: the principall streetes haue triumphant Ar- ches which doe crosse them, high and very well made, which make the streets very beautifull, and enoble the Citie: the principall streets haue along the Houses close Portals, in the which and vnder the Arches many things are sold.

The Gates.

Draw-bridges.

Gate courts.

Strait streets
and paved.

Houses of Ma-
gistrates.

The Houses of them, which rule the Countrey, are at the entrings very sumptuous, with high Portals, great and well wrought of Malons worke: they haue in the fore-front very great gates like the gates of a Citie, with two Giants painted with Clubs in their hands: I saw foure in one *Pagode*, (which is a Temple of Idols) drawne naturally from some, which they say, the King hath to keepe his weakest passages from *Tartaria*. They are of great members, of about twelue or thirteene spans high. On the street side it hath right against the principall Porch a re- ceite not very great. It hath built along the street a good wall of a good height right against the gate, that when the gate is open they that are within may not be gazed on by them that goe by the street: this gate serueth not, neither is it opened but for dispatching of matters of Iustice, and the principall of the House goe in and out at them; and others that are as honourable or more then they: at the one side of this principall gate is another very great gate, but not so big as the principall, which is for the seruice of the House, and of the Prisoners when the principall gate is shut: and when this principall gate is shut, they set a glued Paper crosse ouer both the leaues, on which is written the name or firme of the principall of the House, and for to open it againe, an Officer of the House bringeth the same firme or marke on a playstered board to the Porter, that hee may open it, without the which token hee may not open it vnder a great punishment.

* Or little
Court.

Enting by this gate, there is a great Court and almost square, which is almost a Horse-race, and it hath a Gallery little lesse then the length of the gate, which leadeth straight from the gate to a very great Table that stands at the end of the Court, the which is all paved with square stones with leanings as high as a mans waste, and it is high in the entry of the gate, and there remayneth onely one step in the end of it to the Table, and the course in the sides of the Galle- ry is low, that they goe downe to it by steps: this Gallery of the middest is of such respect a- mong them, that in no wise it is lawfull for any one to passe through it, but onely some of the chiest of the House, or others as great or greater then they: and those that goe to negotiate with the Officer of the House when they enter in at the gate, they must goe presently to one side, going downe to the Court which hath very great Trees for shaddow, and they goe vp a- gain by steps vnto the Table aboue-said, which is at the end of the Court, which is very great. In the end of this Table in all his length there is a step, and within the step a very great walke, all paved with square stones as the Table without it, and very high and all wrought with Ma- sons worke: in the middest of it leaning to the wall of the front are two Chaires, with two Tables before them, a little distant the one from the other, one of them, which stands on the left hand, serueth for the Gouvernour of that house, and that of the right hand is void, for if there should come another of a higher dignitie then hee, to sit him downe. To euery one of the sides there are two spaces which runne behind this Gouvernour, and are of a good breadth, hauing pla- ced along the sides of these two spaces in euery one five Chaires with five Tables before them, and as the distance from them to the principall Gouvernour is good, they remayne though behind.

Sanctie of
Courts, and re-
uerence of
high Magi-
strates.

in sight of the principall Gouvernour. These serue for ten Assistants which are with the principall at the dispatching of waigtie matters. From these Galleries inward are great Lodgings, as well for the Gouvernour of the House, as for the Assistants, and for all the other Ministers and Officers of the House, which are many, as we will shew in their place.

Great Prisons.

On euery side of the Court are very great Prisons and great Lodgings, as well for the Iaylours (which also are of great authoritie) as for the Watches that watch by night and by day, but neither these Prisons nor the Chambers of the Ministers of them, nor the Lodgings of the chiefe of the House are seene outward, for they are serued of all things, the doores shut and haue continually their Porters. There are in *Cantan* foure of these Houses for foure principall Officers, and in euery Prouince in the Citie, that is, the Head of the Prouince there are five of these Houses: in *Cantan* there are but foure; for as the Gouvernour of *Cantan* is also Gouvernour of *Cansf*, he is not resident in *Cantan*, but in a Citie that is in the Borders of one of the Prouinces, that the recourse in the Affaires of both the Prouinces may be the easier. Besides, these principall Houses of the chiefe Gouvernours, there are many other in *Cantan*, the which though they bee not of so great Maieftie as they, they are notwithstanding very great, of other inferiour Officers, and chiefly those of the chiefe Iaylour which are very great. There is on the wals of *Cantan*, on the contrary side of the Riuer a high Towre all close behind, that they which are in it may not bee seene, nor gazed on from the Hillocke or Mountafore said, that was without the wals, and it is built in length along the wall, so that it is longer then broad, and it is all made in Galleries very sumptuous, from whence they discouer all the Citie, and the Marshes and Fields beyond the Riuer, which serueth for the recreation of them that rule. In the other Cities are such buildings which serue for recreation, many and very sumptuous, and of singular building.

Private houses.

The Houses of the common people in the outward shew, are not commonly very faire, but within are much to be admired; for commonly they are white as Milke, that they seeme like sleeked Paper, they are paved with square stones: along the ground, of a spanne little more or lesse, they are dyed with Vermilion, or almost blacke; the Timber is all very smooth and euen, and finely wrought and placed, that it seemeth to be all polished, or dyed, or in white, and some there is in white so faire and pleasant to the sight, waued Damaske-like, as it were Gold, and so bright that they should doe it injurie in painting it. I confesse, in truth, that I neuer saw so fine Timber as that. It hath after the House that is at the entrie, a Court with solaces of small Trees; and Bowers with a faire little Fountayne: and then at the entring of the House where the women doe with-draw themselves, it hath a certaine manner of a Gallery open before towards the Court, where they haue verie great Cubboards finely wrought, which takes the one square of the House, in the which they haue their Oratories, and Gods made of Wood, or of Clay: these Oratories are more or lesse curious according to the abilitie of euery one: all the Houses are tiled with very good Tiles, better, and of more continuance then ours: for besides, they being well made, they are of verie good Clay: those which receiue the water are broad and short, and the yppermost that close, the other are narrower, and at the ends toward the street side, they are garnished with fine Workes made of Lime: for many yeares they haue no need to be tiled againe, for as the Clay is very good, they are not so mouldring as ours, or so rough, but they are very smooth and warme, and beeing so well set they breed no filthinesse. There bee many Houses faire within, and very few with Lofts, the most are low Houses.

Temple and Mesquit. Suburbes.

They haue in the midst of the Citie a Temple of Idols with high Towres, the wals of the which we will speake of hereafter: they haue their Mesquit with *Alcoran* very high with his Pinnacle on the top. The Suburbes without are very great and of many Houses, in such sort that some *Portugals* would haue compared them in bignesse with them of *Lisbon*, but to mee and to others they seemed lesse, though they bee bigger and of more Houses then the Citie within the wals. It is very populous, and the people is so much, that at the entring of the gates on the Riuer side yee can scarce get through. Commonly the people that goeth out and in, doe cry and make a great noyse to give place to them that carrie burthens. And the Rulers of the Citie commanding to enquire what victuals were spent euery day, it was found to spend only five or sixe thousand Porkes, and ten or eleuen thousand Duckes; besides which, they ate great store of Beenes and Buffes, and many Hens, and an infinite deale of fish, whereof the Markets and streets are full, and many Frogs and Shel-fish, great store of Fruits and all other Pulse. Hereby little more or lesse may be seene what people are in *Cantan*, and whether it may bee compared with *Lisbon*.

Suburbes.

The Houses of the Suburbes are like those of the wals within; the streetes are so well and leuelled by Line as those within, and all for the most part paved also, and some of them are verie broad, and haue triumphant Arches, but very few. Some streets, as well without as within the wals, on the one side and the other along the Houses, haue Trees for to make shadowes. In all the streets of the Suburbs at the ends of them are gates with speciall Porters, whose Office is to locke them euery night vnder paine of sore punishment; and euery street hath a Constable and a Iayle. He stands bound, either to yeeld the Malefactor which by night doth any harme in the street, are to pay for it; wherefore all the streets haue euery night a watch, the Neighbours di-

Suburb-gates.

uiding

inding themselves in quarters: and they make every night sixe quarters or watches, and for a signe that they are awake, in every street they sound a Drumme, where they haue all the night a Lanthorne with a light. The gates of the Citie are shut as soone as it is night, and on the two leaues is set a paper, with the chiefe Captaines marke on every one of them, and they are opened with the Sunne, with a token from the same Captaine to them all, with his marke written on a white boord. Every gate hath a Captaine, a very honest man, and every one hath certaine Souldiers, which continually doe watch every one of the Gates by day and by night.

Watches.

In some Cities the water runneth almost thorow every street, and on the one side and the other of the street are Tables made of stone, for the common seruice of the people: and thorow all the streets are very good and well wrought Bridges to passe from one side to another: and thorow the middest of the streets is great trafficke by water that goe from one place to another. In those places whereby the water entreteth into the Citie, they haue made in the walls very good gates, which haue very strong Iron grates for to shut by night: and the most of the streets to the land inward are very well paved with stone, and (where is no stone) with small tyle. In all the Mountaines and Hills where there are wayes, they are very well made, cut with the Pick-axe, and paved where they are needfull. This is one of the good works of China, and it is very generall in every place of it. Many Hills on the side of the *Bramas*, and of the *Laos*, are cut in steps, very well made; and in the height of the Hill is made a low place, very well cut; in the which is a very high Towre, which aboue doth equall with the highest of the Mountain, which is very strong, the wall of one of the Towres was measured at the entring of the gates, and it was sixe fathome thicke and an halfe. There are on this side many of these workes, and so there may be in other places. I heard of a Gentleman of credit, called *Galiote Perera*, Brother to the chiefe Iustice of *Arrayolos*, which abode in *Cansu*, being Captiue, that (with the houses of these kinsmen of the King, being so many and so great) the Citie was so bigge that it seemed they occupied very little of it, and make a very little show in it: and so he had it written in a Rudder of his, whence I tooke a great deale * of that which is heere spoken of: in such sort that the greatnesse of the Citie did hide in it selfe the multitude and greatnesse of these houses.

Here followed much of other Cities; but because the Author saw them not, but received his intelligence from *Perera*, I referre you to him. Other China Cities. High-wayes.

Galiote Perera.

* Which is therefore here omitted.

As in the Countrey there is great store of Timber and very cheape, and much Iron and cheap, and it is very good, there are infinite number of ships and shippings; for through the Countrey are infinite Groves of Firre trees, and other trees, whereby it is easie for any one though of a little substance, to make a ship and haue shippings, and this causeth the great profit and gayne that is of them with the necessitie the Countrey hath of them: for it hath not onely a great number of Islands alongst the coast, but also a very great coast where they Naigate: and besides this, all China within is navigated, and runne through Rivers which doe cut and water it all, which are many and very great. So that yee may sayle to the ends of the Land, and goe in shippings. Any Captaine along the coast may in a little space ioyne two hundred, three hundred, euen to a thousand ships, if hee stand in need for to fight. And there is no small Towne along the River that is not plentiful in small and great ships. Along the Citie of *Cantan*, more then halfe a league off the River, is so great a multitude of shipping, that it is a wonderfull thing to see them, and that which is most to wonder, is that, that this multitude neuer decreaseth nor fayleth almost all the yeere: for if thirty, forty, or an hundred goe forth one day, as many doe come in againe the next: I say, the multitude neuer to diminish nor fayle for though sometime there be more, some lesse, alwaies there remaineth a marvellous multitude: and that which is more, all those that goe forth, goe laden; and all that come in, come laden; carrying goods, and bringing goods: and that which sheweth much the noblenesse of the Countrey, the plentie and riches thereof is, that all these ships bringing great store of merchandise of Clothes, Silkes, provisions and other goods, some doe goe into the Land, others come from within the Land, and nothing commeth from without China, neither goeth out of it: and that which the *Portugals* doe carrie, and some that they of *Syam* doe carrie, is so little in comparison of the great trafficke of the Countrey, that it almost remaineth as nothing, and vnperceiued; seeing that out of China there goeth no more but that which the *Portugals*, and they of *Syam* doe carrie; which is as much as though they brought nothing out of China, five or sixe ships comming laden with Silke and Porcelane: the great plentie and riches of the Countrey doth this, that it can sustayne it selfe alone: Pepper and Iuorie which is the principall that the *Portugals* doe carrie; a man may well liue without it, and the trafficke of merchandise that is in this Countrey, is in all the Cities within the Land, which as we haue said, are almost all built along the Rivers. The *Chinas* haue a common speech for to shew the noblenesse of their Kingdome, that the King of China can make a Bridge of ships from China vnto *Malaca*, which are neere five hundred leagues, the which though it seemeth it cannot be, yet by Metaphor it signifieth the greatnesse of China, and the multitude of ships that of it selfe it can make.

Store of shipping.

Riches of China in it selfe.

Proverbs.

The great ships they call Iunks; besides which there are ships for warre, made like great ships, to the which they make great Fore-castles and high, and likewise abafte, to fight from them: in such manner that they ouer-master their aduersaries, and because they vse no Ordnance, all their

Iunks for war and for trade. Ship-fights. No Ordnance.

Sudibusve pra-
ustis.

They vse
Oares.

Small ships.

A kinde of
Gallies.

Dwelling in
ships.

* The hus-
bands mer-
chandise, and
the wiues hus-
wifery.

Duck-weeders

Artificiall
broods.

See an exam-
ple in *Pantoia*,
of this mag-
nificence.

their vse isto come many together, and compassing the aduersaries ship, they boord it: and at the first on-set they cast a great deale of Lime to blinde the aduersaries, and as well from the Castles as from the tops they cast many sharpe pikes burned at the end, which serue for Top-darts, of a very stiffe wood; they vse also great store of stone, and the chiefest they labour for, is to breake with their ships the dead workes of their aduersaries, that they may be masters ouer them, hauing them vader them, and being destitute of any thing to shelter them: and as soone as they can enter, they come to the Pike or handy-blowes, for the which they haue long Pikes, and broad-pointed Swords hanging at their sides. There bee other Iunkes for lading of goods, but they are not so high as those of warre, though there bee some very great. All these ships as well of warre as of burthen vse two Oares a-head: they are very great, and foure or five men doe rowe euery one of them, laying them along the ship they moue them with such a sleight, that they make the ship goe forward, and they helpe very much for to goe out and in at a barre, and setting vpon the enemies for to boord them: they call these Oares, *Lioslios*: in all manner of their shippings they vse the *Lioslios*, neither doe they vse any other manner of Oares in any kinde of shipping. There be other lesser shippings then Iunkes, somewhat long, called *Bancones*, they beare three Oares on a side, and rowe very well, and loade a great deale of goods: there be other lesse, called *Lanteas*, which haue sixe or seuen oares on a side, which doe rowe very swift, and beare a good burthen also: and these two sorts of ships, viz. *Bancones* and *Lanteas*, because they are swift, the theeuers doe commonly vse. The rowing of these Oares is standing, two men at euery Oare, euery one of his side, setting one foot forward, another backward. In the Iunkes goe foure, five, or sixe men at an Oare.

They vse also certaine shippings very long, like vnto Gallies, without Oares or beake-head, which doe lade great store of goods: and they make them so long, because lading bringing a great burden they may sayle the better by the Riuer, which sometimes are not rough. They haue many other shippings of burthen, which is superfluous to tell of euery one. There be many small boats of poore people, in which are husband and wife, and children, and they haue no other dwelling but in their boat in a middle decke, for defence of the Sunne, and of the raine: as also haue the *Bancones*, and *Lanteas*, and others which wee said were like Gallies, and these deckes are in such sort, that vnder them are very good lodgings and chambers in the great ships, in these of the poore, they are much inferiour: there they breed their Pigs, their Hennes, and there they haue also their poore little Garden, and there they haue all their poore state and harbouring. The men goe to seeke worke about the Citie to helpe to maintayne their little house; the women goe in the boats, and with a long cane that reacheth well to the bottome of the Riuer (at the end of the which is a little basket made of rods, wherewith they get shell-fish) with their industrie, and passing of people from one side to another, they helpe to sustaine their household. These poore people notwithstanding doe not liue so poorely and beggarly in their apparell, as those which liue poorely in *Portugall*. There are other great shippings, wherein is the stocke of them both *, which haue great lodgings where they may bestow a great deale of stufte: these haue a great stocke; they haue certaine Cages made all the length of the ship with canes, in which they keepe two or three thousand Duckes, more or lesse as the vessell is: some of these belong to Lordships, and their seruants goe in them: they feed these Duckes, as followeth.

After it is broad day, they giue them a little sodden Rice not till they haue enough, when they haue giuen it them, they open a doore to the Riuer where is a Bridge made of canes, and the noise they make at their going forth is wonderfull to see them goe tumbling one after another, for the great abundance of them, and the time they take in going out; they feed all the day vntill night among the fields of Rice, those which are owners of the shipping doe receiue a fee of them that owe the fields, for letting them feed in them; for they doe cleanse them, eating the grasse that groweth among them. When night commeth they call with a little Taber, and though they be in sundry Barkes, euery one knowes their owne by the sound of the Taber, and goe vnto it; and because alwaies in time some remayne without that come not in, there are euery where many flockes of wilde Duckes, and likewise of Geese. When I saw such a multitude of Duckes in euery one of these Barkes, and all of one bignesse, and thinking they could not be hatched by Duckes or Hens, for if it were so, some would haue beene bigger then some, seeing so many could not be hatched in one, two, or fifteene dayes, I was willing to know how they hatched them; and they told mee, it was in one of two sorts. In Summer, laying two or three thousand Eggs in the dung, and with the heate of the weather and the dung, the Eggs are hatched. In the Winter, they make a Hurdle of canes very great, vpon the which they lay this great number of Egges, vnder the which they make a slacke fire, continuing it of one sort a few dayes till the Egges be hatched. And because they are hatched in this sort, there are so many of one bignesse, and all along the Riuer are many of these Barkes, whereby the Countreies are well prouided of this food.

There are some ships wherein the Rulers doe sayle, which haue very high lodgings, and within houses very well made, gilt, rich, and very sumptuous: and on the one side, and the other they

they haue great windowes with their Nets wouen of Silke, and very fine small rods set before them, that they within seeing all them without, may not bee seene of them. Toward the side of the *Laos* and the *Bramas*, are continually watches and wards in the Riuer in many ships, euen a whole moneths Iourney in length vnto the Citie of *Canfi*: these ships are in the places where the Riuer make any armes, because of the many theeuues which commonly are in these parts, being the vttermost of the Kingdome: and because the Riuer haue many armes, many ships are placed in those parts: in euery place where these shippings are, there bee two small ships, which continually doe goe night and day from one watch to another, because they are very swift, and those of the great ships doe diuide themselves into watches at their quarters, for to watch as well in the small as in the great ones. The ships of passage goe alwaies a great number together, that they may defend themselves, one another, while the ships of warre, and the watches do come to them, and at the watch where they make night, there they stay til the morning, and by the small boats they are deliuered safe to the next watch forward, and so from watch to watch they are accompanied of the small vessels till they bee set in safetie. From the Citie of *Doncheo*, that is, where the Gouvernour of *Consi* and *Cantan* is resident, vnto the bounds of the Province of *Canfi*, which are places more dangerous, are continually Armadas of fortie or fiftie ships. All these watches are paid of the common Rents of the Kingdome.

Ships for guard.

Fleets.

China is almost all a well husbanded Countrey: for as the Countrey is well inhabited, and people in abundance, and the men spenders, and vsing themselves very deliciously in eating and drinking, and apparell, and in the other seruices of their houses, especially that they are great eaters, euery one laboureth to get a liuing, and euery one seeketh wayes to earne their food, and how to maintayne their great expences. A great helpe to this is the idle people to bee much abhorred in this Countrey, and are very odious vnto the rest, and that laboureth not shall not eate, for commonly there is none that doe giue almes to the Poore; wherefore, if any poore did aske almes of a *Portugal* and he did giue it him, the *Chinas* did laugh at them, and in mockage said: why giuest thou almes to this which is a Knaue, let him goe and earne it: onely some letters haue some reward, going to some high place gather the people, and telleth them some fables to get something. The Fathers and Priests of their Idols are commonly abhorred and not esteemed, because they hold them for idle people, and the Rulers for any light fault doe not spare them, but giue them many stripes. Wherefore, a Ruler whipping once before a *Portugal* a Priest of theirs; and he asking him wherefore he did vse their Priests so ill, and held them in so little esteeme, answered him: these are idle and wretched Knaues. One day, I, and certayne *Portugals* entring into the house of the Ouer-seer of the goods, about the deliuerie of certayne *Portugals*, that were in prison, because the matter belonged to him, for the great profit that came thereof to the King, much people came in with vs to see vs, among the which there was a Priest: as soone as the Ruler said, *Set them downe*, all of them ran away in great haste, the Priest running as all the rest, for feare of the whip.

Industry, cause of plentie.

Idlenesse hated.

Almes derided.

Idle Idoll-Priests punished with vniust iustice of profane busie Rulers, which made their soules the least and worst part of themselves, and a God of their goods.

Euery one laboureth to seeke a liuing: for that which hee earneth hee enjoyeth freely, and spends it as he will, and that which is left him at his death remaynes to his children and grandchildren, paying onely duties Royall, aswell of the fruits that they gather, as of the goods they deale in, which are not heauie. The greatest Tribute they haue, is euery married man, or that hath house by himselfe, payeth for euery person in his house two Mases, which are sixtie Reys. From *Champaa*, which as we said, doth confine with *Cauchinchina* vnto *India*, are many vnprofitable grounds, and made Wilderesses and Woods, and the men are generally little curious to get or gather together, for they neuer gayne or get so much but it is tyrannized from them, that which they haue is onely theirs as long as the King listeth, and no more. In such sort that as soone as the King knoweth that any of their officers hath much money, hee commandeth him to bee put in prison, and they vse him so hardly, that they make him cast all that hee hath gotten: wherefore there are many in those parts, that if they get any thing or money one day or one weeke, they will not labour till they consume all that they haue earned in eating and drinking, and they doe it because if any tyrannie should chance to come, they may finde nothing to take from them. From hence it commeth, as I say, that they haue in *India* many grounds in diuers places vnprofitable; which is not so in *China*, for euery one enioyeth the fruits of his labour.

that is 9d. Tyrannie growes poore by seeking to grow rich.

Hence it commeth that all the ground that in *China* can yeeld any kinde of fruit receiuing seede, is husbanded. The high places which are not so good for Corne, haue very faire Groves of Pine Trees, sowing also betwene them some Pulse where it may be: in the drie Lands and stiffe they sow Wheate and Pulse: in the Marshes which are ouerflowed, which are many and very long, they sow Rice: and some of these Marshes doe yeeld two or three Crops a yeere. Onely the Mountaynes that are high and beaten with the weather, and are not fit to plant any thing, remayne vnprofitable. There is nothing lost in the Countrey bee it neuer so vile: for the bones, as well of Dogs as of other Beasts, they doe vse, making toyes, and with workes in stead of Iuorie, they set them in Tables, Beds, and other faire things: they lose not a Ragge of any qualitie, for as well of the fine as of the course, that are not of Wooll, they make fine and course Paper, and they make Paper of barkes of Trees, and of Cantes, and of silken Ragges, and in the Paper made

Thriftie husbandrie.

Nothing lost.

Paper of diuers matters.

Near filth.

made of filke they write: the rest serueth for to roll betweene the pieces of filke: euen the dung of men yeelds profit, and is bought for money or in change of herbs, and they carry it from the houses: in fort that they giue money or money worth, to suffer them to cleanse their houses of office; though it smelleth euill through the Citie: when they carry it on their backs, they carry it in Tubs very cleane without, and although they goe vncovered, notwithstanding it sheweth the cleanlinesse of the Countrey and Cities. In some Cities these Tubs vse to goe covered not to annoy.

Pumps which goe by the feet.

They vse in all things more slight then force, whereby they plow with one Oxe, making the Plough in such fashion that it cutteth well the Earth, though the furrowes are not so bigge as among vs. A ship be it neuer so bigge, and haue it neuer so great a leake, the Pumps are made by such a slight, that one man alone sitting mouing his feet as one that goeth vp a paire of stayres, in a very little space he pumps it out: these pumps are of many pieces as a water wheele, laid along the side of the ship betweene rib and rib, euery piece hauing a piece of wood of halfe a yard little more or lesse, one quarter well wrought: in the midst of this piece of wood is a square little board, almost of a hand breadth, and they joyne one piece into another in such manner as it may double well, the joynts which are all very close, whereby this manner of pompe doth run, is within of the breadth of the little boardes of euery one of the pieces, for they are all equall: and this manner of pompe bringeth so much water as may contayne betweene the two little boardes. The Chinas vse also Puppets, with the which they make representations. They bring vp Nightingales in Cages which sing all the yeere; and are vied to Puppet representations also.

Prouision for impotent persons. See of these things Pinto.

It is a thing worth the noting, that the blinde haue a labour appointed them for to get their food, which is to serue in a Horle-Mill like Hories grinding Corne: and commonly where is a horse-mill there are two, because two going together, they may recreate themselves in talking one with another, as I saw them going about with Fannes in their hands cooling themselves, and talking very friendly. The blinde Women are the common Women, and they haue Nurces that doe dresse them and paint them with Vermillion and Ceruse, and receiue the wages of their euill vse. The lame and the creeple which either haue no kindred within a certayne degree, or if they haue them and they doe not prouide for them that which is necessarie, or are not able to helpe them, they make their Petition to the Ouer-seer of the goods of the King, and his kindred being examined by his Officers, if among them are any that can maintayne them, they doe binde the neereft to take them to them to their charge and maintayne them; and if their kindred bee not able to maintayne them, or if they haue no kindred in the Countrey, the Ouer-seer of the goods commandeth they be receiued into the Kings Hospitall: for the King hath in all the Cities great Hospitals which haue many lodgings within a great inclosure. And the Officers of the Hospitall are bound to administer to those that are bedied all things necessarie, for the which there are sufficient Rents appointed out of the Kings Exchequer. The lame that keepe not their bed, haue euery moneth a certayne quantitie of Rice, with the which, and with some Hens or a Pigge, which they bring vp in the Hospitall, they haue sufficient to maintayne themselves, and all these things are very well paid without faile: and because commonly those which are receiued into these Hospitals are incurable, they receiue them for life: and all those which are receiued by commandement of the Ouer-seer, are enrolled; and euery yeere the Officers of the Hospitall doe yeeld account of the expenses, and of the prouision of the poore sick, and if any fault or negligence bee found in them of that which they are bound to doe, without remission they are well punished for it.

§. III.

Of their mechanicall Trades, Merchandises and Moneyes: their prouisions of Flesh and Fish; the persons and attyre of Men and Women: their Feasts.

Shoemakers.



Here are in this Countrey many workmen of all Trades, and great abundance of all things necessarie for the common vse, and so it is requisite, for the people is infinite. And because shooes are the thing that most is spent, there are more workmen of Shoo-makers then of any other Trade. In *Cantan* are two particular streets of Shoo-makers very long, one where they sell rich shooes, and of silke, another where they sell common shooes of leather; and besides these two streets, there are many workmen scattered about the Citie. The rich Bootes and Shooes, are couered with coloured silke, embroydered ouer with twist, of very fine workes, and there be Bootes from ten Crownes, to one Crowne price, and shooes of two Crownes and thence downward, and in some places are shooes of three pence. So that the rich and the very poore may weare shooes: and the rich as they list; the shooes of three

three pence, or of a Riall, are of straw, and I say of three pence, for there is money that answereth our three pence. There bee many rich husband-men, that set men by the wayes with many of these strawen shooes for the poore Trauellers (and it is no wonder to haue this charitie among these *Infidels*, for in the parts of the *India* are many rich Gentils which haue very great houses, wherein they spend continually much Rice, giuing foode to all the poore of what qualitie soeuer, that will come thither to eate: and by the wayes they haue men set to giue drinke to the poore Trauellers.) There be also many Carpenters, and very good workmen of all manner of worke. They haue continually many Boxes made of many sorts, some varnished with a very faire varnish, others painted, others lyned with leather, and likewise of other sorts. They haue continually a great number of Chaires made, some of very faire white wood, and other fairely gilt and siluered, very finely wrought.

Almes not
almes the fruit
of vain-glorie
not of mercy.

They haue also Chaires wherein the Rulers are carried on mens backs through the Citie, which are very rich, of a great price and very faire: they haue another manner of Chaires, which are high, very rich and pleasant all close, with a little window on each side very faire with a net made of Iuorie, or of Bone, or of Wood, through the which they that goe within doe see on the one side, and on the other of the street without being seene: these serue for to carry the Women about the Citie when they goe abroad. The seate is of the height of one of our Chaires, where they goe sitting with their legs at length. There be many of these Chaires very rich, and of a great price: and there are some plaine, and haue Pinacles on the tops very faire: there are also many bed-steads very pleasant and very rich, all close round about, of wood finely wrought. I being in *Cantan* there was a rich one made wrought with Iuorie, and of a sweet wood, which they call *Cayolague*, and of *Sandalum*, that was prized at foure hundred Crownes, and of little Boxes gilt, and Maundes, and Baskets, Desks, and Tables, all as well gilt as with Siluer is without number: Gold-smiths, Siluer-smiths, Copper-smiths, Iron-smiths, and of all other Trades there be many and perfect Workmen, and great abundance of things of euery Trade, and very perfect. They vse infinite Vessels of Latten: and from *China* they furnish all *Laos* and *Siam*, with these Vessels, which in *India* they call *Bategaria*, and they are in euery kind very perfect. They vse Skillets, and Chafing-dishes, and other Vessels of cast Iron, and not only they doe cast these Vessels of Iron, but after they are broken they buy them againe for to re-cast them. There are many Merchants of pieces and Clothes of Silke, because they spend many in the same Countrie, and in *Siam*, and there are pieces of Damaske and Taffata among themselves so rich, that they bring them not to vs, because they giue them not for them what they are worth within the Land: they sell also great store of fine and course Serge of sundry colours. There are many Merchants of white and dyed Linnen cloth, for it is that which is most spent in the Countrie. They gaue me a piece of Linnen cloth of about ten cubits, which was valued at tenne Crownes, there is both fine and course as euery one will haue it.

Chaires

Silkes

And howsoeuer the Porcelane which is vsed in all the Countrie of *China*, and in all *India* is of common Clay; notwithstanding there is very much course Porcelane, and other very fine, and there is some that is lawfull to be sold commonly, for the Rulers onely vse it because it is red and greene, and gilt, and yellow: some of this is sold but very little, and that secretly. And because there are many opinions among the *Portugals* which haue not bene in *China*, about where this Porcelane is made, and touching the substance whereof it is made, some saying, that of Oysters shels, others of dung rotten of a long time, because they were not enformed of the truth, I thought it conuenient to tell here the substance whereof it is made, according to the truth of them that saw it. The substance of the Porcelane is a white and soft stone, and some is redde, which is not so fine, or in better speaking, it is a hard clay, the which after well beating and grinding it and laying in Cisternes of water (which they haue very well made of free-stone, and some playstered, and they are very cleane) and after it is stirred in the water, of the Creame that remayneth on the top they make the very fine Porcelane: and so the lower the courser, and of the dregs they make the courstest and base, which the poore people of *China* doe vse. They make them first as the potters doe any other vessell; after they are made, they drie them in the Sunne, and then paint them as they list with Azure, which is so fine as we see: after these Pictures are drie, they lay on the Glasse, and then harden them.

Porcelane.

Fables of it.

How it is made

The principall streets of the Merchants, are the most principall streets, which haue couerts on the one side and on the other: notwithstanding, the chiefest sale of the Porcelane is in the Gates of the Cities, and euery Merchant hath at his doore written in a Table all that is sold within his shop: those which sell simples for medicines, haue at their doores tyed and hanging in a string, a piece of euery thing. There is in *China* great store of Rubarbe, but it is not brought to *Cantan*, but sodden, there is none found raw. As the goods of *China* are very great and many, so the rents which the King of *China* hath in euery part of his Kingdome are very great. Some *China* Merchants did asirme that *Cantan* did yeeld euery yeere to the King three thousand Picos of Siluer, and euery three Picos make one Baar, euery Baar hath foure Kintals, euery Kintall hath foure Arrobas: so that one Baar is sixteene Quarters, and three thousand Picos, making one thousand Baars, by consequence, one thousand Baars make 7 sixteene thousand

Merchants

Tables.

Rubarbe.

Kings Cu-

stomes.

Or Quarters.

Whi. h. a.

mounteth to

400000. pound

weight of Sil-

uer.

land Quarters; and wee speake of weight, for in *China* is no money of Gold or Silver, but onely of Brasse, the Gold and Silver goeth by weight. But these as they are popular people, though occupied in the trafficke of the Countrie, it seemes they know not well the trueth of this, and that the summe is greater which is collected of the rents Royall, for the Countrie is very great, and the merchandise many and very substantiall. I was informed by meanes of the Rulers, which is a more certaine information, because the rents doe passe thorow their hands, that the rent of the Salt in *Cantan* did yeeld alone to the King 300. Picos of Silver, which doe make 100. Baars, which are 400. Kintals, that are 1600. * quarters of Silver.

* Which is
40000. pound
weight of Sil-
uer.

Every one hath a paire of scales and weights in his house, which all are exceedingly perfect. The weights that they commonly haue, are from ten crownes to one, and from ten Tanga to one, one Tanga is nine pence. By the name of their Countrie, the lesser great weight is of one Tael, one Tael is sixe Mazes, one Maez is the same that a Tanga: of the small weights, the smallest is one Conderin, ten Conderins make one Tanga, or one Maez: one Conderin hath ten Caxos; and because the common that goeth in stead of money is Silver by weight, every one hath weights of his owne, as abouesaid: for one laboureth by all the meanes hee can to deceiue the other, none doe trust the scales and weights of the other, and every one that goeth to buy in the Market, carrieth a weight and balance, and broken Silver, and the balance is a little beame of Iuorie with a weight hanging at the one end with a string, and on the other end a little scale, and the string of the weight runneth along by the beames, which hath his markes from one Conderin to ten, or of one Maez vnto ten. These scales serue for to buy by retale, for to buy by grosse they haue perfect scales very curious and fine, with very perfect weights. They carrie the Silver commonly full of mixture, and because they encrease it with the mixture, from hence it commeth that he which will make good markets in the Countrie of *China*, and that it may be cheape, carrieth Silver rather then goods, for by the encrease which the *Chinas* make of the Silver with the mixture, they giue the merchandise good and cheape for the Silver. The Merchants are commonly false and lyars.

Very Mer-
chants.
Victuals.

There is great abundance of Rice in all the Countrie, for there are many marishes, which yeeld two or three crops euery yeere. There is also much and very good Wheat, whereof they make very good Bread, which they learned to make of the *Portugals*; their vse before were Cakes of the same Wheat. There be many *French* Beanes, and other Pulse: there is great store of Beefe, and Buffes flesh, which is like Beefe: there are many Hens, Geese, and innumerable Duckes: there are infinite Swine, which is the flesh they most loue: they make of the Hogs many singular fitches, whereof the *Portugals* carrie an infinite number to the *India*, when they goe thither by way of trafficke. The *Chinas* doe esteeme the Porke so much, that they giue it to the sickes. They eat Frogs also, which are sold in great Tubs full of water at the gates, and they that sell them are bound to slay them. All flesh is sold by weight aliue, except Beefe, and Buffes flesh, and Porke, which commonly is sold by the pound, except if they doe buy it whole, for then they are to weigh it whole: and that it may weigh the more, they fill it first with meat and drinke: the Hens to make them weigh the more, they fill them likewise with water, and their crops full of sand and other things. The pound of the Hen, Goose, Ducke, and Frogs, is all at one price; the Porke, Beefe, and Buffes flesh is worth lesse, and all at one price. The fish is exceeding much, and all very good, and it neuer wanteth in the markets: there be many Crabs, and Oyters, and other shell-fish, and all is very good: and of all these things the markets are full. The Markets are commonly at the gates of the Cities, and vnder the triumphant Arches which are in the large and principall streets, as we said before, and along the Portals of the same streets: but not to sell here flesh or fish, for there be particular streets, excepting quicke flesh, which is sold euery where.

Markets.

Herbs.

Fruits.

There are many Garden-herbes, *sc.* Turneps, Radish, Cabage, and all smelling Herbs, Garlecke, Onions, and other herbes in great abundance. There are also many fruits, *sc.* Peaches, Damsons, and another manner of Plummes which wee haue not, with long, round, and sharpe stones at both ends, and of these they make Prunes: There are many Nuts, and very good, and many Chestnuts both small and great. There is a kinde of Apples that in the colour and rinde are like gray Peares, but in smell and taste better then they. There is a fruit whereof there are many Orchards, it groweth on great and large boughed trees, it is a fruit as bigge as a Plumme round and a little bigger, they cast the huske, and it is very singular and rare fruit, none can haue his fill of it, for alwaies it leaueth a desire of more, though they eat neuer so much, and doth no hurt. Of this fruit there is another kinde smaller, but the biggest is the best, they are called *Lechias*. There are Oranges, Figs, and many other fruits, which were to long to recite. And though there be particular streets of Victualling houses, yet there is through all the Citie almost in euery street of these houses. In these Victualling houses is great store of meate dressed. Many Geese, Hennes, and Duckes roasted and sod, and store of other flesh and fish dressed: I saw at one doore hanging, a whole Hog roasted, and let one aske where he will, for all is very cleanly dressed: he shoue of all the meate that is dressed is at the doore, almost inciting them that passe. At the doore is a vessell full of Rice, well coloured and dressed, and because the matters

Merchants
Tables

Lechias

Victualling
houses.

Encoreyado

of Iustice are commonly almost from ten of the clocke forward, and many haue their houses farre because the Citie is very great, or because they which come from out of Towne with businesse, as well Inhabitants as Strangers doe eate in these houses. When any man meeteth any acquaintance of his that cometh from abroad, or that he hath not seene him a long time, saluting one another, he asketh him presently if he hath dined, and if he answereth no, he carrieth him to one of these houses, and there they eate and drinke priuily, for there is great store of Wine, and better then in any place of *India*, which they make of confections: if he answereth that he hath dined already, he carrieth him where they haue onely Wine and Shell-fish, wherewith they drinke, of which houses there are also many, and there he doth feast him.

10 There is also in *Canton* along the wall on the outside, a street of Victualling houses, in the which they sell Dogs cut in quarters, roasted, boiled, and raw, with the heads pulled, and their eares; for they scald them all like Pigs, it is a meate which the base people doe eate, and they sell them alio about the Citie in Cages: through euery street they sell flesh, fish, herbes, fruit, and all things necessarie, crying that which they sell. In the end of Februarie, in March, and part of April, when the great flowings are, there cometh great store of fish from the Sea to spawn, in the mouths of the Rivers along the Sea, whereby there breedeth infinite small fish of many sorts in the pooles of the Rivers. Of these spawnes in these times all the Fishers along the Sea coast doe meet in their boats, and there meet so many that they couer the Sea, and lie neere the pooles. And these Fishers doe take great quantitie of this small fish, and cast it in Cisternes which they haue made with stakes, and a very thicke Net made of wyer, where they doe feed them, to the end of the fishing time: and at this time there are wont to come a great number of Barks from all places of *China* within the Land (for I said already that all *China* is sailed by Rivers, for it is all cut and watered with great Rivers) and these Barks doe bring a great many baskets within and without, which are all lined with oyled paper, that it may hold water, and euery one of these Barks doe buy the fish they haue need of. Then they carrie this fish in these baskets through all the Countrie inward, changing euery day the water, and all men of any possibilitie, within their grounds and inclosures haue great store of fish in ponds, for the which they buy the baskets they haue need, they feed this fish in the ponds in a very short time with Cowdung and Buffes dung, wherewith it groweth very fast. In all the ditches of the Cities likewise they breed great store of fish in the same sort, of which the Rulers are serued. In all the Cities which I said already, are built along the Rivers. The King hath many Sea Crowes in Coops, in which they breed, with the which they make Royall fishings many times: all the Barks that are bound to goe a fishing with these Cormorants, doe meet and set round in the River, those that haue charge of the birds, doe tye them about the crops, that they cannot swallow them, and they cast them to fish in the River. They fish till they fill their crops of middle fish, and if it be great, they bring it in the beake, and come to the Barke, where they cast all the fish they haue fished, forcing them to cast it: and in this manner they fish the quantitie they will, till they haue to their contentment: after they haue fished for the Barke they vntye them, and let them goe fish for themselves: after they be full, they come to the Boats, and are put in the

Dogs flesh.

20 Coops: these birds doe fish very much. The King doth giue for a fauour to the Rulers one or two of these Barks, according as the person is of qualitie for the maintayning of his house with fresh fish. Though that the *Chinas* commonly are ill-fauoured, hauing their faces and noses flat, and are beardless, with some few haire in the points of the chinne: some notwithstanding there are which haue very good faces, and well proportioned, with great eyes, their beards well set, and their noses well shapen: but these are few, and it may be they are of other Nations. They weare long Coats commonly with plaies after our good ancient vse: with a flappe ouer the breast to tye on the side, and all in generall haue very long sleeves to their coats, they weare commonly blacke Coats of Linnen, or of very fine Serge or course of diuers colours, some weare them of Silke, many doe vse them on the Feast dayes of Silke: the Rulers weare commonly fine Serge, and on

Fishing with Cormorants.

30 their Feasts they vse very fine Silkes, chiefly crimson, which none in the Countrie may weare but they: the poore people weare commonly Coats of white Linnen, because it costs but little: on their head they weare a high Cap made of very fine twigs, and it is round interwoven with blacke Silke, and very well made, they vse their Stockins whole footed, which are very well made and stiched, and they weare Boots or Shooes, as the curiositie or abilitie of euery one is, either of Silke or of Leather: in Winter they weare Stockins of Felt, either fine or course, but the cloth is made of Felt: they vse also in Winter their garments lined with Martines, chiefly about the necke: they vse quilted Iackets, and some doe vse them of Felt in Winter vnder their Coats.

Their persons.

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The Attire of the men.

60 They vse long haire like women, which they weare finely combed, and they combe it many times a day, they weare it tyed on the crowne of the head, and through the knot thrust through with a long small Siluer pin: those which are not married, to wit, the yong Bachelors doe weare for a deuise a fillet or ribband dresse very well made, their Cap remayning aboue it, that it may be seene: they haue a superstition in their haire, therefore they weare it so long, holding that

Long haire.

by

by it they shall be carried to Heauen. The common Priests doe keepe their haire, but are shauen, for they say they neede no helpe to carrie them to Heauen. Yet among them are some Priests of the Temple of the Idols, which among the *Chinas* are more reuerenced then the rest; these doe weare haire on the top of the head fastned with a stick, very curiously wrought like a close hand, varnished with a very fine varnish, which they call *Acharan*; and these Priests doe weare black coates, the other wearing a white coate.

Courtesie.

The *Chinaes* are very curteous men; the common courtesie is, the left hand close, they inclose it within the right hand, and they bring them very oft to their brest, shewing they haue one another inclosed in their heart; and to this motion of the hands, they joyned wordes of courtesie, though the wordes of the common sort is to say one to another, *Chisan mesan*, which is to say, Haue yee eaten or no, for all their good in this world is resolved in eating. The particular courtesies betweene men of sort which haue not seene one another a long while, are the armes bowed and the fingers clasped one within another, they stoop and speake with wordes of great courtesie, euery one labouring to giue the hand to the other to make him rise; and the more honorable they are the longer they stand in these courtesies. The honorable and noble People doe vse also many courtesies at the Table, the one giuing drinke to the other, and euery one labouring to giue the hand to the other in their drinking, for at the table there is no other seruice but that of drinking. If there come any Ghest newly to his friends house, or his kinsman, if the Master of the house be not apparelled in holy day clothes, when the Ghest commeth in, he maketh no account of him nor any mention, till he commandeth to bring his festiuall apparell, and after he is so apparelled hee goeth to the Ghest, and receiueth him with many complements and courtesies. For they hold it not conuenient, that a new-come Ghest and of reuerence bee receiued with common apparell, but clothed in feast-like apparell, for in this he sheweth him that his entring into his house is a feast day to him.

Cha drinke.

Whatsoeuer person or persons come to any mans house of qualitie, hee hath a custome to offer him in a fine basket one Porcelane, or as many as the persons ate, with a kinde of drinke which they call *Cha*, which is somewhat bitter, red, and medicinall, which they are wont to make of a certayne concoction of herbes somewhat bitter: with this they welcome commonly all manner of persons that they doe respect, be they strangers or be they not; to me they offered it many times. The *Chinaes* are great eaters, and they vse many dainties, they eate at one table Fish and Flesh, and the base people dresse it sometime all together. The dainties which are to be eaten at one table, are set all together on the board, that euery one may eate where hee liketh best. It is a cleanly and neat people. The common people hath some grosse things.

Great eaters.

Certayne noble *Portugals* went to shew me on a day in *Cantan* a banquet, which a rich Merchant made, which was worth the sight. The house where it was made, was with a loft, and very faire, with many faire windowes and casements, and all of it was a mirror: the Tables were set in three places of the house, for euery Ghest enuited a Table and a Chaire very faire and gilt, or with siluer, and euery Table had before it a cloth of Damaske downe to the ground. On the Tables was neither cloth nor napkins, as well because the Tables were very fine, as because they eate so cleanly that they need none of these things: the fruit was set along the edges of euery Table, all set in order, which was, roasted Chestnuts and peggled, and Nuts cracked and shaled, and sugar Canes cleane and cut in slices, and the fruit we spake of before, called *Lichias*, great and small, but they were dried. All the fruit was set in small heapes like Turrets very well made, crossed betweene with certayne small sticks very neat: whereby all the Tables round about with these little Turrets were very fairly adorned. Presently after the fruit, were all the seruices placed in fine Porcelan dishes, all very well dressed and neatly carued, and euery thing set in good order, and although the dishes were set one ouer another, all were so finely set, in such sort that he which sate at the Table might eate what he would, without any need of stirring or remouing any of them: and presently there were two small sticks very fine and gilt for to eate with, holding them betweene the fingers: they vse them in stead of a paire of Pincers, so that they touch nothing of that which is on the board with their hand; yea, though they eate a dish of Rice, they doe it with those sticks, without any graine of the Rice falling: and because they eate so cleanly, not touching with the hand their meate, they haue no need of cloth or napkins: all comes carued and well ordered to the Table. They haue also a very small Porcelan cup gilt, which holdeth a mouth full of wine, and onely for this there is a Waighter at the Table: they drinke so little that at euery bit they must haue the cup, and therefore it is so small. There are some *Chinaes* that weare very long nailes, of halfe a quarter, and a quarter long, which they keepe very cleane, and these nailes doe serue them in stead of the sticks for to eate withall.

Feasts.

Birth dayes.

The *Chinaes* doe vse on their birth dayes to make great feasts, continuing yet in them the custome of the old *Gentiles*. In these Feasts are wont to meet all the Kinsmen and Friends, and all doe helpe him to beare the charges of the Feasts, with sending him Presents, that when they doe celebrate their birth dayes they may pay them in the same sort: and because they haue these helps, they make great expence and solemnitie. The feast lasteth all night long, for all the

Gentiles

Gentiles as they walke in darknesse liuing without the knowledge of God, so all their feasts through all places of *India* and in *China*, are made by night. In these feasts is great abundance of meate and great store of wine, all the night they spend in eating and drinking, and musicke playing on diuers instruments. Their Priests offer their sacrifices to their Gods, apparelled very richly. They apparell themselves in diuers sorts of garments, and the Priests doe sing their songs in a very tunable voice: among these sacrifices, playing and singing, the Tables are alwayes furnished with sundrie meates, euery one taking what hee liketh best. The Priests when they haue sung as all the rest, doe make at their doore triumphant Arches very well made of Paper, and Scaffolds with diuers representations of Figures and
10 Statues, and certayne high Trees and hanging on the broken Boughes, very well wrought and painted, many lights, and in euery place many Lanthornes very faire and well made all with lights.

Night feasts.

In the generall Feasts of all the Towne and People, chiefly on the first day of the yeere, all the streets and doores are very richly dressed, and chiefly they doe indeauour and labour to deck the triumphall Arches, couering them with many clothes of Damaske and of other silke, with many Lanthornes. There is much playing of sundrie Instruments, and singing, and ioyntly with this great store of meate of sundrie kindes, and great abundance of Wine. They vse many times representations by Actors, which doe represent very well and to the life, the Actors hauing very good apparell and well ordered, and fitting as is requisite for the person hee
20 representeth; and they that represent a Womans part, besides the apparell that is requisite for the part hee representeth, they are painted with Stibium and Ceruse. Those which vnderstand them not what they represent, are sometimes wearied, but they that vnderstand them doe delight very much to heare them: and one whole night, and two, and some time three, they are continually busied in representations one after another. While these representations doe last, there must bee a Table set with great store of meate and drinke. They haue in these Actions two great inconueniences or blemishes, the one is, that if one be to represent two parts, and is to change his attyre, he doth it before all the Beholders: the other is, that the Representor as well as hee that speaketh alone, doe speake in a very high voyce almost singing. Sometime they goe to the ships to play, that the *Portugals* may giue them money.

New yeeres day.

Comedies.

The Instruments they vse for to play on, are certayne Bandoraes like ours, though not so well made, with their Pinnes to tune them, and there bee some like Gitternes which are smaller, and other like a Viall de gamba, which are lesse: they vse also Dulcimeres and Rebeckes, and of a certayne kinde of Hoboyse, resembling our vse. They vse a certayne manner of Instrument that hath many wyer strings; they play on them with their nayles, which for that purpose they weare; they haue a great sound and make a good harmonie: they play many Instruments together sometimes, conformed in foure voyces which make a very good consonancy. It hapned one night by Moone-shine, that I and certayne *Portugals* sitting at the doore of our lodging, a few young men passing the time came along the Riuer, playing on diuers Instruments; and wee being glad to heare the musick, sent for them to come neere where
40 wee were, and that wee would inuite them, they as gallant youthes came neere with the Boate and beganne to tune their Instruments, in such sort that wee were glad to see them fit themselves that they might make no discord: and beginning to sound, they began not altogether, but the one tarried for to enter with the other, making many diuisions in the processe of the musick, some staying, others playing: and the most times they played all together in foure parts. The parts were two small Bandoraes for the Tenor, a great one for counter-Tenor, and an Instrument called *Crano* followed the rest, and sometime a Rebecke, sometime a Dulcimer for a Treble. And they vsed a good policy, that wee might remayne the more desirous, they played but two straines.

Instruments.

It is not lawfull for any man in all the Countrey to carry any manner of weapon, no not a knife, therefore when one quarrels with another they goe to buffets and pulling by the haire:
50 onely the Souldiers and Ministers of the Captaines of warre doe weare swords on their hangers. When any man dyeth that hath House, Kindred, and Children, after hee hath giuen vp the ghost, they wash the Coarse and put on his best apparell, and his Cap on his head, and set him on a Chaire, and then commeth his Wife and kneeleth downe before him, and with many teares and lamentable wordes shee taketh her leaue of him: and after the Wife comes the Children in their order doing the like, and after the Children the rest of the Kindred, and all the rest of the House, and his Friends. The ceremonies ended, they put him in a Coffin made for him of *Camsiere* wood, which is preseruatiue for dead bodies, and smelleth well, they close it and pitch it well that no smell may come out of it; they set it vpon two little formes, and cast ouer it a cloath to couer the Coffin downe to the ground, whereon the picture of the
60 man deceased is pictured. They make a little house before the Coffin of white raw cloath, with a Portall right against the Coarse, where a Table is set with candle-sticks and candles lighted, and set thereon bread and all the fruits of the Countrey. And all this they doe of superstition for a ceremonie, and there they keepe the Coarse eight or fifteene dayes, in the

Armes and quarrels.

Funerall rites.

Mourning.

which their Priests of their Gods come continually by night to offer their Sacrifices, and to pray their Heathenish inuentions. There they bring many Pictures of men and women, and burne them with many ceremonies. Finally they hang some Pictures of men and women in paper hanging on coards, and with great praying and mouing these pictures by the coards, with great crying and showting, they say, to send the dead man to Heauen. All day and all night while they are in these ceremonies, there is a Table set with great store of meate and drinke. These ceremonies ended, they take the Coffin and set it in a Field where the dead are, and there it consumes with time. Their mourning which they vse is the sharpest that euer I saw, for they weare Coats after the common sort, of verie course wooll next the flesh, and girt with great coards, and on their head a Cappe of the same cloath, made like the Caps that are vsed in the Countrey, sauing that these haue certaine flappes that fall ouer their eyes. Notwithstanding, that as they are nearest in kindred so they weare the rougher mourning weed. The rest weare raw cloath, and not so course. For Father or Mother, they mourne three yeeres: and if he bee *Louthia*, as soone as hee heareth the newes presently he leaueth the office he serueth, and goeth to mourne to his owne house for three yeeres, which being ended he goeth to the Court to demand his office.

China womens
customes and
cloathes.
I haue many
China Pictures
which repre-
sent the wo-
men either
with their feet
wrapped vp, or
else very small;
their eyes also
and noses lit-
tle, &c. of the
rest, as in the
Map is scene.

Womens reti-
rednesse.

Marriage.

Commonly the men haue one Wife, which they buy for their money more or lesse, according as they are, of their Fathers and Mothers. Yet may euery one haue as many wiues as hee is able to maintaine: but one is the principall with whom they liue, and the other he lodgeth in sundry houses. And if hee hath dealings in diuers Countreies hee hath in euery one a wife and house with entertainment. If the wife committeth adulterie, and the husband accuseth her and the adulterer, both suffer death. And if the husband doe suffer the wife to play the adulteresse, hee is grievously punished. I being in *Cantan*, saw a Marchant of *China* goe from Iustice to Iustice, verie sharply handled for suffering his wife to play the adulteresse. The common women are in no wise permitted to dwell within the walls. And in the Suburbs without they haue their proper streets where they dwell, out of the which they may not liue: All the common women are slaues, they bring them vp for that purpose from their child-hood, they buy them of their mothers, and teach them to play on an Instrument of musique, and to sing. And those that can best doe this, because they gaine most, are worth more. And those which cannot doe that, are worth lesse. The masters either carrie them vnto the men, or sell them to them: and when they are to beset in the street of the common women, they are written by an Officer of the King in a Booke, and the Master is bound to come euerie yeere with a certaine fee to this Officer, they are bound to answer their Master so much euerie moneth. When they are old, with Paynting they make them seeme young. And after they are not for that trade, they are altogether free, without any obligation either to Master or any bodie, and then they feed vpon that which they haue gotten.

The bondage
or slauerie of
some in *China*.

I spake so particularly of this matter, for to come to say that in this Countrey of *China* is no greater captiuitie then this of these Wenches. And let no man say, or affirme any other thing, for about the examining of it I laboured somewhat in *Cantan*, because some *Portugals* would affirme it otherwise. The captiuitie in this Countrey is in manner following. If any woman by the death of her husband remayneth a widdow, and hath nothing to maintayne her selfe with, neither the children that are left her are such as are able to get their liuing, neither hath shee any thing to giue her children; this Woman in this necessitie, commeth to a rich man, and agreeth with him for six or seuen Crownes, for a Sonne or a Daughter, and the price receiued shee deliuereth it; if it be a Daughter, shee serueth as aboue said for a common Woman, and is brought vp for that purpose: if it be a Sonne, hee serueth his Master some time. And when hee is of age to marrie,

marrie, the Master giueth him a Wife, and all the Children that are borne to him remayne free, and without any Obligation: notwithstanding, this Seruant is bound to giue his Master so much by the yeere, hauing a house by himselfe: for when he marrieth they giue him a house and he labourerth, either at some Trade, or by his industrie for to earne his liuing. And no man may sell any of these Slaues to the Portugals, hauing great penalties for it. The Women, as by being common, they looke for great profit of them, in no wise they will sell them, besides the running in to great penalties also. And all those which commonly are sold to the Portugals are stolen, they carry them deceiued, and secretly to the Portugals, and so they sell them: and if they were perceiued or taken in these stealths, they would bee condemned in the vtmost punishment. The Lawes of China giue authoritie to the Women for to sell their Children, and not to the Men, for as the Men are bound to get a liuing for himselfe and for his Children, if hee want the remedie, they hold that hee is in the fault of that. And that Man may the better labour for their liuing and their Childrens. So farre is China from hauing Slaues that altogether should bee captiues, that neither those which they take in warre are slaues: onely they are bound to the King, and are placed for Souldiers in places farre from their Countries where they were taken, eating of the wages they haue of the King. These doe weare for a deuice a red cap, as I saw the Tartarians weare in Cantan, which had beene taken in the warres.

§. IIII.

Of their Louthias, Mandarinues or Magistrates, their creation, priuiledges, maintenance, Of Prisons and Tortures; of the King and of Embassadors.

Every one that in China hath any office, command or dignitie by the King, is called *Louthia*, which is to say with vs *Señor*. How this Title is giuen him, we will in his place make mention of it. There are in euery Prouince of China one thousand *Louthias*, or according to others three thousand, besides those that are resident in the Court, by whom are ordayned all matters of the Kingdome, and to whom come all the waigh- tie matters of all the Realme. And because they are to dispatch with the King, and conuerse with him within doores, and it is not lawfull for other to conuerse with them, neither doe other see them, and they haue entrance where the Wiues of the King are, which are many, they are commonly Eunuchs. In euery Prouince are five, which among the rest are most principall, which haue a very great authoritie and maiestie in their persons, and are greatly reuerenced and honored, not onely of the common people, but also of all the other *Lothyas*.

The principall of the five is the Gouvernour, which in their language is called *Tutom*, to this come all matters both great and small of all the Prouince, and for the authoritie and maiestie of his person he is not resident where the other *Lothyas*; that hee may not bee frequented of them, and so he may be more esteemed and feared. To these come all the Rents of the Prouinces except the ordinarie expences, and by him as well the busineses as the Rents that are gathered, and all that hapneth in the Prouinces are referred and sent to the Court. The second dignitie of the Prouinces, is the Ouer-seers of the goods, which in their language is called *Ponchassi*: this hath the care to send to recouer through all the Prouince the Rents thereof, for the which hee hath many *Lothyas* vnder his iurisdiction, which are particular Officers for the busineses and recoueries of the goods. This prouideth all the ordinarie charges of the Prouince, and with that which remaineth he resorteth to the *Tutom*, that he may send it to the Court, this may enter-meddle in graue matters of the other Officers inferiour, and hath authoritie ouer them. Likewise, all the matters and affaires of the Prouince resort vnto him, to bee referred by him to the *Tutom*. Another chiefe dignitie vnder this is the chiefe Iustice, which in their language is called *Anchasi*, and though there be many other Officers of Iustice, this is aboue all, and by him are the dispatches distributed to the rest, and all matters of Iustice resort vnto him, as one that hath authoritie of the other inferiour. Another dignitie vnder this is the chiefe Captaine, who in their tongue is called *Aitao*. To this *Aitao* pertayneth to command to prepare the men of warre, and all that is necessarie of shipping, and victuals, and all other prouision against Enemies and against Theeues: to this belong also the busineses of strangers in cases which belong not to the goods. The fift and last of the great dignities, is of the chiefe Captaine which putteth in execution the matters of warre, and is resident in the Armies which the *Aitao*, being a land, doth ordayne: when it is necessarie besides the putting matters in execution and order, if the matter require his presence, he goeth in person: and so important may the matter be that the *Aitao* will goe. This is called in the Countrey language *Intchissi*. In the house of euery one of these, except the *Lutbissi*, which is the inferiour of the five, are other ten which are as Assistants, and are also of great authoritie, five of these doe sit at the right hand of the Principal in five chaires, recited before when

Sir, Master, or Lord.

Louthias of the Court Eunuchs.

The *Tutom*; Lieutenant, Deputie or Vice-roy.

The *Ponchassi* or Treasurer.

The *Anchasi* or chiefe Iustice.

The *Aitao* or chiefe Captaine.

His Lieutenant, the *Lutbissi*. Each haue ten Assistants.

Ensignes of
dignitie, girdle
and canopie.

The *Taiffu* or
Sheriffe.

The *Chuen* or
Iudge of the
Circuit, or
Visitor.

The *Quinchais*,
Commissio-
ners extraor-
dinarie.

The third
yeeres Vi-
sitor.

we spake of the buildings, and sue doe sit on the left hand: these in matters of importance are at the dispatching with the principall of the house, and the Principall dying or by any other meanes wanting, one of these according to his antiquitie remayneth in his stead: and if it be necessary to goe through the Prouince about some matter of importance, that appertayneth to the dignitie in whose house they assist, one of these doe goe with all the authoritie of the Principall. The sue that sit on the right hand, haue a greater degree and dignitie then the sue on the left hand. And as the dignitie consisteth in their Girdles and Canopies, those of the right hand weare Girdles of gold and Canopies of yellow, and those of the left hand weare Girdles of silver and Canopies of blew, or of changeable colour. The Girdles are little lesse then three fingers broad, and an inch thick, and all about of gold or of silver very well wrought made of peeces. The Canopies are very large and faire, which an Officer doth beare vpon a staffe a fathom long, of a Clouetree very faire, and they are lined with silke.

Besides these Assistants and the sue Principall, there is among the inferiour one of greater dignitie, which is the chiefe Jaylor, whom they call *Taiffu*, which haue very great houses of great receipts, where they haue great prisons, but neither this nor any that are vnder may weare girdle of gold nor silver, nor a yellow Canopie, except hee bee an Officer or Captaine of men of warre, that for fauour of a Gentleman may haue a yellow Canopie: the rest weare girdles of Tartaruga, or of other matter made like them of gold or silver, and their Canopies are of changeable stuffe or blew, and all these Inferiour doe speake to the Superiour, when they are before them on their knees, and doe kneele as long as they are with them, except the *Taiffu*, who when he cometh in kneeleth and riseth vp presently, and is alwayes standing. Euery one of the great ones haue many inferiour Officers vnder his iurisdiction, for the matters and businesse necessary to the Office of euery one, all which as they are the Kings officers haue the Title of *Lothias* and their badges or signes. The sue Principall with their Assistants doe weare for a Badge the Kings Armes on their breasts, and on their backs, which are certayne Serpents wouen with gold thred.

Euery yeere there is one sent to euery Prouince as a Iustice, which is called *Chuen*, which commeth to take account of all the *Lothias*, great and small, and examineth all the Students and chooseth *Louthias*, and visiteth the Prisons, and all that is necessary to be seene and provided for in all the Prouince. He useth all meanes to spie out their briberie and injustice, and hath power to displace or preferre. When this entreteth newly into this Citie, it is not lawfull for any to worke, they shut their doores and no body walketh through the street, and to preserue his worship and authoritie they will not boldly communicate in sight of the people, and many Officers with Banners displayed of crimson silke, and all the *Louthias* both great and small are bound to goe and meet him. The same entertainment is vsed to euery one of the sue, when hee commeth newly to the Prouince where hee is to administer his office. There bee other dignities about all these, which are called *Quinchais*, which is to say, a Plate or Scale of gold: which are not sent but about very serious matters and of great importance, for the Kingdome, or the King. Euery *Lothia* of what qualitie soeuer hee bee, high or low, hath for a signe or badge, besides the abovesaid, a high Cap and round with certayne eares a-crosse, made of small twiggies wouen with twist.

All the Offices are given from three to three yeeres, and none is given for longer time, and all given to men that are not borne in that part of the Land, because they may not be mooued by affection in matters of Iustice that belong to their offices, and also because they may not become mightie, thereby to preuent insurrections. The offices are distributed by the King with the counsell of the Eunuchs. And because the Eunuchs are those with whose counsell the offices are distributed, they are many times mightily bribed.

The *Chuens* which the King doth send euery three yeeres, commonly are sound men, and bring commonly more authoritie then the rest. And these (besides the yearly *Chuen*) are sent the third yeere, when euery Officer endeth his office. After that the *Chuens* haue taken the accounts of the *Lothias*, they visit the Prisons and giue audience to the Prisoners. After this hee with the other principall *Lothias* doe visit the Schollers, and all those that hee findeth to haue studied well, he fauoureth and giueth them good hopes, and those which haue not studied well, if hee see they haue abilitie for it, he commandeth them to bee whipped. And if already they haue bene whipped and haue not amended, he commands them to bee put some dayes in prison, besides the whipping of them, that with these punishments from thence forward they may haue a better care. If hee findeth that they neither learne, nor haue abilitie, hee thrusts them out of the Schooles.

This doe onely the *Louthias* which come euery three yeeres, after they haue dispatched the businesse of the Prouince, hee busieth himselfe in making *Louthias*: which hee maketh in forme following. He commandeth to come to the principall Citie of the Prouince, all the Students that haue well studied, from all the Cities of the Prouince, and from all the great Townes, where the King hath Schoole-masters of free Schooles, maintayned at his charge (for the Students did learne the Lawes of the Realme, maintayned at their fathers charge.) And all the principall

Louthias

Louthias of the Prouince assembled with *Chaan*, there examine very well every one of the Students, demanding of him many things concerning their Lawes: and if he answereth to all well, they command him to be put apart, and if he be not yet well instructed, eyther they send him to learne more, and if it be through his default, eyther they whip him, or being whipped they send him to Prison, as the *Portugals* law many in Prison for that fault, where they were in Prison also. After the Examination ended, the *Chaan* ritheth up, and all the *Louthias* with great Ceremonies, Feasts, Musickes, and Playings, they give the degree to every one of them they found sufficient, which is to give him the Title of *Louthia*. And after the passing many dayes in Feasts, and Banquets, they send them to the Court to receive the Badges of *Louthias*, which are Caps with eares, broad Girdles and Canopies, and there they stay the distribution of Offices. So that in this manner they make the *Louthias*, which in the Countrey are to administer Iustice. The *Louthias* for war are made by Chivalries and famous Deeds which they did in war. So that in these Countreys men are much honoured by their Learning, or by their Chivalrie, and yet more for their Learning, because of the Learned doe commonly come the five principall *Louthias* and the Assistants.

Commencement or Act. Of this see more in the following Relations of the Iesuits.

Other sorts of *Louthias*.

Their Priviledges.

Publike Officers wholly maintayned of the publike.

Houses for Officers.

Publike Intire.

Inferiour Officers.

Rest in age
with dignitie.

Reuerence.

Other

Rimia seneritas
patit consensum.

Publice

Taa.

When the *Louthias* are old and wearied in the charges and Offices of the Kingdome, they are lodged in their owne Countries or where they will, and the King alloweth them every moneth so much according to their qualitie for their maintenance till they dye. And because the Ordinaries of the *Louthias* are commonly sufficient, and with some abundance, they may alwayes spare some thing to leaue their Wiues and Children. Before the inferiour Ministers these Officers doe all things of their Offices and matters of Iustice, for they are present at all things, to preuent Bribes and partialitie. Whiles the *Louthia* is sitting in the chaire to heare the parties and dispatching of matters, the Porters, Scriueners, Sergeants and other Ministers are at the doore: and when any person commeth with any matter, one of the Porters with a high voice that hee may be heard where the *Louthias* sitteth (for it is farre off) telleth who and wherefore he com- 10 meth. And none speaketh to the *Louthias* but vpon both their knees on the ground, and commonly they speake a prettie space distant from him. And from thence with a high voyce well vnderstood, he propoundeth his case, or sheweth him his Petition written in Paper, and lifting vp the hand desireth him to receiue it, and to shew him Iustice, to whom a Minister runneth, the *Louthia* making a signe to him, and presenteth it vnto him. After the *Louthia* readeth it, he eyther dispatcheth him of that which he asketh, writing at the foote of the Petition with redde Inke, or remitteth the party to an inferiour Officer to be dispatched. So I saw it done to a Petition which a woman presented to the *Ponchasi*.

The promptnesse and readinesse wherewith the *Louthias* are serued, and how feared they are, cannot be written with the Pen, nor expressed with the Tongue, but it must be seene with the eye for to know what it is. All doe their messages running and with great speed, not onely the Scriueners and Sergeants, and other Ministers, but also the Inferiour *Louthias* to the Superiour. And if any fayleth neuer so little of his diligence and accustomed speed, or committeth the lesse negligence in the World before the *Louthia*, hee hath not any remission, but immediately they put a little flagge in his hand, and he must hold it in his hand kneeling vntill the parties be dispatched: and then the *Louthia* commandeth to giue him the stripes that he thinke good: and the stripes are such as hereafter we will speake of. Whereby all the Ministers in the Houses of the *Louthias* are playstered or marked with the stripes, so that already among themselves they hold it a disgrace not to be marked with the stripes, because it is a thing generally common among them. And when the *Louthia* waxeth angry or is moued at any thing, it is a wonder to see the 30 trouble and feare that is in all the standers by.

I being in the House of the *Ponchasi* with certayne *Portugals*, intreating for the deliuerance of certayne *Portugals* that were Captiues, and imprisoned in the layle, for the which wee carried him eight Ounces of Ambar (which at that time was much esteemed of them, and now by carrying so much it is not so much esteemed) we not being willing to giue him the Ambar, without giuing vs both the *Portugals*, he tooke an occasion for to terrifie vs, to waxe angry against the youth, seruant of a *Portugall* which was in our company and was our Interpretour. Wherefore he rose out of the Chaire and became red as bloud, and his eyes were inflamed, and set one foote forward, putting his thumbes vnder his Girdle, looking to the standers by with a terrible countenance: stepping forward, lift vp his foot and stamp on the ground with it, and said with a terrible voyce. *Taa*, which is to say, Whippe. It was a wonderfull thing to see in how little space they tooke the youth, tyed his hands behind with a Cord, and laid him on his belly with his thighes bare, and two Beadles placed them selues on each side one, with one foote forward, and their Whip readie for to giue him the stripes that they should bee commanded to giue him. Certainly it was all done in a moment. The Merchants that came in our fauour were troubled, and stood aside shaking with feare. At this time one of the Prisoners said, Sirs, be not afraid, for he cannot whip that youth. And in truth we knew it was so, for according to their Lawes there was no fault, whereby he might command him to be whipped, and there was a penaltie if hee did it. The *Louthia* hearing the voyce of the Prisoner, commanded to carry him with speed to the layle againe. And the *Louthia* did this for nothing else but to make vs afraid, that wee should giue him the Ambar for one of the Prisoners, for he could not giue vs the other, because he was already adjudged to dye, and the sentence confirmed by the King, which was irreuocable, and he was willing to haue the Ambar, for he hoped to haue of the King a greater Reward then to be *Ponchasi* for the Ambar. For he did eate it for to sustayne life, and many dayes were past since they had demanded it of the *Portugals*, but as they knew not the name we vsed for it, they neuer vnderstood one another till that the yeare after they had for the *Anao* of *Cantan* a little for the deliuey of a *Portugall*: whereby he was aduanced to *Ponchasi*. And this would also haue for the same effect the Ambar at our hands for to be aduanced.

Notwithstanding, we seeing our selues tyed and without an Interpretour by whom to speake, and the youth in disposition of whipping, we gaue him the Ambar. There came presently a Cha- 60 fing-dish for to proue it, and the Prisoner cast a little in the fire, and seeing the smoake ascend right vp, he was contented, and scattering the smoake hee set his Nose ouer it and said, *Haoo*, which is to say, it is very good. And commanded presently to deliuer vs the Prisoner free. It was wonderfull to see with what speed it was weighed, and the pieces told and put in a Paper, and

and noted by the Scriuener before them all the number of the pieces, and the waight that was there. And after that Paper another, all glued presently. And after that another. And in the third, the *Panchasi* set his Marke with Red Letters, and what was containd within. And at the same instant came a little Boxe, and being put in it was presently stopped, and vpon the cover a Paper glued, and vpon it the Marke of the *Panchasi*: and presently came an inferiour *Louthia* Captayne of the Army with his Souldiers, and all asfarre off kneeled downe, and said at euery word *Quoo*, which is to say, Yes, enclining their heads and hands to the ground. And receiving his message, presently as he came running, so he returned running with the Boxe to take shipping for to carrie the Ambar to the *Tutaen*, to bee sent from him to the King. All this that I haue spoken was done in a trice before wee stirred from the place where wee were. This was also desirous to haue the Ambar of vs before the *Louthia* of that seate did come, which was looked for euery day to come a new: for this was onely a Lieutenant.

When any *Louthia* that is not of the *fine*, neither the *Chaen*, neither very inferiour, but as they say of the meaner sort, goeth abroad into the Citie, he hath before him a good space two Ministers with two Maces that seeme to be of siluer, vpon long staues, made almost after our fashion, and the one goeth on the one side the street, the other on the other-side. After these a little distant, goe other two, each with a straight Cané, or Pole in his hand. After these goe other two in the same distance with two Canes trayling along the Pauements, which are the Instruments of Iustice wherewith they doe whip. After these goe other two with two Tables like two Targets bowed and playstered, whereon is written the Title of the Officer that passeth. The foremost signifie in their Maces, that he which passeth is in his Office in the Kings place. And the two straight Rods, the right of Iustice which he ought to doe. Those which carrie the Instruments of whipping, doe carrie for a signe certayne long Red Laces, with two great round Tassels at the ends. And all doe carrie very gallant Plumes very well made of the points of a Peacocks taylor. And those that goe before doe now and then say with a loud voyce *Hunph*, which is to say, *Give place, or beware*. While these doe passe it is not lawfull in any wise for any one to crosse, or goe in the middle of the street, vnder paine of being whipped without any remission.

It chanced two *Portugals* went through the middest of a street in *Cantan* walking, and behind them came an inferiour *Louthia*, which had but foure Ministers, which came crying according to their custome they should giue place. The *Portugals* either gaue no heed or made no regard of those that came: wherefore a Minister comming, gaue a great thrust to the one of them, and the *Portugall* answered him with a boxe on the eare; and being bound with his hands behind him, was to goe to Prison. It was necessary for the *Portugall* to come to the *Louthia*, and pacifie him with faire words, and he made an end of pacifying him with fourteene Crownes that hee gaue him. After the Ministers commeth the *Louthia* in a rich Chaire gilt and very faire, on foure mens backes. These Chaires are great and sumptuous, and the *Louthia* goeth compassed with all the Scriueners and other his Ministers. And all of them while hee goeth by the street, goe alwayes running. And the *Louthia* weareth a long blacke Coate of fine Searge with long sleeues, which is the common wearing: he carrieth the armes a crosse like a Frier, and his eyes low without looking to any side: for euen with their eyes they will not communicate with the common people, for to preserue their authoritie the more with them, that may be more feared.

When any of the foure *Louthias* goeth abroad, except the *Tutan*, or the yearely *Chaen*, they goe accompanied with many Ministers, and sixe Officers doe carrie them on their backes, and they leade a spare Horse with a faire Saddle, and a cloth of Silke ouer it; the Chaire wherein they goe is more sumptuous and richer, they carrie before foure, *fine*, or sixe Maces, and two or three Instruments and more Ministers.

When the *Chaen* that commeth euery three yeeres commeth into the Citie, or for forme important affaires goeth abroad, or some *Quinchay*, they shut vp all the doores in the streets where he passeth, and none doth worke, nor is any seene in the street when hee passeth. The shops are shut vp, and euery thing of sale is out of sight. The Officers with coards along the street, doe make three lanes, where the triumphing Arches are made in three Arches: and through the middest passeth the *Louthia* onely, and the Officers on the two sides. And it is not lawfull for any to passe through the middle: they are accompanied of many inferiour *Louthias* that goe on foot. And on the one side of the street, and the other are many armed men and others with Banners of red Silke aduanced, all standing in good order. In the Court of the house where he is to goe in, are many Kettle-drummes set vpon high stakes to be well played vpon, which are covered downe to the ground with clothes of Silke quartered. After these are many placed in order, with Flags of Silke on high. After these in the same order, are many with Trumpets, and all are in great silence. As soone as the *Louthia* appeareth they all sound their Instruments in order: the sound of the Instruments ended, they remayne all in so great a silence, as if there were no bodie in the Court, being a great multitude of people. The people as they come in, doe place themselves on the sides, the middest betweene the Instruments remaying voide, whereby the *Louthia* passeth. Before these *Louthias* goe commonly many inferiour *Louthias*, of those that carrie Maces when they goe abroad. There are also in this Court many men at Armes with long

Manner of
their pompe in
the street.

Pompe of the
greater Officers.

Chaen and
Quinchays
splendour.

Noyse and
silence.

long gilt Lances, and with very faire Armour. This is all in the first Court. In the second, along the Gallerie (whereof wee spake aboue, when wee treated of the houses of the great men, that onely the *Louthias* passe through them) on the one side and the other are many inferiour *Louthias* with Head-pieces on their heads, some gilt, some with Siluer, and with Swords hanging at their belts, and with Coats and Caslocks made in fashion of Frockes with studs of Gold and Siluer, that it seemeth set vpon plates, but it is a very fine worke made vpon very single Silke, which serueth onely for brauerie and ornament. Some vse on their heads white Head-pieces garnished with Gold, but are of a very fine leafe and thinne, that seeming an Armour, are not. In this manner also are the *Louthias* inferiours, which doe enuiron the superiour *Louthias*. The Chaires where these doe goe are very rich and of great price, and very sumptuous. The Tables whereon is written the titles of dignitie of these Great men are written with letters of Siluer. And when any of these doth enter newly in any Citie with these feasts and entertainments, all the *Louthias*, great and small, receiue him at a house (where hee landeth very rich and noble) and from thence they accompanie him vnto his lodging, and being lodged, all doe take their leaue with many curtesies. In these receiuinges they vse no sumptuous apparell. The great men (when most) weare Coats of red Silke. In their owne feasts in their houses, and secretly one with another, and in banquets they vse crimson Silke, and all the brauerie in their apparell, and in rich attires.

Manner of
inquisition.

Whensoever by way of inquirie or examination any Witnesses are demanded, the *Louthias* doe it in publicke before the Officers and ministers of his Office, and before all the rest that by any meanes chance to be there present, and this because no falshood may be vsed, nor any sleight in the manner of inquiring: and by consequence in writing. And first they examine the Witnesses seuerally, and if they doe agree, they ioine them, and examine the one before the other, till they bring them to altercations and quarrelling by words, that by the words the one speaketh to the other they may come to the knowledge of the truth. And if by this meanes they doe not comprehend the truth, they giue them many stripes and tortures: that by one meanes or other they may know the truth of the matter they enquire or examine: they vse no Oath, for they esteeme nothing of their Gods. They haue notwithstanding a respect in the witnessing the persons of qualitie, and of whom is presumed that they will not easily lye. When they examine any matter of great weight, or a graue person, then they write themselves, the pro-
cess of the examination. It chanceth sometimes that some of the *Louthias* for a great bribe,

No Oathes.

Bribe-trickes.

or for great friendship let some Prisoner loose, and put another in his place, for there neuer wanteth one naughtipacke that will put himselfe in danger of stripes, or death for interest, or they bring him in by deceit, deceiuing him with words, and making the matter light vnto him, and giuing him some interest, they name him as the Prisoner they will let loose, that the faults and punishments of the guiltie may fall vpon the innocent. And when sometime in this sort they cannot let the guiltie person loose, they labour to bribe all the Officers to giue him for dead among those that die in the prisons. But these inuentions are not vsed but where the bribes are great, or the adherents very great and mightie. And for to eschew the inconueniences which sometime fall out, when any are imprisoned for weightie matters, or the Prisoners haue great aduersaries, they set downe all the markes of the Prisoners, and cause them to be set at the foot of the writing, that so they may not vse any of the malices abouesaid.

Cane-whip-
ping. Much
is here written
of Prisons, and
Executions,
which I haue
omitted.
* Huge Reeds,
or Canes.

With how much pietie and leasure they kill, with so much crueltye and speed they whip, for in this case they forgieue none. The stripes are such that with reason it might be a sufficient punishment for to amend, for the canes wherewith they whip are plaited below about foure fingers broad, and goe straightning vpward vnto the end, where the Beadles hold them: and they are almost a finger thicke (for in those parts are canes as big as a mans leg. And because in *Portugall* are many witnessers of knowledge of the same, I dare simply affirme it, and they are of eighty or ninety spans long.) And their whips are made of these canes of the height of a middle statured man to the breasts. They giue the stripes on the hammes of the mans legs, being layd on his breast, and his legs layd along, and his hands tyed behind. And the Beadles butchering, as they are commanded, the *Louthias* are altogether void of compassion, talking one with another, eating and drinking, and picking their teeth. The crueltye is such, that the Court is full of bloud: and when they haue made an end of whipping them, they carrie them not, but like Butchers with much crueltye they draw them by one leg to the Prison. And when the Beadles are whipping, they tell with a loude voyce the stripes. If the miserable Prisoners which are in the Prison for grievous faults at the time that this correction is to be done can get a piece of a coard, wherewith they may hang themselves, they goe to buffets who shall hang himselfe first, that that the butcherye of the stripes be not executed on them. And the *Portugals* affirmed, which were in Prison, that in one day fortie Prisoners did hang themselves in the Prison where they were, to escape the stripes they were rather willing to lose their liues. And they affirmed, that the coard was very short, that scarcely there was so much as to come about the necke to tie it, and on a sticke which they sticke in the wall, and because the sticke was very lowe, they pulled one another till they were choaked, going to buffets who should hang himselfe first. When any

Miserable eua-
sion of misery.

doth

doth kill himselfe, or dieth in the Prison, it is the order in *China* to cast him in the house of office, and there to be three dayes, where the Rats doe eat him vp. And sometimes the *Chinases* Prisoners doe eat of them with hunger.

Every Citie that is the Head of the Province, hath thirteene Dungeons, and in fixe of them are the men condemned to death: there are in *Cantan* upward of fiftene thousand Prisoners. There are in every Dungeon onely for the condemned to death, one hundred and twenty men that serve for watches, and have a *Louhia* over them, as their Captaine, or Gentleman of the round. There be two sorts of tortures, one for the hands, another for the feet, which are nipped by certaine sticke, to the bruising or breaking of the fingers or toes with cruell paines.

Store of free-people, and therefore store of bond, by abused libertie and store.

30 The King hath as many wiues as he listeth: and within doores all the service is almost of women: whereof he hath a great multitude: and likewise great store of Eunuches, and there is no other people within the house. The first son that is borne vnto him of any of his wiues succeedeth in the Kingdome. The rest he marrieth, and at such time as he marrieth them they are lodged in some of the Cities that he best liketh; where they are well provided of all things necessarie for their maintenance, as sonnes to the King. But they neuer see the Kings face any more after they are married.

The King his wiues, children and seruants.

40 All the Embassadors that come to *China*, with Embassages from Kings or Princess, receiue of the King great rewards and fauours, and they giue him Cap and signes of *Lothia*, whereby he hath great priuiledges in the Countrey. They may whip and punish the *Chinases* themselves, so that they touch not any *Louhia* small or great: for to meddle with these would breed great inconueniences. This was the cause that *Fernando Perez* of *Adrade* going for Embassador to *China*, that the *Chinases* did rise against him, and hee escaped with his hands on his head, losing some ships: because hauing done vnaccustomed Iustice in *China*, and vpon the *Chinases*, and they forbearing him, he would stretch his hand to the *Louhies*. The goods of the Embassador, and of his is free from customes, and to him and to his they giue lodgings to dwell in, and all things necessarie while they are in the Countrey. No man, nor not a *Louhia* may disturbe him in any thing, nor any thing of his. One *Lothia* would haue whipped one of *Siam*, for hauing carried a message to the Prison to certaine *Portugals* that were in Prison. One of the Officers said vnto him that was present, that he was of *Siam* of the Embassage, wherefore being satisfied therewith he let him goe in peace, desiring him he would not doe so againe.

Embassadors priuiledges.

* *Lopo Soares* was sent Vice-roy, An. 1515. and sent this *Perez* with a fleet to *China*, and therein *Thomas Perez* Embassador, who were well entertaigned there. But some *Portugals* vsurping *Tamusa*, a *China*-land, and exercising all outrages, caused *T. Perez* after 4. moneths trauell from *Cantan* to the Court to bee taken for a Spie, and sent backe to *Cantan*, where hee died in Prison among male-factors. See *Maffius* l. 5. c. 6 who seemeth to disagree: or else his peoples act was ascribed vnto him. For hee had left 6. ships there, when he went to *Cantan*.

50 With the *Chinases* being so great as at the beginning we said and declared, the King hath such meanes and industrie in the gouernement thereof, that every moneth he knoweth all that passeth through all the Realme, and he knoweth it in this manner. All matters of Iustice and of Warre, and all annuities with all that is worth the knowing in every one of the Provinces is referred by the *Louhies*, and by other persons to the *Ponchasi*, and the *Ponchasi* maketh a relation of all by writing to the *Tuan*. The *Tuan* is bound to send a Post every moneth to the Court, which carrieth the information in writing to the King of all things that passed in that moneth. They count their moneths by the Moones, and they are to be dispatched in such sort, that at the beginning of every Moone the Posts from all the Provinces are to bee at the Court; that the first day of the Moone it may be presented to the King, as relations of all things happened in every Province. And although some Provinces are farre distant from the Court, that the Posts cannot come within a moneth to the Court: notwithstanding in such manner they agree that every Moone the King is to haue the relation of every Province, though the one be of more time then another, because of the one Province being farre and the other neere.

Disguised Intelligencers.

The manner of the Posts is as among vs, they carrie a Horne which they winde when they come neere to any Towne, that they may haue a Horfe ready in every Towne within a certaine distance. They are bound when they heare the Horne to haue a Horfe ready for him, which is done with such diligence as all the other seruices of the Officers. And where hee is to passe a Foord, as soone as he windeth his Horne with great speed they carrie him a Boat, as I saw once going to the Citie of *Cantan*, in a Towne that was in the way, called *Chaman*. Sometimes it hapneth by the malice of some *Louhies*, when they haue any interest in it, to keepe some things concealed that the King knoweth not: but woe to them if the King come to know it, for they are grievously punished, as wee shall see in a case hereafter following. Being in *India*, and also in *China*, I was enformed that sometimes the King of *China* doth send some men of great confidence disguised through diuers parts of *China*, that they might see how his Officers did serue him. And if there were any nouelties or changes whereof they made him not priue, or some things that were necessarie to provide.

60

§. V.

d. V.

Of the Portugall commerce with the Chinois; of the seuerer Iustice executed vpon certaine Magistrates, for wrongs done to the Portugals.

BEcause we spake many times before of Portugals, captiues in China, it will bee a conuenient thing that the causes of their Captiuitie be knowne, where many notable things will be shewed. Yee are to know, that from the yeere 1554. hitherto, the businesses in China are done very quietly and without danger: and since that time till this day, there hath not one ship beene lost but by some mischance: hauing lost in times past many. Because as the Portugals and the Chinaes were almost at warres, when the Armies came vpon them, they weighed anchor and put for the Sea, and lay in places vnsheltered from tempests, whereby the stormes comming, many were lost vpon the coast, or vpon some shelues. But from the yeere 1554. hitherto, Lionell of Sofa, borne in Algarue, being chiefe Captaine, and married in Chaul, made a couenant with the Chinaes that they would pay their duties, and that they should suffer them to doe their businesses in their Ports. And since that time they doe them in Cantan, which is the first part of China: and thither the Chinaes doe resort with their Silkes and Muske, which are the principall goods the Portugals doe buy in China. There they haue sure Hauens, where they are quiet without danger, or any one disquieting them, and so the Chinaes doe now make their merchandise well: and now both great and small are glad with the trafficke of the Portugals, and the fame of them runneth through all China. Whereby some of the principall of the Court came to Cantan onely to see them hauing heard the fame of them. Before the time aforesaid, and after the rising which Fernando Perez of Andrade did cause, the businesses were done with great trouble, they suffered not a Portugall in the Countrey, and for great hatred and loathing called them *Facni*, that is to say, *Men of the Demill*.

Portugals called *Facni*, and bared. Name-policy.

Lawes of Navigation.

Couertise lawless.

China Pirates.

Liampo.

Chincheo. Namqui, or Nanquin.

Now they hold not commerce with them vnder the name of Portugals, neither went this name to the Court when they agreed to pay customes: but vnder the name of *Fangin*, which is to say, *People of another Coast*. Note also, that the law in China is that no man of China doe sayle out of the Realme in paine of death. Onely it is lawfull for him to sayle along the coast of the same China. And yet along the coast, nor from one place to another in China it selfe it is lawfull to goe without a certificate of the *Louthias* of the Countrey whence they depart: in which is set downe, whither they goe, and wherefore, and the markes of his person, and his age. If he carrieth not this certificate he is banished to the Frontiers. The Merchant that carrieth goods carrieth a certificate of the goods hee carrieth, and how hee payed duties for them. In euery Custome-house that is in euery Prouince hee payeth certaine duties, and not paying them he loseth the goods, and is banished to the frontier parts. Notwithstanding the abovesaid lawes some Chinaes doe not leaue going out of China to trafficke, but these neuer returne againe to China. Of these some liue in Mallaca, others in Siam, others in Patane, and so in diuers places of the South some of these that goe out without licence are scattered. Whereby some of these which liue already out of China doe returne againe in their ships vnto China, vnder the protection of some Portugall: and when they are to dispatch the duties of their ships they take some Portugall their friend to whom they giue some bribe, that he may dispatch it in his name and pay the duties. Some Chinaes desiring to get their liuing, doe goe very secretly in these ships of the Chinaes to trafficke abroad, and returne very secretly, that it bee not knowne, no not to his kindred, that it bee not spread abroad, and they incurre the penalty that the like doe incurre. This law was made because the King of China found that the much communication of the strangers might be the cause of some risings. And because many Chinaes with an excuse of sayling abroad became theues and robbed the Countreys along the Sea coast, and yet for all this diligence there are many Chinaes robbers along the Sea coast.

These Chinaes that liue out of China, and doe goe thither with the Portugals, since the offence of Fernando Perez of Andrade did direct the Portugals to begin to goe to traffick to Liampo; for in those parts are no walled Cities nor Villages, but many and great Townes along the coast, of poore people, which were very glad of the Portugals, and sold them their prouision whereof they made their gayne. In these Townes were these Merchants of China which came with the Portugals, and because they were acquainted, for their sake the Portugals were better entertained. And as these Chinaes which were among the Portugals and the Countrey Merchants in their buyings and sellings, they reaped a great profit thereby. The inferiour *Louthias* of the Sea coast receiued also great profit of this trafficke, for they receiued great bribes of the one and of the other, to giue them leaue to trafficke, to carrie and recarrie their goods. So that this trafficke was among them a long while concealed from the King, and from the superiour *Louthias* of the Prouince. After these matters had for some space beene done secretly in Liampo, the Portugals went by little and little forward, and began to goe and make their merchandise to Chincheo, and to the Ilands of Cantan. And other *Louthias* permitted them already in euery place for the bribes sake, whereby some Portugals came to trafficke beyond Namqui, which

which is very farre from *Cantan*, without the King being witting; or hauing knowledge of this trafficke. The matters fell out in such sort, that the *Portugals* wintered in the Ilands of *Liampoo*.

Some *Chinaes* that were among the *Portugals*, and some *Portugals* with them, came to disorder themselves in such manner that they made great stealths and robberies and killed some of the people. These euils encreased so much that the clamour of the iniured was so great, that it came not onely to the superiour *Louthias* of the Prouince, but also to the King. Who commanded presently to make a very great Armada in the Prouince of *Fuquen*, to driue the theeues from all the coast, especially those that were about *Liampoo*, and all the Merchants as well *Portugals* as *Chinaes* were reputed in this number of theeues. Being ready they went forth along the coast of the Sea. And because the windes serued them not for to goe for *Liampoo*, they went to the coast of *Chincheo*, where finding some ships of *Portugals*, they began to fight with them, and in no wise did they permit any wares to come to the *Portugals*; who stayed many dayes there (fighting sometimes) to see if they could haue any remedie for to dispatch their busineses. But seeing they had no remedy, they determined to goe without it. The Captaynes of the Armie knowing this, sent a message to them very secretly by night, that if they would that any goods should come to them, that they should send them something. The *Portugals* very glad with this message, prepared a great and sumptuous present, and sent it them by night because they were so aduised. From thence-forward came many goods vnto them, the *Louthias* making as though they tooke no heed thereof, dissembling with the Merchants. And so were the busineses ended that yeere, which was the yeere 1548.

Disorders of
outragious
Chinois, and in-
solent Portu-
gals.

Briberie.

The yeare following, which was 1549. there was a straighter watch vpon the Coast by the Captaynes of the Armada, and greater vigilancie in the Ports and entrances of *China*, in such sort that neyther goods nor viuals came to the *Portugals*; but for all the vigilancie and watching there was, (as the Ilands along the Coast are many, for they all ranne in a row along the *China*) the Armies could not haue so much vigilancie, that some wares were not brought secretly to the *Portugals*. But they were not so many that they could make vp the ships ladings, and the vttering those goods which they had brought to *China*. Wherefore leauing the goods which they had not vttered in two ships of *China*, of such *Chinaes* as were alreadie dismembred from *China*, and Traffique abroad vnder the shadow of the *Portugals*, (in the which they left thirtie *Portugals* in charge with the ships and with the goods) that they might defend the ships, and in some Port of *China* where best they could they should sell the goods that remayned in change for some Wares of *China*, and hauing ordayned this they departed for *India*.

As the people of the Armie of the *Chinaes* saw the two ships remayne alone, the other ships being gone, they came vpon them, being induced by some Merchants of the Countrey, which discovered to them the great store of goods that remayned in those Vessels, and the few *Portugals* that remayned to keepe them. Then they layd an ambush for them, dressing some *Chinaes* ashore, which being in armes made as though they would set vpon the ships to fight with them, because they were close to the Land, that the *Portugals* being prouoked, should come out of the ships to fight with them, & so the ships might remaine without defence to them of the Armada, which lay watching in an ambush, & did accordingly set vpon the two Vessels with great furie & celeritie, and slaying some *Portugals* that were in the ships, and wounding others they tooke the ships. The chiefe Captayn which is the *Luthissi*, remayned so glorious, that he vsed great crueltie on some *Chinaes* that hee tooke with the *Portugals*. Hee laboured to perswade foure *Portugals* which had more apparance in their persons then the rest, that they should say, they were Kings of *Malaca*, he perswaded them in the end, because hee promised to vse them better then the rest, and therewith he prouoked them. And finding among the cloathes that hee tooke a Gowne and a Cap, and asking of one of those *Chinaes*, that were taken with the *Portugals* what habit that was, they put in his head, that it was the habit of the Kings of *Malaca*, wherefore he commanded presently to make three Gownes by that patterne, and three Caps, and so he apparelled them all foure in one sort, to make his fayning true, and his victory more glorious. To this was joyned the couetousnesse of the *Luthissi* to see if hee could detayne the many goods that hee had taken in ships.

Mountayne
Mouse-birth.

Spectatum ad-
missi visum te-
nentis amici 2

And to doe this more safely, not to be taken in a lye, he did great executions vpon the *Chinaes* which he tooke with the *Portugals*, and killing some of them determined to kill the rest. These things comming to the eares of the *Aitao*, which was his superior, he disliked greatly that which hee had done, and sent to him presently that hee should kill no more of those which remayned, but that he should come to him presently bringing with him all the prize as well of the men that were yet aliue, as of the goods. The *Luthissi* ordering his Iourney for to goe to the *Aitao*, as he was commanded, he commanded foure Chaires to be giuen to them, to whom hee had giuen title of Kings, to be carried in them with more honour. And the other *Portugals* were carried in Coopes with their heads out fast by the neckes betweene the boards that they could not pull them in, but hauing some wounds in their heads, they went bare headed to the Sunne and to the Dew, and were carried on mens shoulders. The *Luthissi* went with this Prize through the Countrey with great Majestie, he carried before him foure Banners displayed, on the which

Pillory Coops.

were

were written the names of the foure Kings of *Malaca*. And when he entred into the Townes, he entred with great noyse and Majestie, with sound of Trumpets, and with Cryers which went crying the great victorie, the *Luthisi* (naming him) had gotten of the foure great Kings of *Malaca*. And all the great men of the Townes went to receiue him with great Feasts and Honours, all the Townes running to see the new Victorie.

Damnabie vanitie.

When the *Luthisi* came with all his pompe and glory where the *Aitao* was, after the giuing him particular account of all things passed and of his victory, he manifested to him his pretence and agreed with him to diuide the goods betweene them both, and that he should continue the fayning of the Kings of *Malaca*, that both might receiue of the King Honours and Rewards. This being set downe they both agreed that to keepe this in secret, the *Luthisi* should go forward in that which he had begun, to wit, he should slay all the *Chinas*, that came there captiue. And presently they commanded presently to put it in effect, and so they slue ninetie and odde *Chinas*, among whom were some young youths slaine. They left notwithstanding three or foure youthes and one man, that by them (bringing them to their owne hand) they might certifie the King all that they would, that was to make of the *Portugals* Theeues, and conceale the goods which they tooke: certifying also by these that those foure were Kings of *Malaca*. And the *Portugals* not hauing the Language of the Countrey, neither had any person to intreate for or fauour them would perish: and they being mightie would make their owne Tale good, following the end by them intended. And for this cause they slue not the *Portugals*, but left them alive, for the greater triumph of the victorie.

These *Luthis* could not doe this so secretly, but many of those which they slue had kindred in the Countrey, which did grieue at the death of theirs. Whereby, as well by these, as by some *Louthias* that were zealous of Iustice, and would not giue consent in so great euils and fraudulent dealings, this matter came to the Kings eares, and hee was informed how the *Portugals* were Merchants which came to traffique with their Merchandize to *China*, and they were no theeues, and how they had falsly giuen the Title of Kings to foure of them, to the end the King should shew great fauours, and doe them great honours; and how they had vsurped great store of goods: and that for to conceale these euils, they killed men and children without fault.

The Kings Iustice.

As soone as the King was informed of all aboue said, hee dispatched present from the Court a *Quinchay*, (of whom we spake before, that is to say plate of Gold) And with him he sent other two men of great authoritie also, of the which the one had bene *Panchasi*, the other *Anchasi*, these two as Inquisitors and Examiners of this matter: Commanding and commending to the *Chien* which that yeare went to visit the Prouince of *Fuquen*, and to the *Panchasi* and *Anchasi*, of the same Prouince, their ayde and assistance to the *Quinchay*, and the two Inquisitors in all things necessary for them in these busineses. The two that came with the *Quinchay*, as Inquisitors, went presently to certayne great Houses which had in the middest a great Court, and on the one side of the Court were certayne great and faire Lodgings, and on the other side others in the same sort. Each of the Inquisitors entred in one of these Houses aforesaid. The Prisoners were presently brought, and were presented to the one of them, who for courtesie remitted them to the other, that he should examine them first, with many words of courtesie. The other sent them againe with great thankfulness. So they were sundry times carried from one to another, each of them willing to giue the hand to the other of beginning first, till that one of them yeelded and began. And as the matter was of great import and much commended to them, all that the guiltie and the accusers did speake these Officers did write with their owne hands. The *Portugals* had for a great Enemy a *China* man and Pilot of one of the shippes that were taken, and a *China* youth which was a Christian, which from a childe was brought vp among the *Portugals*: for they were both made of the part of the contrarie *Louthias*, mooued by gifts and promises: the *Louthias* being already deposed of their Offices, and held for guiltie, for the which they were accused before the King.

Manner of examination.

But though they were thus handled, they were so mightie and so fauoured, that they could take from the *Portugals* a *China* youth that serued them for an Interpreter, which vpon their Petition was againe deliuered them. They examined them in this order, the accused were first brought and examined by one of these Officers, and they carried them to the other to bee examined againe. And while the other was re-examining the accused, the accusers were brought to him that examined first. And as well the accused as the Accusers were all examined by both the Officers, that afterward they both seeing the confessions of the one and the other, they might see if they did agree. And first they examined euery one by himselfe. Afterward they examined them altogether, for to see if the one did contrary the other, or did contend and reprehend one another, that so by little and little they might gather the truth of the case. In these Examinations the two were contrary, to wit, the Pilot, and the Christian *China* youth, and had many stripes, because they agreed in some things. The *Louthias* did alwayes shew themselves glad to heare the *Portugals* in their defence, who alleaded in their defence, that if they would know who they were, and how they were Merchants and not Theeues, they should send to enquire of them along the Coast of *Chincheo*, that there they should know the truth, which they might know

know of the Merchants of the Countrey, with whom a great many yeares agoe they had dealt, and that they might know that they were no Kings, for Kings do not abase themselves so much as to come with so few mento play the Marchants, and if before they said the contrary, it was by the deceit of the *Luthiss*, and to receive better vsage of him in their persons.

Having this information of the *Portugals*, presently with the opinion of the *Quinchay* and the other Officers, they went to *Chincheo* both of them, to enquire of the truth of that which the *Portugals* had told them; and discovering there the truth of the *Portugals* matter, and the lies of the *Luthiss*, and of the *Aitao*, they dispatched presently a Post; wherein they commanded to put the *Luthiss* and the *Aitao* in Prison, and in good safeguard. Wherefore from thence forward all men began to fauour them very much. If notwithstanding this examination had bin made in *Liamboo*, as it was in *Chincheo*, the *Portugals* could not haue chosen but haue past it ill, according to the greatnesse of the euils they had done there. After the *Louthias* returned from *Chincheo*, they commanded to bring the *Portugals* before them, and comforted them very much, shewing them great good-will, and saying to them, that they knew already they were no theues, but were honest men: and they examined againe as well they as their aduersaries, to see if they contradicted themselves in any thing of that which before they had spoken. In these later re-examinations the Pilot of *China*, which before had shewed himselfe against the *Portugals*, and had bene on the *Louthias* side, seeing that the *Louthias* were already in Prison, and that now they could doe them no good, and that the *Portugals* were already fauoured, and that the truth was already knowne, he gainesaid himselfe of all that he had said, and said that it was true that the *Portugals* were no theues nor Kings, but Merchants, and very good men, and discovered the goods which the *Luthiss* had taken when he surpris'd the *Portugals*. And that till then he had said to the contrary, was for the great promises which the *Louthias* promised him, and for the great threats they vs'd to him if he did it not. But seeing they were already in Prison, and he knew they could doe him no hurt, he would now speake the truth. They then commanded to torment him, and whip him very sore, to see if he would gainay himselfe, but he still continued in the same confession.

All the examinations and diligences necessarie in this businesse ended, the *Quinchay* willing to depart for the Court with his companie, would first see the *Portugals*, and giue a sight of himselfe to the Citie. The sight was of great Maiestie in the manner hee went abroad in the Citie, for he went accompanied with all the great men of it, and with many men in Armes and many Ancients displayed and very faire, and with many Trumpets and Kettle-drummes, and many other things which in such pompe are vs'd. And accompanied in this manner, hee went to certaine noble and gallant houses. And all the great men taking their leaue of him, hee commanded the *Portugals* to come neere him, and after a few words he dismissed them: for this was not but onely to see them. Before the *Louthias* departed they commanded the *Louthias* of the Countrey, and the Taylors, that all of them should fauour the *Portugals*, and giue them good entertainment, and should command to giue them all things necessarie for their persons. And commanded euery one to set his name a piece of Paper, because that while they were at the Court, and their matters were dispatching, they should not craftily make some missing. And they commanded to keepe the *Luthiss* in good safety, and the *Aitao*, and that they should not let them communicate with any person. Being gone from the Citie, they lodged in a small Towne, where they set in order all the Papers, and ingrossing onely that which was necessarie. And because the Papers were many, and were much to write, they helped themselves with three men. And hauing ingrossed all that they were to carrie to the Court, they burned all the rest. And because these three men which they tooke for helpers should not spread abroad any thing of that which they had seene, or heard, or written, they left them shut vp with great vigilancie, that none should speake with them, commanding to giue them all things necessarie very abundantly vntill the Kings Senterie came from Court, and were declared. The Papers being presented in Court, and all seene by the King and by his Officers, he pronounced the Sentence in * manner and forme following.

Pimpu by commandement of the King. Because Chaipuu, Huchin Tutan without my commandement, or making mee priuie thereto, ster the taking of so much people, commanded them to bee slayne: I being willing to provide therein with iustice, sent first to know the truth by Quinsituam, my Quinchai, who taking with him the *Louthias* which I sent to examine the truth of the *Portugals*, and also of the *Aitao* and *Luthiss*, which had informed mee, that the *Portugals* were theues, and that they came to all the coast of my Dominions to robbe and to murder. And the truth of all being knowne, they are come from doing that which commanded them. And the Papers being seene by my Pimpu, and by the great *Louthias* of my Court, and well examined by them, they came to giue mee account of all. And likewise I commanded them to be perused by Ahimpu, and Altu Chaen, and by Athaylissi Chuquin, whom I commanded to oversee those Papers very well, because the matters were of great weight; wherein I would provide with iustice. Which thus being seene and perused by them all, it was manifest that the *Portugals* came many yeeres before to the coast of *Chincheo* to doe their affaires, which was not conuenient they should be in the manner they did it, but in my Markets, as was alwaies the custome in all my Ports. These ten of whom hitherto I knew not: I know now that the people of

When theues
fall out--

The Quinchays
magnificent
ostentation.

Cautelous in
dustrie.

* It is here
abridged.
The Kings
Sentence.

Chincheo went to their ships about their affaires, whereby I know already that they are Merchants and not theenes, as they had written to me they were.

And I doe not blame Merchants to helpe Merchants, but I put great fault in my Louthias of Chincheo: because that when any ship came to my Ports, they should haue knowne if they were Merchants, and if they would pay their duties, and if they would pay them, to write presently unto mee. If they had done so; so much euill had not beene done. Or when they were taken, if they had let mee know it, I had commanded to set them at libertie. And although it bee a custome in my Ports the ships that come unto them to be measured * by cubits for to pay their duties: these being very farre off, it was not necessarie but to let them doe their businesses, and goe for their Countries. Beside this my Pontoos * which knew these men to be Merchants did not tell it mee, but concealed it from me, whereby they were the cause of many people being taken and slaine. And those that remayned alieue is they could not speake, did looke toward Heauen, and demanded from their hearts iustice of Heauen (they know no other God supreme but the Heauen.) Besides these things I know that the Aitao, and the Luthissi did so much euill for conetousnesse of the many goods which they tooke from the Portugals, having no regard whether those which they tooke, and tooke the goods from, were good or euill men. Likewise the Louthias along the Sea coast knew these men to be Merchants, and certified mee not. And all of them, as disloyall, were the cause of so much euill. I knew more by my Quinchey, that the Aitao, and the Luthissi had Letters, by the which they knew that the Portugals were no theenes but Merchants, and knowing this they were not contented with the taking of them, but they wrook many lyes unto mee, and were not contented with killing of the men, but killed children also, cutting off the feet of some, of others the hands, and at last the heads of them all: writing unto mee they had taken and slayne Kings of Mallaca. Which case I helcening to be true, griene in my heart.

And because hitherto so many cruelties haue beene used without my commandement, from hence forward I command they be not done. Besides this the Portugals resisted my Armie, being better to haue let themselves beene taken, then to kill my people. Moreover, this long since they came to the coast of our Dominion about their affaires in manner of theenes, and not as Merchants: wherefore if they had beene naturall as they are strangers they had incurred paine of death & losse of goods, wherefore they are not without fault. The Tutan by whose commandement those men were slaine, said * that by this deed I should make him greater; and the people that he commanded to be slayne after they had no heads, their hearts, (that is their soules and their bloud) required iustice of Heauen. I seeing so great euils to be done, my eyes could not indure the sight of the Papers without teares, and great griefe of my heart. I know not, my Louthias seeing they tooke this people, wherefore they let it not goe, that I might not come to know so many cruelties and so great. Wherefore seeing alitthese things, I doe create Senfuu chiefe Louthia, because hee did his dutie in his charge, and tolamee truth. I create also chiefe Louthia Quinchio, because hee wrote the truth to mee of the Pontoos which went to doe their merchandise in secret with the Portugals to the Sea. Those which are euill I will make them baser then they which sowe Rice.

Likewise because Pachou did trafficke with the Portugals and for bribes did permit the Merchants of the Countrey to trafficke with the Portugals, and yet doing these things, wrote unto mee that the Portugals were theenes and that they came to my Dominions onely to steale. And the same hee said also to my Louthias (which presently answered, that he lyed, for they knew already the contrarie.) And therefore such a one, and such a one, (he nameth ten Louthias) It is nothing that all you be banished to red Caps *, to the which I condemne you: but you deserue to be made baser as I doe make you. Chaen for taking these men thou saydest thou shouldest be greater, and being in the doing of so much euill thou saydest thou didst not feare mee: such a one, and such a one (he nameth nine) for the taking of these men yee say, I would make you great, and without any feare of mee yee all lyed, such a one, and such a one (he nameth many.) I know also yee tooke bribes. But because you did so, I make you baser, (he deprieth them of the dignitie of Louthias.)

Such a one, and such a one (he nameth many. If the Aitao and the Luthissi would kill so many people, wherefore did you suffer it? But seeing that in consenting you were accessarie with them in their death, all are in the same fault. Chifuu, and Chanichifuu, were also agreeing to the will of the Aitao and the Luthissi, and were with them in the slaughter, as well these that were as those that were not in fault. Wherefore I condemne you all to red Caps. Lupuu let him haue a good heart, because the Tutan being willing to kill this people, he said that he should let mee first know it. To him I will doe no harme, but good, as he deserueth, and I command that he remayne Louthia. Sanchi I make my Anchaff of the Citie of Canfi. The Antexio I command to be deposed of his honour. Assaon seeing hee can speake with the Portugals, let him haue honour and ordinarie, and he shall be carried to Chaquean, where hee was borne. (This is the youth with whom the Portugals did defend themselves, seruing them for Interpreter, they gaue him title of Louthia, and mayntaance.) Chinque Head of the Merchants that went to the Sea to trafficke with the Portugals, and receiued them, bringing great store of goods a land, it shall be demanded of him, and set in good safeguad for the mayntenance and expences of the Portugals, and I condemne him and his foure Companions to red Caps, and they shall be banished whither my Louthias shall thinke good.

To the rest guilty and imprisoned for this matter, I commaund my Louthias to giue to euery one the

* In China and Siam they pay Custome by measuring the ship from poop to prow how many cubits it is of.
* Pontoos are Sea-watches.

Butcherly insolence.

* Said in his heart, or con- citted himself.

Senfuu and others reward.

x Red Caps are the ensigne of men condemned to serue the King in his frontiers against the Enemy.

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punishment he deserueth. I command the Chaen to bring me hither the Tutan, that his faults being per-
 nsed by the great men of my Court, I may command to doe iustice on him as I shall thinke good. (This
 Tutan was also a consenter in the wickednesse of the Aitao and the Luthissi: for the Luthissi,
 and the Aitao made him partaker, and gave him part of the booties which they rooke from the
 Portugals, that as the head he should hold for good that which they did: for in truth they durst
 not haue done that which they did if he had not giuen consent, and agreed with their opinion.
 This hearing what was judged against him, hung himselfe, saying, that seeing the Heauen had
 made him whole, that no man should take away his head. The Poutoos which yet are in Prison,
 shall be examined againe, and shall presently be dispatched. Chuichum shall presently be deprived from
 10 being a Louthia, without being heard any more. Chibee, head of sixe and twenty, I command that hee
 and his be all set at libertie, for I find but little fault in them. Those which owe any money, it shall bee
 recovered of them presently. Famichin, and Tomichier shall dye, if my Louthias doe thinke it ex-
 pedient; if not let them doe as they thinke best. Alfonso of Paua, and Peter of Cea (these were Por-
 tugals) Antonie and Francisco (these were Slaues) finding them to be guilty of killing some men of my
 Armie, shall with the Luthissi and Aitao be put in Prison, where according to the custome of my King-
 dome, they all shall dye at leisure. The other Portugals that are aliue with all their Seruants which are
 in all fiftie one, I command them to be carried to my Citie of Canfi, where I command they be well in-
 treated, seeing my heart is so good towards them that for their sake I punish in this sort the people of my
 Countrey, and deale so well with them; for it is my custome to doe Iustice to all men. The Louthias of the
 20 Armada, finding they are in little fault, I command they bee set free (I deale in this sort with all men,
 that my Louthias may see that all that which I doe, I doe it with a good zeale.) All these things I com-
 mand to be done with speed. Hitherto the sentence of the King.

The Portugals that were freed by the sentence, when they carried them whither the King
 commanded, found by the way all things necessary in great abundance, in the Houses aboue-
 said, that the King had in euery Towne for the Louthias when they trauell. They carried
 them in seates of Chaires made of Canes on mens backs, and they were in charge of in-
 ferious Louthias, which caused them to haue all things necessarie through all places where they
 came, till they were deliuered to the Louthias of the Citie of Canfi. From that time they had
 no more of the King euery moneth but one Foan of Rice (which is a measure as much as a man
 30 can beare on his backe) the rest they had need of, euery one did seeke by his owne industry. Af-
 terward they dispersed them againe by two and two, and three and three through diuers pla-
 ces, to preuent that in time they should not become mightie joyning themselues with others.

Those that were condemned to death, were presently put in Prison of the condemned. And
 Alfonso of Paua had a meanes to giue the Portugals to vnderstand that were free, that for his
 welcome they had giuen him presently fortie stripes and intreated him very euill, shewing him-
 selfe comforted in the Lord. Those which were at libertie, now some and then some, came to
 the ships of the Portugals; by the industrie of some Chinas, which brought them very secretly
 for the great gifts they received of the Merchants of Portugall; which made their Merchandize
 in the Citie of Cantan.

¶ VI.
 Of the Religion in China; difficultie of bringing in Christianitie.
 Terrible Earth-quakes and Tempests in
 China.

IN the Citie of Cantan in the middelt of the Riuer which is of fresh water and very
 broad, is a little Ile, in the which is a manner of a Monasterie of their Priests; and
 within this Monasterie I saw an Oratorie high from the ground very well made,
 with certayne gilt steps before it, made of carued worke, in which was a woman ve-
 ry well made with a childe about her necke, and it had a Lampe burning before it. I suspecting
 that to bee some shew of Christianitie, demanded of some Lay-men, and some of the Idoll
 Priests which were there, what that woman signified, and none could tell it mee, nor giue mee
 any reason of it. It might well be the Image of our Ladie, made by the ancient Christians, that
 Saint Thomas left there, or by their occasion made, but the conclusion is, that all is forgotten:
 it might also be some Gentiles Image. The greatest God they haue is the Heauen, the letter that
 signifieth it, is the principall and the first of all the Letters. They worship the Sun, the Moone,
 60 and the Starres, and all the Images they make without any respect. They haue, notwithstanding,
 Images of Louthias, which they worship for hauing beene famous in some one thing or other.
 And likewise Statues and Images of some Priests, of the Idols, and some of other men for some
 respects particular to them. And not only worship they these Images, but whatsoeuer stone they
 erect on the Altars in their Temples.

The Tutan by
 hanging him-
 selfe preuent
 the Hangman,
 or proued the
 Hangman ra-
 ther.

What became
 of the Portu-
 gals.

Offspring.

The Gentil
 worshipped

Paper Offer-
 ings.

Two sorts of
 Priests.
 Monks.

Seculars.

Idols.

Heauen, fast
 both God and
 Character.

Omitteffois and
their offerings.
* A Perfume
so called.

Lots.

Cruell men to
their foolish
Gods.

Offerings.

The Deuill
worshipped.

Paper Offer-
ings.

Two sorts of
Priests.
Monkes.

Seculars.

Feasts.

Traditionall
Fables.

They call commonly these Gods *Omitteffois*, they offer them Incense, Benjamin, Ciuet, and another Wood which they call *Cayo*, * *Laque*, and other smelling things. They offer them likewise *Ocha*, whereof is mention made afore. Every one hath a place to pray, and at the entries behind the doores of the Houses, in the which they haue their carued Idols: to the which euery day in the Morning and at Euening they offer Incense and other perfumes. They haue in many places (as well in the Townes as out of them) Temples of Idols. In all the ships they sayle in, they make presently a place for to worship in, where they carrie their Idols.

In all things they are to enterprize either Iournies by Sea or by land, they vse Lots & cast them before their Gods. The Lots are two sticks made like halfe a Nut-shell, flat on the one side, and round on the other: and as bigge againe as an halfe Nut, and joynd with a string. And when they will cast Lots, they speak first with their God, perswading him with words, and promising him some Offring if he giue him a good Lot, & in it shew him his good Voyage or good successe of his busines. And after many words they cast the Lots. And if both the flats sides fall vpward, or one vp another downe, they hold it for an euill Lot, and turne them toward their Gods very melancholy, they call them Dogs, with many other reproaches. After they are wearie of rating them, they soothe them againe with faire milde words, and aske pardon, saying, that the Melancholy of not giuing them a good Lot, caused them to doe them injurie, and speake injurious words vnto him: but that they will pardon them and giue them a good Lot; and they promise to offer him more such a thing (because the promises are the better for them that promise them, they make many and great promises and offerings) and so they cast Lots so many times till they fall both on the flat sides which they hold for a good Lot, then remayning well contented, they offer to their Gods that which they promised. It happeneth many times when they cast Lots about any weighty matter, if the Lot fall not out good, or launching a ship to the Sea it goeth not well, and some euill came to it, they runne to their Gods and cast them in the water, and put them in the flame of the fire sometimes, and let them scorch a little, and spurning them often, and tread them vnder foot, and giue them rayling words, till their businesse be ended, and then they carrie them with playing and feasts, and giue them their Offerings.

They hold for a great Offering a Hogges head boyled: they offer Hennes, Geese, Duckes and Rice all drest, and a great pot of Wine. After they present it all to the Gods, they set his portion apart, which is, to put in a Dish, the small points of the Hogs eare, the bils, and the points of the clawes of the Hennes, Geese, and Duckes, a few cornes of Rice very few, and put in with great heed, three or foure drops of Wine very heedfully, that there fall not many drops from the Pot. These things so set in a Bason that they set them on the Altar to their Gods for to eate, and they set themselves there before the Gods to eate all that which they bring.

They worship the Deuill also, which they paint after our fashion: and say that they worship him because he maketh those which are good, Devils; and the euill, he maketh Buffes, or Kine, or other beasts. And they say that the Deuill hath a Master that teacheth him his Knaueries: these things say the base people: the better sort say they worship him because hee shall doe them no hurt.

When they will launch any new ship to the Sea, their Priests being called by them come in to the ships to doe their Sacrifices with long side Garments of Silke. They set about the shippe many flags of Silke, they paint in the prow of the ship the Denill, to the which they make many reuerences and Offerings, and say they doe it because the Deuill shall doe no hurt to the ship. They offer to the Gods Papers with diuers Images painted, and other of sundry kinde of cuttings, and they burne them all before the Idols with certayne Ceremonies and well tuned Songs, and while their singing doth last, they ring certayne small Bels, and among all they vse great store of eating and drinking.

In this Countrey are two manner of Priests, the one that haue their head all shauen, these weare on their heads certayne course Caps like vnto Canopie cloth, they are high, and flat behind (higher before then behind a hand breadth) made like a Mitre with Pinacles: their wearing is white Coates after the Lay-mens fashion. These liue in Monasteries, they haue dining places, and Cels, and many pleasures within their wals. There be others whom commonly the people doe vse for their Burials and Sacrifices, these weare their haire, and blacke silke Coates, or of Searge or Linnen, and long like the Lay-men, hauing for a token their haire made fast in the Crowne of the head with a stick very well made like a closed hand, varnished blacke. None of these Priests haue Wiues, but they liue wickedly and filthily.

The first day of the yeare, which is in the new Moone of March, they make through all the Land great Feasts, they visit one another, the chiefe principally doe make great Banquets. How much these people are curious in the rule and gouernment of the Countrey, and in their common Traffique, so much they are beastly in their Gentilities, in the vse of their Gods and Idolatries. For besides that which is said, they haue many *Gentilicall* Lyes, of men that were turned into Dogges, and afterward into men, and of Snakes that were conuerted into men, and many other ignorances.

I entred one day into a Temple and came to an Altar, where were certaine stones set vp which

which they worshipped, and trusting in the little estimation they held their Gods in, and in being men that would be satisfied with reason, I threw the stones downe to the ground; whereat some ranne very fiercely at me and angry, asking me wherefore I had done that, I went mildly to them, and smiling, said to them, because they were so inconsiderate that they worshipped those stones. They asked me wherefore should they not adore them? and I shewed them how they were better then they, seeing they had the vse of reason; feete, hands, and eyes, where-with they did diuers things that the stones could not doe, and that seeing they were better they should not abase and esteeme so little of themselves as to worship things so vile they being so noble. They answered me that I had reason, and went out with me in company, leauing the stones on the ground: so that there is likelihood and shew of their becomming Christians. And it maketh also much to this purpose, their not making any difference of meate, as all the people of India doth. And seeing that among all the meates they esteeme the Porke most, it is almost impossible for them to become *Turkes*.

Notwithstanding, there are two verie great inconueniences to make any Christians in this Countrey. The one is, that in no wise they will permit any noueltie in the Countrey, as in some sort it may bee seene in the matter of the *Moors*. So that whatsoeuer noueltie that is in the Countrey, the *Louthias* take order presently how to repress it, and it goeth no further. Whence it happened in *Cantan*, because they saw a *Portugall* measure the entries of the Gates, they set presently Watches that none should come in without licence, nor goe vpon the Walls.

The second is, that no strange person may enter into *China* without leaue of the *Louthias*, nor be in *Cantan*, which doe giue him a certaine time to bee in *Cantan*. The time of the licence ended, presently they labour to haue them depart. Wherefore because I and those which were with me were one moneth longer in *Cantan*, they set vp written bords that none should keepe nor harbour vs in their houses, vnder payne of so much, till wee held it our best cheape to goe to the Ships. To the abovesaid is ioyned the common people to bee greatly in feare of the *Louthias*, wherefore none of them durst become a Christian without their licence, or at the least many would not doe it. Therefore as a man cannot be settled in the Countrey, hee cannot continue Preaching, and by consequence he cannot fructifie and preserve the fruit. There was notwithstanding one way how to Preach freely, and fruit might be made in the Countrey, without any dogge barking at the Preacher, nor any *Louthia* doe him hurt any way: which is, if hee haue a licence for it of the King; And it might bee obtained if a *solemne Embassage* were sent with a *solemne present* to the King of *China*, in the name of the King of *Portugall*, religious men going with the *Ambassadour* to obayne the licence to goe about the Countrey, shewing themselves to bee men without Armes. And how our Law is no preiudice to his Dominion and Gouvernement, but a great helpe that all might obey him and keepe his Lawes. This onely remedie there is in *China*, to reape any fruit, and not any other (speaking humanely.) And without this it is impossible for any Religious men to Preach or fructifie, and because I had not this remedie, hauing the abovesaid inconueniences, I came away from *China*, and therefore neither I, nor they of the company of *Iesvs* which enterprised already this businesse sundry times, could fructifie in *China*.

This people hath besides the ignorances abovesaid, that filthy abomination, that they refraine no sexe among them. Notwithstanding, I Preaching sometimes, as well publike as priuately against this vice, they were glad to heare mee, saying, that I had reason in that which I sayd, but but that they neuer had had any that told them that was a sinne, nor any thing euill done. It seemeth that because this sinne is common among them, God was willing to send them a grievous punishment in some places of the earth, the which was common in all *China*. I being in the Citie of *Cantan*, and being willing to know of a rich *China* Marchant the euils that had happened in the Countrey, and hee not able to tell it me by word of mouth, gaue me a Letter which they had written vnto him of what had happened: saying to me, that I should translate it and giue it him againe: but not trusting me hee translated it presently, and remayning with the copie gaue me the principall, which I translated into *Portugall* with the helpe of one that could speake our language and theirs, the tenour of the Letter is this.

The principall *Louthias* of *Sanxi* and of *Sauiton*, wrote vnto the King, saying, that in those Prouinces the earth did shake terribly, and the dayes waxed darke like night (hee saith not how long) a South-sayer told them all that should happen. In the yeere before in the moneth of September, the earth opened in many places, and vnder it were heard great noyses like the sound of Bells, there followed a great winde with much rayne, and the winde ranne about all the Compasse. This winde is called in *China*, *Tufanne*, and many yeeres it bloweth but once a yeere, and it is so raging, that it driueth a Ship vnder sayle on the Land a great space, and the men cannot keepe their feete, not leauing and holding one by another, and it doth things worthie admiration and incredible. In the yeere that I was in *China*, in the part where the *Portugals* were, they shewed the Boat of a Ship of a good bigneffe, and the place where it was a land (that this winde carryed it, might bee a great stones cast from the water) and many did affirme it to mee, that the winde had such force, that it carryed it tumbling till it blew it into the Sea. And all the houses the *Portugals* had made of timber, and couered with strawe, which were many and

Prouisions against stay of Strangers.

Notes

Chinois Sodomites.

Plagues happening in China.

Tufon, a terrible tempest.

were built vpon great stakes, and not very high, it threw them all downe breaking the stakes. And one house being fastened with foure Cables, where many *Portugals* retired themselves, at the last fell also, and onely one that was sheltered with a high place escaped that it fell not. To blow downe these houses was nothing, for it doth many other things incredible. This winde is almost euerie yeere in *China*, the which within twentie foure houres that it raigneth, it runneth about all the points of the Compasse. With this winde, and the Lands being shaken with the Earthquakes, many Cities fell and were made desolate, in the which dyed innumerable people.

Vinyanfu, swallowed vp.

Another Citie quire perished. *Leuchimen*.

Hien.

Puchio.

In a Citie called *Vinyanfu*, in this day was a great Earthquake. And on the west side a great Fire burst out, that swallowed vp all the Citie, in the which, innumerable people perished, escaping in one place two, in another three, and so some of the *Mogores* escaped. In another Citie neere to this, there happened the same, but in this none escaped. In a Citie called *Leuchimen*, the Riuer increased in such sort, that it ouer-flowed the Citie, where infinite people were drowned. In a Citie called *Hien*, was an Earthquake, with the which many houses fell, which slew neere eight thousand soules. In *Puchio*, the house of the Kings kinsman fell and slew all that were in the house, except a Childe of seuen or eight yeeres old his sonne, (which was carried to the King) and day and night was a noyse heard vnder the earth, like the sound of Bells.

Cochue.

Enchimoen.

Inchumen.

In a Countrey called *Cochue*, with fire from Heauen and with many waters of a Floud, many perished, and the land remayned vnable to bee cultivated againe. In a Countrey called *Enchimoen*, at midnight the houses fell, and the Citie remayned desolate and ruined, where perished neere one hundred thousand soules. In a Citie called *Inchumen*, in one day and a night, the Riuer did flow and ebbe ten times, and with the great floud many people perished. Hitherto the translation of the Letter: that which followeth, was heard by word of mouth of the *Portugals* that were in the Port of *Cantan* in the moneth of May, and I receiued the Letter in September.

Sanxi.

Bloudie shower.

In a Citie called *Sanxi*, from midnight till five of the clocke in the morning, the earth shooke three times, the eighteenth of Ianuarie, 1556. and the next day after, from midnight till noone, happened the same: the next day following, the twentie of the sayd moneth, the earth shooke mightily after midnight with great Thunder and Lightnings, and all the Prouince was burnt, and all the people thereof, and all the Suburbs, Townes, and Cities: they say it is from bound to bound, fittie or sixtie leagues, that there was not one saued but a Childe, sonne to a kinsman of the King, which was carried to the King. And the third of Februarie in the same yeere, in the Citie of *Panquin* where the King is, fell a shower of rayne like bloud. These newes brought one of *China* that came to *Cantan*, from a Citie neere to *Sanxi*, to giue newes to a *Lou-thia* that hee should resort to his owne house, and said, that the Citie where he was a dweller was ouerflowne, and that he knew not whether it would perish with the rest. That which ought to bee held for truth, is, that in three Prouinces which commonly are sayd to be destroyed, there was no more destruction then of those places whereof the Letter maketh mention, or little more. The agreeing in the Childe, sheweth that the Towne whereof the Letter maketh mention with the childe, was in the Prouince of *Sanxi*. This hath more apparance of truth, because the Letter was written from the Court, then to say that all the three Prouinces perished.

After the happening of the things abouesaid: the same yeere in the Prouince of *Cantan*, a woman which went to the *Panchasi*, told him that the Prouince of *Cansi* would bee destroyed with power from Heauen, the which after shee was well whipt, was imprisoned: but in the moneth of May of the same yeere, there fell great store of rayne verie hot, with the which the earth seemed to burne, and many people perished with the great heate: but the Prouince perished not altogether: wherefore this woman was carried to the King, which was in prison in the place where the *Portugals* were, which told this.

Reader, forasmuch as this Author hath often mentioned, and related also the storie of certaine *Portugals*, Prisoners in *China* (one of which hee nameth *Galotte Perera*) from whom hee receiued great part of his *China* intelligence: I haue thought good to adde hither *Pereras* relations, translated long since out of Italian, and published by *R. Willes*; hauing abbreviated some things in the Frier, that you might rather haue them at the first hand from this Gentleman which saw them: but abbreviated to preuent tediousnesse.

CHAP. XI.

The relation of GALEOTTO PERERA, a Gentleman of good credit,
that lay Prisoner in China.



His Land of *China* is parted into thirteene * Shires, which sometimes were each one a Kingdome by it selfe, but these many yeeres they haue beene all subiect vnto one King.

10 The King maketh alwayes his abode in the great Citie *Pachin*, as much to say in our language (as by the name thereof I am aduertised,) the * Towne of the Kingdome. This Kingdome is so large, that vnder fve moneths you are not able to trauell from the Townes by the Sea side, to the Court and backe againe, no not vnder three moneths in Poste at your vrgent businesse. The Post-horles in this Countrey are little of bodie, but swift of foote. Many doe trauell the greater part of this iourney by water in certaine light Barkes, for the multitude of Riuer, commodious for passage from one Citie to another.

The King, notwithstanding the hugeness of his Kingdome, hath such a care thereof, that euerie Moone (by the Moones they reckon their moneths) he is aduertised fully of whatsoever thing happeneth therein. Before that wee doe come to *Cincoo*, we haue to passe through many places, and some of great importance. For this Countrey is so well inhabited neere the Sea side, that 20 you cannot goe one myle but you shall see some Towne, Borough, or Hostrie, the which are so abundantly provided of all things, that in the Cities and Townes they liue ciuilly. Neuerthelesse, such as dwell abroad are very poore, for the multitude of them euery where so great, that out of a Tree you shall see many times swarme a number of Children, where a man would not haue thought to haue found any one at all.

From these places in number infinite, you shall come vnto two Cities very populous, and being compared with *Cincoo*, not possibly to bee discerned which is the greater of them. These Cities are as well walled as any Cities in all the world. As you come into either of them, standeth so great and mightie a Bridge, that the like thereof I haue neuer seene in *Portugall*, nor else 30 where. I heard one of my fellowes say, that he told in one Bridge fortie Arches. The occasion wherefore these Bridges are made so great, is for that the Country is toward the Sea very plaine and low, and ouerwhelmed euer as the Sea-water encreaseth. The breadth of the Bridges, although it be well proportioned vnto the length thereof, yet are they equally built, no higher in the middle than at either end, in such wise that you may directly see from the one end to the other, the sides are wonderfully well engraued after the manner of *Rome* workes. But that wee did most maruell at, was therewithall the hugeness of the stones, the like wherof, as we came into the City, we did see many set vp in places dishabited by the way, to no small charges of theirs, howbeit to little purpose, wheras no body seeth them but such as do come by. The Arches are not made after our fashion, vaulted with sundry stones set together: but pauered, as it were, whole stones 40 reaching from one Pillar to another, in such wise that they lie both for the Arches heads, & gallantly serue also for the high-way. I haue been astonied to behold the hugeness of these aforelaid stones, some of them are twelue paces long and vpward, the least eleuen good paces long, and an halfe. The wayes each where are gallantly pauered with foure-square Stone, except it be where for want of Stone they vse to lay Bricke: in this voyage we trauelled ouer certaine Hills, where the wayes were pitched, and in many places no worse pauered than in the plaine ground.

The Countrey is so well inhabited, that no one foot of ground is left vntilled: small store of cattell haue we seene this way, we saw onely certaine Oxen wherewithall the countrey-men doe plough their ground. One Oxe draweth the Plough alone, not onely in this Shire, but in other places also, wherein is greater store of cattell. These countrey-men by art doe that in tillage, which we are constrained to doe by force. Here be sold the voydings of Close-stooles, although there wanteth not the dung of beasts: and the excrements of man are good marchandise throughout all *China*. The Dung-farmers seeke in euery street by exchange to buy their durty ware for Hearbs and Wood. The custome is very good for keeping the Citie cleane. There is great abundance of Hennes, Geese, Duckes, Swine, and Goates, Wethers haue they none: the Hennes are sold by weight, and so are all other things. Two pound of Hennes flesh, Goose, or Ducke, is worth two Foi of their money, that is, three halfe pence. Swines flesh is sold at a peny the pound. Beeffe beareth the same price, for the scarcitie thereof, howbeit Northward from *Fuquico*, and further from the Sea coast, there is Beeffe more plentie, and sold better cheape, Beeffe onely excepted, great abundance of all these Viands wee haue had in all the Cities wee passed through. And if this Countrey were like vnto *India*, the Inhabitants wherof eate neither Hen, 60 Beeffe, nor Porke, but keepe that onely for the *Portugals* and *Moore*s, they would bee sold here for nothing. But it so falling out that the *Chineans* are the greatest eaters in all the world, they doe feed vpon all things, specially vpon Porke, the fatter that is vnto them, the lesse lothsome. The highest price of these things aforelaid, I haue set downe, better cheape shall you sometimes buy

*You shal haue a more full description of the Countrey by later Authors: who yet could not so well as this, tell their iudiciall proceedings, sentence, prisons, executions, &c. these 13. are to be vnderstood besides the two royall Prouinces.

Pachin, *Pochang*, or *Paquin*, or *Pequim*.

**Cambalu* signifieth the same, and so the *Mogolls* call this Citie.

Poste Horles. Their moneths. Excellent wals and an admirable bridge.

Magnificent stones.

Wayes pauered, bricked, or pitched.

Culture and husbandry.

buy them for the great plentie thereof in this Countrey. Frogs are sold at the same price that is made of Hennes, and are good meat amongst them, as also Dogs, Cats, Rats, Snakes, and all other vncleane meates.

Building of
the Cities.

No Artillerie.
Large streets.

Archers.

Loutea.

Chian, al. Chaen.

Ponchiaffi.

Anchiaffi.
al. Hexafi.
Tuzi.
Taisfu.

Prisons and
sentencing
offenders.

Loutea Com-
mencement of
Act.

The Cities be very gallant, specially neere vnto the Gates, the which are maruellously great, and couered with Iron. The Gate-houses built on high with Towers, the lower part thereof is made of Bricke and Stone, proportionally with the walls, from the walls vpward, the building is of Timber, and many stories in it one aboue the other. The strength of their Townes is in the mightie Walls and Ditches; Artillery haue they none. The streets in *Cinceo*, and in all the rest of the Cities wee haue seene are very faire, so large and so straight that it is wonderfull to behold. Their houses are built with Timber, the foundations onely excepted, the which are laid with Stone, in each side of the streets are painteses, or continuall Porches for the Marchants to walke vnder: the breadth of the street is neuertheless such, that in them fiftene men may ride commodiously side by side. As they ride they must needs passe vnder many high Arches of triumph, that crosse ouer the streets made of Timber, and carued diuersly, couered with Tile of fine Clay: vnder these arches the Mercers do vtter their smaller wares, and such as list to stand there are defenced from raine, and the heat of the Sunne. The greater Gentlemen haue these Arches at their doores: although some of them be not so mightily built as the rest.

I shall haue occasion to speake of a certaine order of Gentlemen, that are called *Loutea*, I will first therefore expound what this word signifieth. *Loutea*, is as much to say in our language as *Sir*, and when any of them calleth his name, he answereth, *Sir*. The manner how Gentlemen are created *Louteas*, & do come to that honour and title, is by giuing a broad Girdle not like to the rest, and a Cap, at the commandement of the King. The name *Loutea* is more generall and common vnto moe, than equalitie of honour thereby signified, agreeth withall. Such *Louteas* that doe serue their Prince in weightie matters for iustice, are created after triall made of their learning: but the other which serue in smaller affaires, as Capitaines, Constables, Sergeants by Land and Sea, Receiuers, and such like, whereof there be in euery Citie, as also in this, very many are made for fauour: the chiefe *Louteas* are serued kneeling.

The whole Prouince *China* is diuided, as I haue said, into thirteene Shires, in euery Shire at the least is one Gouvernour, called there *Tutan*, in some Shires there be two. Chiefe in office next vnto them be certaine other named *Chians*, that is, high Commissioners, as you would say, or Visi-
ters, with full authoritie in such wise, that they doe call vnto an account the *Tutanes* themselves, but their authoritie lasteth not in any Shire longer than one yeere. Neuertheless, in euery Shire, being at the least seuen Cities, yea, in some of them fiftene or sixteene, besides other Boroughs and Townes, not well to be numbred, these Visi-
ters where they come, are so honoured and feared, as though they were some great Princes. At the yeeres end their circuit done, they come vnto that City which is chiefe of others in the Shire, to doe Iustice there: finally, busying themselves in the searching out of such as are to receiue the order of *Louteas*, whereof more shall be said in another place.

Ouer and besides these officers in the chiefe Citie of each one of these aforesaid thirteene Prouinces, is resident one *Ponchiaffi*, Captaine thereof, and Treasurer of all the Kings reuenues. This Magistrate maketh his abode in one of the foure greatest houses that be in all these head Cities. In the second great house dwelleth another Magistrate, called *Anchiaffi*, a great officer also, for he hath dealings in all matters of Iustice. *Tuzi*, another officer so called, lieth in the third house, a Magistrate of importance, specially in things belonging vnto warfare, for thereof hath hee charge. There is resident in the fourth house a fourth Officer, bearing name *Taisfu*. In this house is the principall prison of all the Citie. Each one of these Magistrates aforesaid may both lay euill doers in prison, and deliuer them out againe, except the fact bee heynous and of importance: in such a case they can doe nothing, except they doe meet altogether. And if the deed deserue death, all they together cannot determine thereof, without recourse made vnto the *Chian* wherefoeuer he be, or to the *Tutan*: and eftsoones it falleth out, that the case be referred vnto higher power.

In all Cities, not onely chiefe in each Shire, but in the rest also are meanes found to make *Louteas*. Many of them doe studie at the Prince his charges, wherefore at the yeeres end they resort vnto the head Cities, whither the *Chians* doe come, as it hath beene earst said, as well to giue these degrees, as to sit in iudgement ouer the prisoners.

The *Chians* goe in circuit euery yeere, but such as are to be chosen to the greatest offices, meet not but from three yeeres to three yeeres, and that in certain large halls appointed for them to be examined in. Many things are asked them, whereunto if they doe answer accordingly, and be found sufficient to take their degree, the *Chian* by and by granteth it them: but the Cap and Girdle whereby they are knowne to be *Louteas*, they weare not before that they bee confirmed by the King. Their examination done, and triall made of them, such as haue taken their degree wont to be giuen them with all Ceremonies, vse to banquet and feast many daies together (as the *Chineans* fashion is to end all their pleasures with eating and drinking) and so remaine chosen to doe the King seruice in matters of learning. The other examinated found insufficient to proceed, are sent backe to their studie againe. Whole ignorance is perceiued to come of negli-
gence

gence and default, such a one is whipped, and sometimes sent to prison, where wee lying that yeere when this kinde of Act was, wee found many thus punished, and demanding the cause thereof, they said it was for that they knew not how to answer vnto certaine things asked them.

It is a world to see how these *Loureas* are serued and feared, in such wise, that in publike assemblies at one strike they giue, all the seruitors belonging vnto Iustice, tremble thereat. At their being in these places, when they list to moue, be it but euen to the gate, these Seruitors doe take them vp, and carry them in seats of beaten Gold. After this sort are they borne when they goe in the Citie, either for their owne businesse abroad, or to see each other at home. For the dignity they haue, and office they doe beare, they be all accompanied: the very meane of them all that goeth in these seats is vsherred by two men at the least, that cry vnto the people to giue place, howbeit they need it not, for that reuerence the common people hath vnto them. They haue also in their company certaine Sergeants, with their Maces, either siluered, or altogether Siluer, some two, some foure, other six, other eight, conueniently for each one his degree. The more principall and chiefe *Loureas* haue going orderly before these Sergeants, many other with Staues, and a great many Catch-poles with Rods of *Indian* Canes dragged to the ground, so that the streets being paued, you may here a farre off, as well the noise of the Rods, as the voyce of the cryers. These fellows serue also to apprehend others, and the better to be knowne, they weare liuerie-red Girdles, and in their Caps Pecoocks Feathers. Behinde these *Loureas* come such as doe beare certaine Tables hanged at staues ends, wherein is written in Siluer letters the name, degree, and office of that *Lourea*, whom they follow. In like manner they haue borne after them Hats agreeable vnto their titles: if the *Lourea* bee meane, then hath he brought after him but one Hat, and that may not be yellow: but if hee be of better sort, then may hee haue two, three, or foure: the principall and chiefe *Loureas*, may haue all their Hats yellow, the which among them is accounted great honour. The *Lourea* for warres, although hee bee but meane, may notwithstanding haue yellow Hats. The *Tutanes* and *Chians*, when they goe abroad, haue besides all this before them led three or foure Horses, with their Guard in Armour.

Furthermore, the *Loureas*, yea, and all the people in *China*, are wont to eat their meat sitting on Stooles at high Tables as wee doe, and that very cleanly, although they vse neither Table-clothes nor Napkins. Whatsoever is set downe vpon the board is first carued, before that it be brought in: they feed with two Sticks, refraining from touching their meat with their hands, euen as we do with Forkes, for the which respect, they lesse doe need any Table-clothes. Neither is the Nation onely ciuill at meat, but also in conuersation and in courtesie they seeme to exceed all other. Likewise in their dealings, after their manner they are so readie, that they farre passe all other *Gentiles* and *Moors*: the greater States are so vaine, that they line their clothes with the best filke that may be found. The *Loureas* are an idle generation, without all manner of exercises and pastimes, except it be eating and drinking. Sometimes they walke abroad in the fields, to make the Souldiers shoot at Pricks with their Bowes, but their eating passeth: they will stand eating euen when the other doe draw to shoot. The Pricke is a great Blanket spread on certaine long Poles, he that striketh it, hath of the best man there standing a piece of *Crimson* Taffata, the which is knit about his head: in this sort the winner is honoured, and the *Loureas* with their bellies full, returne home againe.

The Inhabitants of *China*, bee very Idolaters, all generally doe worship the heauens: and as we are wont to say, *God knoweth it*: so say they at euery word, *Tien Tante*, that is to say, *The Heauens doe know it*. Some doe worship the Sunne, and some the Moone, as they thinke good, for none are bound more to one then to another. In their Temples, the which they doe call *Means*, they haue a great Altar in the same place as we haue, true it is, that one may goe round about it. There set they vp the Image of a certaine *Lourea* of that Countrey, whom they haue in great reuerence for certaine notable things he did. At the right hand standeth the *Deuill*, much more vgly painted then we doe vse to set him out, whereunto great homage is done by such as come into the Temple to aske counsell, or to draw lots: this opinion they haue of him, that he is malicious and able to doe euill. If you aske them what they doe thinke of the soules departed, they will answer, that they be immortall, and that as soone as any one departeth out of this life, he becommeth a *deuill*, if he haue liued well in this world, if otherwise, that the same *deuill* changeth him into a Busse, Ox, or Dog. Wherefore to this *Deuill* doe they much honour, to him do they sacrifice, praying him that he will make them like vnto himselfe, and not like other beasts. They haue moreouer another sort of Temples, wherein both vpon the Altars, and also on the walls doe stand many Idols well proportioned, but bare headed: These beare name *Omithoson*, accounted of them spirits, but such as in heauen doe neither good nor euill, thought to bee such men and women, as haue chafely liued in this world in abstinence from Fish and Flesh, fed only with Rice and Salates. Of that *Deuill* they make some account, for these spirits they care little or nothing at all. Againe, they hold opinion, that if a man doe well in this life, the heauens will giue him many temporall blessings, but if he doe euill, then shall he haue infirmities, diseases, troubles,

Their Maestrie.

Manner of eating.

We, that is, the Italians and Spaniards.

The manner of shooting.

Idolatrie.

Deuill most respected.

troubles, and penurie, and all this without any knowledge of God. Finally, this people knoweth no other thing then to live and die, yet because they be reasonable creatures, all seemed good unto them we spake in our language, though it were not very sufficient.

- Our manner of praying so well liked them, that in prison importunately they besought vs to write for them somewhat as concerning heaven, the which we did to their contentation, with such reasons as we knew, howbeit not very cunningly. As they doe their Idolatry they laugh at themselves. The greatest fault we doe finde in them is *Sodomie*, a vice very common in the meaner sort, and nothing strange amongst the best. Furthermore the *Loureas*, with all the people of *China*, are wont to solemnize the daies of the new and full Moones in visiting one each other, and making great banquets, for to that end, as I have said, doe tend all their pastimes and spending their daies in pleasure. They are wont also to solemnize each one his birth day, whereunto their kindred and friends doe resort of custome, with presents of Jewells or Money, receiving againe for their reward good cheere. They keepe in like manner a generall Feast, with great Banquets that day their King was borne. But their most principall and greatest Feast of all, and best cheare, is the first day of their new yeere, namely, the first day of the New Moone of *February*, so that their first moneth is *March*, and they reckon the times accordingly, respect being had unto the reigne of their Princes: as when any deed is written, they date it thus: Made such a day of such a Moone, and such a yeere of the raigne of such a King.
- Now will I speake of the manner the which the *Chineans* doe observe in doing Justice. Because the *Chinise* King maketh his abode continually in the City *Pachin*, his Kingdome so great, the shires so many, as before it hath beene said: in it therefore the Gouvernours and Rulers, much like unto our Sheriffes be so appointed suddenly, and speedily discharged againe, that they have no time to grow nought. Furthermore, to keepe the State in more securitie, the *Loureas* that governe one shire, are chosen out of some other shire distant farre off, where they must leaue their Wives, Children, and Goods, carrying nothing with them but themselves. True it is, that at their comming thither they doe find in a readinesse all things necessarie, their House, Furniture, Servants, and all other things in such perfection and plentie, that they want nothing. Thus King is well served without all feare of Treason.
- In the principall Cities of the shires be foure chiefe *Loureas*, before whom are brought all matters of the inferior Townes, throughout the whole Realme. Divers other *Loureas* have the managing of Justice, and receiving of Rents, bound to yeeld an account thereof unto the greater Officers. Other doe see that there be no euill rule kept in the Citie: each one as it behoueth him. Generally all these doe imprison Malefactors, cause them to be whipped and racked, hoyling them vp and downe by the armes with a cord, a thing very vsuall there, and accounted no shame. These *Loureas* doe vse great diligence in the apprehending of the Theeves, so that it is a wonder to see a Thiefe escape away in any Towne, Citie, or Village. Vpon the Sea neere vnto the shoare many are taken, and looke euen as they are taken, so be they first whipped, and afterward laid in Prison, where shortly after they all dye for hunger and cold. At that time, when we were in Prison, there dyed of them aboue threescore and ten. Their whips be certaine pieces of Canes, cleft in the middle, in such sort that they seeme rather plaine then sharpe. He that is to bee whipped, lyeth groueling on the ground. Vpon his thighes the Hangman layeth on blowes mightily with these Canes, that the standers by tremble at their crueltie. Tenne stripes draw a great deale of blood, twentie or thirtie spoyle the flesh altogether, fiftie or threescore will require long time to be healed, and if they cometo the number of one hundred, then are they incurable.
- The *Loureas* obserue moreouer this: when any man is brought before them to bee examined, they aske him openly in the hearing of as many as be present, be the offence neuer so great. Thus did they also behaue themselves with vs. For this cause amongst them can there be no false witness as daily amongst vs it falleth out. This good commeth thereof that many being alwayes about the Iudge to heare the Euidence, and beare witnesse, the Proesse cannot be falsified, as it hapneth sometimes with vs. The *Moors*, *Gentiles*, and *Jewes*, haue all their sundry Oathes, the *Moors* doe sweare by their *Mossafos*, the *Brachmans* by their *Fili*, the rest likewise by the things they doe worship. The *Chineans*, though they be wont to sweare by Heaven, by the Moone, by the Sunne, and by all their Idols, in judgement neuertheless they sweare not at all. If for some offence an Oath be vsed of any one, by and by with the least euidence hee is tormented; so be the Witnesses he bringeth, if they tell not the truth, or doe in any point disagree, except they be men of worship and credit, who are beleueed without any farther matter: the rest are made to confesse the truth by force of Torments and Whips. Besides this order obserued of them in Examinations, they doe feare so much their King, and he where he maketh his abode keepeth them so low, that they dare not once stirre. Againe, these *Loureas* as great as they be, notwithstanding the multitude of Notaries they haue, not trusting any others, doe write all great Processes and matters of importance themselves. Moreouer, one vertue they haue worthy of great praise, and that is, being men so well regarded and accounted of as though they were Princes, they be patient.

patient aboue measure in giuing audience. Wee poore strangers brought before them might say what we would, as all to be Lyes and Falaces that they did write, nor did we stand before them with the vsuall Ceremonies of that Countrey, yet did they beare with vs so patiently, that they caused vs to wonder, knowing specially how little any Aduocate or Iudge is wont in our Countrey to beare with vs. For wheresoeuer in any Towne of Christendome should bee accused vnknewne men as we were, I know not what end the very Innocents cause would haue: but wee in a Heathen Countrey, hauing our great Enemies two of the chiefeest men in a whole Towne, wanting an Interpreter, ignorant of that Countrey Language, did in the end see our great Aduersaries cast into Prison for our sake, and deprived of their Offices and Honour for not doing Iustice; yea, not to escape death, for as the rumour goeth, they shall bee beheaded.

Seuere Iustice.

Somewhat is now to be said of the Lawes that I haue bene able to know in this Countrey, and first, no Theft or Murther, is at any time pardoned: Adulterers are put in Prison, and the fact once proued, condemned to dye, the womans Husband must accuse them: this order is kept with men and women found in that fault, but Theeues and Murtherers are imprisoned as I haue said, where they shortly dye for hunger and cold. If any one haply escape by bribing the Iaylor to giue him meate, his Proesse goeth farther, and commeth to the Court where hee is condemned to dye. Sentence being giuen, the Prisoner is brought in publike with a terrible band of men that lay him in Irons hand and foot, with a board at his necke one handfull broad, in length reaching downe to his knees, cleft in two parts, and with a hole one handfull downe-ward in the Table fit for his necke, the which they enclose vp therein, nayling the board fast together, one handfull of the board standeth vp behind in the necke: the sentence and cause wherefore the felon was condemned to dye, is written in that part of the Table that standeth before. This Ceremonie ended, he is laid in a great Prison in the company of some other condemned persons, the which are found by the King as long as they doe liue. The board aforesaid so made tormenteth the Prisoners very much, keeping them both from the rest, and eke letting them to eate commodiously, their hands being maniced in Irons vnder that board, so that in fine there is no remedie but death. In the chiefe Cities of euery shire, as we haue before said, there be foure principall Houses, in each of them a Prisoner: but in one of them where the *Taitsu* maketh his abode, there a greater and a more principall Prison then in any of the rest: and although in euery Citie there be many, neuerthelesse in three of them remayne onely such as bee condemned to dye.

Lawes.

A Pillorie board.

Their death is much prolonged, for that ordinarily there is no execution done but once a yeere, though many dye for hunger and cold, as we haue scene in this Prison. Execution is done in this manner. The *Chian*, to wit the high Commissioner or Lord Chiefe Iustice, at the yeares end goeth to the head Citie, where hee heareth againe the causes of such as bee condemned. Many times he deliuereth some of them, declaring that board to haue bene wrongfully put about their neckes: the visitation ended, he chooseth out seuen or eight, not many more or lesse, of the greatest Malefactors, the which, to feare and keepe in awe the people, are brought into a great Market place, where all the great *Lousteas* meete together, and after many Ceremonies and Superstitions, as the vse of the Countrey is, are beheaded. This is done once a yeare: who so escapeth that day, may be sure that he shall not be put to death all that yeare following, and so remayneth at the Kings charges in the greater Prison. In that Prison where wee lay were alwayes one hundred and moe of these condemned persons, besides them that lay in other Prisons.

Execution.

These Prisons wherein the condemned captiues doe remayne are so strong, that it hath not bene heard, that any Prisoner in all *China* hath escaped out of Prison, for, indeed, it is a thing impossible. The Prisons are thus builded. First, all the place is mightily walled about, the wals be very strong and high, the gate of no lesse force: within it three other gates, before you come where the Prisoners doe lye, there many great Lodgings are to be scene of the *Lousteas*, *Notaries*, *Parthions*, that is, such as doe there keepe watch and ward day and night, the Court large and paved, on the one side whereof standeth a Prison, with two mighty gates, wherein are kept such Prisoners as haue committed enormous offences. This Prison is so great, that in it are streets and Market places wherein all things necessary are sold. Yea, some Prisoners liue by that kind of Trade, buying and selling, and letting out beds to hire: some are daily sent to Prison, some daily deliuered, wherefore this place is neuer voyd of seuen or eight hundred men that goe at libertie.

Strength of the Prisons.

Store of Prisoners.

Into one other Prison of condemned persons shall you goe at three Iron gates, the Court paved and vaulted round about, and open aboue as it were a Cloyster. In this Cloyster bee eight Roomes with Iron Doores, and in each of them a large Gallerie, wherein euery night the Prisoners doe lye at length, their feet in the stockes, their bodies hampered in huge wooden grates that keepe them from sitting, so that they lye as it were in a Cage, sleepe if they can: in the morning they are loosed againe, that they may goe into the Court. Notwithstanding the strength of this Prison, it is kept with a Garrison of men, part whereof watch within the House, part of them in the Court, some keepe about the Prison with Lanthornes, and Watch-bells, answering one another fve times euery night, and giuing warning so lowde, that the *Lousteas* resting in a Chamber not neere thereunto may heare them. In these Prisons of condemned persons remayne

some

some fiftene, other twentie yeares imprisoned, not executed, for the loue of their honourable Friends that seeke to prolong their liues. Many of these Prisoners bee Shoemakers, and haue from the King a certayne allowance of Rice: some of them worke for the Keeper, who suffereth them to goe at libertie without fetters and boards, the better to worke. Howbeit when the *Lourea* calleth his Checke Roll, and with the Keeper vieweth them, they all weare their Liuries, that is, boards at their neckes, Ironed hand and foote. When any of these Prisoners dyeth, he is to bee seene of the *Lourea* and *Notaries*, brought out at a gate so narrow, that there can but one be drawne out there at once. The Prisoner being brought forth, one of the afore-said *Partians*, striketh him thrice on the head with an Iron sledge, that done, hee is deliuered vnto his friends, if hee haue any, otherwise the King hireth men to carrie him to his buriall in the fields.

Course for
Debtors.

Thus Adulterers and Theeues are vsed. Such as be imprisoned for Debt once knowne, lye there vntill it be paid. The *Taiffu* or *Lourea* calleth them many times before him by the vertue of his Office, who vnderstanding the cause wherefore they doe not pay their Debts, appointeth them a certayne time to doe it, within the compasse whereof if they discharge not their Debts being Debtors indeed, then they be whipped and condemned to perpetuall Imprisonment: if the Creditors be many, and one is to be paid before another, they doe, contrary to our manner, pay him first, of whom they last borrowed, and so ordinarily the rest, in such sort that the first Lender be the last Receiuer. The same order is kept in paying Legacies: the last named, receiueth his portion first.

When I said that such as be committed to Prison for Theft, and Murther, were judged by the Court, I meant not them that were apprehended in the deed doing, for they need no tryall, but are brought immediately before the *Tutan*, who out of hand giueth sentence. Other not taken so openly, and doe need tryall, are the Malefactors put to execution once a yeare in the chiefe Cities, to keepe in awe the people: or condemned, doe remayne in Prison, looking for their day. Theeues being taken, are carried to Prison from one place to another in a Chest vpon mens shoulders, hired therefore by the King, the Chest is fixe handfuls high, the Prisoner sitteth therein vpon a bench, the couer of the Chest is two boards; amidst them both a Pillory-like hole, for the Prisoner his necke, there sitteth he with his head without the Chest, and the rest of his bodie within, not able to moue or turne his head this way or that way, nor to plucke it in: the necessities of nature he voideth at a hole in the bottome of the Chest, the meate he eateth is put into his mouth by others. There abideth he day and night during his whole Iourney: if happily his Porters stumble, or the Chest doe jogge, or be set downe carelessly, it turneth to his great paines that sitteth therein, all such motions being vnto him hanging as it were. Thus were our companions carried from *Cinco*, seuē dayes journey, neuer taking any rest as afterward they told vs, and their greatest grieve was to stay by the way: as soone as they came being taken out of the Chests, they were not able to stand on their feet, and two of them dyed shortly after.

Fuquico.

When we lay in prison at *Fuquico*, we came many times abroad, and were brought to the Palaces of Noble men, to be seene of them and their wiues, for that they had neuer seene any *Portugall* before. Many things they asked vs of our Countrey, and our fashions, and did write euery thing, for they be curious in nouelties aboue measure. The Gentlemen shew great curtesie vnto strangers, and so did we finde at their hands, and because that many times we were brought abroad into the Citie, somewhat will I say of such things as I did see therein, being a gallant Citie, and chiefe in one of the thirteene shires afore-said. The Citie *Fuquico*, is very great and mightily walled with square stone both within and without, and as it may seeme by the breadth thereof, filled vp in the middle with Earth, laid ouer with Bricke, and couered with Tyle, and after the manner of Porches or Galleries, that one might dwell therein. The stayres they vse, are so easily made, that one may goe them vp and downe a Horse-backe, as eftsoones they doe: the streets are paved, as alreadie it hath bene said: there bee a great number of Merchants, euery one hath written in a great Table at his doore such things as hee hath to sell. In like manner euery Artizan painteth out his craft: the Market places be large, great abundance of all things there be to be sold. The Citie standeth vpon water, many streames runne through it, the bankes pitched, and so broad that they serue for streets to the Cities vse. Over the streames are sundry Bridges both of Timber and Stone, that being made leuell with the streets, hinder not the passage of the Barges to and fro, the Channells are so deepe. Where the streames come in and goe out of the Citie, be certayne Arches in the Wall, there goe in and out their *Parais*; that is a kind of Barges they haue, and this onely in the day time: at night these Arches are closed vp with gates, so doe they shut vp all the gates of the Citie. These streames and Barges doe embellish much the Citie, and make it as it were to seeme another *Venice*. The buildings are euen, well made, high not lofted, except it be some wherein Merchandize is laid. It is a World to see how great these Cities are, and the cause is, for that the houses are built euen, as I haue said, and doe take a great deale of roome. One thing we saw in this Citie that made vs all to wonder, and is worthy to be noted: Namely, ouer a Porch at the comming into one of the afore-said fourē Houses, the which the King hath in euery shire for his Gouernours as I haue before said.

Paybi.

Another
Venice.

ſtandeth a Towre built vpon fortie Pillars, each one whereof is but one ſtone, each one fortie handfulls or ſpans long: in breadth or compaſſe twelue, as many of vs did meaſure them. Beſides this, their greatneſſe ſuch in one piece, that it might ſeeme impoſſible to worke them: they bee moreover couered, and in colour, length, and breath ſo like, that the one nothing differeth from the other.

Tower ſtanding on fortie Pillars, each of one ſtone.

Wee are wont to call this Countrey *China*, and the people *Chineans*, but as long as wee were Priſoners, not hearing amongſt them at any time that name, I determined to learne how they were called: and asked ſometimes by them thereof, for that they vnderſtood vs not when wee called them *Chineans*, I answered them, that all the Inhabitants of *India* named them *Chineans*, wherefore I prayed them that they would tell me, for what occaſion they are ſo called, whether peraduenture any Citie of theirs bare that name. Hereunto they alwayes answered me, to haue no ſuch name, nor euer to haue had. Then did I aſke them what name the whole Countrey beareth, and what they would answer being asked of other Nations what Countrey-men they were? It was told me, that of ancient time in this Countrey had bene many Kings, and though preſently it were all vnder one, each Kingdome neuertheleſſe enioyed that name it firſt had, theſe Kingdomes are the Prouinces I ſpake of before. In conſequence, they ſayd, that the whole Countrey is called *Tamen*, and the Inhabitants *Tamegines*, ſo that this name *China* or *Chineans*, is not heard of in that Countrey. I doe thinke that the neareneſſe of another Prouince thereabout called *Cochinchina*, and the inhabitants thereof *Cochineſſes*, firſt diſcouered before that *China* was, lying not farre from *Malacca*, did giue occaſion both to the one Nation and to the other of that name *Chineans*, as alſo the whole Countrey to bee named *China*. But their proper name is that aforeſaid.

Name of China

Tamen the proper name of China. Ta ſignifies Great, Magines is neere Polo's name of Man-gi; Great Man-gines.

Tables reuerenced.

I haue heard moreover, that in the Citie *Nanquim*, remaineth a Table of gold, and in it written a Kings name, as a memorie of that reſidence the Kings were wont to keepe there. This table ſtandeth in a great Palace, couered alwayes, except it bee in ſome of their feſtiuall dayes, at what time they are wont to let it bee ſeene: couered neuertheleſſe as it is, all the Nobilitie of the Citie goeth of dutie to doe it euery day reuerence. The like is done in the head Citie of all the other Shires, in the Palaces of the *Ponchiaſſini*, wherein theſe aforeſaid tables doe ſtand with the Kings name written in them, although no reuerence bee done thereunto but in ſolemne Feaſts.

I haue likewiſe vnderſtood that the Citie *Pachin*, where the King maketh his abode, is ſo great, that to goe from one ſide to the other, beſides the Suburbs, (which are greater then the Citie it ſelfe) it requireth one whole day a horſebacke, going hackney pace. In the Suburbs bee many wealthy Merchants of all ſorts. They told me furthermore, that it was Moted about, and in the Motes great ſtore of Fiſh, whereof the King maketh great gaynes. It was alſo told mee that the King of *China* had no King to wage battell withall, beſides the *Tartars*, with whom hee had concluded a peace more then foureſcore yeeres agoe.

Their enemies

There bee Hoſpitals in all their Citieſ, alwayes full of people, wee neuer ſaw any poore bodie beg. We therefore asked the cauſe of this: answered it was, that in euery Citie there is a great circuit, wherein bee many houſes for poore people, for Blinde, Lame, Old folke, not able to trauell for age, nor hauing any other meanes to liue. Theſe folke haue in the aforeſaid houſes, euery plenty of Rice during their liues, but nothing elſe. Such as bee receiued into theſe houſes, come in after this manner. When one is ſicke, blinde, or lame, hee maketh a ſupplication to the *Ponchiaſſi*, and prouing that to bee true he writeth, hee remaineth in the aforeſaid great lodging as long as he liueth: beſides this, they keepe in theſe places Swine and Hennes, whereby the poore bee releued without going a begging.

I ſayd before that *China* was full of Riuerſ, but now I minde to confirme the ſame anew: for the farther wee went into the Countrey, the greater we found the riuerſ. Sometimes we were ſo farre off from the Sea, that where wee came no Sea-fiſh had bene ſeene, and Salt was there very deare, of freſh-water Fiſh yet was there great abundance, and that fiſh very good: they keepe it good after this manner. Where the Riuerſ doe meete, and ſo paſſe into the Sea, there lieth great ſtore of Boates, ſpecially where no ſalt-water commeth, and that in March and Aprill. Theſe Boates are ſo many that it ſeemeth wonderfull, neither ſerue they for other then to take ſmall fiſh. By the riuerſ ſides they make leynes of fine and ſtrong Nets, that lye three handfulls vnder water, and one aboue, to keepe and nourish their Fiſh in, vntill ſuch time as other fiſhers doe come with Boates, bringing for that purpoſe certaine great Cheſts lyned with paper, able to hold water, wherein they carrie their fiſh vp and downe the riuer, euery day renewing the cheſt with freſh-water, and ſelling their fiſh in euery Citie, Towne, and Village, where they paſſe, vnto the people as they need it: moſt of them haue Net-leyres to keepe Fiſh in alwayes for their prouiſion. Where the greater Boates cannot paſſe any farther forward, they take leſſer, and becauſe the whole Countrey is very well watred, there is ſo great plenty of diuers ſorts of Fiſh, that it is wonderfull to ſee: aſſuredly, wee were amazed to behold the manner of their prouiſion. Their Fiſh is chiefly nourished with the dung of Buſſes and Oxen, that greatly fatteth it. Although I ſayd their fiſhing to bee in March and Aprill,

Store of riuerſ

Plentie of fiſh; and their keeping of them.

at what time wee saw them doe it, neuerthelesse they told vs that they fished at all times, for that vsually they doe feed on Fish, wherefore it behooueth them to make their provision continually.

He speaketh of
Fuquien-shire,
Quianci where
Porcelane is
made.

When wee had passed *Fuquien*, we went into *Quicen*-shire, where the fine Clay vessell is made, as I sayd before : and we came to a Citie, the one side whereof is built vpon the foote of a hill, whereby passeth a Riuer nauigable : there we tooke Boate, and went by water toward the Sea: on each side of the Riuer we found many Cities, Townes, and Villages, wherein we saw great store of Merchandise, but specially of fine clay : there did we land by the way to buy vituals and other necessaries. Going downe this riuer Southward, wee were glad that we drew neere vnto a warmer Countrey, from whence we had benee farre distant : this Countrey wee passed through in eight dayes, for our iourney lay downe the streame. Before that I doe say any thing of that Shire wee came into, I will first speake of the great Citie of *Quicin*, wherein alwayes remayneth a *Tutan*, that is a Gouvernour, as you haue seene, though some *Tutans* doe gouerne two or three Shires.

Alijs Cheuchi.
Great Riuer
and store of
Boates.

That *Tutan* that was condemned for our cause, of whom I spake before, was borne in this Countrey, but hee gouerned *Fuquien*-Shire : nothing it auayled him to bee so great an Officer. This Countrey is so great, that in many places where wee went, there had benee as yet no talke of his death, although he were executed a whole yeere before. At the Citie *Quanche* whither wee came, the riuer was so great that it seemed a sea, though it were so little where we tooke water, that wee needed small Boates. One day about nine of the clocke, beginning to row neare the walls with the streame, wee came at noone to a bridge made of many Barges, ouer-linked all together with two mightie chaynes. There stayed we vntill it was late, but wee saw not one goe either vp thereon or downe, except two *Lombia's* that about the going downe of the Sunne, came and set them downe there, the one in one side, the other on the other side. Then was the bridge opened in many places, and Barges both great and small to the number of fixe hundred began to passe : those that went vp the streame, at one place, such as came downe, at another. When all had thus shot the Bridge, then was it shut vp againe. Wee heard say that euery day they take this order in all principall places of Merchandise, for paying of the custome vnto the King, specially for Salt, whereof the greatest reuenues are made that the King hath in this Countrey. The passages of the bridge where it is opened, bee so neere the shore, that nothing can passe without touching the same. To stay the Barges at their pleasure, that they goe no farther forward, are vsed certaine yron instruments. The Bridge consisteth of one hundred and twelue Barges, there stayed we vntill the Eeuening that they were opened, lothsomly oppressed by the multitude of people that came to see vs, so many in number, that we were enforced to goe aside from the banke vntill such time as the bridge was opened : howbeit, wee were neuerthelesse thronged about with many Boates full of people. And though in other Cities and places where we went, the people came so importunate vpon vs, that it was needfull to withdraw our selues : yet were wee heere much more molested for the number of people, and this bridge, the principall way out of the Citie vnto another place so well inhabited, that were it walled about, it might bee compared to the Citie. When we had shot the bridge, we kept along the Citie vntill that it was night, then met wee with another riuer that ioyned with this, we rowed vp that by the walls, vntill we came to another bridge gallantly made of Barges, but lesser a great deale then that other bridge ouer the greater streame : heere stayed we that night, and other two dayes with more quiet, being out of the prease of the people. These riuers doe meete without at one corner-point of the Citie. In either of them were so many Barges great and small, that wee all thought them at the least to bee about three thousand : the greater number thereof was in the lesser riuer, where we were. Amongst the rest, heere lay certaine greater vessels, called in their language *Parai*, that serue for the *Tutan*, when hee taketh his voyage by other riuers that ioine with this, towards *Pachin*, where the King maketh his abode. Desirous to see those *Parai* we got into some of them, where we found some chambers set foorth with gilded Beds very richly, other furnished with tables and seates, and all other things so neate and in perfection, that it was wonderfull.

Bridge of 112.
Barges.

3000. Barges.

Parai, Barges
with faire
roomes.

Quiacim-Shire, as farre as I can perceiue, lyeth vpon the South. On that side we kept at our first entrie thereinto, traouelling not farre from the high mountaines we saw there. Asking what people dwelleth beyond those mountaines, it was told me that they bee *Theeues*, and men of a strange language. And because that vnto sundry places neere this Riuer, the mountaines doe approach, whence the people issuing downe, doe many times great harme, this order is taken at the entrie into *Quiacim*-Shire. To guard this Riuer whereon continually goe to and fro *Parai* great and small fraught with Salt, Fish powdered with pepper, and other necessaries for that Countrey : they doe lay in diuers places certaine *Parai*, and great Barges armed, wherein watch and ward is kept day and night in both sides of the Riuer, for the safetie of the passage, and securitie of such *Parai* as doe remayne there, though the traouellers neuer goe but many in company. In euery rode there bee at the least thirtie, in some two hundred men, as the passagere requireth.

This

This guard is kept vsually, vntill you come to the Citie *Onchio*, where continually the *Tutan* of this Shire, and eke of *Cantan*, maketh his abode. From that Citie vpward, where the riuer waxeth more narrow, and the passage more dangerous, there be alwayes armed one hundred and fiftie *Parai*, to accompany other vessels fraught with merchandise, and all this at the Kings charges. This seemed vnto me one of the strangest things I did see in this Countrey.

When wee lay at *Fuquien*, we did see certaine *Moores*, who knew so little of their sect, that they could say nothing else, but that *Mahomet* was a *Moore*, my father was a *Moore*, and I am a *Moore*, with some other words of their *Alcoran*, wherewithall, in abstinence from Swines flesh, they liue vntill the Deuill take them all. This when I saw, and being sure, that in many

Moores:

10 *Chinise* Cities the reliques of *Mahomet* are kept, as soone as wee came to the Citie where these fellowes bee, I informed my selfe of them, and learned the truth. These *Moores*, as they told me, in times past came in great Ships fraught with merchandise from *Pachin* ward, to a Port granted vnto them by the King, as hee is wont to all them that trafficke into this Countrey, where they being arriued at a little Towne standing in the hauens mouth, in time conuerted vnto their Sect the greatest *Loutea* there. When that *Loutea* with all his family was become *Moorish*, the rest began likewise to doe the same. In this part of *China* the people bee at libertie, every one to worship and follow what him liketh best. Wherefore no bodie tooke heed thereto, vntill such time as the *Moores* perceiuing that many followed them in superstition,

20 But all this Countrey men and women, choosing rather to forsake Father and Mother, then to leaue off eating of Porke, by no meanes would yeeld to that proclamation. For besides the great desire they all haue to eate that kind of meate, many of them doe liue thereby: and therefore the people complained vnto the Magistrates, accusing the *Moores* of a conspiracie pretended betwixt them and the *Loutea*, against their King. In this Countrey, as no suspicion, no not one trayterous word is long borne withall: so was the King speedily aduertised thereof, who gaue commandement out of hand that the aforesaid *Loutea* should bee put to death, and with him the *Moores* of most importance: the other to be layd first in Prison, and afterward to bee sent abroad into certaine Cities, where they remayned perpetuall slaues vnto the King. To this Citie came by hap men and women threescore and odde, who at this day are brought

30 to five men and foure women, for it is now twentie yeeres agoe this happened. Their offspring passeth the number of two hundred, and they in this Citie, as the rest in other Cities, whither they were sent, haue their *Moscheas*, whereunto they all resort euery Friday to keepe their Holiday. But, as I thinke, that will no longer endure, then whiles they doe liue, that came from thence, for their posteritie is so confused, that they haue nothing of a *Moore* in them, but abstinence from Swines-flesh, and yet many of them doe eate thereof priuily. They tell me that their natie Countrey hath name *Cumarian*, a firme land, wherein bee many Kings, and the *Indish* Countrey well knowne vnto them. It may so be: for as soone as they did see our seruants (our seruants were *Prenzaretas*) they iudged them to bee *Indians*: many of their words sounded vpon the *Persicke* tongue, but none of vs could vnderstand them. I asked them,

That is their Temples.

40 whether they conuerted any of the *Chinise* Nation vnto their Sect: they answered me, that with much adoe, they conuerted the women with whom they doe marrie, yeelding me no other cause thereof, but the difficultie they finde in them to bee brought from eating Swines-flesh, and drinking of Wine. I haue learned moreover, that the Sea whereby these *Moores* that came to *China* were wont to trauell, is a very great gulfe, that falleth into this Countrey out from *Tartaria* and *Persia*, leauing on the other side all the Countrey of *China*, and land of the *Mogorites*, drawing alwayes toward the South: and of all likelyhood it is euen so, because that these *Moores*, the which wee haue seene, bee rather browne then white, whereby they shew themselves to come from some warmer Countrey then *China* is, neere to *Pachin*, where the Riuer are frozen in the winter for cold, and many of them so vehemently, that Carts may passe ouer them.

It seemeth they came vp the riuer from the *Caspian* sea.

50 Wee did see in this Citie many *Tartars*, *Mogorites*, *Bremes*, and *Laoyes*, both men and women. The *Tartars* are men very white, good Horse-men, and Archers, confining with *China* on that side where *Pachin* standeth, separated from thence by great Mountaines that are betwixt these Kingdomes.ouer them bee certaine wayes to passe, and for both sides, Castles continually kept with Souldiers: in time past, the *Tartars* were wont alwayes to haue warres with the *Chineans*, but these fourescore yeeres past they were quiet, vntill the second yeere of our Imprisonment.

Ali. Auoina Tartars.

Mahie V'sent.

Mogores.

The *Mogores* bee in like manner white, and Heathen, wee are aduertised that of one side they border vpon these *Tartars*, and confine with the *Persicke Tartars* on the other side, whereof wee saw in them some tokens, as their manner of cloathes, and that kinde of Hat the *Saracens* doe weare. The *Moores* affirmed, that where the King lyeth, there bee many *Tartars* and *Mogorites*, that brought into *China* certaine Blewes of great value.

As for the *Bremes*, wee haue seene in this Citie *Chenchi* certaine men and women, amongst whom, there was one that came not long since, hauing as yet her hayre tyed vp after the *Persicke*

Bremes:

Southward
from *Chenchi*
to the Sea.

Aucins.

Chenchi.

gues fashions: this woman, and other moe with whom a blacke *Moore* damosell in our company had conference, and did vnderstand them well enough, had dwelt in *Peghu*. This new come woman, imagining that wee meant to make our abode in that Citie, bid vs to bee of good comfort, for that her Countrey was not distant from thence aboue fve dayes iourney, and that out of her Countrey, there lay a high way for vs home into our owne. Being asked the way, shee answered that the first three dayes the way lyeth ouer certaine great mountaines and wildernesse, afterward people to bee met withall againe. Thence two dayes iourney more to the *Bremes* Countrey. Wherefore I doe conclude, that *Chenchi* is one of the confines of this Kingdome, separated by certaine huge Mountaines, as it hath bene already sayd, that lye out towards the South. In the residue of these mountaines standeth the Prouince *Sian*, the *Laoyns* Countrey, *Cambaja*, *Chinapa*, and *Cochinchina*.

This Citie, chiefe of other sixteene, is situated in a pleasant Playne, abounding in things necessarie, Sea-fish onely excepted, for it standeth farre from the Sea: of fresh Fish so much store, that the Market-places are neuer emptie. The walls of this Citie are very strong and high: one day did I see the *Loutea* thereof goe vpon the walls, to take the view thereof, borne in their seates I spake of before, accompanied with a troupe of Horse-men, that went two and two: It was told me they might haue gone three and three. Wee haue seene moreover, that within this aforesaid Citie the King hath more than a thousand of his kindred lodged in great Palaces, in diuers parts of the Citie: their gates bee red, and the entrie into their houses, that they may be knowne, for that is the Kings colour. These Gentlemen, according to their nearenesse in blood vnto the King, as soone as they bee married, receiue their place in Honour: this place neither encreaseth nor diminisheth in any respect, as long as the King liueth, the King appointeth them their Wiues and Familie, allowing them by the moneth all things necessarie abundantly, as hee doth to his Gouvernours of Shires and Cities, howbeit, not one of these hath as long as hee liueth, any charge or government at all. They giue themselves to eating and drinking, and bee for the most part burley men of bodie, insomuch that espying any one of them, whom wee had not seene before, wee might know him to bee the Kings Cousin. They bee neuertheless very pleasant, courteous, and fayre conditioned: neither did wee finde, all the time we were in that Citie, so much honour and good entertainment any where, as at their hands. They bid vs to their houses, to eate and drinke, and when they found vs not, or wee were not willing to goe with them, they bid our seruants, and slaues, causing them to sit downe with the first. Notwithstanding the good lodging these Gentlemen haue so commodious that they want nothing, yet are they in this bondage, that during life they neuer goe abroad. The cause, as I did vnderstand, wherefore the King so vseth his Cousins, is that none of them at any time may rebell against him: and thus bee shutteth them vp in three or foure other Cities. Most of them can play on the Lute: and to make that kinde of pastime peculiar vnto them onely, all other in the Cities where they doe liue, bee forbidden that Instrument, the Curtizans and blinde folke onely excepted, who bee Musicians, and can play.

No Lords but
of the blood
royall.

This King furthermore, for the greater securitie of his Realme, and the auoyding of tumults, letteth not one in all his Countrey to bee called *Lord*, except hee be of his blood. Many great Estates and Gouvernours there be, that during their office are lodged Lord-like, and doe beare the port of mightie Princes: but they bee so many times displaced, and other placed anew, that they haue not the while to become corrupt. True it is, that during their Office they be well provided for, as afterward, also lodged at the Kings charges, and in pension as long as they liue, payed them monethly in the Cities where they dwell, by certaine officers appointed for that purpose. The King then is a Lord onely, not one besides him as you haue seene, except it bee such as be of his blood. A Nephew likewise of the King, the Kings Sisters sonne, lyeth continually within the walls of the Citie, in a strong Palace built Castle-wise, even as his others Cousins doe, remayning alwayes within doores, serued by Eunuches, neuer dealing with any matters. Their festiuall dayes, new Moones, and full Moones, the Magistrates make great banquets, and so doe such as bee of the Kings blood. The King his Nephew, hath name *Van-fuh*, his Palace is walled about, the wall is not high, but foure square, and in circuit nothing inferiour to the walls of *Goa*, the out-side is painted red, in euery square a Gate, and ouer each gate a Tower, made of timber excellently well wrought: before the principall Gate of the foure, that openeth into the high-street, no *Loutea*, bee he neuer so great, may passe on horse-backe, or carried in his seate. Amidst this quadrangle, standeth the Palace where that Gentleman lyeth, doubtlesse, worth the sight, although wee came not in to see it. By report the roofes of the towers and house, are glased greene, the greater part of the Quadrangle set with sauage Trees, as Oakes, Chesnuts, Cypresses, Pine-apples, Cedars, and other such like that wee doe want, after the manner of a Wood, wherein are kept Stagges, Oxen, and other beasts, for that Lord his recreation neuer going abroad, as I haue said.

One preheminance this Citie hath aboue the rest where wee haue bene, and it of right as we doe thinke, that besides the multitude of Market-places, wherein all things are to bee fold,

fold, through every streete continually are cryed all things necessarie, as Flesh of all sorts, fresh-
 Fish, Hearbes, Oyle, Vineger, Meale, Rice, *In summa*, all things so plentifully, that many
 houses need no seruants, euerie thing being brought to their doores. Most part of the Mer-
 chants remayne in the Suburbs, for that the Cities are shut vp every night, as I haue sayd.
 The Merchants therefore, the better to attend their businesse, doe choose rather to make their
 abode without in the Suburbs, then within the Citie. I haue seene in this Riuer a pretie kinde
 of Fishing, not to bee omitted in my opinion, and therefore will I set it downe. The King
 hath in many riuers good store of Barges full of Sea-crowes, that breed, are fed, and doe dye
 therein, in certaine Cages, allowed monethly a certaine prouision of Rice. These Barges the
 King bestoweth vpon his greatest Magistrates, giuing to some two, to some three of them,
 as hee thinketh good, to Fish therewithall after this manner. At the houre appointed to Fish,
 all the Barges are brought together in a circle, where the Riuer is shallow, and the Crowes
 tyed together vnder the wings, are let leape downe into the water, some vnder, some a-
 boue, worth the looking vpon: each one as hee hath filled his bagge, goeth to his owne
 Barge and emptieth it, which done, hee returneth to fish againe. Thus hauing
 taken good store of Fish, they set the Crowes at libertie, and doe suffer
 them to fish for their owne pleasure. There were in that
 Citie, where I was, twentie Barges at the least, of
 these aforesaid Crowes. I went almost
 every day to see them,
 yet could I neuer bee thoroughly satisfied
 to see so strange a kinde
 of Fishing.

(..)

T 3

Fishing with
 Cormorants,
 they tie their
 gorges, that
 they swallow
 not their prey.
 One hath pra-
 ctised this in
 London.



PEREGRINATIONS,
VOYAGES, DISCOVERIES,
OF CHINA, TARTARIA, RUSSIA,
AND OTHER THE NORTH AND
EAST PARTS OF THE WORLD,

By English-men, and others.

THE SECOND BOOKE.

CHAP. I.

*The beginning of English Discoveries towards the North, and North-east,
by Sir HUGH WILLOUGHBY, RICHARD CHANCELLOR, and others; of the Muscouie Trade, as also Voyages by Russia, over the Caspian Sea, and thorow
diuers Regions of Tartaria.*

§. I.

*The first Voyage for Discoverie with three ships, set forth vnder the charge of
Sir HUGH WILLOUGHBY Knight, in which he died; and
Moscouia was discovered by Captaine
CHANCELLOR.*



IN the yeere of our Lord 1553. the seventh of the Raigne of King Edward the sixth of famous memorie, Sebastian Cabota was Gouvernour of the Mysterie and Companie of the Merchants Adventurers for the discoverie of Regions, Dominions, Islands, and places unknowne. Certaine instructions were agreed on by him and the said Companie, subscribed by Master Cabota, the ninth of May; the Kings Letters also procured vnto remote Princes in diuers languages, and a fleet of three Ships set forth at that time vnder the command of Sir Hugh Wil-
loughby Knight, Captaine generall, which went, in the *Bona Esperanza* Admirall, a ship of an hundred and twenty tunnes, hauing with her a Pinnace and a Boat: *William Gefferson* was Master of the said ship. The *Edward Bonaventure* was of an

Seb. Cabotâ.

See the parti-
culars in Ma-
ster Hackluyts
printed Voya-
ges; Tom. 1.

hundred and sixty tunnes, and had with her a Pinnace and a Boat, in which went *Richard Chancellor*, Captaine and Pilot Maior of the fleet, and *Stephen Burrough* Master. The *Bona Confidentia* of ninety tunnes, had with her a Pinnace and a Boat, of which *Cornelius Durfoorth* was Master.

The

The first Voyage.

* This discourse was found written in the *Speranza* which wintered a *Arzina*, where all the Companie were frozen to death.

Rost Ilands.

Stanfew harbour.

Lofoot.

August.

Seynam in 70. degrees.

The *Edward* lost, or rather these two lost; and the *Edward* found and entred the Bay of Saint Nicolas.

Willoughby his Land, in 72. degrees.

The Captaines and Masters were sworne to doe their true intent, and the ships provided of necessaries set forth on the tenth of May, 1553. for the discoverie of *Cathay*, and diuers other Regions, Dominions, Ilands, and places vnknowne. The fourteenth of Iuly they discovered Land Eastward, and went on shoare with their Pinnace, and found thirty little houses, the Inhabitants fled. The Land was full of little Ilands, called as they after learned, *Egeland* and *Halgeland*, in 66. degrees. The distance betweene *Orfordnesse* and *Egeland* two hundred and fifty leagues. Then we sayled from thence twelue leagues North-west, and found many other Ilands, and there came to anchor the nineteenth day, and manned our Pinnace, and went on shoare to the Ilands, and found people mowing and making of Hay, which came to the shoare and welcomed vs. In which place were an innumerable sort of Ilands, which were called the Iles of *Rost*, being vnder the Dominion of the King of *Denmarke*: which place was in latitude 66. degrees and 30. minutes. The winde being contrarie, we remayned there three dayes, and there was an innumerable sort of Fowles of diuers kindes, of which we tooke very many.

The two and twentieth day, the winde comming faire, wee departed from *Rost*, sayling North North-east, keeping the Sea vntill the seuen and twentieth day, and then we drew neere vnto the Land, which was still East off vs: then went forth our Pinnace to seeke harbour, and found many good harbours, of the which we entred into one with our ships, which was called *Stanfew*, and the Land being Ilands, were called, *Lewfoot*, or *Lofoot*, which were plentifully inhabited, and very gentle people, being also vnder the King of *Denmarke*: but wee could not learne how farre it was from the mayne Land: and we remayned there vntill the thirtieth day, being in latitude 68. degrees, and from the foresaid *Rost* about thirtie leagues North North-east.

The thirtieth day of Iuly about noone, wee weighed our anchors, and went into the Seas, and sayled along these Ilands North North-east, keeping the Land still in sight vntill the second of August: then hailing in close aboard the Land, to the intent to know what Land it was, there came a Skiffe of the Iland aboard of vs, of whom wee asked many questions, who shewed vnto vs, that the Iland was called *Seynam*, which is the latitude of seuentie degrees, and from *Stanfew* thirty leagues, being also vnder the King of *Denmark*, & that there was no merchandise there, but only dried fish, and Trane-oile. Then we being purposed to goe vnto *Finmarke*, enquired of him, if we might haue a Pilot to bring vs to *Finmarke*, and he said, that if we could beare in, we should haue a good Harbour, and on the next day a Pilot to bring vs to *Finmarke*, vnto the Ward-house, which is the strongest Hold in *Finmark*, & most resorted to by report. But when he would haue entred into an Harbour, the Land being very high on euery side, there came such flawes of wind and terrible whirle-winds, that we were not able to beare in, but by violence were constrained to take the sea againe, our Pinnace being vnshipt: we sailed North and by East, the wind encreasing so fore, that we were not able to beare any sayle, but tooke them in, and lay adrift, to the end to let the storme ouer-passe. And that night by violence of winde, and thickeesse of mists, we were not able to keepe together within sight, and then about midnight wee lost our Pinnace, which was a discomfort vnto vs. As soone as it was day, and the fogge ouer-past, we looked about, and at the last wee descried one of our ships to lee-ward off vs: then wee spred an hullocke of our fore-sayle, and bare roome with her, which was the *Confidence*, but the *Edward* we could not see. Then the flaw something abating, wee and the *Confidence* hoysed vp our sayles the fourth day, sayling North-east and by North, to the end to fall with the Ward-house, as we did consult to doe before, in case we should part companie. Thus running North-east and by North, and North-east fifty leagues, then wee sounded, and had one hundred and sixty fathoms, whereby we thought to be farre from Land, and perceiued that the Land lay not as the Globe made mention. Wherefore we changed our course the sixth day, and sayled South-east and by South, eight and forty leagues, thinking thereby to finde the Ward-house.

The eighth day much winde rising at the West North-west, we not knowing how the coast lay, strooke our sayles, and lay adrift, where sounded and found one hundred and sixty fathoms as before. The ninth day, the winde bearing to the South South-east, we sayled North-east five and twenty leagues. The tenth day we sounded, and could get no ground, neither yet could see any Land, whereat we wondered: then the winde comming at the North-east, we ran South-east about eight and forty leagues. The eleuenth day the winde being at South, wee sounded and found forty fathoms, and faire sand. The twelfth day, the winde being at South and by East, we lay with our sayle East, and East and by North thirty leagues.

The fourteenth day early in the morning wee descried Land, which Land wee bare withall, hoysing out our Boat to discover what land it might be: but the Boat could not come to Land, the water was so shallow, where was very much Ice also, but there was no similitude of habitation, and this Land lieth from *Seynam* East and by North, one hundred and sixty leagues, being in latitude 72. degrees. Then we plyed to the Northward, the fifteenth, sixteenth, and seuenteenth dayes.

The eighteenth day, the winde comming at the North-east, and the *Confidence* being troubled with bilge water, and stocked, wee thought it good to seeke harbour for her redresse: then wee bare roome the eighteenth day South South-east, about seuentie leagues. The one and

and twentieth day wee sounded, and found ten fathoms, after that wee sounded againe, and found but seven fathoms, so shallower and shallower water, and yet could see no Land, whereat we marvelled greatly: to auoide this danger, we bare roomer into the Sea all that night North-west and by West.

The next day we sounded, and had twenty fathoms, then shaped our course, and ranne West South-west vntill the three and twentieth day: then we descried lowe Land, vnto which wee bare as nigh as we could, and it appeared vnto vs vnhabitable. Then we plyed Westward along by that Land, which lieth West South-west, and East North-east, and much winde blowing at the West, we haled into the Sea North and by East thirtie leagues. Then the winde comming about at the North-east, wee sayled West North-west: after that, the winde bearing to the North-west, wee lay with our sayles West South-west, about fourteene leagues, and then descried Land, and bare in with it, being the eight and twentieth day, finding shallow water, and bare in till we came to three fathom, then perceiuing it to be shallow water, and also seeing drie sands, we haled out againe North-east along that Land, vntill we came to the point thereof. That Land turning to the Westward, we ranne along sixteene leagues North-west: then comming into a faire Bay, we went on Land with our Boat, which place was vninhabited, but yet it appeared vnto vs that the people had bene there, by crosses, and other signes: from thence we went all along the coast Westward.

The fourth day of September we lost sight of Land, by reason of contrarie windes, and the eighth day we descried Land againe. Within two dayes after we lost the sight of it: then running West and by South about thirtie leagues, we gat the sight of Land againe, and bare in with it vntill night: then perceiuing it to bee a lee shoare, we gat vs into the Sea, to the end to haue Sea roomer. The twelfth of September wee haled to shoare-ward againe, hauing then indifferent winde and weather: then being neere vnto the shoare, and the tide almost spent, wee came to an anchor in thirtie fathoms water. The thirteenth day we came along the coast, which lay North-west and by West, and South-east and by East. The fourteenth day we came to an anchor within two leagues off the shoare, hauing sixtie fathoms. There wee went ashore with our Boat, and found two or three good Harbours, the Land being rocky, and high, but as for people could we see none. The fifteenth day we ran still along the coast vntill the seuenteenth day: then the winde being contrarie vnto vs, we thought it best to returne vnto the Harbour which we had found before, and so we bare roomer with the same, howbeit wee could not accomplish our desire that day. The next day being the eighteenth, we entred into the Hauen, and there came to an anchor at six fathoms, This Hauen runneth into the Mayne, about two leagues, and is in bredth halfe a league, wherein were very many Seale-fishes, and other great fishes, and vpon the Mayne wee saw Beares, great Deere, Foxes, and diuers strange beasts, as * Guloines, * Or, Ellons, and such other which were to vs vnknowne, and also wonderfull. Thus remayning in this Hauen the space of a weeke, seeing the yeere farre spent, and also very euill weather, as Frost, Snow, and Hayle, as though it had bene the deepe of Winter, wee thought best to winter there. Wherefore we sent out three men South South-west, to search if they could finde people, who went three dayes iourney, but could finde none: after that, we sent other three Westward foure dayes iourney, which also returned without finding any people. Then sent we three men South-east three dayes iourney, who in like sort returned without finding of people, or any similitude of habitation.

In this Hauen they died.

* Or, Ellons:

Heere endeth Sir Hugh Willoughby his note, which was written with his owne hand.

The River or Hauen wherein Sir Hugh Willoughby with the companie of his two ships perished for cold, is called *Arzina in Lapland*, neere vnto *Kegor*. But it appeareth by a Will found in a ship that Sir Hugh Willoughby, and most of the companie were aliue in January, 1554.

A Letter of RICHARD CHANCELLOR, written to his Vncle Master CHRISTOPHER FROTHINGAM, touching his discouerie of *Moscouia*.

Forasmuch as it is meet and necessarie for all those that minde to take in hand the tranell into strange Countries, to endeauour themselves not onely to vnderstand the orders, commodities, and fruitfulness thereof, but also to apply them to the setting forth of the same, whereby it may encourage others to the like tranell: therefore haue I now thought good to make a brieue rehearfall of the orders of this my tranell in Russia, and Muscouia, and other Countries thereunto adioyning; because it was my chance to fall with the North parts of Russia, before I came towards Moscouia, I will partly declare my knowledge therein. Russia is very plentifull both of Land and People, and also wealthie for such commodities as they haue. They be very great fishers for Salmones and small Cods: they haue much Oyle which wee call Trane Oyle, the most whereof is made by a River called Duina. They make it in other places, but not so much as there. They haue also a great trade in seething of salt water. To the North part of that Countrey are the places where they haue their Furs, as Sables, Martens, greeffe Beuers, Foxes white, blacke, and red, Minkes, Ermines, Miniver, and Harts. There are also a fishes teeth, which fish is called

Duina.

Note.

called a Morffe. The takers thereof dwell in a place called Postefora, which bring them upon Harts to Lampas to sell, and from Lampas carrie them to a place called Colmogro, where the high Market is holden on Saint Nicolas day. To the West of Colmogro there is a place called Gratanoue, in our language Nouogorode, where much fine Flaxe and Hempe groweth, and also much Waxe and Honie. The Dutch Merchants haue a Staple-house there. There is also great store of Hides, and at a place called Plesco: and thereabout is great store of Flaxe, Hempe, Waxe, Honie; and that Towne is from Colmogro one hundred and twentie miles.

Vologda.

There is a place called Vologda; the commodities whereof are Tallow, Waxe, and Flaxe: but not so great plentie as is in Gratanoue. From Vologda to Colmogro there runneth a Riuer called Duina, and from thence it falleth into the Sea. Colmogro serueth Gratanoue, Vologda, and the Mosco, with all the Countrey thereabout with Salt and salt Fish. From Vologda to Ierellaue is two hundred miles: which Towne is very great. The commodities thereof are Hides, and Tallow, and Corne in great plentie, and some Waxe, but not so plentifull as in other places.

Ierellaue.

The Mosco is from Ierellaue two hundred miles. The Countrey betwixt them is very well replenished with small Villages, which are so well filled with people, that it is wonder to see them: the ground is well stored with Corne, which they carrie to the Citie of Mosco in such abundance that it is wonder to see it. You shall meet in a morning seven or eight hundred Sleds comming or going thither, that carrie Corne, and some carrie fish. You shall haue some that carrie Corne to the Moteo, and some that fetch Corne from thence, that at the least dwell a thousand miles off: and all their carriage is on Sleds. Those which come so farre dwell in the North parts of the Dukes Dominions, where the cold will suffer no Corne to grow, it is so extreme. They bring thither Fishes, Furrer, and Beasts skinned. In those parts they haue but small store of Cattell.

Mosco.

The Mosco it selfe is great: I take the whole Towne to be greater then London with the Suburbes: but it is very rude, and standeth without all order. Their houses are all of timber very dangerous for fire. There is a faire Castle, the walls whereof are of bricke, and very high: they say they are eightene foot thicke, but I doe not beleue it, it doth not so seeme; notwithstanding, I doe not certainly know it: for no stranger may come to view it. The one side is ditched, and on the other side runneth a Riuer, called Moscuia, which runneth into Tartarie, and so into the Sea, called Mare Caspium: and on the North side there is a base Towne, the which hath also a Bricke wall about it, and so it ioyneth with the Castle wall. The Emperour lieth in the Castle, wherein are nine faire Churches, and therein are Religious men. Also there is a Metropolitan with diuers Bishops, I will not stand in description of their buildings, nor of the strength thereof, because we haue better in all points in England. They be well furnished with Ordnance of all sorts.

The Castle.

The Emperours or Dukes house neither in building nor in the outward shew, nor yet within the house is so sumptuous as I haue seene. It is very lowe built in eight square, much like the old building of England, with small windowes, and so in other points.

Hee commeth before the Duke.

Now to declare my comming before his Maiestie: After I had remayned twelue dayes, the Secretarie which hath the hearing of strangers did send for mee, aduertising me that the Dukes pleasure was to haue me to come before his Maiestie, with the King my Masters Letters: whereof I was right glad, and so I gaue mine attendance. And when the Duke was in his place appointed, the Interpreter came for mee into the outer Chamber, where sate one hundred or moe Gentlemen, all in closh of Gold very sumptuous, and from thence I came into the Counsell-chamber, where sate the Duke himselfe, with his Nobles, which were a faire companie: they sate round about the Chamber on high, yet so that he himselfe sate much higher then any of his Nobles, in a Chaire gilt, and in a long garment of beaten Gold, with an Imperiall Crowne vpon his head, and a Staffe of Crystall and Gold in his right hand, and his other hand halfe leaning on his Chaire. The Chancellour stood up with the Secretarie before the Duke. After my dutie done, and my Letter deliuered, he bade me welcome, and enquired of mee the health of the King my Master, and I answered, that he was in good health at my departure from his Court, and that my trust was, that he was now in the same. Upon the which he bade me to dinner. The Chancellor presented my Present vnto his Grace bare-headed (for before they were all couered) and when his Grace had receiued my Letter, I was required to depart: for I had charge not to speake to the Duke, but when he spake to mee. So I departed vnto the Secretaries Chamber, where I remayned two houres, and then I was sent for againe vnto another Palace, which is called, The golden Palace, but I saw no cause why it should be so called; for I haue seene many fairer then it in all points: and so I came into the Hall, which was small and not great as is the Kings Maiesties of England, and the Table was couered with a Table-cloth; and the Marshall sate at the end of the Table with a little white rod in his hand, which Boord was full of vessell of Gold: and on the other side of the Hall did stand a faire Cupboord of Plate.

Dineth with the Duke.

From thence I came into the dining Chamber, where the Duke himselfe sate at his Table without Cloth of estate, in a Gowne of Silver, with a Crowne Imperiall vpon his head, he sate in a Chaire somewhat high: there sate none neere him by a great way. There were long tables set round about the chamber, which were full set with such as the Duke had at dinner: they were all in white. Also the places where the tables stood were higher by two steps then the rest of the house. In the midst of the chamber stood a Table or Cupboord to set Plate on; which stood full of Cups of Gold: and amongst all the rest

rest there stood foure maruellous great Pots or Crudences as they call them, of Gold and Siluer: I thinke they were a good yard and a halfe high. By the Cupboard stood two Gentlemen with Napkins on their shoulders, and in their hands each of them had a Cup of Gold set with Pearles and Precious Stones, which were the Dukes owne drinking Cups: when hee was disposed, hee drunke them off at a draught. And for his seruice at meate it came in without order, yet it was very rich seruice: for all were serued in Gold; not onely he himselfe, but also all the rest of vs, and it was very massie: the Cups also were of Gold and very massie. The number that dined there that day was two hundred persons, and all were serued in Golden Vessell. The Gentlemen that wayted were all in Cloth of Gold, and they serued him with their Caps on their heads. Before the seruice came in, the Duke sent to euery man a great Shiuer of Bread, and the Bearer called the party so sent to by his name aloude, and said, Iohn Basiluich Emperour of Russia, and great Duke of Mosconia, doth rewarde thee with Bread: then must all men stand up, and doe at all times when those words are spoken. And then last of all hee giueth the Marshall Bread, whereof he eateth before the Dukes Grace, and so doth reuerence and departeth. Then commeth the Dukes seruice of the Swans all in pieces, and euery one in a seuerall dish: the which the Duke sendeth as he did the Bread, and the Bearer saith the same words as hee said before. And as I said before, the seruice of his meate is in no order, but commeth in Dish by Dish: and then after that the Duke sendeth drinke, with the like saying as before is told. Also before Dinner he changed his Crowne, and in Dinner time two Crownes; so that I saw three seuerall Crownes vpon his head in one day. And thus when his seruice was all come in, hee gaue to euery one of his Gentlemen Wayters meate with his owne hand, and so likewise drinke. His intent thereby is, as I haue heard, that euery man shall know perfectly his seruants. Thus when Dinner is done hee calleth his Nobles before him name by name, that it is wonder to beare how he could name them, hauing so many as hee hath. Thus when Dinner was done I departed to my Lodging, which was an houre within night.

I will leaue this, and speake no more of him nor his Household: but I will somewhat declare of his Land and people, with their nature and power in the Warres. This Duke is Lord and Emperour of many Countreies, and his power is marvellous great. For hee is able to bring into the field two or three hundred thousand men: he neuer goeth into the field himselfe with vnder two hundred thousand men: And when hee goeth himselfe, hee furnisheth his Borders all with men of Warre, which are no small number. He leaueth on the Borders of Liefland fortie thousand men, and vpon the borders of Letto, sixtie thousand men, and toward the Nagayan Tartars sixtie thousand, which is wonder to heare of: yet doth hee neuer take to his Warres neither Husbandman nor Merchant. All his men are Horse-men: hee useth no Foot-men, but such as goe with the Ordnance and Labourers, which are thirtie thousand. The Horse-men are all Archers, with such Bowes as the Turkes haue, and they ride short as doe the Turkes. Their Armour is a Coate of Plate, with a skull on their heads. Some of their Coates are couered with Veluet or Cloth of Gold: their desire is to be sumptuous in the field, and especially the Nobles and Gentlemen: as I haue heard their trimming is very costly, and partly I haue seene it, or else I would scarcely haue beleueed it: but the Duke himselfe is richly attyred aboue all measure: his Pavilion is couered cyther with Cloth of Gold or Siluer, and so set with stones that it is wonderfull to see it. I haue seene the Kings Maiesties of England and the French Kings Pavilions, which are faire, yet not like vnto his.

And when they be sent into farre or strange Countreies, or that strangers come to them, they be very gorgeous. Else the Duke himselfe goeth but meanly in apparell: and when hee goeth betwixt one place and another hee is but reasonably apparellled ouer other times. In the while that I was in Mosco, the Duke sent two Ambassadors to the King of Poleland, which had at the lest fise hundred Horses; their sumptuousnesse was aboue measure, not onely in themselves, but also in their Horses, as Veluet, Cloth of Gold, and Cloth of Siluer set with Pearles, and not scant. What shall I further say? I neuer heard of nor saw men so sumptuous: but it is no daily guise, for when they haue not occasion, as I said before, all their doing is but meane. And now to the effect of their Warres: They are men without all order in the field. For they run hurling on heaps, and for the most part they neuer giue battayle to their Enemies: but that which they do, they do it all by stealth. But I beleue they be such men for hard lining as are not vnder the Sunne: for no cold will hurt them. Yea, and though they lye in the field two moneths, at such time as it shall freeze more then a yard thicke, the common Souldier hath neither Tent nor any thing else ouer his head: the most defence they haue against the weather is a Felt, which is set against the wind and weather, and when Snow commeth he doth cast it off, and maketh him a fire, and layeth him downe thereby. Thus doe the most of all his men, except they be Gentlemen which haue other prouision of their owne. Their lying in the field is not so strange as is their hardnesse: for euery man must carrie, and make prouision for himselfe, and his Horse for a moneth or two, which is very wonderfull. For hee himselfe shall lue vpon water and Oate-meale mingled together cold, and drinke water thereto: his Horse shall eate greene wood, and such like baggage, and shall stand open in the cold field without couert, and yet will hee labour and serue him right well. I pray you amongst all our boasting Warriours how many should we find to endure the field with them but one moneth. I know no such Region about vs that beareth that name for man and beast. Now what might hee made of these men if they were trayned and broken to order and knowledge of Ciuill Warres: if this Prince had within his Countreies such men as could make them to vnderstand the things aforesaid, I doe beleue that two of the best or greatst Princes in Christendome were not well able to match with him, considering the greatnesse of his power and the hard-

Golden Vessel.

Shiuer of Bread.

Crowne changed.

Dukes force.

Armour and rich attyre.

Extreames.

Vndisciplined Souldiers.

Hardinesse.

- hardnesse of his people, and straight lining both of people and Horse, and the small charges which his Wars stand him in: for he giueth no wages, except to strangers. They haue a yearely stipend and not much. As for his owne Countrey men, euery one serueth of his owne proper costs and charges, sauing that hee giueth to his Harquebusiers certayne allowance for Powder and shot: or else no man in all his Countrey hath one penie wages. But if any man hath done very good seruice, he giueth him a Ferme, or a piece of Land; for the which he is bound at all times to be readie with so many men as the Duke shall appoint: who considereth in his minde, what that Land or Ferme is well able to find: and so many shall he be bound to furnish at all and euery such time as Warres are holden in any of the Dukes Dominions. For there is no man of lining, but he is bound likewise, whether the Duke call for eyther Souldier or Labourer, to furnish them with all such necessaries as to them belong.
- Knights Fee.** Also, if any Gentleman or man of lining doe dye without Issue Male, immediately after his death the Duke enureth his Land, notwithstanding he haue neuer so many Daughters, and peradventure giueth it forth with to another man, except a small portion that he spareth to marry the Daughters withall. Also, if there be a Rich man, a Fermour, or man of Lining, which is stricken in age or by chance is maymed, and be not able to doe the Duke seruice, some other Gentleman that is not able to line and more able to doe seruice, will come to the Duke and complaine, saying, your Grace hath such an one, which is unmeet to doe seruice to your Highnesse, who hath great abundance of wealth, and likewise your Grace hath many Gentlemen which are poore and lacke lining, and we that lacke are well able to doe good seruice, your Grace might doe well to looke upon him, and make him to helpe those that want. Immediately the Duke sendeth forth to inquire of his wealth: and if it be so proued, hee shall be called before the Duke, and it shall bee said vnto him, Friend, you haue too much lining, and are unseruiceable to your Prince, lesse will serue you, and the rest will serue other men that are more able to serue. Whereupon immediately his lining shall be taken away from him, sauing a little to find himselfe and his Wife on, and he may not once repine thereat: but for answere hee will say, that hee hath nothing, but it is Gods and the Dukes Graces, and cannot say, as wee the common people in England say, if wee haue any thing; that it is Gods and our owne. Men may say, that these men are in wonderfull great awe, and obedience, that thus one must giue and grant his goods which he hath beene scraping and scratching for all his life to be at his Princes pleasure and commandement. Oh, that our sturdie Rebels were had in the like subiection to know their dutie toward their Princes. They may not say as some Snudges in England say, I would find the Queene a man to serue in my place, or make his Friends tarrie at home if mony haue the upper hand. No, no it is not so in this Countrey: for he shall make humble sute to serue the Duke. And whom he sendeth most to the Warres hee thinketh he is most in his fauour: and yet as I before haue said, he giueth no wages. If they knew their strength, no man were able to make match with them: for they that dwell neere them should haue any rest of them. But I thinke it is not Gods will: For I may compare them to a young Horse that knoweth not his strength, whom a little Child ruleth and guideth with a bridle, for all his great strength: for if he did, neither Child nor man could rule him. Their Warres are holden against the Cricme Tartarians, and the Nagayans.
- Duke heire Generall.** I will stand no longer in the rehearfall of their power and Warres. For it were so tedious to the Reader. But I will in part declare their Lawes, and Punishments, and the execution of Iustice. And first I will begin with the Commons of the Countrey, which the Gentlemen haue rule on: And that is, that euery Gentleman hath Rule and Iustice vpon his owne Tenants. And if it so fall out that two Gentlemen Seruants or Tenants doe disagree, the two Gentlemen examine the matter, and haue the parties before them, and so giue the Sentence. And yet cannot they make the end betwixt them of the Controuersie, but either of the Gentlemen must bring his Seruant or Tenant before the high Iudge or Iustice of that Countrey, and there present them, and declare the matter and case. The Plaintiffe saith, I require the Law, which is granted: then commeth an Officer and arresteth the partie Defendant, and vseth him contrary to the Lawes of England. For when they attach any man, they beate him about the legs, vntill such time as he findeth Sureties to answere the matter: And if not, his hands and necke are bound together, and hee is led about the Towne, and beaten about the legs, with other extreme punishments till he come to his Answere: And the Iustice demandeth if it bee for Debt, and sayth: Owest thou this man any such Debt? He will, perhaps, say nay. Then saith the Iudge: Art thou able to deny it? Let vs heare how? By Oath, saith the Defendant. Then he commandeth to leane beating him till further tryall be had.
- No wages.** Their order in one point is commendable. They haue no man of Law to plead their Causes in any Court: but euery man pleadeth his owne Cause, and giueth Bill and Answere in writing: contrary to the order in England. The Complaint is in manner of a Supplication, and made to the Dukes Grace, and deliuered him into his owne hand, requiring to haue Iustice as in his Complaint is alleaged. The Duke giueth sentence himselfe vpon all matters in the Law. Which is very commendable, that such a Prince will take paines to see ministration of Iustice. Yet notwithstanding it is wonderfully abused: and thereby the Duke is much deceived. But if it fall out that the Officers be espied in cloking the truth, they haue most condigne punishment. And if the Plaintiffe can nothing proue, then the Defendant must take his Oath vpon the Crucifixe, whether he be in the right or no. Then is demanded, if the Plaintiffe bee any thing able further to make prooffe: if he be nor; then sometimes he will say, I am able to proue it by my body and hands, or by my Champions body, so requiring the Campe. After the other hath his Oath,
- Gentlemen.**
- Suits & tryals.**
- No Lawyer.**
- Combat-triall.**

it is granted as well to the one as to the other. So when they goe to the field, they sweare upon the Crucifixe, that they bee both in the right, and that the one shall make the other to confesse the truth before they depart forth of the field: and so they goe both to the battell armed with such weapons as they vse in that Countrey: they fight all on foot, and seldome the parties themselves doe fight, except they bee Gentlemen, for they stand much upon their reputation, for they will not fight, but with such as are come of as good an house as themselves. So that if either partie require the combate, it is granted unto them, and no Champion is to serue in their roome; wherein is no deceit; but otherwise by champions there is. For although they take great oathes upon them to doe the battell truly, yet is the contrary often seene: because the common Champions haue no other liuing. And as soone as the one partie hath gotten the victorie, hee demandeth the debt, and the other is carryed to Prison, and there is shamefully vsed till hee take order.

10 There is also another order in the Law, that the plaintiffe may sweare in some causes of debt. And if the partie defendant bee poore, hee shall be set under the Crucifixe, and the partie plaintiffe must sweare ouer his head, and when hee hath taken his oath, the Duke taketh the partie defendant home to his house, and vseth him as his bond-man, and putteth him to labour, or letteth him for hire to any such as neede him, untill such time as his friends make prouision for his redemption: or else hee remayneth in bondage all the dayes of his life. Againe, there are many that will sell themselves to Gentlemen or Merchants, to bee their bond-men, to haue during their life, meate, drinke and cloath, and at their comming to haue a piece of money; yea, and some will sell their wives and children to be bands and drudges to the buyer. Also they haue a Law for Fellons and pickers contrary to the Lawes of Eng-
 20 land. For by their Law they can hang no man for his first offence; but may keepe him long in Prison, and oftentimes beate him with whips and other punishment: and there hee shall remaine untill his friends bee able to bayle him. If hee be a picker or a cut-purse, as there bee very many, the second time he is taken, hee hath a piece of his Nose cut off, and is burned in the fore-head, and kept in prison till he finde sureties for his good behauiour. And if hee be taken the third time, he is hanged. And at the first time hee is extremely punished and not released, except he haue very good friends, or that some Gentleman require to haue him to the warres: And in so doing, hee shall enter into great bonds for him: by which meanes the Countrey is brought into good quietnesse. But they bee naturally giuen to great deceit, except extreame beating did bridle them. They bee naturally giuen to hard liuing as well in fare as in lodging. I heard a Russian say, that it was a great deale merrier liuing in Prison then forth, but for the great beating. For they haue meate and drinke without any labour, and get the charitie of well disposed people: But being at libertie they get nothing. The poore is very innumerable, and liue
 30 most miserably: for I haue seene them eate the pickle of Herring and other stinking Fish: nor the Fish cannot bee so stinking nor rotten, but they will eate it and praise it to bee more wholesome then other fish or fresh meate. In mine opinion there bee no such people vnder the Sunne for their hardnesse of liuing. Well, I will leaue them in this point, and will in part declare their Religion.

They doe obserue the Law of the Greekes with such excesse of superstition, as the like hath not beene heard of. They haue no grauen Images in their Churches, but all painted, to the intent they will not breake the Commandement: but to their painted Images they vse such Idolatrie, that the like was neuer heard of in England. They will neither worship nor honour any Image that is made forth of their owne
 40 Countrey. For their owne Images (say they) haue Pictures to declare what they bee, and how they be of God, and so be not ours: They say, looke how the Painter or Caruer hath made them, so wee doe worship them, and they worship none before they bee Christened. They say wee be but halfe Christians: because we obserue not part of the old Law with the Turkes. Therefore they call themselves more holy then vs. They haue none other learning but their mother tongue, nor will suffer no other in their Countrey among them. All their seruice in Churches is in their mother tongue. They haue the old and new Testament, which are daily read among them: and yet their superstition is no lesse. For when the Priests doe reade, they haue such trickes in their reading, that no man can understand them, nor no man giueth eare to them. For all the while the Priest readeth, the people sit downe and one talke with another. But when the Priest is at seruice no man sitteth, but gaggles and ducks like so many Geese. And as
 50 for their prayers they haue but little skill, but vse to say, As bodi pomele: As much to say, Lord haue mercie vpon me. For the tenth man within the Land cannot say the Pater noster. And as for the Creed, no man may bee so bold as to meddle therewith but in the Church: for they say it should not be spoken of, but in the Churches. Speake to them of the Commandements, and they will say they were giuen to Moses in the Law, which Christ hath now abrogated by his precious Death and Passion: therefore, (say they) wee obserue little or none thereof. And I doe beleene them. For if they were examined of their Law and Commandements together, they should agree but in few points. They haue the Sacrament of the Lords Supper in both kindes, and more ceremonies then we haue. They present them in a dish in both kindes together, and carrie them round about the Church vpon the Priests head, and so doe minister at all such times as any shall require. They bee great offerers of Candles, and sometimes of money, which
 60 wee call in England, Soule pence, with more ceremonies then I am able to declare.

They haue foure Leuts in the yeere, whereof our Lent is the greatest. Looke as wee doe begin on the Wednesday, so they doe on the Munday before: And the weeke before that they call the Butter-weeke: And in that weeke they eate nothing but Butter and Milke. Howbeit I beleene there bee in no other Countrey the like people for Drunkenesse. The next Lent is called Saint Peters Lent, and begin-
 neth

Bondage.

Punishments
for Crimes.

Beating.

Miserable
poore.

Superstition.

Images and
Pictures.

Mother tongue

Seruice.

Prayers.

Creed.

Commande-
ments.

Sacraments.

Candles.

Foure Leuts.

Chiefe Saints.

Vices.

Abbies.

neth alwayes the Munday next after Trinitie Sunday, and endeth on Saint Peters Eeven. If they should breake that Fast, their belife is, that they should not come in at Heauen gates. And when any of them dye, they haue a testimoniall with them in the Coffin, that when the soule commeth to Heauen gates it may deliuer the same to Saint Peter, which declareth that the partie is a true and holy Russian. The third Lent beginneth fifteene dayes before the later Lady day, and endeth on our Lady Eeven. The fourth Lent beginneth on Saint Martins day, and endeth on Christmas Eeven: which Lent is fasted for Saint Philip, Saint Peter, Saint Nicholas, and Saint Clement. For they foure bee the principall and greatest Saints in that Countrey. In these Lents they eate neither Butter, Egges, Milke, nor Cheese; but they are very straightly kept with Fish, Cabbages, and Rootes. And out of their Lents, they obserue truely the Wednesdaies and Fridaies throughout the yeere: and on the Saturday they doe eate flesh. Furthermore, they haue a great number of Religious men: which are blacke Monkes, and they eate no Flesh throughout the yeere, but Fish, Milke and Butter. By their order they should eate no fresh-Fish, and in their Lents they eate nothing but Coleworts, Cabbages, salt Cucumbers, with other rootes, as Radish and such like. Their drinke is like our penie Ale, and is called Quaff. They haue Service daily in their Churches; and vse to goe to seruice two houres before day, and that is ended by day light. At nine of the clocke they goe to Masse: that ended, to Dinner: and after that to seruice againe: and then to Supper. You shall understand that at euerie dinner and supper they haue declared the exposition of the Gospell that day: but how they wrest and twine the Scripture and that together, by report it is wonderfull. As for Whoredome and Drunkenesse there bee none such living: and for Extortion, they bee the most abominable under the Sunne. Now iudge of their holinesse. They haue twice as much Land as the Duke himselfe hath: but yet hee is reasonable euen with them, as thus: When they take bribes of any of the poore and simple, hee hath it by an order. When the Abbot of any of their Houses dyeth, then the Duke hath all his goods mooneable and vnmoneable: so that the Successour buyeth all at the Dukes hands: and by this meane they bee the best Farmers the Duke hath. Thus with their Religion I make an end, trusting hereafter to know it better.

Some additions for better knowledge of this Voyage, taken by CLEMENT
ADAMS, Schoole-master to the Queenes Henshmen, from the mouth
of Captaine CHANCELOR.

I haue this
booke of Cle-
ment Adams, in
Latine, writ-
ten in a very
elegant hand
and eloquent
stile to King
Philip; (as I
thinke) the
very originall.

Richard Chancellor with his Ship and companie being thus left alone, and become very pensue, heauie, and sorrowfull, by this dispercion of the Fleet, hee (according to the order before taken,) shapeth his course for Ward-house in Norway, there to expect and abide the arriuall of the rest of the Ships. And being come thither, and hauing stayed there the space of seauen dayes, and looked in vaine for their comming, hee determined at length to proceed alone in the purposed voyage. And as hee was preparing himselfe to depart, it happened that hee fell in companie and speech with certaine Scottissh-men: who hauing vnderstanding of his intention, and wishing well to his actions, began earnestly to dissuade him from the further prosecution of the discouerie, by amplifying the dangers which hee was to fall into, and omitted no reason that might serue to that purpose. But he holding nothing so ignominious and reproachfull, as inconstancie and leuitie of minde, and perswading himselfe that a man of valour could not commit a more dishonourable part, then for feare of danger to auoyd and shun great attempts, was nothing at all changed or discouraged with the speeches and words of the Scots, remayning stedfast and immutable in his first resolution: determining either to bring that to passe which was intended, or else to dye the death.

And as for them which were with Master Chancellor in his Ship, although they had great cause of discomfort by the losse of their companie (whom the foresaid tempest had separated from them) and were not a little troubled with cogitations and perturbations of minde, in respect of their doubtfull course: yet notwithstanding, they were of such consent and agreement of minde with Master Chancellor, that they were resolute, and prepared vnder his direction and gouernment, to make prooffe and tryall of all aduentures, without all feare or mistrust of future dangers. Which constancie of minde in all the companie did exceedingly increase their Captaines carefulnesse: for hee being swallowed vp with like good will and loue towards them, feared lest through any error of his, the safetie of the companie should bee indangered. To conclude, when they saw their desire and hope of the arriuall of the rest of the Ships to bee euery day more and more frustrated, they prouided to Sea againe, and Master Chancellor held on his course towards that vnkowne part of the world, and sayled so farre, that hee came at last to the place where hee found no night at all, but a continuall light and brightnesse of the Sunne shining cleerely vpon the huge and mightie Sea. And hauing the benefite of this perpetuall light for certaine dayes, at the length it pleased God to bring them into a certaine great Bay, which was of one hundreth miles or there about ouer. Whereinto they entred, and somewhat farre within

They arriue in
the Bay of
Saint Nicholas.

within it cast anchor, and looking euery way about them, it hapned that they espyed a farre off a certaine Fisher-boate, which Master *Chancellor*, accompanied with a few of his men, went towards to common with the Fishermen that were in it, and to know of them what Countrey it was, and what people, and of what manner of liuing they were: but they being amazed with the strange greatnesse of his ship, (for in those parts before that time, they had neuer seene the like) began presently to auoyd and to flee: but hee still following them, at last ouertooke them, and being come to them, they (being in great feare, as men halfe dead) prostrated themselves before him, offering to kisse his feete: but hee (according to his great and singular courtesie,) looked pleasantly vpon them, comforting them by signes and gestures, refusing those duties and reuerences of theirs, and taking them vp in all louing sort from the ground. And it is strange to consider how much fauour afterwards in that place, this humanitie of his did purchase to himselfe. For they being dismissed, spread by and by a report abroad of the arriual of a strange Nation, of a singular gentlenesse and courtesie: whereupon the common people came together, offering to these new-come ghests victuals freely, and not refusing to traffique with them, except they had beene bound by a certaine religious vse and custome, not to buy any forraine commodities, without the knowledge and consent of the King.

By this time our men had learned, that this Countrey was called *Russia*, or *Musconie*, and that *Iuan Vasilovich* (which was at that time their Kings name) ruled and gouerned farre and wide in those places. And the barbarous *Russes* asked likewise of our men whence they were, and what they came for: whereunto answer was made, that they were *English-men* sent into those coasts, from the most excellent King *Edward* the sixth, hauing from him in commandement certaine things to deliuer to their King, and seeking nothing else but his amitie and friendship, and traffique with his people, whereby they doubted not, but that great commoditie and profit would grow to the subiects of both Kingdomes.

The *Barbarians* heard these things very gladly, and promised their ayde and furtherance to acquaint their King out of hand, with so honest and a reasonable a request. In the meane time Master *Chancellor* intreated victuals for his money, of the Gouernour of that place (who together with others came aboard him) and required hostages of them likewise, for the more assurance of safetie to himselfe and his companie. To whom the Gouernours answered, that they knew not in that case the will of their King, but yet were willing in such things as they might lawfully doe, to pleasure him: which was as then to afford him the benefit of victuals.

Now, while these things were a doing, they secretly sent a messenger vnto the Emperour, to certifie him of the arriual of a strange Nation, and withall to know his pleasure concerning them. Which message was very welcome vnto him, insomuch that voluntarily he inuited them to come to his Court. But if by reason of the tediousnesse of so long a iourney, they thought it not best so to doe, then hee granted libertie to his Subiects to bargain, and to traffique with them: and further promised, that if it would please them to come to him, hee himselfe would beare the whole charges of poste Horses. In the meane time the Gouernours of the place, differred the matter from day to day, pretending diuers excuses, and saying one while, that the consent of all the Gouernours, and another while, that the great and weightie affaires of the Kindome compelled them to differ their answer: and this they did of purpose, so long to protract the time, vntill the messenger (sent before to the King) did returne with relation of his will and pleasure.

But Master *Chancellor*, (seeing himselfe held in this suspense with long and vaine expectation, and thinking that of intention to delude him, they posted the matter off so often,) was very instant with them to performe their promise: Which if they would not doe, hee told them that he would depart and proceed in his voyage. So that the *Musconites* (although as yet they knew not the minde of their King) yet fearing the departure indeed of our men, who had such wares and commodities as they greatly desired, they at last resolved to furnish our people with all things necessarie, and to conduct them by land to the presence of their King. And so Master *Chancellor* began his iourney, which was very long and most troublesome, wherein he had the vse of certaine sleds, which in that Countrey are very common, for they are carried themselves vpon sleds, and all their carriages are in the same sort, the people almost not knowing any other manner of carriage, the cause whereof is, the exceeding hardnesse of the ground congealed in the Winter time by the force of the cold, which in those places is very extreame and horrible, whereof hereafter wee will say something.

But now they hauing passed the greater part of their iourney, met at last with the Sled-man (of whom I spake before) sent to the King secretly from the Iustices or Gouernours, who by some ill hap had lost his way, and had gone to the Sea-side, which is neere to the Countrey of the *Tartars*, thinking there to haue found our ship. But hauing long erred and wandered out of his way, at the last in his direct returne, hee met (as he was comming) our Captaine on the way. To whom hee by and by deliuered the Emperours letters, which were written to him with all courtesie and in the most louing manner that could bee: wherein expresse commandement was giuen, that poste Horses should be gotten for him and the rest of his company without any money. Which thing was of all the *Russes*, in the rest of their iourney so willingly done,

The Discoverie of Russia.

Messenger sent to the Emperour.

The Emperours courteous letters to Master Chancellor.

that they began to quarrell, yea, and to fight also in striving and contending which of them should put their poste horses to the Sled: so that after much adoe, and great paines taken in this long and wearie iourney, (for they had trauelled very neere fiftene hundred miles) Master Chancellor came at last to *Mosco*, the chiefe Citie of the Kingdome, and the seate of the King.

HONDIVS *his* Map of Russia.

Riphean hills,
a tale of Anti-
quitic.

Rossomakka, a
strange beast.

The sharpnes
of the winter
in Mosconie.

Touching the *Riphean Mountaines*, whereupon the *Snow* lyeth continually, and where hence in times past it was thought that *Tanis* the river did spring, and that the rest of the wonders of nature, which the *Grecians* fained and inuented of old, were there to bee seene: our men which lately came from thence, neither saw them, nor yet haue brought home any perfect relation of them, although they remayned there for the space of three moneths, and had gotten in that time some intelligence of the language of *Mosconie*. The whole Countrey is plaine and champion, and few hills in it: and towards the North, it hath very large and spacious Woods, wherein is great store of Firre trees, a wood very necessarie, and fit for the building of houses: there are also wilde beasts bred in those woods, as *Buffes*, *Beares*, and blacke *Wolues*, and another kinde of beast vnknewen to vs, but called by them *Rossomakka*: and the nature of the same is very rare and wonderfull: for when it is great with young, and ready to bring forth, it seeketh out some narrow place betweene two flakes, and so going through them, presseth it selfe, and by that meanes is eased of her burthen, which otherwise could not bee done. They hunt their *Buffes* for the most part a horse-backe, but their *Beares* a foot, with wooden forkes. The North parts of the Countrey are reported to bee so cold, that the very Ice or water which distilleth out of the moyst wood which they lay vpon the fire, is presently congealed and frozen: the diuersitie growing sodainly to bee so great, that in one and the selfe-same fire-brand, a man shall see both fire and Ice. When the winter doth once begin there, it doth still more and more increase by a perpetuities of cold: neither doth that cold flake, vntill the force of the Sunne beames doth dissolve the cold, and make glad the earth, returning to it againe. Our Mariners which wee left in the

the ship in the meane time to keepe it, in their going vp onely from their cabbins to the hatches, had their breath oftentimes so suddenly taken away, that they eft-soones fell downe as men very neere dead, so great is the sharpenesse of that cold Climate: but for the South parts of the Countrey, they are somewhat more * temperate.

* The rest of M. Adams containing a description of the Country, &c. is here omitted.

The Copie of the Duke of Moscouie and Emperour of Russia his Letters,
sent to King EDWARD the Sixth, by the hands of
RICHARD CHANCELOVR.

THe Almighty power of God, and the incomprehensible holy Trinitie, rightfull Christian Beliefe, &c. We great Duke Iuan Vasiluich, by the Grace of God great Lord and Emperour of all Russia, great Duke of Volodemer, Mosco, and Nouograd, King of Kazan, King of Astracan, Lord of Plesko, and great Duke of Smolensko, of Twerria, Ioughoria, Permia, Vadska, Bulghoria, and others, Lord and great Duke of Nouograd in the Low Countrey, of Chernigo, Rezan, Polotskoy, Rostoue, Yaruslaueley, Bealozera, Liefland, Oudoria, Obdoria, and Condensa, Commander of all Siberia, and of the North parts, and Lord of many other Countreies, greeting. Before all, right, great and worthy of honour Edward King of England, &c. according to our most heartie and good zeale, with good intent and friendly desire, and according to our holy Christian Faith, and great Governance, and being in the light of great understanding, our Answer by this our Honourable Writing unto your Kingly Governance, at the request of your faithfull Seruant Richard Chancellor, with his company, as they shall let you wisely know is this. In the strength of the twentieth year of our Governance, be it knowne, that at our Sea-coasts arrived a ship, with one Richard, and his company, and said, that he was desirous to come into our Dominions, and according to his request, hath seene our Maiestie, and our eyes: and hath declared unto us your Maiesties desire, as that wee should grant unto your Subiects, to goe and come, and in our Dominions, and among our Subiects, to frequent free Marts, with all sorts of Merchandizes, and upon the same to haue warres for their returns. And they haue also deliuered vs your Letters which declare the same request. And hereupon wee haue given order, that wheresoeuer your faithfull Seruant Hugh Willoughbie, land or touch in our Dominions, to be well enterayned, who as yet is not arrived as your Seruant Richard can declare.

Iuan Vasiluich, that is to say, Iohn the Sonne of Basilus.

d That is, come into our presence.

And we with Christian beliefe and faithfulnessse, and according to your Honourable request, and my Honourable commandement will not leaue it undone: and are furthermore willing that you send unto us your ships and Vessels, when and as often as they may haue passage, with good assurance on our part to see them harmlesse. And if you send one of your Maiesties counsell to treat with us whereby your Countrey Merchants may with all kindes of Wares, and where they will make their Market in our Dominions, they shall haue their free Mart with all free Liberties through my whole Dominions, with all kinde of Wares, to come and goe at their pleasure, without any let, damage, or impediment, according to this our Letter, our Word and our Seale which wee haue commanded to be under sealed. Written in our Dominion, in our Citie and our Palace in the Castle of Mosco, in the yeare 7060. the second Moneth of Februarie.

This Letter was written in the Moscouian Tongue, in Letters much like to the Greeke Letters, very faire written in Paper, with a broad Seale hanging at the same, sealed in Paper vpon Waxe. This Seale was much like the Broad Seale of England, hauing on the one side the Image of a man on Horse-backe in complete Harnesse fighting with a Dragon. Vnder this Letter was another Paper written in the Dutch Tongue, which was the Interpretation of the other written in the Moscouian Letters. These Letters were sent the next yeare after the date of King Edwards Letters, 1554.

After this, entercourse of Letters and Embassages passed betwixt King Philip and Queene Marie, and the Moscouite: and the Moscouie Company was instituted and receiued Priuiledges both from their owne and that Forraigne Prince, a second Voyage being set forth in May, 1555. and Master George Killingworth was made their first Agent: the particulars whereof are found at large in Master Hakluyts first Tome of Voyages, as also other things touching that Trade then settled: which heere I omit, and come to Master Ienkinsons Voyage to Mosco, and thence to Tartaria.

d. II.

The first * Voyage made by Master ANTHONIE IENKINSON,
from the Citie of London, toward the Land of Russia, begunne
the twelfth of May, in the yeare

1557.

* Hee made
three others
after, one as
Embassadour
from Queene
Elizabeth to the
Muscouite.



Ist, by the grace of God, the day and yeare aboue mentioned, I departed from the said Citie, and the same day at *Gransend*, embarked my selfe in a good ship, named the *Primrose*, being appointed, although vnworthy, chiefe Captaine of the same, and also of the other three good ships, to say, the *John Euangelist*, the *Anne*, and the *Trinitie*, hauing also the conduct of the Emperour of *Russia*, his Ambassadour named *Osep Nepea Gregorovich*, who passed with his company in the said *Primrose*. And thus our foure tall ships being well appointed, aswell for men, as victuals, as other necessary furniture, the said twelfth day of the moneth of May, we weighed our Anchors, and departed from the said *Gransend*, in the after-noon, and plying downe the *Thames*, the wind being Easterly, and faire weather, the thirteenth day we came a ground with the *Primrose*, vpon a sand called the blacke tayle, where wee sate fast vntill the fourteenth day in the morning, and then God bee prayesd, shee came off: and that day we pleyed downe as farre as our Ladie of *Holland*, and there came to an Anchor, the winde being Easterly, and there remayned vntill the twentieth day: then wee weyed and went out at *Goldmore* gate, and from thence in at *Balscy* slade, and so into *Orwell* wands, where we came to an Anchor: but as we came out at the said *Goldmore* gate, the *Trinitie* came on ground on certayne Rockes, that lye to the North-ward of the said gate, and was like to be bilged and lost. But by the ayde of God, at the last she came off againe, being very leake: and the one and twentieth day the *Primrose* remaining at an Anchor in the wands, the other three ships bare into *Orwell* Hauen, where I caused the said *Trinitie* to be grounded, searched, and repayed. So we remayned in the said Hauen, vntill the eight and twentieth day: and then the wind being Westerly, the three ships that were in the Hauen, weighed and came forth, and in coming forth the *John Euangelist* came on ground vpon a Sand, called the *Andros*, where she remayned one tyde, and the next full Sea she came off againe without any great hurt, God be prayesd.

The nine and twentieth day in the morning all foure ships weighed in the Wands, and that tyde went as farre as *Orfordnesse*, where we came to an Anchor, because the wind was Northerly: And about sixe of the clocke at night, the wind vered to the South-west, and we weighed Anchor, and bare cleere of the *Nesse*, and then set our course North-east and by North vntill mid-night, being then cleere of *Tarmouth* sands. Then wee winded North and by West, and North North-west, vntill the first of Iune at noone, then it waxed calme, and continued so vntill the second day at noone: then the wind came at North-west, with a tempest, and much raine, and we lay close by, and caped North North-east, and North-east and by North, as the wind shifted, and so continued vntill the third day at noone: then the winde vered Westerly againe, and we went North our right course, and so continued our way vntill the fourth day at three of the clocke in the after-noon, at which time the winde vered to the North-west againe and blew a fresh gale, and so continued vntill the seuenth day in the morning, wee lying with all our ships close by, and caping to the Northwards: and then the winde vering more Northerly, we were forced to put roomer with the Coast of *England* againe, and fell ouerthwart *New-castle*, but went not into the Hauen, and so pleyed vpon the Coast the eight day and the ninth.

The tenth day the wind came to the North North-west, and wee were forced to beare roomer with *Flamborow* head, where we came to an Anchor, and there remayned vntill the seuenth day. Then the wind came faire, and we weighed, & set our course North and by East, time and so continued the same with a merry wind vntill the one and twentieth at noone, at which we took the Sunne, and had the latitude in sixtie degrees. Then we shifted our course, and went North North-east, & North-east and by North, vntill the five and twentieth day. Then we discovered certain Ilands, called *Heilick* Ilands, lying from vs Northeast, being in the latitude of sixty fixe degrees, fortie minutes. Then we went North and by West, because we would not come too nigh the Land, and running that course foure houres, we discovered, and had sight of *Rost* Ilands, joyning to the mayne Land of *Finmarke*. Thus continuing our course along the Coast of *Norway* and *Finmarke*, the seuen and twentieth day we tooke the Sunne, being as farre shot as *Lofoot*, and had the latitude in sixtie nine degrees. And the same day in the afternoone appeared ouer our heads a Rain-bow, like a Semicircle, with both ends vpward. Note, that there is betweene the said *Rost* Ilands and *Lofoot*, a Whirle-poole called *Malestrand*, which from halfe ebbe vntill halfe floud, maketh such a terrible noyse, that it shaketh the Rings in the doores of the Inhabitants Houses of the said Ilands ten miles off. Also if there commeth any Whale within the current of the same, they make a pittifull cry. Moreouer, if great Trees be carryed into it by force of streames, and after with the ebbe be cast out againe, the ends and boughes of them haue beene so beaten, that they are like the stalkes of Hempe that is bruized. Note, that all the Coast of

Heilick Ilands
in 66. degrees
40. minutes.
Rost Ilands.

Malestrand a
strange whirle
poole.

Fin-

Finmarke is high Mountaynes and Hills, being couered all the yeare with Snow. And hard aboard the shoare of this Coast, there is one hundred, or one hundred and fiftie fathomes of water in depth. Thus proceeding and sayling forward, we fell with an Island called *Zenam*, being in the latitude of seuentie degrees. About this Island wee saw many Whales, very monstrous, about our ships, some by estimation of sixtie foote long: and being the ingendring time they roared and cryed terribly. From thence we fell with an Island, called *Kettlewicke*.

Zenam Island.

Kettlewike Island.

This Coast from *Rost* vnto *Lofoot* lyeth North and South, and from *Lofoot* to *Zenam* North-east and South-west, and from *Zenam* to *Kettlewicke*, East North-east and West South-west. From the said *Kettlewicke* we sayled East and by North ten leagues, and fell with a Land called *Inger sound*, where we fished, being becalmed, and tooke great plentie of Cods. Thus plying along the Coast, we fell with a Cape, called the North Cape, which is the Northermost Land that we passe in our Voyage to Saint *Nicholas*, and is in the latitude of seuentie one degrees and ten minutes, and is from *Inger sound* East, and to the North-wards fifteene leagues. And being at this North Cape the second day of Iuly, wee had the Sunne at North foure degrees above the Horizon. The third day we came to *Wardhouse*, hauing such mists that wee could not see the Land. This *Wardhouse* is a Castle standing in an Island two miles from the mayne of *Finland*, subject to the King of *Denmarke*, and the Eastermost Land that he hath. There are two other Islands neere adjoyning vnto that, whereon the Castle of *Wardhouse* standeth. The Inhabitants of those three Islands liue onely by fishing, and make much Stock-fish, which they dry with Frost: their most feeding is fish; bread and drinke they haue none, but such as is brought them from other places. They haue small store of Cattle, which are also fed with fish. From

Inger sound. The North Cape.

Ward-house.

Wardhouse we sayled South South-east ten leagues, and fell with a Cape of Land called *Kegor*, the Northermost part of the Land of *Lappia*. And betweene *Wardhouse*, and the said Cape is a great Bay, called *Dommes baff*, in the South part whereof is a Monastery of Monkes of the *Russes* Religion, called *Pechinchow*. Thus proceeding forward and sayling along the Coast of the said Land of *Lappia*, winding South-east, the fourth day through great mists and darknesse we lost the company of the other three ships, and met not with them againe, vntill the seuenth day, when we fell with a Cape or head-land called *Swetinoz*, which is the entring into the Bay of Saint *Nicholas*. At this Cape lyeth a great stone, to the which the Barkes that passed thereby, were wont to make Offerings of Butter, Meale, and other Victuals, thinking that vnlesse they did so, their Barkes or Vessels should there perish, as it hath beene oftentimes seene: and there it is very darke and mystie. Note, that the sixt day wee passed by the place where Sir *Hugh Willoughby* with all his company perished, which is called *Arxina reca*, that is to say, the Riuer *Arxina*.

Cattell fed with fish.

The Monastrie of Pechinchow.

The Land of *Lappia* is an high Land, hauing snow lying on it commonly all the yeere. The people of the Countrey are halfe Gentiles: they liue in the Summer time neere the Sea side, and vse to take fish, of the which they make bread, and in the Winter they remoue vp into the Countrey into the Woods, where they vse hunting, and kill Deere, Beares, Wolues, Foxes, and other beasts, with whose flesh they be nourished, and with their skins apparelled in such strange fashion, that there is nothing seene of them bare but their eyes. They haue none other habitation, but only in Tents, remouing from place to place, according to the season of the yeere. They know no arte nor facultie, but onely shooting, which they exercise daily, as well men as women, and kill such beasts as serue them for their food. Thus proceeding along the coast from *Swetinoz* afore said, the ninth day of Iuly wee came to Cape *Grace*, being in the latitude of 66. degrees and 45. minutes, and is at the entring in of the Bay of Saint *Nicolas*. Aboard this Land there is twentie or thirtie fathoms water, and sundry grounds good to anchor in. The current at this Cape runneth South-west and North-east. From this Cape wee proceeded along vntill we came to *Crosse Island*, which is seuen leagues from the said Cape South-west: and from this Island, wee set ouer to the other side of the Bay, and went South-west, and fell with an Head-land, called *Foxenose*, which is from the said Island fve and twentie leagues. The entring of this Bay from *Crosse Island* to the neereft Land on the other side is seuen leagues over. From *Foxenose* proceeding forward the twelfth day of the said moneth of Iuly, all our foure ships arrived in safety at the Road of Saint *Nicolas*, in the Land of *Russia*, where we anchored, and had sayled from *London* vnto the said Road seuen hundred and fiftie leagues. The *Russian* Ambassadour and his companie with great ioy got to shoare, and our ships heere forthwith discharged themselves: and being laden againe, and hauing a faire winde, departed toward *England* the first of August. The third of the said moneth I with other of my companie came vnto the Citie of *Colmogro*, being an hundred verstes from the Bay of Saint *Nicolas*, and in the latitude of 64. degrees 25. minutes. I tarried at the said *Colmogro* vntill the fiftenth day: and then I departed in a little Boat vp the Riuer of *Diuna*, which runneth very swiftly, and the selfe same day passed by the mouth of a Riuer called *Pinego*, leauing it on our left hand fifteene verstes from *Colmogro*. On both sides of the mouth of this Riuer *Pinego* is high Land, great Rockes of Alabaster, great Woods, and Pine-apple trees lying along within the ground, which by report haue lyen there since *Noes* flood. And thus proceeding forward the nineteenth day in the morning, I came in-

Arxina reca the Riuer where Sir Hugh Willoughby was frozen.

The Lappians couered all sauuing their eyes.

The current at Cape Grace.

The entring of the Bay of Saint Nicolas is seuen leagues broad at the least.

August.

Pinego Riuer.

The Towne of
Temp.
Vsting.

The descrip-
tion of their
Nassades.

Good counsell
for Travellers.
December.

Emperour of
Casan.

Multitude of
Guests.

to a Towne called *Temp*, an hundred verstes from *Colmogro*. All this way along they make much Tarre, Pitch, and ashes of Aspen trees. From thence I came to a place called *Vsting*, an ancient Citie, the last day of August. At this Citie meet two Riuers: the one called *Ing*, and the other *Sucana*, both which fall into the aforesaid Riuer of *Duma*. The Riuer *Ing* hath his spring in the Land of the *Tartars*, called *Cheremixzi*, ioyning to the Countrey of *Permia*: and *Sucana* hath his head from a Lake not farre from the Citie of *Vologda*. Thus departing from *Vsting*, and passing by the Riuer *Sucana*, we came to a Towne called *Totma*. About this place the water is very shallow, and stonie, and troublesome for Barkes and Boats of that Countrey, which they call *Nassades*, and *Dofnecker*, to passe that way: wherein merchandise are transported from the aforesaid *Colmogro* to the Citie of *Vologda*. These vessels called *Nassades*, are very long builded, broad made, and close aboue, flat bottomed, and draw not aboue foure foot water, and will carrie two hundred tunnes: they haue no Iron appertayning to them but all of Timber, and when the winde serueth, they are made to sayle. Otherwise they haue many men, some to hale and draw by the neckes with long small ropes made fast to the said Boats, and some set with long poles. There are many of these Barkes vpon the Riuer of *Duma*: And the most part of them belongeth vnto the Citie of *Vologda*: for there dwell many Merchants, and they occupie the said Boats with carrying of Salt from the Sea side vnto the said *Vologda*. The twentieth of September I came vnto *Vologda*, which is a great Citie, and the Riuer passeth through the midst of the same. The houses are builded with wood of Firre trees, ioyned one with another, and round without: the houses are foure square without any Iron or stone worke, couered with Birch barkes, and wood ouer the same: Their Churches are all of wood, two for euery Parish, one to be heated for Winter, and the other for Summer. On the tops of their houses they lay much earth, for feare of burning: for they are sore plagued with fire. This *Vologda* is in 59. degrees 11. minutes, and is from *Colmogro*, one thousand verstes.

All the way I neuer came in house, but lodged in the Wildernesse, by the Riuers side, and carried prouision for the way. And he that will trauell those wayes, must carrie with him an Hatchet, a Tinder boxe, and a Kettle, to make fire and seethe meat, when he hath it: for there is small succour in those parts, vnlesse it be in Townes.

The first day of December, I departed from *Vologda* in poste in a Sled, as the manner is in Winter. And the way to *Moscou* is as followeth. From *Vologda* to *Commelski*, seuen and twentie verstes; so to *Olmor* fise and twentie verstes, so to *Teloytske* twentie verstes, so to *Vre* thirtie verstes, so to *Voshansko* thirtie verstes, then to *Yeraslane* thirtie verstes, which standeth vpon the great Riuer *Volga*, so to *Rostoue* fiftie verstes, then to *Rogarin* thirtie verstes, so to *Perslane* ten verstes, which is a great Towne, standing hard by a faire Lake. From thence to *Dombay* thirtie verstes, so to *Godoroke* thirtie verstes, so to *Owchay* thirtie verstes, and last to the *Mosco* fise and twentie verstes, where I arriued the sixt day of December.

There are fourteene Posts called *Tannes*, betweene *Vologda* and *Mosco*, which are accounted fise hundred verstes asunder.

The tenth day of December, I was sent for to the Emperours Castle by the said Emperour, and deliuered my Letters vnto the Secretarie, who talked with mee of diuers matters, by the commandement of the Emperour. And after that my Letters were translated, I was answered that I was welcome, and that the Emperour would giue mee that I desired.

The fise and twentieth day, being the day of the Natiuitie, I came into the Emperours presence, and kissed his hand, who sate aloft in a goodly Chaire of estate, hauing on his head a Crowne most richly decked, and a staffe of Gold in his hand, all apparelled with Gold, and garnished with Precious stones. There sate distant from him about two yards his Brother, and next vnto him a Boy of twelue yeeres of age, who was Inheritor to the Emperour of *Casan*, conquered by this Emperour eight yeeres past. Then sate his Nobilitie round about him, richly apparelled with Gold and stone. And after I had done obeysance to the Emperour, he with his owne mouth calling me by my name, bade me to dinner, and so I departed to my lodging till dinner time, which at fixe of the clocke, by Candle light.

The Emperour dined in a faire great Hall, in the midst whereof was a Pillar foure square, very artificially made, about which were diuers Tables set, and at the vppermost part of the Hall sate the Emperour himselfe, and at his Table sate his Brother, his Vnclesonne, the Metropolitan, the young Emperour of *Casan*, and diuers of his Noblemen, all of one side. There were diuers Embassadours, and other strangers, as well *Christians* as *Heathens*, diuersly apparelled, to the number of fixe hundred men, which dined in the said Hall, besides two thousand *Tartars*, men of warre, which were newly come to render themselues to the Emperour, and were appointed to serue him in his warres against the *Lief-landers*, but they dined in other Halls. I was set at a little Table, hauing no stranger with mee, directly before the Emperours face. Being thus set and placed, the Emperour sent mee diuers bowles of Wine, and Meade, and many dishes of Meate from his owne hand, which were brought mee by a Duke, and my Table serued all in Gold and Siluer, and so likewise on other Tables, there were set bowles of Gold, set with Stone, worth by estimation 400. pounds sterling one cup, besides the Plate which serued the tables.

There

There was also a Cupboord of Plate, most sumptuous and rich, which was not vsed: among the which, was a piece of Gold of two yards long, wrought in the top with Towers, and Dragons heads, also diuers barrels of Gold and Siluer, with Castles on the bungs, richly and artificially made. The Emperour, and all the Hall throughout was serued with Dukes: and when dinner was ended, the Emperour called mee by name, and gaue me drinke with his owne hand, and so I departed to my lodging. Note, that when the Emperour drinketh, all the companie stand vp, and at euery time he drinketh, or tasteth of a dish of meate he blesseth himselfe. Many other things I saw that day, not here noted.

Rich seruice.

The fourth of Ianuarie, which was Twelf-tide with them, the Emperour, with his brother and all his Nobles, all most richly apparelled with Gold, Pearles, Precious stones, and costly Furies, with a Crowne vpon his head, of the Tartarian fashion, went to the Church in Procession, with the Metropolitan, and diuers Bishops and Priests. That day I was before the Emperour againe in Russe apparell, and the Emperour asked if that were not I, and his Chancellour answered, yea. Then he bad me to dinner: then came hee out of the Church, and went with the Procession vpon the Riuer, being all frozen, and there standing bare-headed, with all his Nobles, there was a hole made in the Ice, and the Metropolitan hallowed the water with great solemnitie and seruice, and did cast of the said water vpon the Emperours sonne, and the Nobilitie. That done, the people with great thronging filled pots of the said water to carrie home to their houses, and diuers children were throwne in, and sicke people, and plucked out quickly againe, and diuers Tartars christned: all which the Emperour beheld. Also there were brought the Emperours best Horses, to drinke at the said hallowed water. All this being ended, hee returned to his Palace againe, and went to dinner by Candle light, and sate in a wooden house, very fairely gilt. There dined in the place, aboue three hundred strangers, and I sate alone as I did before, directly before the Emperour, and had my Meate, Bread, and Drinke sent mee from the Emperour.

Twelf-tide.

Mosco Riuer hallowed.

Riuer of holy water for horse and man.

The Citie of Mosco is great, the houses for the most part of wood, and some of stone, with windowes of Iron, which serue for Summer time. There are many faire Churches of stone, but more of wood, which are made hot in the Winter time. The Emperours lodging is in a faire and large Castle, walled foure square of Bricke, high, and thicke, situated vpon an Hill, two miles about, and the Riuer on the South-west side of it, and it hath sixteene gates in the walls, and as many Bulwarkes. His Palace is separated from the rest of the Castle, by a long wall going North and South, to the Riuer side. In his Palace are Churches, some of stone, and some of wood, with round Towres fairely gilded. In the Church doores, and within the Churches are Images of Gold: the chiefe Markets for all things are within the said Castle, and for sundry things sundry Markets, and euery science by it selfe. And in the Winter there is a great Market without the Castle, vpon the Riuer being frozen, and there is sold Corne, earthen Pots, Tubs, Sleds, &c. The Castle is in circuit two thousand and nine hundred paces.

Citie of Mosco.

The Countrey is full of marish ground, and Playne, in Woods and Riuers abundant, but it bringeth forth good plentie of Corne. This Emperour is of great power: for he hath conquered much, as well of the Lieflanders, Poles, Lettoes, and Swethens, as also of the Tartars, and Gentiles, called Samoeds, hauing thereby much enlarged his Dominions. Hee keepeth his people in great subiection: all matters passe his iudgement, bee they neuer so small. The Law is sharpe for all offenders.

The Countrie.

The Metropolitan dealeth in matters of Religion, as himselfe listeth, whom the Emperour greatly honoureth. They vse the Ceremonies and Orders of the Greeke Church. They worship many Images painted on Tables, and specially the Image of Saint Nicholas. Their Priests bee married, but their wiues being dead, they may not marry the second time, and so become Monks, whereof there are a great number in the Land. They haue foure Lents in the yeere, and the weeke before Shrouetide, they call the Butter weeke, &c.

The Metropolitane.

They haue many sorts of meats and drinks, when they banquet and delight in eating of grosse meates, and stinking fish. Before they drinke they vse to blow in the Cup: their greatest friendship is in drinking: they are great Talkers and Lyars, without any faith or trust in their words, Flatterers and Dissemblers. The Women be there very obedient to their Husbands, and are kept straightly from going abroad, but at some seasons.

Meats and drinks.

At my being there, I heard men and women that drunke away their children, and all their goods at the Emperours Tauerne, and not being able to pay, hauing impawned himselfe, the Tauerner bringeth him out to the high way, and beats him vpon the legs: then they that passe by, knowing the cause, and hauing peradventure compassion vpon him, giue the money, and so hee is ransomed. In euery good Towne there is a drunken Tauerne, called a *Cursenay*, which the Emperour sometime letteth out to farme, and sometimes bestoweth for a yeere or two on some Duke or Gentleman, in recompence of his seruice: and for that time hee is Lord of all the Towne, robbing and spoyling, and doing what pleaseth him: and then hee being growne rich, is taken by the Emperour, and sent to the warres againe: where hee shall spend all that which he hath gotten by ill meanes: so that the Emperour in his warres is little charged, but all the burden

Drunkennesse.

Saddlers.

burden lyeth vpon the poore people. They vse saddles made of wood and sinewes, with the tree gilded with damaske worke, and the seat covered with cloth, sometimes of gold, and the rest *Saphian* leather, well stitched. They vse little drummes at their saddle bowes, by the sound whereof their horses vse to runne more swiftly.

Russe apparell.

The *Russe* is apparelled in this manner: his vpper garment is of cloth of gold, filke, or cloth, long, downe to the foot, and buttoned with great buttons of siluer, or else laces of filke, set on with Brooches, the sleeues thereof very long, which he weareth on his arme, ruffed vp. Vnder that he hath another long garment, buttoned with filke buttons, with a high collar standing vp of some colour, and that garment is made straight. Then his shirt is very fine, and wrought with red filke, or some gold, with a collar of pearle. Vnder his shirt he hath linnen breeches, vpon his legs, a paire of hose without feet, and his bootes of red or yellow leather. On his head he weareth a white Colepeck, with buttons or siluer, gold, pearle, or stone, and vnder it a black Foxe cap, turned vp very broad. When he rideth on horse-back to the warres, or any iourney, he hath a sword of the *Turkish* fashion, and his Bowe and Arrowes of the same manner. In the Towne he weareth no weapon, but onely two or three paire of kniues, hauing the hafts of the tooth of a Fish, called the *Morse*.

In the Winter time, the people trauell with Sleds, in Towne and Countrey, the way being hard, and smooth with snow: the waters and Riuer are all frozen, and one horse with a Sled, will draw a man vpon it foure hundred miles in three dayes: but in the Summer time, the way is deepe with myre, and traelling is very ill.

The *Russe*, if he be a man of any abilitie, neuer goeth out of his house in the winter, but vpon his Sled, and in summer vpon his Horse: and in his Sled he sits vpon a Carpet, or a white Beares skin: the Sled is drawne with a Horse well decked, with many Foxes and Woolues tails at his necke, and is conducted by a little boy vpon his backe: his seruants stand vpon the taile of the Sled, &c.

p. III.

Notes taken out of another mans Relation of the same Voyage, touching the Russian Rites.



N Christmasse day we were all willed to dine with the Emperors Maiestie, where for bread, meate, and drinke, we were serued as at other times before: but for goodly and rich Plate, we neuer saw the like or so much before. There dined that day in the Emperors presence aboue fise hundred strangers, and two hundred *Russes*, and all they were serued in vessels of Gold, and that as much as could stand one by another vpon the Tables. Besides this, there were foure Cup-boards garnished with goodly Plate both of gold and siluer. Among the which there were twelue barrells of siluer, contayning aboue twelue gallons a piece, and at each end of euery Barrell were six hoopes of fine gold: this dinner continued about six houres.

The hallowing of the Riuer of Mosco.

Euery yeere vpon the twelfth day, they vse to blesse or sanctifie the Riuer *Mosca*, which runneth through the Citie of *Mosco*, after this manner. First, they make a square hole in the Ice about three fathoms large euery way, which is trimmed about the sides and edges with white boords. Then about nine of the clocke they come out of the Church with procession towards the Riuer in this wise.

First and foremost there goe certaine young men with waxe Tapers burning, and one carrying a great Lanthorne: then follow certaine Banners, then the Crosse, then the Images of our Lady, of Saint *Nicholas*, and of other Saints, which Images men carry vpon their shoulders: after the Images follow certaine Priests to the number of one hundred or more: after them the Metropolitan who is led betweene two Priests, and after the Metropolitan came the Emperour with his Crowne vpon his head, and after his Maiestie all his Noble men orderly. Thus they followed the Procession vnto the water, and when they came vnto the hole that was made, the Priests set themselves in order round about it. And at one side of the same Poole there was a Scaffold of boords made, vpon which stood a faire Chaire in which the Metropolitan was set, but the Emperours Maiestie stood vpon the Ice.

After this the Priests began to sing, to blesse and to senfe, and did their seruice, and so by that time that they had done, the water was holy, which being sanctified, the Metropolitan tooke a little thereof in his hands, and cast it on the Emperour, likewise vpon certaine of the Dukes, and then they returned againe to the Church with the Priests that sate about the water: but that prease that there was about the water when the Emperour was gone, was wonderfull to behold, for there came aboue fise thousand Pots to be filled of that water: for that *Mosconite* which hath no part of that water, thinks himselfe vnhappy. And very many went naked into the water, both Men and Women and Children: after the prease was a little gone, the Emperours Iennets and

and Horſes were brought to drinke of the ſame water, and likewise many other men brought their Horſes thither to drinke, and by that meanes they make their Horſes as holy as themſelves. All theſe ceremonies being ended, we went to the Emperour to dinner, where we were ſerued in veſſels of ſiluer, and in all other points as we had bene beforetime.

The *Russes* begin their Lent alwayes eight weekes before Eaſter: the firſt weeke they eate Eggs, Milke, Cheeſe and Butter, and make great cheare with Pan-cakes, and ſuch other things, one friend viſiting another, and from the ſame Sunday vntill our Shroue-sunday, there are but few *Russes* ſober, but they are drunke day by day, and it is accounted for no reproach or ſhame among them.

The *Russes* Lent.

10 The next weeke being our firſt weeke in Lent, or our cleaſing weeke, beginning our Shroue-sunday, they make and keepe a great Faſt. It is reported, and the people doe verily beleue that the Metropolitan neither eateth nor drinketh any manner of thing for the ſpace of ſeuē dayes, and they ſay that there are many Religious men which doe the like. The Emperours Maieſtie eateth but one morſell of bread, and drinketh but one draught of drinke once in the day during that weeke, and all men that are of any reputation come not out of their houſes during that time, ſo that the ſtreets are almoſt voide of companie, ſauing a few poore folkes which wander to and fro. The other fixe weekes they keepe as we doe ours, but not one of them will eate either Butter, Cheeſe, Eggs, or Milke.

On Palme-sunday they haue a very ſolemne Proceſſion, in this manner following. Firſt, they haue a Tree of a good bigneſſe which is made faſt vpon two Sleds, as though it were growing there, and it is hanged with Apples, Raiſins, Figs, and Dates, and with many other fruits abundantly. In the miſt of the ſame Tree ſtand ſiue Boyes in white veſtures, which ſing in the Tree, before the Proceſſion: after this there followed certaine young men with Wax Tapets in their hands burning, and a great Lanthorne that all the light ſhould not goe out: after them followed two with long Banners, and fixe with round plates ſet vpon long ſtaues: the plates were of Copper very full of holes, and thinne: then followed fixe, carrying painted Images vpon their ſhoulders, after the Images followed certaine Priests, to the number of one hundred or more, with goodly veſtures, whereof ten or twelue are of white Damaske, ſet and embroidered round about with faire and orient Pearles, as great as Peaſe, and among them certaine Saphires and other ſtones. After them followed the one halfe of the Emperours Noblemen: then commeth the Emperours Maieſtie and the Metropolitan, after this manner.

Palme-sunday Proceſſion.

30 Firſt, there is a Horſe couered with white linnen cloth downe to the ground, his eares being made long with the ſame cloth, like to an Affes eares. Vpon this Horſe the Metropolitan ſitteth ſide-long like a woman: in his lappe lieth a faire Booke, with a Crucifixe of Gold-Smiths worke vpon the couer, which he holdeth faſt with his left hand, and in his right hand he hath a Croſſe of Gold, with which Croſſe he ceaſeth not to bleſſe the people as hee rideth. There are to the number of thirtie men which ſpread abroad their garments before the Horſe, and as ſoone as the Horſe is paſt ouer any of them, they take them vp againe and runne before, and ſpread them againe, ſo that the Horſe doth alway goe on ſome of them. They which ſpread the garments are all Priests ſonnes, and for their labours the Emperour giueth vnto them new garments.

The Emperour leadeth the Metropolitan's Horſe in Proceſſion.

One of the Emperours Noblemen leadeth the Horſe by the head, but the Emperour himſelfe going on foot, leadeth the Horſe by the end of the reyne of his Bridle with one of his hands, and in the other of his hands hee had a branch of a Palme tree: after this followed the reſt of the Emperours Noblemen and Gentlemen, with a great number of other people. In this order they went from one Church to another within the Caſtle, about the diſtance of two flight ſhot: and ſo returned againe to the Emperours Church, where they made an end of their ſeruiſe. Which being done, the Emperours Maieſtie, and certaine of his Noblemen went to the Metropolitan his houſe to dinner, where of delicate fiſhes and good drinckes there was no lacke. The reſt of this weeke vntill Eaſter day they kept very ſolemnelly, continuing in their houſes for the moſt part, and vpon Munday or Thursday the Emperour doth alwayes vſe to receiue the Sacrament, and ſo doe moſt of his Nobles.

50 Vpon Good-friday they continue all the day in contemplation and prayers, and they vſe euery yeere on Good-friday to let looſe a Priſoner in the ſtead of *Barabas*. The night following they goe to the Church, where they ſleepe vntill the next morning, and at Eaſter they haue the Reſurrection, and after euery of the Lents they eate fleſh the next weeke following, Friday, Saturday and all.

They haue an order at Eaſter, which they alwayes obſerue, and that is this: euery yeere againſt Eaſter to dye or colour red with Brazell a great number of Egges, of which euery maſt and woman giueth one vnto the Priſt of their Pariſh vpon Eaſter day in the morning. And moreouer, the common people vſe to carrie in their hands one of their red Egges, not onely vpon Eaſter day, but alſo three or foure dayes after, and Gentlemen and Gentlewomen haue Egges gilded which they carrie in like manner. They vſe it, as they ſay, for a great loue, and in token of the Reſurrection, whereof they reioyce. For when two friends meet during the Eaſter holy dayes

Kissing vsed in
the Greeke
Church.

dayes, they come and take one another by the hand: the one of them saith, *the Lord or Christ is risen*, the other answereth, *it is so of a truse*, and then they kisse and exchange their Egges both men and women, continuing in kissing foure dayes together.

His Majestie heareth all Complaints himselfe, and with his owne mouth giueth sentence, and judgement of all matters, and that with expedition: but Religious matters hee medleth not withall, but referreth them wholly vnto the Metropolitane. His Majestie retayneth and well rewardeth all strangers that come to serue him, and especially men of Warre. He delighteth not greatly in Hawking, Hunting, or any other pastime, nor in hearing Instruments or Musicke, but setteth all his whole delight vpon two things: First, to serue God, as vndoubtedly hee is very deuout in his Religion, and the second, how to subdue and conquer his enemies.

He hath abundance of Gold and Siluer in his owne hands or Treasurie: but the most part of his know not a Crowne from a Counter, nor Gold from Copper, they are so much cumbred therewithall, and he that is worth two, three, or foure Grotes, is a rich man.

Monasteries
and Monkes.

They haue both Monkes, Friers, and Nunnes, with a great number of great and rich Monasteries: they keepe great Hospitalitie, and doe releue much poore people day by day. I haue bin in one of the Monasteries called *Troietes*, which is walled about with Bricke very strongly like a Castle, and much Ordnance of Brasse vpon the walls of the same. They told mee themselves that there are seuen hundred Brethren of them which belong vnto that House. The most part of the Lands, Townes, and Villages which are within fortie miles of it, belong vnto the same.

Images.

They shewed me the Church, wherein were as many Images as could hang about, or vpon the walls of the Church round about, and euen the Roofe of the Church was painted full of Images. The chiefe Image was of our Ladie, which was garnished with Gold, Rubies, Saphirs, and other rich Stones abundantly. In the midst of the Church stood twelue Waxe Tapers of two yards long, and a fathome about in bignesse, and there stands a Kettle full of Waxe with about one hundred weight, wherein there is alwayes the wicke of a Candle burning, as it were a Lampe which goeth not out day nor night.

Miracles.

They shewed me a Coffin couered with Cloth of Gold, which stood vpon one side within their Church, in which they told me lay a holy man, who neuer eate or dranke, and yet that he liueth. And they told me (supposing that I had beleued them) that he healeth many Diseases, and giueth the blind their sight, with many other Miracles, but I was hard of beliefe, because I saw him worke no miracle whilst I was there.

Drinckes and
Vessels.

After this they brought me into their Sellers, and made me taste of diuers kinds of Drinckes, both Wine and Beere, Meade and Quassie, of sundry colours and kinds. Such abundance of Drinke as they haue in their Sellers, I doe suppose few Princes haue more, or so much at once. Their Barrells or Vessels are of an vnmeasurable bignesse and size: some of them are three yards long and more, and two yards and more broad in their heads: they contayne sixe or seuen tuns apiece: they haue none in their Sellers of their owne making that are lesse then a tunne. They haue nine or ten great vaultes which are full of those Barrells which are seldome remooued: for they haue trunks which come downe through the Roofe of the vaults in sundry places, through which they powre drinke downe, hauing the Caske right vnder it to receiue the same, for it should be a great trouble to bring it all downe the staires.

The Hospitali-
tie of their
Monasteries.

They giue Bread, Meate, and Drinke vnto all men that come to them, not onely while they are at their Abbey, but also when they depart, to serue them by the way. There are a great number of such Monasteries in the Realme, and the Emperours Majestie rideth oftentimes from one to another of them, and lyeth at them three or foure dayes together.

Monke Mer-
chants.

The same Monkes are as great Merchants as any in the Land of *Russia*, and doe occupie buying and selling as much as any other men, and haue Boates which passe to and fro in the Riuer with Merchandize from place to place where any of their Countrey doe traffique.

Dyer and Ap-
parell.

They eate no flesh during their liues as it is reported: but vpon Sunday, Munday, Tuesday, Thursday, and Saturday, it is lawfull for them to eate Egges, Butter, Cheese, and Milke, and at all times to eate fish, and after this sort they lead their liues. They weare all blacke Garments, and so doe none other in all the Land, but at that Abbey onely.

Want of Prea-
chers cause of
great igno-
rance and Ido-
latrie.

They haue no Preachers, no not one in all the Land to instruct the people, so that there are many, and the most part of the poore in the Countrey, who if one aske them how many Gods there be, they will say a great many, meaning that euery Image which they haue is a God: for all the Countrey and the Emperours Majestie himselfe will blesse and bow, and knocke their heads before their Images, insomuch that they will cry earnestly vnto their Images to helpe them to the things which they need. All men are bound by their Law to haue those Images in their Houses, and ouer euery gate in all their Townes and Cities are Images set vp, vnto which the people bow and bend, and knocke their heads against the ground before them: as often as they come by any Church or Crosse they doe in like manner. And when they come to any House, they blesse themselves three or foure times before they will salute any man in the House.

They reckon and hold it for great sinne to touch or handle any of their Images within the Circle

Circle of the board where the painting is, but they keepe them very daintily, and rich men deck them ouer and about with Gold, Siluer, and Stones, and hang them ouer and about with Cloth of Gold.

Sinnes of Superstition.

The Priests are marryed as other men are, and weare all their Garments as other men doe, except their Night-caps, which is cloth of some sad colour, being round and reacheth vnto the eares: their crownes are shauen, but the rest of their haire they let grow, as long as Nature will permit, so that it hangeth beneath their eares vpon their shoulders: their Beards they neuer shau: if his Wife happen to dye, it is not lawfull for him to marry againe during his life.

Priests.

They minister the Communion with Bread and Wine after our order, but hee breaketh the Bread and putteth it into the Cup vnto the Wine, and commonly some are partakers with them: and they take the Bread out againe with a Spooone together with part of the Wine, and so take it themselves, and giue it to others that receiue with them after the same manner. They will not permit any Nation but the *Greekes* to be buried in their sacred Burials, or Church-yards. All their Churches are full of Images, vnto the which the people when they assemble, doe bow and knocke their heads, as I haue before said, that some will haue knobs vpon their fore-heads with knocking, as great as Egges. All their seruice is in the *Russie* Tongue, and they and the common people haue no other Prayers but this, *Ghospodi Iesui Christos esine voze ponuloi nashe*. That is to say, O Lord Iesus Christ, Son of God haue mercie vpon vs: and this is their Prayer, so that the most part of the vnlearned know neither *Pater Noster*, nor the Beliefe, nor Ten Commandements, nor scarcely vnderstand the one halfe of their Seruice which is read in their Churches.

Sacraments.

All their seruice is in their Mother tongue.

When any child is borne, it is not baptized vntill the next Sunday, and if it chance that it be not baptized then, it must tarry vntill the second Sunday after the birth, and it is lawfull for them to take as many God-fathers and God-mothers as they will, the more the better.

When they goe to the Church, the Mid-wife goeth foremost, carrying the Childe, and the God-fathers and God-mothers follow into the midst of the Church, where there is a small Table readie set, and on it an Earthen Pot full of warme water, about the which the God-fathers and God-mothers, with the Childe, settle themselves: then the Clerke giueth vnto euery of them a small Waxe Candle burning, then commeth the Priest, and beginneth to say certayne words, which the God-fathers and God-mothers must answere word for word, among which one is, that the Child shall forsake the Deuill, and as that name is pronounced, they must all spit at the word as often as it is repeated. Then he blesteth the water which is in the Pot, and doth breathe ouer it: then he taketh all the Candles which the Gossips haue, and holding them all in one hand letteth part of them drop into the water, and then giueth euery one his Candle againe, and when the water is sanctified, he taketh the Child and holdeth it in a small Tub, and one of the God-fathers taketh the Pot with warme water, and powreth it all vpon the Childe head.

Baptisme.

After this he hath many more Ceremonies, as anoynting Eares and Eyes with Spittle, and making certayne Crosses with Oyle vpon the backe, head, and brest of the Childe: then taking the Childe in his armes, carryeth it to the Images of Saint *Nicholas*, and our Ladie, &c. and speaketh vnto the Images, desiring them to take charge of the Childe, that he may liue, and beleue as a Christian man or woman ought to doe, with many other words. Then comming backe from the Images, he taketh a paire of sheares and clippeth the young and tender haire of the Childe head, in three or foure places, and then deliuereth the Childe, whereunto euery of the God-fathers and God-mothers lay a hand: then the Priest chargeth them, that the Childe bee brought vp in the faith and feare of God or Christ, and that it be instructed to clinege, and bow to the Images, and so they make an end: then one of the God-fathers must hang a Crosse about the necke of the Childe, which hee must alwayes weare, for that *Russe* which hath not a Crosse about his necke they esteeme as no Christian man, and thereupon they say that wee are no Christians, because we doe not weare Crosses as they doe.

Their Matrimonic is nothing solemnized, but rather in most points abominable, and as neere as I can learne, in this wise following.

Of their Matrimonic.

First, when there is loue betweene the parties, the man sendeth vnto the woman a small Chest or Boxe, wherein is a Whip, Needles, Threed, Silke, Linnen Cloth, Sheares, and such necessities as she shall occupie when she is a Wife, and perhaps sendeth therewithall Raisins, Figs, or some such things, giuing her to vnderstand, that if she doe offend, she must be beaten with the Whip, and by the Needles, Threed, Cloth, &c. that she should apply her selfe diligently to sew, and doe such things as she could best doe, and by the Raisins or Fruits he meaneth if she doe well, no good thing shall bee with-drawne from her, nor bee too deare for her: and shee sendeth vnto him a Shirt, Hand-kerchers, and some such things of her owne making. And now to the effect.

When they are agreed, and the day of Marriage appointed, when they shall goe towards the Church, the Bride will in no wise consent to goe out of the House, but resisteth and striueth with them that would haue her out, and sayneth her selfe to weepe, yet in the end, two women get her out, and lead her towards the Church, her face being covered close, because of her dissimulation, that it should not be openly perceiued: for shee maketh a great noyse, as though she were sobbing and weeping, vntill she come at the Church, and then her face is vncouered. The

man commeth after among other of his friends, and they carrie with them to Church a great Pot of Wine or Meade: then the Priest coupleth them together much after our order, one promising to loue and serue the other during their liues together, &c. which being done, they be ginnne to drinke, and first the woman drinketh to the man, and when he hath drunke he letteth the cup fall to the ground, hasting immediately to tread vpon it, and so doth she, and whether of them tread first vpon it, must haue the victorie and be Master at all times after, which commonly happeneth to the man, for he is readiest to set his foot on it, because he letteth it fall himselfe, then they goe home againe, the womans face being vncouered. The Boyes in the streets cry out, and make a noyse in the meane time, with very dishonest words.

When they come home, the Wife is set at the vpper end of the Table, and the Husband next vnto her: they fall then to drinking till they be all drunke, they perchance haue a Minstrell or two, and two naked men, which led her from the Church, dance naked a long time before all the company. When they are wearie of drinking, the Bride and the Bridegroom get them to Bed, for it is in the Euening alwayes when any of them are married: and when they are going to Bed, the Bridegroom putteth certayne Money, both Gold and Siluer, if he haue it, into one of his Boots, and then sitteth downe in the Chamber, crossing his legges, then the Bride must pluck off one of his Boots, which she will, and if she happen on the Boot wherein the Money is, shee hath not onely the Money for her labour, but is also at such choice, as she need not euer from that day forth to pull off his Boots, but if shee misse the Boot wherein the Money is, she doth not onely lose the Money, but is also bound from that day forwards to pull off his Boots continually.

Then they continue in drinking and making good cheere three dayes following, being accompanied with certayne of their friends, and during the same three dayes, he is called a Duke, and she a Dutches, although they be very poore persons, and this is as much as I haue learned of their Matrimony: but one common rule is amongst them, if the woman be not beaten with the Whip once a Weeke, she will not be good, and therefore they looke for it orderly, and the women say, that if their Husbands did not beate them, they should not loue them.

They vse to marry there very young, their Sonnes at sixteene and eightene yeares old, and the Daughters at twelue or thirteene yeares or younger: they vse to keepe their Wiues very closely, I meane those that be of any reputation, so that a man shall not see one of them but at a chance, when shee goeth to Church at Christmasse or at Easter, or else going to visit some of her friends.

The women
of Russia paint
their faces.

The most part of the women vse to ride a-stride in Saddles with stirrups, as men doe, and some of them on Sleds, which in Summer is not commendable. The Husband is bound to find the Wife colours to paint her with all, for they vse ordinarily to paint themselues: it is such a common practice among them, that it is counted for no shame: they grease their faces with such colours, that a man may discerne them hanging on their faces almost a flight shoot off: I cannot so well liken them as to a Millers Wife, for they looke as though they were beaten about the face with a bagge of Meale, but their Eye-browes they colour as blacke as leat. The best propertie that the women haue, is that they can sewe well, and imbroider with Silke and Gold excellently.

Of their Buriall.

When any man or woman dyeth, they stretch him out, and put a new paire of shooes on his feet, because he hath a great Journey to goe: then doe they wind him in a sheet, as wee doe, but they forget not to put a testimonie in his right hand, which the Priest giueth him, to testifie vnto Saint Nicholas that he dyed a Christian man or woman. And they put the Corse alwayes in a Coffin of Wood, although the partie be very poore: and when they goe towards the Church, the Friends and Kinsmen of the partie departed carrie in their hands small Waxe Candles, and they weepe, and howle, and make much lamentation. They that bee hanged or beheaded, or such like, haue no testimonie with them: how they are recieued into Heauen, it is a wonder, without their Pasport.

Bread made of
straw.
The vnmercif
fulnesse of the
Russes toward
the poore.
Stoues or
Baths vsuall
with the Mos
covites.

There are a great number of poore people among them which dye daily for lacke of sustenance, which is a pitifull case to behold: for there hath bin buried in a small time, within these two yeares, aboue eightie persons yong and old, which haue dyed onely for lacke of sustenance, for if they had had straw and water enough, they would make shift to liue: for a great many are forced in the Winter to dry straw and stampe it, and to make bread thereof, or at the least they eate it in stead of bread. In the Summer they make good shift with grasse, herbes, and roots: barkes of Trees are good meat with them at all times. There is no people in the World, as I suppose, that liue so miserably as doe the pouertie in thole parts: and the most part of them that haue sufficient for themselues, and also to relieue others that need, are so vnmercifull that they care not how many they see dye of famine or hunger in the streets.

It is a Countrey full of Diseases, diuers, and euill, and the best remedie is for any of them, as they hold opinion, to goe often vnto the Hot-houses, as in a manner euery man hath one of his owne, which he heateth commonly twice euery weeke, and all the household sweat, and wash themselues therein.

The

The first and principall Meade is made of the joyce or liquor taken from a Berrie, called in *Russia*, *Maliemo*, which is of a marvellous sweet taste, and of a Carmolant colour, which Berrie I have seene in *Paris*. The second Meade is called *Vishna*, because it is made of a Berrie so called, and is like a blacke Gooseberrie: but it is like in colour and taste to the red Wine of *France*. The third Meade is called *Amarodina* or *Smorodina*, short, of a small Berrie much like to the small Raisin, and groweth in great plentie in *Russia*. The fourth Meade is called *Chereunikyna*, which is made of the wild blacke Cherrie. The fift Meade is made of Honey and Water, with other mixtures. There is also a delicate Drinke drawne from the Root of the Birch Tree, called in the *Russe* Tongue *Berocuites*, which drinke the Noblemen and others vse in Aprill, May, and June, which are the three moneths of the Spring-time: for after those moneths, the sap of the Tree dryeth, and then they cannot haue it.

Diuers sorts
of Russian
Drinckes, re-
ported by Tho-
mas Bulley.

about 1558
1558

I haue by me a Letter of Master Christopher Hoddesdon, written the seuenteenth of Nouem- ber 1558 wherein he writes, that it seemes, there is no great punishment for breaking their Re- gion, some of them aduenturing to eat Milke with him on a Fastling day, which yet others re- fused. *Narossasy* (so he calls the Towne where he writ) is fairer then *Volga*, the Riuer almost a mile broad: he was asked seuen *Alines* for a Sturgeon, he had given at *Danske* nine Mark-sprace for a worser: neither had he seene such abundance of Ling in *England*, as there of Sturgeons, there being in that dayes Market, about three thousand.

The Riuer of
the Mosco

The Riuer of
the Mosco

Mosco in 55. de-
grees, 10 mi-
nutes.

Occa.

Rezan.

Cassim.

Morom.

Nyse Nonogrod.

Honey and
Waxe.

Vasilagorod.

§. IIII.

The Voyage of Master ANTHONIE LENKINSON, made from the Citie of Mosco in *Russia*, to the Citie of Boghar in *Bactria*, in the yeare 1558. written by himselfe to the Merchants of London, of the Moscouie Company.

He three and twentieth day of Aprill, in the yeare 1558. (hauing obtayned the Em- perour of *Russia* his Letters, directed vnto sundry Kings and Princes, by whose Domi- nions I should passe) departed from *Mosco* by water, hauing with mee two of your Seruants; namely, *Richard Iohanson*, and *Robert Iohnson*, and a Tartar *Tolmach*, with diuers parcels of Wares, as by the Inuentorie appeareth: and the eight and twentieth day wee came to a Towne, called *Collom*, distant from the *Mosco* twentie leagues, and passing one league beyond the said *Collom*, we came vnto a Riuer, called *Occa*, into the which the Riuer *Mosco* falleth, and loseth his name: and passing downe the said Riuer *Occa* eight leagues, wee came vnto a Castle called *Terreuettsko*, which we left vpon our right hand, and proceeding for- ward, the second day of May, wee came vnto another Castle, called *Perslane*, distant eight leagues, leaving it also on our right hand. The third day we came vnto the place where old *Re- xan* was situate, being now most of it ruined and ouer-growne, and distant from the said *Pers- lane*, fixe leagues: the fourth day we passed by a Castle, called *Terreconia*, from *Rezan* twelue leagues, and the sixth day we came to another Castle, called *Cassim*, vnder the government of a Tartar Prince, named *Vizar Zegoline*, sometime Emperour of the worthy Citie of *Cazan*, and now subject vnto the Emperour of *Russia*. But leauing *Cassim* on our left hand, the eighth day we came vnto a faire Towne, called *Morom*, from *Cassim* twentie leagues, where wee tooke the Sunne, and found the latitude fiftie fixe degrees: and proceeding forward the eleuenth day, wee came vnto another faire Towne and Castle, called *Nyse Nonogrod*, situated at the falling of the foresaid Riuer *Occa*, into the worthy Riuer of *Volga*, distant from the said *Morom* fixe and twen- tie leagues, in the latitude of fiftie fixe degrees eightene minutes. From *Rezan* to this *Nyse Nonogrod*, on both sides the said Riuer of *Occa*, is rayfed the greatest store of Waxe and Honey in all the Land of *Russia*. We tarried at the foresaid *Nyse Nonogrod* vntill the nineteenth day, for the comming of a Capitaine which was sent by the Emperour to rule at *Astracan*, who being arriued, and hauing the number of fixe hundred great Boates vnder his conduct, some laden with Victuals, Souldiers, and Munition: and other some with Merchandize, departed altogether the said nineteenth day from the said *Nyse Nonogrod*, and the two and twentieth wee came vnto a Castle, called *Vasilagorod*, distant fixe and twentie leagues, which wee left vpon our right hand. This Towne or Castle had his name of this Emperours Father, who was called *Vasilus*, and *Gorod* in the *Russe* Tongue is as much to say, as a Castle, so that *Vasilia- gorod* is to say, *Vasilus* Castle: and it was the furthest place that the said Emperour conquered from the *Tartars*. But this present Emperour his Sonne, called *Iuan Vasil- wick*, hath had great good successe in his Warres, both against the *Christians*, and also the *Ma- hometists*, and *Gentiles*, but especially against the *Tartars*, inlarging his Empire euen to the *Caspian* Sea, hauing conquered the famous Riuer of *Volga*, with all the Countreyes thereabout adjacent. Thus proceeding on our journey, the fixe and twentieth day of May afore-said,

we came to another Castle called *Sabowhare*, which wee left on our right hand, distant from *Vasiliagorod*, sixteene leagues. The Countrey hereabout is called *Mordonits*, and the Habitants did professe the Law of the *Gentiles*: but now beeing conquered by this Emperour of *Russia*, most of them are christened, but lye in the Woods and Wildernesse, without Towne or Habitation.

Smyaske.

Cazan stands in
55. degrees 33.
minutes.

The seuen and twentieth day we passed by another Castle, called *Smyaske*, distant from *Shabowhare* aforesaid, twentie five leagues: we left it on our right hand, and the nine and twentieth came vnto an Iland one league from the Citie of *Cazan*, from which falleth downe a Riuer called *Cazankareca*, and entreth into the foresaid *Volga*. *Cazan* is afaire Towne after the *Russe* or *Tartar* fashion, with a strong Castle situated vpon a high Hill, and was walled round about with Timber and Earth, but now the Emperour of *Russia* hath given order to plucke downe the olde wals, and to build them againe of free stone. It hath beene a Citie of great Wealth and Riches, and being in the hands of the *Tartars*, it was a Kingdome of it selfe, and did more vex the *Russes* in their Warres, then any other Nation: but nine yeares past, this Emperour of *Russia* conquered it, and tooke the King captiue, who being but young is now baptized, and brought vp in his Court with two other Princes, which were also Kings of the said *Cazan*, and being each of them in time of their Raignes in danger of their Subiects through ciuill discord, came and rendered themselues at severall times vnto the said Emperour, so that at this present there are three Princes in the Court of *Russia*, which had beene Emperours of the said *Cazan*, whom the Emperour vseth with great honour.

The Iland of
Merchants.

We remayned at *Cazan* till the thirteenth day of Iune, and then departed from thence: and the same day passed by an Iland called the Iland of Merchants, because it was wont to be a place where all Merchants, as well *Russes* and *Cazanites*, as *Nagayans* and *Crimmes*, and diuers other Nations did resort to keepe Mart for buying and selling, but now it is forsaken, and standeth without any such resort thither, or at *Cazan*, or at any place about it, from *Mosco* vnto *Mare Caspium*.

The Riuer of
Cama.

Vachen.

Thus proceeding forward, the fourteenth day we passed by a goodly riuer called *Cama*, which we left on our left hand. This Riuer falleth out of the Countrey of *Permia* into the Riuer of *Volga*, and is from *Cazan* fifteene leagues: and the Countrey lying betwixt the said *Cazan*, and the said Riuer *Cama* on the left hand of *Volga* is called *Vachen*, and the Inhabitants bee *Gentiles*, and liue in the Wildernesse without House or Habitation: and the Countrey on the other side of *Volga*, ouer against the said Riuer *Cama*, is called the Land of *Cheremizes*, halfe *Gentiles*, halfe *Tartars*, and all the Land on the left hand of the said *Volga*, from the said Riuer vnto *Astracan*, and so following the North and North-east side of the *Caspian* Sea, to a Land of the *Tartars* called *Turkemen*, is called the Countrey of *Mangat* or *Nagay*, whose Inhabitants are of the Law of *Mahomet*, and were all destroyed in the yeare 1558. at my beeing at *Astracan*, through Ciuill Warres among them, accompanied with Famine, Pestilence, and such Plagues, in such sort that in the said yeare there were consumed of the people, in one sort and another, aboue one hundred thousand: the like Plague was neuer seene in those parts, so that the said Countrey of *Nagay*, being a Countrey of great Pasture, remayneth now vnreplenished to the great contentation of the *Russes*, who haue had cruell Warres a long time together.

Mangat or *Nagay*
Tartars.

Hords.

The *Nagayans* when they flourished, liued in this manner: they were diuided into diuers companies called Hords, and euery Hord had a Ruler, whom they obeyed as their King, and was called a Murse. Towne or House they had none, but liued in the open fields, euery Murse or King hauing his Hords or people about him, with their Wiues, Children, and Cattell, who hauing consumed the Pasture in one place, removed vnto another: and when they remooue they haue Houses like Tents set vpon Waggones or Carts, which are drawne from place to place with Camels, and therein their Wiues, Children, and all their Riches, which is very little, is carried about, and euery man hath at the least foure or five Wiues besides Concubines. Vse of money they haue none, but doe barter their Cattell for apparell and other necessaries. They delight in no Art nor Science, except the Warres, wherein they are expert, but for the most part they bee pasturing people, and haue great store of Cattell, which is all their Riches. They eate much flesh, and especially the Horse, and they drinke Mares Milke, wherewith they be oftentimes drunke: they are seditious and inclined to Theft and Murther. Corne they sow not, neither doe eate any Bread, mocking the Christians for the same, and disabling our strengths, saying, wee liue by eating the top of a Weed, and drinke a Drinke made of the same, allowing their great deuouring of flesh, and drinking of Milke to be the increase of their strength. But now to proceed forward to my Iourney.

The *Crimme*
Tartars.

All the Countrey vpon our right hand the Riuer *Volga*, from ouer against the Riuer *Cama* vnto the Towne of *Astracan*, is the Land of *Crimme*, whose Inhabitants bee also of the Law of *Mahomet*, and liue for the most part according to the fashions of the *Nagayans*, hauing continuall Warres with the Emperour of *Russia*, and are valiant in the field, hauing countenance, and support from the great *Turke*.

The sixteenth day of Iune we passed by certayne Fishermens Houses, called *Petowse*, twentie leagues

leagues from the Riuer *Cassa*, where is great fishing for Sturgeon, so continuing our way vntill the two and twentieth day, and passing by another great Riuer called *Samar*, which falleth out of the aforesaid Countrey, and runneth through *Nagay*, and entreth into the said Riuer of *Volga*. The eight and twentieth day we came vnto a great Hill, where was in times past a Castle made by the *Crimmes*, but now it is ruined, being the iust mid-way betweene the said *Cazan* and *Astrachan*, which is two hundred leagues or thereabout, in the latitude of one and fiftie degrees; fortie seuen minutes. Vpon all this shoare groweth abundance of *Licoris*, whose Root runneth within the ground like a Vine.

The Riuer
of *Samar*.

Licoris in
great plentie.
Peronolog.
Don or *Tanais*.

Thus going forward, the sixt day of Iuly we came to a place called *Peronolog*, so named because in times past the *Tartars* carried their Boats from *Volga*, vnto the Riuer *Tanais*, otherwise called *Don*, by Land, when they would rob such as passed downe the said *Volga* to *Astrachan*, and also such as passed downe by the Riuer *Tanais*, to *Afon*, *Cassa*, or any other Towne situated vpon *Mare Euxinum*, into which Sea *Tanais* falleth, who hath his Springs in the Countrey of the *Rezan*, out of a plaine ground. It is at this streight of *Peronolog* from the one Riuer to the other, two leagues by Land, and is a dangerous place for Theeues and Robbers, but now it is not so euill as it hath beene by reason of the Emperour of *Russia* his Conquests.

Departing from *Peronolog*, hauing the Wildernesse on both sides, wee saw a great Heard of *Nagayans* pasturing, as is abouesaid, by estimation aboue a thousand Camels drawing of Carts with Houses vpon them like Tents, of a strange fashion, seeming to bee as farre off a Towne: that Herd was belonging to a great Murse, called *Smille*, the greatest Prince in all *Nagay*, who hath slaine and driuen away all the rest, not sparing his owne Brethren and Children, and hauing peace with this Emperour of *Russia*, hee hath what hee needeth, and ruleth alone; so that now the *Russes* liue in peace with the *Nagayans*, who were wont to haue mortall Warres together.

The fourteenth day of Iuly passing by an old Castle, which was Old *Astrachan*, and leauing it vpon our right hand, we arriued at New *Astrachan*, which this Emperour of *Russia* conquered fixe yeares past, in the yeare 1552. It is from the *Mosco* vnto *Astrachan* fixe hundred leagues, or thereabout. The Towne of *Astrachan* is situated in an Iland vpon a Hill side, hauing a Castle within the same, walled about with Earth and Timber, neither faire nor strong: The Towne is also walled about with Earth: the Buildings and Houses (except it be the Captaines Lodging, and certaine other Gentlemens) most base & simple. The Iland is most destitute and barren of wood and pasture, and the ground will beare no Corne; the Aire is there most infected, by reason (as I suppose) of much fish, and specially Sturgeon, by which onely the Inhabitants liue, hauing great scarcitie of flesh and bread. They hang vp their fish in their streets and Houses to dry for their prouision, which causeth such abundance of flies to increase there, as the like was neuer seene in any Land, to their great Plague. And at my being at the said *Astrachan*, there was a great Famine and Plague among the people, and specially among the *Tartars*, called *Nagayans*, who the same time came thither in great numbers to render themselves to the *Russes* their Enemies, and to seeke succour at their hands, their Countrey being destroyed, as I said before: but they were but ill entertayned or releued, for there dyed a great number of them for hunger, which lay all the Iland through in heapes dead, and like to beafts vnburied, very pittifull to behold: many of them were also sold by the *Russes*, and the rest were banished from the Iland. At that time it had beene an easie thing to haue conuerted that wicked Nation to the Christian Faith, if the *Russes* themselves had beene good Christians: but how should they shew compassion vnto other Nations, when they are not mercifull vnto their owne? At my being there I could haue bought many goodly *Tartars* Children, if I would haue had a thousand, of their owne Fathers and Mothers, to say, a Boy or a Wench for a Loafe of bread worth fixe pence in *England*, but we had more need of victuals at that time then of any such Merchandize. This *Astrachan* is the furthest hold that this Emperour of *Russia* hath conquered of the *Tartars* towards the *Caspian* Sea, which he keepeth very strong, sending thither euery yeare prouision of men, and victuals, and Timber to build the Castle.

Astrachan.

Store of Stur-
geons, & flies.

Miserable Fa-
mine.

There is a certayne Trade of Merchandize there vsed, but as yet so small and beggerly, that it is not worth the making mention, and yet there come Merchants thither from diuers places. The chiefeest Commodities that the *Russes* bring thither are red Hides, red sheeps skinnes, wooden Vessels, Bridles, and Saddles, Knives, and other Trifles, with Corne, Bacon, and other Victuals. The *Tartars* bring thither diuers kinds of Wares made of Cotton Wooll, with diuers kinds of wrought Silkes: and they that come out of *Persia*, namely, from *Shamacki*, doe bring sewing Silke, which is the courtest that they vse in *Russeland*, *Crasse*, diuers kinds of pike Silkes for Girdles, Shirts of Male, Bowes, Swords, and such like things: and some yeares Corne, and Wal-nuts, but all such things in such small quantitie, the Merchants being so beggerly and poore that bring the same, that it is not worth the writing, neither is there any hope of Trade in all those parts worth the following.

This foresaid Iland of *Astrachan* is in length twelue leagues, and in breadth three, and lyeth East and West in the latitude of fortie seuen degrees, nine minutes: we tarried there vntill the

They enter into
to the Caspian
Sea.

Volga.

The Blue Sea.

Banghletea be-
ing 74. leagues
from Volga.

six day of August, and having bought and provided a Boate in company with certayne Tartars and Persians, wee laded our goods and imbarked our selues, and the same day departed I, with the said two Johnsons, having the whole charge of the Navigation downe the said River Volga, beeing very crooked, and full of flats toward the mouth thereof. Wee entered into the Caspian Sea the tenth day of August at the Easterly side of the said River, beeing twentie leagues from Astracan aforesaid, in the latitude of fortie six degrees, twentie seven minutes.

Volga hath seuentie mouthes or falls into the Sea: and we having a large wind, kept the North-east shoare, and the eleventh day we sayled seuen leagues East North-east, and came vnto an Island hauing a high Hill therein, called *Accurgar*, a good Marke in the Sea. From thence East ten leagues, we fell with another Island, called *Bawhiata*, much higher then the other. Within these two Islands to the Northwards, is a great Bay called the *Blue Sea*. From thence wee sayled East and by North ten leagues, and hauing a contrary wind, wee came to an Anchor in a fathome water, and so rid vntill the fifteenth day, hauing a great storme at South-east, being a most contrary wind, which we rid out. Then the wind came to the North, and wee weighed, and set our course South-east, and that day sayled eight leagues.

Thus proceeding forwards, the seuenteenth day we lost sight of Land, and the same day sayled thirtie leagues, and the eighteenth day twentie leagues winding East, and fell with a Land called *Banghletea*, being seuentie foure leagues from the mouth of the said Volga, in the latitude of fortie six degrees fiftie foure minutes, the Coast lying nearest East and by South, and West and by North. At the point of this land lyeth buried a holy Prophet, as the Tartars call him, of their Law, where great deuotion is vsed of all such Mahometists as doe passe that way.

HONDIVS his Map of Tartaria.



The nineteenth day the winde being West, and wee winding East South-east, we sayled ten leagues, and passed by a great River called *Iaic*, which hath his spring in the Land of *Siberia*, *Iaic River*. nigh vnto the foresaid River *Cama*, and runneth through the Land of *Nagay*, falling into this *Mare Caspium*. And vp this River one dayes journey is a Towne called *Serachicke*, subiect to the foresaid Tartar Prince, called *Murfe Smille*, which is now in friendship with the Emperour of *Russia*. Heere is no trade of merchandise vled, for that the people haue no vse of money, and are all Men of warre, and Pasturers of cattell, and giuen much to theft and murder. Thus being at an anchor against this River *Iaic*, and all our men being on Land, sauing I, who lay sore sicke, and five *Tartars*, whereof one was reputed a holy man, because hee came from *Mecca*, there came vnto vs a Boat with thirtie men well armed and appointed, who boarded vs, and began to enter into our Barke, and our holy *Tartar*, called *Azy*, perceiuing that, asked them what they would haue, and withall made a prayer: with that these Rouers stayed, declaring that they were Gentlemen, banished from their Countrey, and out of liuing, and came to see if there were any *Russes*, or other *Christians* (which they call *Cappars*) in our Barke: To whom this *Azy* most stoutly answered, that there were none, auowing the same by great oaths of their Law, (which lightly they will not breake) whom the Rouers beleued, and vpon his words departed. And so through the fidelitie of that *Tartar*, I with all my companie and goods were saued, and our men being come on board, and the wind faire, we departed from that place, and winding East and South-east, that day being the twentieth of August sailed sixteene leagues.

20 The one and twentieth day we passed ouer a Bay of sixe leagues broad, and fell with a Cape of Land, hauing two Ilands at the South-east part thereof, being a good marke in the Sea: and doubling the Cape the Land trended North-east, and maketh another Bay, into which falleth the greater River *Tem*, springing out of the Land of *Colmack*. The two and twentieth, three and twentieth, and foure and twentieth dayes, we were at anchor. The five and twentieth, the winde came faire, and we sayled that day twentie leagues, and passed by an Iland of lowe land, and thereabout are many flats and sands: and to the Northward of this Iland there goeth in a great Bay, but we set off from this Iland, and winded South to come into deepe water, being much troubled with shoals and flats, and ranne that course ten leagues, then East South-east, twentie leagues, and fell with the maine Land, being full of copped Hills, and passing along the coast twentie leagues, the further we sayled, the higher was the Land.

30 The seuen and twentieth day we crossed ouer a Bay, the South shoare being the higher Land, and fell with a high point of Land: and being ouerthwart the Cape, there rose such a storme at the East, that we thought verily we should haue perished: this storme continued three dayes. From this Cape we passed to a Port called *Manguslaue*. The place where we should haue arrived at the Southermost part of the *Caspian Sea*, is twelue leagues within a Bay: but we being fore tormented and tossed with this forelaid storme, were driuen vnto another Land on the other side the Bay, ouerthwart the said *Manguslaue*, being very lowe Land, and a place as well for the ill commoditie of the Haven, as of those brute field people, where neuer Barke nor Boat had before arrived, nor liked of vs.

40 But yet there we sent certaine of our men to Land to talke with the Gouvernour and People, as well for our good ylage at their hands, as also for prouision of Camels to carrie our goods from the said Sea side to a place called *Sallyzore*, being from the place of our landing five and twentie dayes journey. Our Messengers returned with comfortable words and faire promises of all things.

Wherefore the third day of September 1558. we discharged our Barke, and I with my companie were gently enterdayned of the Prince, and of his people. But before our departure from thence, we found them to bee a very bad and brutish people, for they ceased not daily to molest vs, either by fighting, stealing, or begging, rayning the price of Horse, and Camels, and Victuals, double that it was wont there to be, and forced vs to buy the water that we drinke: which caused vs to hasten away, and to conclude with them as well for the hire of Camels, as for the price of such as wee bought, with other prouision, according to their owne demand: So that for euery Camels lading, being but foure hundred weight of ours, we agreed to giue three Hides of *Russia*, and foure wooden dishes, and to the Prince or Gouvernour of the said people one ninth, and two seuenths: namely, nine seuerall things, and twice seuen seuerall things: for money they vse none.

And thus being ready, the fourteenth of September we departed from that place, being a Carauan of a thousand Camels. And hauing trauelled five dayes journey, wee came to another Princes Dominion, and vpon the way there came vnto vs certaine *Tartars* on horsebacke, being well armed, and seruants vnto the said Prince called *Timor Sultan*, Gouvernour of the said Countrey of *Manguslaue*, where wee meant to haue arrived and discharged our Barke, if the great storme aforelaid had not disappointed. These aforelaid *Tartars* stayed our Carauan in the name of their Prince, and opened our Wares, and tooke such things as they thought best for their said Prince without money, but for such things as they tooke from mee, which was a ninth (after much dissention) I rode vnto the same Prince, and presented my selfe before him, requesting his

Serachicke

The Countrey of Colmack

The Port of Manguslaue

The Port of Manguslaue

They goe on land

The Countrey of Manguslaue It stands in

45.

his fauour, and Pasport to trauell thorow his Cpuntrey, and not to be robbed or spoyled of his people: which request he granted me, and entertayned me very gently, commanding me to be well feasted with flesh and Mares milke: for Bread they vse none, nor other drinke except water: but money he had none to giue me for such things as he tooke of me, which might be of value in *Russe* money, fifteene Rubbles; but hee gaue mee his Letter, and a Horse worth seuen Rubbles. And so I departed from him being glad that I was gone: for he was reported to bee a very tyrant, and if I had not gone vnto him, I vnderstood his commandement was, that I should haue beene robbed and destroyed.

Twentie dayes
trauell in the
Wildernesse,
with scarfitie
of water.

Another Gulfe
of the *Caspian*
Sea.

Will. de Rubricis
describeth this
Riuer of *Ardok*,
cap. 4.

Sellizure, or
Shayzure.

Letters of safe
conduct.

Vrgence, in 42.
degr. 18. min.

This *Sultan* liued in the fields without Castle or Towne, and sate, at my being with him, in a little round house made of reeds couered without with Felt, and within with Carpets. There was with him the great Metropolitan of that wilde Countrey, esteemed of the people, as the Bishop of *Rome* is in most parts of *Europe*, with diuers other of his chiefe men. The *Sultan* with this Metropolitan demanded of mee many questions, as well touching our Kingdomes, Lawes, and Religion, as also the cause of my comming into those parts, with my further pretence. To whom I answered concerning all things, as vnto me seemed best, which they tooke in good part. So hauing leaue I departed, and ouertooke our Carauan, and proceeding on our journey, and trauelled twentie dayes in the Wildernesse from the Sea side without seeing Town or habitation, carrying prouision of victuals with vs for the same time, and were driuen by necessitie to eat one of my Camels and a Horse for our part, as other did the like: and during the said twentie dayes we found no water, but such as we drew out of old deepe Wells, being very brackish and salt, and yet somtimes passed two or three dayes without the same. And the fift day of October ensuing, we came vnto a Gulfe of the *Caspian* Sea againe, where we found the water very fresh and sweet: at this Gulfe the Customers of the King of *Turkeman* met vs, who tooke custome of euery five and twentie one, and seuen ninths for the said King and his brethren, which being receiued they departed, and we remayned there a day after to refresh our selues.

Note, that in times past there did fall into this Gulfe the great Riuer *Oxus*, which hath his springs in the Mountaines of *Parapontus* in *India*, and now commeth not so farre, but falleth into another Riuer, called *Ardok*, which runneth toward the North, and consumeth himselfe in the ground, passing vnder the ground aboute five hundred miles, and then issueth out againe and falleth into the Lake of *Kubay*.

We hauing refreshed our selues at the foresaid Gulfe, departed thence the fourth day of October, and the seuenth day arriued at a Castle, called *Sellizure*, where the King, called *Azim Can*, remayned with three other of his brethren, and the ninth day I was commanded to come before his presence, to whom I deliuered the Emperours Letters of *Russia*: and I also gaue him a Present of a ninth, who entertayned me very well, and caused me to eat in his presence as his brethren did, feasting me with flesh of a wilde Horse, and Mares milke without Bread. And the next day he sent for me againe, and asked of me diuers questions, as well touching the affaires of the Emperour of *Russia*, as of our Countrey and Lawes, to which I answered as I thought good: so that at my departure he gaue mee his Letters of safe conduct.

This Castle of *Sellizure* is situated vpon an high Hill, where the King called the *Can* lieth, whose Palace is built of earth very basely, and not strong: the people are but poore, and haue little trade of merchandise among them. The South part of this Castle is low land, but very fruitful, where growe many good fruits, among which there is one called a *Dynie*, of a great bignesse, and full of moisture, which the people doe eat after meate in stead of drinke. Also there growes another fruit, called a *Carbuse*, of the bignesse of a great Cucumber, yellow, and sweet as Sugar: also a certaine Corne, called *Iegur*, whose stalke is much like a Sugar cane, and as high, and the Graine like Rice, which groweth at the top of the cane like a cluster of Grapes; the water that serueth all that Countrey is drawne by ditches out of the Riuer *Oxus*, vnto the great destruction of the said Riuer, for which cause it falleth not into the *Caspian* Sea, as it hath done in times past, and in short time all that Land is like to be destroyed, and to become a Wildernesse for want of water, when the Riuer of *Oxus* shall faile.

The fourteenth day of the moneth wee departed from this Castle of *Sellizure*, and the sixteenth of the same wee arriued at a Citie called *Vrgence*, where we payed Custome as well for our owne heads, as for our Camels and Horses. And hauing there sojourned one moneth, attending the time of our further trauell, the King of that Countrey called *Aly Sultan*, brother to the fore-named *Azym Can*, returned from a Towne called *Corasan*, within the borders of *Persia*, which he lately had conquered from the *Persians*, with whom hee and the rest of the Kings of *Tartaria* haue continuall warres. Before this King also I was commanded to come, to whom I likewise presented the Emperours Letters of *Russia*, and he entertayned me well, and demanded of me diuers questions, and at my departure gaue me his Letters of safe conduct.

This Citie or Towne of *Vrgence* standeth in a plaine ground, with walls of the earth, by estimation foure miles about it. The buildings within it are also of earth, but ruined and out of good order: it hath one long street that is couered aboue, which is the place of their Market. It hath beene wonne and lost foure times within seuen yeeres by ciuill warres, by meanes whereof there are

are but few Merchants in it, and they very poore, and in all that Towne I could not sell aboute foure Kerseys. The chiefeft commodities there sold are such wares as come from *Beghar*, and out of *Persia*, but in most small quantitie not worth the writing. All the Land from the *Caspian* Sea to this Citie of *Vrgence*, is called the Land of *Turkeman*, and is subiect to the said *Azim* King called *Can*, and his brethren which bee five in number, and one of them hath the name of the chiefe King called *Can*, but he is little obeyed sauing in his owne Dominion, and where hee dwelleth: for euery one will be King of his owne portion, and one brother seeketh alwaies to destroy another, hauing no naturall loue among them, by reason that they are begotten of diuers women, and commonly they are the children of slaues, either *Christians* or *Gentiles*, which the father doth keepe as Concubines, and euery *Can* or *Sultan* hath at the least foure or five wiues, besides young maidens and boyes, liuing most viciously: and when there are warres betwixt these brethren, (as they are seldome without) he that is ouercome if hee be not slaine, fleeth to the field with such companie of men as will follow him, and there liueth in the Wildernesse, resorting to watering places, and so robbeth and spoyleth as many Carauans of Merchants and others, as they be able to ouercome, continuing in this sort his wicked life, vntill such time as he may get power and aide to inuade some of his brethren againe. From the *Caspian* Sea vnto the Castle of *Sellizure* aforesaid, and all the Countries about the said Sea, the people liue without Towne or habitation in the wilde fields, remoouing from one place to another in great companies with their Cattell, whereof they haue great store, as Camels, Horses, and Sheepe both tame and wilde. Their sheepe are of great stature with great buttockes, weighing sixtie or eightie pound in weight. There are many wilde Horses which the *Tartars* doe many times kill with their Hawkes, and that in this order.

The Hawkes are lured to seize vpon the beasts neckes or heads, which with chafing of themselves, and sore beating of the Hawkes are tyred: then the Hunter following his game doth lay the Horse with his Arrow or Sword. In all this Land there groweth no grasse, but a certaine brush or heath, whereon the Cattell feeding become very fat.

The *Tartars* neuer ride without their Bowe, Arrowes, and Sword, although it bee on hawking, or at any other pleasure, and they are good Archers both on horse-backe, and on foot also. These people haue not vse of Gold, Silver, or any other coyne, but when they lacke apparell or other necessities, they barter their Cattell for the same. Bread they haue none, for they neither till nor sowe: they be great deuourers of flesh, which they cut in small pieces, and eate it by handfuls most greedily, and especially the Horse flesh. Their chiefeft drinke is Mares milke sowed, as I haue said before of the *Nagayans*, and they will bee drunke with the same. They haue no Riuer nor places of water in this Countrey, vntill you come to the foresaid Gulfe, distant from the place of our landing twentie dayes iourney, except it bee in Wells, the water whereof is saltish, and yet distant the one from the other two dayes iourney and more. They eate their meate vpon the ground, sitting with their legs double vnder them, and so also when they pray. Arte or Science they haue none, but liue most idly, sitting round in great companies in the fields, deuising, and talking most vainely.

They fixe and twentieth day of Nouember, wee departed from the Towne of *Vrgence*, and hauing trauelled by the Riuer *Oxus* one hundred miles, wee passed ouer another great Riuer, called *Ardocke*, where wee payed a certaine petie custome. This Riuer *Ardocke* is great, and very swift, falling out of the foresaid *Oxus*, and passing about one thousand mile to the Northward, it then consumeth it selfe in the ground, and passing vnder the same about five hundred miles, issueth out againe, and falleth into the Lake of *Kitay*, as I haue before declared.

The seuenth of December following, we arriued at a Castle called *Kair*, subiect to a *Sultan* called *Saramet Sultan*, who meant to haue robbed all the *Christians* in the Carauan, had it not beene for feare of his brother the King of *Vrgence*, as we were informed by one of his chiefeft Counsellours, who willed vs to make him a present, which he tooke, and deliuered: besides, wee payed at the said Castle for Custome, of euery Camell one red hide of *Russia*, besides petie gifts to his Officers.

Thus proceeding in our iourney, the tenth day at night being at rest, and our watch set, there came vnto vs foure Horsemen, which we tooke as Spies, from whom we tooke their weapons, and bound them, and hauing well examined them, they confessed that they had seene the tract of many Horsemen, and no footing of Camels, and gaue vs to vnderstand, that there were Roners and theeues abroad: for there trauell few people that are true and peaceable in that Countrey, but in companie of Carauan, where there be many Camels: and Horse-feeding new without Camels were to be doubted. Whereupon we consulted and determined amongst our selues, and sent a Poste to the said *Sultan* of *Kair*, who immediatly came himselfe with three hundred men, and met these foure suspected men which wee sent vnto him, and examined them so straightly, and threatned them in such sort, that they confessed, there was a banished Prince with fortie men three dayes iourney forward, who lay in wait to destroy vs, if hee could, and that they themselves were of his companie.

The *Sultan* therefore vnderstanding, that the Theeues were not many, appointed vs eightie men

The Countrey of *Turkeman*.

The Riuer of *Ardocke* falleth into the Lake of *Kitay*.

The Castle of *Kair*.

Diuination by
sorcerie.

Fight with
theeues.

Hand-guns ve-
ry profitable.

A holy man.

Buffarmans, or
Muslemans Ca-
phar.

Fidelitie of an
Isidel.

men well armed with a Captaine to goe with vs, and conduct vs in our way. And the *Sultan* himfelfe returned backe again, taking the foure theeues with him. These souldiers trauelled with vs two dayes, consuming much of our victuals. And the third day in the morning very early they set out before our Carauan, and hauing ranged the wilderness for the space of foure houres, they met vs, comming towards vs as fast as their horse could runne, and declared that they had found the tract of horses not farre from vs, perceiuing well that wee should meete with enemies, and therefore willed vs to appoint our selues for them, and asked vs what wee would giue them to conduct vs further, or else they would returne. To whom wee offered as we thought good, but they refused our offer, and would haue more, and so wee not agreeing they departed from vs, and went backe to their *Sultan*, who (as wee coniectured) was priuie to the conspiracie. But they being gone, certaine *Tartars* of our companie called holy men, (because they had beene at *Mecca*) caused the whole Carauan to stay, and would make their prayers, and diuine how we should prosper in our iourney, and whether wee should meet with any ill companie or no: To which, our whole Carauan did agree. And they tooke certaine sheepe and killed them, and tooke the blade bones of the same, and first sod them, and then burnt them, and tooke of the blood of the said sheepe, and mingled it with the powder of the said bones, and wrote certaine Characters with the said blood, vsing many other ceremonies and words, and by the same diuined and found, that wee should meete with enemies and theeues (to our great trouble) but should overcome them, to which sorcerie, I and my companie gaue no credit, but wee found it true: for within three houres after that the souldiers departed from vs, which was the fifteenth day of December, in the morning, wee escryed farre off diuers horsemen which made towards vs, and we (perceiuing them to bee rousers) gathered our selues together, being fortie of vs well appointed, and able to fight, and wee made our prayers together every one after his Law, professing to liue and dye one with another, and so prepared our selues. When the theeues were nigh vnto vs, wee perceiued them to be in number thirtie seuen men well armed, and appointed with bowes, arrowes, and swords, and the Captaine a Prince banished from his Countrey. They willed vs to yeeld our selues, or else to bee slaine, but wee defied them, wherewith they shot at vs all at once, and we at them very hotly, and so continued our fight from morning vntill two houres within night, diuers men, horses and camels being wounded and slaine on both parts: and had it not beene for foure hand-guns, which I and my companie had and vsed, wee had beene overcome and destroyed: for the theeues were better armed, and were also better Archers then wee. But after we had slaine diuers of their men and horses with our Guns, they durst not approach so nigh, which caused them to come to a truce with vs vntill the next morning, which wee accepted, and encamped our selues vpon a hill, and made the fashion of a Castle, walling it about with packes of wares, and layd our Horses and Camels within the same, to saue them from the shot of arrowes: and the theeues also incamped within an arrow shot of vs, but they were betwixt vs and the water, which was to our great discomfort, because neither wee nor our Camels had drunke in two dayes before.

Thus keeping good watch, when halfe the night was spent, the Prince of the Theeues sent a messenger halfe way vnto vs, requiring to talke with our Captaine, in their tongue, the Carauan *Basha*, who answered the messenger, I will not depart from my companie to goe into the halfe way to talke with thee: but if that thy Prince with all his companie will sweare by our Law to keepe the truce, then will I send a man to talke with thee, or else not. Which the Prince vnderstanding as well himfelfe as his company, swore so loude that wee might all heare. And then we sent one of our companie (reputed a holy man) to talke with the same messenger. The message was pronounced aloud in this order. Our Prince demandeth of the Carauan *Basha*, and of all you that bee Buffarmans, (that is to say, Circumcised) not desiring your blouds, that you deliuer into his hands as many Caphars, that is, vnbelleeuers (meaning vs the Christians) as are among you with their goods, and in so doing, hee will suffer you to depart with your goods in quietnesse, and on the contrary, you shall bee handled with no lesse cruelty then the Caphars, if hee overcome you, as hee doubteth not. To the which our Carauan *Basha* answered, that hee had no Christians in his companie, nor other strangers, but two *Turkes* which were of their Law; and although hee had, hee would rather dye then deliuer them, and that wee were not afraid of his threatnings, and that should hee know when day appeared. And so passing in talke, the Theeues (contrary to their oath) carried our holy man away to their Prince, crying with a loude voyce in token of victorie, *Olo, olo*. Wherewith wee were much discomforted, fearing that that holy man would betray vs: but he being cruelly handled and much examined, would not to death confesse any thing which was to vs preiudiciall, neither touching vs, nor yet what men they had slaine and wounded of ours the day before. When the night was spent, in the morning wee prepared our selues to battell againe: which the theeues perceiuing, required to fall to agreement, and asked much of vs: And to bee brieue, the most part of our companie being loath to goe to battell againe, and hauing little to lose, and safe conduct to passe, wee were compelled to agree, and to giue the theeues twentie ninths (that is to say) twentie times nine seuerall things, and a Camell to carrie away the same, which being receiued, the theeues departed into the Wilderness to their olde habitation,

habitation, and wee went on our way forward. And that night came to the Riuer *Oxus*, where wee refreshed our selues, hauing beene three dayes without water and drinke, and tarried there all the next day, making merrie with our slaine Horses and Camels, and then departed from that place, and for feare of meeting with the said theeuers againe, or such like, wee left the high way which went along the said Riuer, and passed through a wildernesse of sand, and travelled foure dayes in the same before wee came to water: and then came to a Well, the water being very brackish, and we then as before were in need of water, and of other victuals, being forced to kill our Horses and Camels to eate.

The riuer of *Oxus*.

A wildernesse of sand.

In this wildernesse also, wee had almost fallen into the hands of Theeuers: for one night being at rest, there came certaine scouts, and carried away certaine of our men which lay a little separated from the Carauan where with there was a great shout and crie, and we immediatly laded our Camels, and departed being about midnight, and very darke, and droue fore till we came to the riuer *Oxus* againe, and then wee feared nothing being walled with the said riuer: and whether it was for that wee had gotten the water, or for that the same theeuers were farre from vs when the scouts discovered vs, we know not, but we escaped that danger.

So ypon the three & twentieth day of December, we arrived at the Citie of *Boghar* in the land of *Bactria*. This *Boghar* is situated in the lowest part of all the Land, walled about with a high wall of earth, with diuers Gates into the same: it is diuided into three partitions, whereof two parts are the Kings, and the third part is for Merchants & Markets, and euery Science hath their dwelling and market by themselves. The Citie is very great, and the houses for the most part of Earth, but there are also many Houses, Temples, and Monuments of stone sumptuously builded, and gilt, and specially Bath-stoues so artificially built, that the like thereof is not in the world: the manner whereof is too long to rehearse. There is a little riuer running through the midst of the said Citie, but the water thereof is most vnwholesome, for it breedeth sometimes in men that drinke thereof, and especially in them that bee not there borne, a Worme of an ell long, which lyeth commonly in the leg, betwixt the flesh and the skin, and is pluckt out about the Ankle with great art and cunning, the Surgeons being much practised therein, and if shee breake in plucking out, the partie dyeth, and euery day she commeth out about an inch, which is rolled vp, and so workerh till she bee all out. And yet it is there forbidden to drinke any other thing then water, and Mares milke, and whosoever is found to breake that Law, is whipped and beaten most cruelly through the open markets, and there are Officers appointed for the same, who haue authoritie to goe into any mans house, to search if hee haue either *Aquanita*, Wine, or Brag, and finding the same, doe breake the vessels, spoyle the drinke, and punish the masters of the house most cruelly; yea, and many times if they perceiue but by the breath of a man that hee hath drunke, without further examination he shall not escape their hands.

Boghar a Citie of *Bactria*, in 39. degrees, 10. minutes.

A strange Worme in mens legs.

There is a Metropolitane in this *Boghar*, who causeth this law to be so straightly kept: and he is more obeyed then the King, and will depose the King, and place another at his will and pleasure, as hee did by this King that reigned at our being there, and his predeceffour, by the meanes of the said Metropolitane: for hee betrayed him, and in the night slew him in his chamber, who was a Prince that loved all Christians well.

This Countrey of *Boghar* was sometime subiect to the *Persians*, and doe now speake the *Persian* tongue, but yet now it is a Kingdome of it selfe, and hath most cruell warres continually with the said *Persians* about their Religion, although they bee all *Mahometists*. One occasion of their warres is, for that the *Persians* will not cut the hayre of their vpper lips, as the *Bogharians* and all other *Tartars* doe, which they account great sinne, and call them *Caphars*, that is, ynbelieuers, as they doe the Christians.

These are of the *Ieslbas Tartars*.

The King of *Boghar* hath no great power or riches, his reuenues are but small, and hee is most maintained by the Citie: for he taketh the tenth penie of all things that are there sold, as well by the Craftsmen as by the Merchants, to the great impouerishment of the people, whom hee keepeth in great subiection, and when hee lacketh money, he sendeth his officers to the Shops of the said Merchants, to take their wares to pay his debts, and will haue credit of force, as the like hee did to pay me certaine money that he owed me for nineteene pieces of Kersey. Their money is siluer and copper, for gold their is none currant: they haue but one piece of siluer, and that is worth twelue-pence *English*, and the copper money are called *Pooles*, and one hundred and twentie of them goeth to the value of the said twelue-pence, and is more common payment then the siluer, which the King causeth to rise and fall to his most aduantage euery other moneth, and sometimes twise a moneth, not caring to oppresse his people, for that he looketh not to raigne aboue two or three yeeres, before he bee either slaine or driuen away, to the great destruction of the Countrey and Merchants.

The Coyne of *Boghar*.

The twentie sixth day of the moneth, I was commanded to goe before the said King, to whom I presented the Emperour of *Russia* his letters, who entertained vs most gently, and caused vs to eate in his presence, and diuers times hee sent for me, and deuised with me familiarly in his secret chamber, as well of the power of the Emperour, and the great *Turke*, as also of our Countreies, Lawes, and Religion, and caused vs to shoote in hand-guns before him, and did himselfe practise

A very Tartar.

practise the vse thereof. But after all this great entertainment, before my departure hee shewed himselfe a very *Tartar*: for he went to the warres owing me money, and saw me not payed before his departure. And although indeed hee gaue order for the same, yet was I very ill satisfied, and forced to rebate part, and to take wares as payment for the rest contrary to my expectation: but of a begger better payment I could not haue, & glad I was so to be payd and dispatched.

The Kings iustice.

But yet I must needs praise and commend this barbarous King, who immediately after my arriuell at *Boghar*, hauing vnderstood our trouble with the *Theeues*, sent one hundred men well armed, and gaue them great charge not to returne before they had either slaine or taken the sayd *theeues*. Who according to their commission ranged the wilderness in such sort, that they met with the said companie of *Theeues*, and slew part, and part fled, and foure they tooke and brought vnto the King, and two of them were fore wounded in our skirmish with our Guns: And after the King had sent for me to come to see them, hee caused them all foure to bee hanged at his Palace gate, because they were Gentlemen, to the example of others. And of such goods as were gotten againe, I had part restored me; and this good Iustice I found at his hands.

There is yeerely great resort of Merchants to this Citie of *Boghar*, which trauell in great Carauans from the Countries thereabout adioyning, as *India*, *Persia*, *Balgh*, *Russia*, with diuers others, and in times past from *Cathay*, when there was passage: but these Merchants are so beggerly and poore, and bring so little quantitie of wares, lying two or three yeeres to sell the same, that there is no hope of any good trade there to be had worthy the following. The chiefe commodities that are brought thither out of these foresaid Countries, are these following.

Merchandise of India.

The *Indians* doe bring fine Whites, which the *Tartars* doe all roll about their heads, and all other kindes of Whites, which serue for apparell made of Cotton-wooll and *Crasca*, but Gold, Siluer, precious Stones, and Spices they bring none. I enquired and perceiued that all such trade passeth to the Ocean sea, and the veynes where all such things are gotten are in the subiection of the *Portugals*. The *Indians* carrie from *Boghar* againe wrought Silkes, red Hides, Slaues, and Horses, with such like, but of Kerseis and other cloath, they make little account. I offered to bartar with Merchants of those Countries, which came from the furthest parts of *India*, euen from the Countrey of *Bengala*, and the riuer *Ganges*, to giue them Kerseis for their commodities, but they would not barter for such commoditie as Cloath.

Merchandise of Persia.

The *Persians* doe bring thither *Craska*, Woollen-cloath, Linnen-cloath, diuers kindes of wrought pide Silkes, Argomacks, with such like, and doe carrie from thence red hydes with other *Russe* wares, and Slaues, which are of diuers Countries, but cloath they will buy none, for that they bring thither themselues, and is brought vnto them as I haue inquired from *Aleppo* in *Syria*, and the parts of *Turkie*. The *Russes* doe carrie vnto *Boghar*, red hydes, sheepe skinnies, woollen cloath of diuers sorts, woollen vessels, brydles, saddles, with such like, and doe carrie away from thence diuers kindes of wares made of cotten-wooll, diuers kindes of silkes, *Crasca*, with other things, but there is but small vtterance. From the Countries of *Cathay* are brought

Merchandise of Russia.

thither in time of peace, and when the way is open, Muske, Rubarbe, Satten, Damaske, with diuers others things. At my being at *Boghar*, there came Carauans out of all these foresaid Countries, except from *Cathay*: and the cause why there came none from thence, was the great warres that had dured three yeeres before my comming thither, and yet dured betwixt two great Countries and Cities of *Tartars*, that are directly in the way betwixt the said *Boghar* and the said *Cathay*, and certaine barbarous field people, as well *Gentiles* as *Mahometists* bordering to the said Cities. The Cities are called *Taskent* and *Caskar*, and the people that warre against *Taskent* are called *Cossacks* of the law of *Mahomet*: and they which warre with the said Countrey of *Caskar* are called *Kings*, *Gentiles* and *Idolaters*. These two barbarous Nations are of great force, liuing in the fields without House or Towne, and haue almost subdued the foresaid Cities, and so stopped vp the way, that it is impossible for any Carauan to passe vnspoyled: so that three yeeres before our being there, no Carauan had gone, or vsed trade betwixt the Countries of *Cathay* and *Boghar*, and when the way is cleare, it is nine moneths iourney.

Merchandise of Cathay.

Warres.

Taskent and Caskar.

To speake of the said Countrey of *Cathay*, and of such newes as I haue heard thereof, I haue thought it best to reserue it to our meeting. I hauing made my solace at *Boghar*, in the winter time, and hauing learned by much inquisition, the trade thereof, as also of all the other Countries thereto adioyning, and the time of the yeere being come, for all Carauans to depart, and also the King being gone to the warres, and newes come that hee was fled, and I aduertised by the Metropolitan himselfe, that I should depart, because the Towne was like to bee besieged: I thought it good and meete, to take my iourney some way, and determined to haue gone from thence into *Persia*, and to haue scene the trade of that Countrey, although I had informed my selfe sufficiently therof, as well at *Astracan*, as at *Boghar*: and perceiued well the trades not to be much vnlike the trades of *Tartaria*: but when I should haue taken my iourney that way, it was let by diuers occasions: the one was, the great warres that did newly begin betwixt the *Sophie*, and the Kings of *Tartaria*, whereby the wayes were destroyed: and there was a Carauan destroyed with rousers and *theeues*, which came out of *India* and *Persia*, by safe conduct: and about ten dayes iourney from *Boghar*, they were robbed, and a great part slaine. Also the Metropolitan

Carauan destroyed.

tan of *Boghar*, who is greater then the King, tooke the Emperours letters of *Russia* from me, without which I should haue bene taken Slaue in euery place: also all such wares as I had receiued in barter for Cloath, and as I tooke perforce of the King, and other his Nobles, in payment of money due vnto me, were not vendible in *Persia*: for which causes, and diuers others, I was constrained to come backe againe to *Mare Caspium*, the same way I went: so that the eight of March, 1559. wee departed out of the said Citie of *Boghar*, being a Carauan of fixe hundred Camels: and if wee had not departed when we did, I and my companie had bene in danger to haue lost life and goods. For ten dayes after our departure, the King of *Samarcand* came with an armie, and besieged the said Citie of *Boghar*, the King being absent, and gone to the warres against another Prince his kinsman, as the like chanceth in those Countreies once in two or three yeeres. For it is maruell, if a King raigne there about three or foure yeeres, to the great destruction of the Countrey, and Merchants.

He returneth
the eight of
March, 1559.

Samarcand.

The five and twentieth of March, we came to the foresaid Towne of *Vrgence*, and escaped the danger of foure hundred rousers, which lay in wayte for vs backe againe, being the most of them of kindred to that companie of theues, which wee met with going forth, as we perceiued by foure spies, which were taken. There were in my companie, and committed to my charge, two Ambassadors, the one from the King of *Boghar*, the other from the King of *Balke*, and were sent vnto the Emperour of *Russia*. And after hauing tarried at *Vrgence*, and the Castle of *Sellysare*, eight dayes for the assembling, and making ready our Carauan, the second of Aprill wee departed from thence, hauing foure moe Ambassadors in our companie, sent from the King of *Vrgence*, and other *Sultans*, his brethren, vnto the Emperour of *Russia*, with answer of such Letters as I brought them: and the same Ambassadors were also committed vnto my charge by the said Kings and Princes: to whom I promised most faithfully, and swore by our Law, that they should bee well vsed in *Rusland*, and suffered to depart from thence againe in safetie, according as the Emperour had written also in his letters: for they somewhat doubted, because there had none gone out of *Tartaria* into *Russia*, of long time before.

Vrgence.

The King of
Balke, or *Balg.*

The three and twentieth of Aprill, wee arriued at the *Mare Caspium* againe, where we found our Barke which wee came in, but neither Anchor, Cable, Cocke, nor Sayle: neuertheless we brought Hempe with vs, and spun a Cable our selues, with the rest of our tackling, and made vs a sayle of cloath of Cotton-wooll, and rigged our Barke as well as wee could, but boate or anchor we had none. In the meane time being deuising to make an anchor of wood of a Cart-wheele, there arriued a Barke, which came from *Astracan*, with *Tartars* and *Russes*, which had two Anchors, with whom I agreed for the one: and thus being in a readinesse, wee set sayle and departed, I, and the two *Johnsons*, being Master and Mariners our selues, hauing in our Barke the said fixe Ambassadors, and twentie five *Russes*, which had bene Slaues a long time in *Tartaria*, nor euer had before my comming, libertie, or meanes to get home, and these Slaues serued to row when need was. Thus sayling sometimes along the coast, and sometimes out of sight of land. The thirteenth day of May, hauing a contrary winde, we came to an anchor, being three leagues from the shoare, and there arose a sore storme, which continued fortie foure houres, and our cable being of our owne spinning, brake, and lost our anchor, and being off a lee shoare, and hauing no boate to helpe vs, wee hoyed our sayle, and bare roomer with the said shoare, looking for present death: but as God prouided for vs, we ranne into a creeke full of Oze, and so saued our selues with our Barke, and liued in great discomfort for a time. For although wee should haue escaped with our liues the danger of the sea, yet if our barke had perished, we knew we should haue been either destroyed, or taken slaues by the people of that Countrey, who liue wildly in the field, like beasts, without house or habitation. Thus when the storme was ceased, wee went out of the creeke againe: and hauing set the land with our Compasse, and taken certayn markes of the same, during the time of the tempest, whilst we rid at our anchor, wee went directly to the place where we rid, with our Barke againe, and found our anchor which we lost: whereat the *Tartars* much maruelled, how we did it. While wee were in the creeke, we made an anchor of wood of Cart wheelles, which we had in our Barke, which we threw away, when we had found our Iron anchor againe. Within two dayes after, there arose another great storme, at the North-east, and we lay a trie, being driuen farre into the sea, and had much adoe to keepe our Barke from sinking, the billow was so great: but at the last, hauing faire weather, wee tooke the Sunne, and knowing how the Land lay from vs, we fell with the Riuer *Taik*, according to our desire, whereof the *Tartars* were very glad, fearing that wee should haue bene driuen to the coast of *Persia*, whose people were vnto them great enemies.

The Caspian
sea.

Woodden an-
chor.

Dangerous
tempest, and
vse of the
Compasse.

Taik.

Note, that during the time of our Nauigation, we set vp the red Crosse of Saint *George* in our flagges, for honour of the *Christians*, which I supposed was neuer seene in the *Caspian* sea before. Wee passed in this voyage diuers fortunes: notwithstanding, the eight and twentieth of May we arriued in safetie at *Astracan*, and there remayned till the tenth of Iune following, as well to prepare vs small Boates, to goe vp against the streame of *Volga*, with our goods, as also for the companie of the Ambassadors of *Tartarie*, committed vnto me, to be brought to the presence of the Emperour of *Russia*.

The English
flag in the Cas-
pian sea, the
Country ther-
of is in 46. deg.

A notable description of the Caspian Sea.

This *Caspian* sea (to say something of it) is in length about two hundred leagues, and in breadth one hundred and fittie, without any issue to other Seas: to the East part wherof, ioyneth the great desert Countrey of the *Tartars*, called *Turkemen*: to the West, the Countreies of the *Chyrasses*, the Mountaines of *Caucasus*, and the *Mare Euxinum*, which is from the said *Caspian* Sea, a hundred leagues. To the North is the river *Volga*, and the land of *Nagay*, and to the South part ioyneth the Countreies of *Media* and *Persia*. This Sea is fresh water in many places, and in other places as salt as our great Ocean: It hath many goodly Rivers falling into it, and it annoyeth not it selfe except it bee vnder ground. The notable Rivers that fall into it, are first the great River of *Volga*, called in the *Tartar* tongue *Edell*, which springeth out of a lake in a marish or plaine ground, not farre from the Citie of *Novogrode* in *Russia*, and it is from the spring to the Sea, about two thousand English miles. It hath diuers other goodly Rivers falling into it, as out of *Siberia*, *Taic*, and *Yem*: Also out of the mountaines of *Caucasus*, the Rivers of *Cyrus* and *Arash*, and diuers others.

Astracan in 47. deg. 9. minutes.

As touching the trade of *Shamakie* in *Media* and *Tebis*, with other Townes in *Persia*, I haue enquired, and doe well vnderstand, that it is euen like to the trades of *Tartaria*, that is little vnterance, and small profite: and I haue bene aduertised that the chiefe trade of *Persia* is into *Syria*, and so transported into the *Leuant* sea. The few ships vpon the *Caspian* Seas, the want of Mart and port Townes, the pouertie of the people, and the Ice, maketh that trade naught.

Cazan is in 55. deg. 33. min. His arriuall at Mosco the second of September.

At *Astracan* there were Merchants of *Shamakie*, with whom I offered to barter, and to giue them *Kerries* for their wares, but they would not, saying, they had them as good cheape in their Countrey, as I offered them, which was fixe rubbles for a *Kerrie*, that I asked: and while I was at *Boghar*, there were brought thither out of *Persia*, Cloath, and diuers commodities of our Countreies, which was sold as good cheape, as I might sell ours.

The tenth day of Iune, wee departed from *Astracan* towards the *Mosco*, hauing an hundred gunners in our companie at the Emperours charges, for the safe conduct of the *Tartar* Ambassadors and me. And the eight and twentieth day of Iuly following, we arriued at the Citie of *Cazan*, hauing been vpon the way from *Astracan* thither, fixe weekes and more, without any refreshing of victuals: for in all that way there is no habitation.

See more certaintie in Goes.

The seventh of August following, wee departed from *Cazan*, and transported our goods by water, as farre as the Citie of *Morum*, and then by land: so that the second of September, wee arriued at the Citie of the *Mosco*, and the fourth day I came before the Emperours Maiestie, kissed his hand, and presented him a white Cowes tayle of *Cathay*, and a Drum of *Tartaria*, which hee well accepted. Also I brought before him all the Ambassadors that were committed to my charge, with all the *Russe* slaues: and that day I dined in his Maiesties presence, and at dinner, his Grace sent me meate by a Duke, and asked me diuers questions touching the Lands and Countreies where I had bene. And thus I remayned at the *Mosco* about your affaires, vntill the seuenteenth day of Februarie that your wares were sent downe: and then hauing licence of the Emperours Maiestie to depart, the one and twentieth day I came to your house to *Vologhda*, and there remayned vntill the breaking vp of the yeere: and then hauing seene all your goods laden into your Boates, I departed with the same, and arriued withall in safetie at *Colmogro*, the ninth of May 1560. And heere I cease for this time, intreating you to beare with this my large discourse, which by reason of the varietie of matter, I could make no shorter, and I beseech God to prosper all your attempts.

Memoriall of Sir H. Willoughbie.

I haue certaine notes which seeme to haue bene written at *Boghar* by some of Master Iepkinsons companie: which containe intelligences there receiued touching *Cathay* and the wayes thither. But I hope thereof in that which followes to giue better intelligence. It is there said that the people of *Comoron* are very beautifull, and that they use *Knives* and *Forkes* of gold and silver to eat their meate, not touching it with their hands: that the *Musk-beast* is as big as a *Hound*. In *Teray* they worship the *Fire*, which is thirtie foure dayes iourney from *Cathay*. At *Cascar* is resident the *Can*. From *Cascar* to *Cocheke* is foure weekes: it is the first Land of the Emperour of *Cathay*: and then to *Camche* five dayes by land, and to *Cataio* eight weekes. In this last iourney is plentie of all things: both Horse to bee had, and Women at too easie rate, &c. which as newes to them I haue heere touched, rather then related.

I haue also by me, the last Will of *Gabriel Willoughbie*, kinsman to that honourable Martyr of English Northerne Discoveries *Sir Hugh Willoughbie*, mentioned in the beginning of this Chapter, and subscribed with his Name, the worth wherof hath caused heere also this subscription. It was found in the Ship where they were frozen.

Q. V.

*Advertisements and reports of the sixth * Voyage into the parts of Persia and Media, gathered out of sundry Letters written by CHRISTOPHER BROUGH; and more especially a voyage over the Caspian Sea, and their shipwracke and miseries there endured by the Ice.*

* The other voyages are in Master Hakluyt; this I have for Tartaria and the Caspian sea brought hither.

Saint Nicholas.

Colmogro.

Vshyong.

Teraflane.

Niznouogrod.

Cazan.

Great store of Liquoris.

Sodom.
Strange iudgement.

Peranolok.

Tsaritsna.

I If it is to bee vnderstood, that the ships for the voyage to Saint Nicholas in Russia, in which the Factors and merchandise for the Persian voyage were transported, departed from Grauesend the nineteenth of Iune, 1579. which arrived at Saint Nicholas in Russia the two and twentieth of Iuly, where the Factors and Merchants landed, and the merchandise discharged and laden into Dozhnikes, that is, barks of the Countrey, to be carried from thence vp by Riuer vnto Vologda. And the nine and twentieth day of the said Iuly, the Dozhnikes departed from Rose Iland by Saint Nicholas vp the riuer Dwina Peremene, that is to say in poste, by continuall sayling, rowing, setting with poles, or drawing of men, which came to Colmogro the seuen and twentieth day, and departed thence the nine and twentieth of Iuly vp the said riuer Dwina, and came to Vshyong (which is at the head of the riuer Dwina, and mouth of Sugbano) the ninth of August, where they stayed but a small time, providing some victuals, and shifting certaine of their Cossacks or Barkmen, and so departed thence the same day vp the Sugbano, and came to Totma (which is counted somewhat more then halfe the way from Vshyong) the fifteenth day, where they shifted some of their Cossacks, and departed thence the same day, and came to the Citie Vologda the nineteenth of August, where they landed their goods, and stayed at that place till the thirtieth of the same. Having provided at Vologda, Telegas or Waggones, whereupon they laded their goods, they departed thence with the same by land towards Teraflane, the said thirtieth of August at eight of the clocke in the morning, and came to the East side of the riuer Volga, over against Teraflane, with five and twentie Telegas laden with the said goods, the seuenth of September at five of the clocke afternoone. Then the three stroogs or barks, provided to transport the said goods to Astracan, (where they should meete the ship that should carrie the same from thence into Persia) came ouer from Teraflane vnto the same side of the riuer Volga, & there tooke in the said goods. And hauing prepared the said Barks ready with all necessarie furniture, they departed with them from Teraflane down the riuer of Volga, on the fourteenth day of September at nine of the clocke in the morning, and they arrived at Niznouogrod the seuenteenth day at three of the clocke afternoone, where they shewed the Emperours letters to passe free without paying any custome, and tarried there about three houres to provide necessaries, and then departing, arrived at Cazan (or neere the same Towne) on the two and twentieth of September at five of the clocke afternoone, where (through contrary windes, and for providing new Cossacks in the places of some that there went from them) they remained till the fixe and twentieth day, at what time they departed thence about two of the clocke after noone, and arrived at Teraflagorod, which is on the Crim side of Volga, and in latitude 55. degrees 22. minutes, the eight and twentieth day at ten in the forenoone, where they anchored, and remained about three houres, and departing thence came to Oueak, which is on the Crims side (on the Westerne side of Volga) the fift of October about five of the clocke in the morning. This place is accounted halfe the way betweene Cazan and Astracan: and heere there groweth great store of Liquoris: the soyle is very fruitfull: they found there Apple-trees, and Cherrie-trees. The latitude of Oueak is 51. degrees 30. minuts. At this place had beene a very faire stone Castle called by the name Oueak, and adioyning to the same was a Towne called by the Russes, Sodom: this Towne and part of the Castle (by report of the Russes) was swallowed into the earth by the iustice of God, for the wickednesse of the people that inhabited the same. There remaineth at this day to be seene a part of the ruines of the Castle, and certaine Tombes, wherein as it seemeth haue beene layd noble personages: for vpon a tombe stone might be perceiued the forme of a Horse and a man sitting on it with a Bow in his hand, and Arrowes girt to his side: there was a piece of a Scutchion also vpon one of the stones, which had characters grauen on it, whereof some part had been consumed with the weather, and the rest left vnperfect: but by the forme of them that remained, we iudged them to be characters of Armenia: and other characters were grauen also vpon another tombe stone. Now they departed from Oueak the said fift of October at five of the clocke after noone, and came to Peranolok the tenth day about eleuen or twelue of the clocke that night, making no abode at that place, but passed alongst by it. This word Peranolok in the Russe tongue doth signifie a narrow straight or necke of land between two waters, and it is so called by them, because from the riuer Volga, at that place, to the riuer Don or Tanais, is counted thirtie versts, or as much as a man may well trauell on foot in one day. And seuen versts beneath, vpon an Iland called Tsaritsna, the Emperour of Russia hath fiftie Gunners all Summer time to keepe watch, called by the Tartar name Carawool. Betweene this place and Astracan are five other Carawools or watches.

The First is named *Kameni Carawool*, and is distant from *Pcranolok* one hundred and twentie verstes. The second named *Stupino Carawool*, distant from the first fiftie verstes. The third called *Poleoy Carawool*, is one hundred and twentie verstes distant from the second. The fourth named *Keezeyur Carawool*, is fiftie verstes distant from the third. The fift named *Ichkebre*, is thirtie verstes distant from the fourth, and from *Ichkebre* to *Astracan* is thirtie verstes.

Ice at *Astracan*
for foure moneths.

The sixteenth of October they arrived at *Astracan*. The nineteenth of Nouember the winde being northerly, there was a great frost, and much Ice in the Riuer: the next day being the twentieth of Nouember, the Ice stood in the Riuer, and so continued vntill Easter day.

The sixth of Ianuarie being Twelwe day (which they call *Chreshenia*) the *Russes* of *Astracan* brake a hole in the Ice vpon the Riuer *Volga*, and hallowed the water with great solemnitie according to the manner of their Countrey, at which time all the Souldiers of the Towne shot off their small Peeces vpon the Ice, and likewise to gratifie the Captaine of the Castle, being a Duke, whose name is *Pheodor Michalonich Troicouria*, who stood hard by the ship, beholding them as they were on the Riuer, was shot off all the Ordnance of our ship being fiftene Peeces, viz. two Faulcons, two Faulconets, foure Fowlers, foure Fowlers Chambers, and three other small Peeces made for the Stroogs to shoot Haile-stones, and afterwards the great Ordnance of the Castle was shot off.

An Eclipse.

On the one and thirtieth of Ianuarie there happened a great Eclipse of the Moone, which began about twelue of the clocke at night, and continued before shee was cleere an houre and an halfe by estimation, which ended the first of Februarie about halfe an houre past one in the morning: shee was wholly darkned by the space of halfe an houre.

The variation
of the Com-
passe in *Astra-
can*, was 13. de-
grees 40. min.

The seuenteenth of Aprill, the variation of the Compasse obserued in *Astracan* was 13. degrees 40. minutes from North to West. This Spring there came newes to *Astracan*, that the Queene of *Persia* (the King being blind) had beene with a great Armie against the *Turkes* that were left to possesse *Media*, and had giuen them a great ouerthrow: yet notwithstanding *Derbent*, and the greatest part of *Media* were still possessed and kept by the *Turkes*. The Factors of the Companie consulting vpon their affaires, determined to leaue at *Astracan* the one halfe of their goods with *Arthur Edwards*, and with the other halfe the other three Factors would proceed in the ship on their purposed Voyage to the coast of *Media*, to see what might bee done there: where, if they could not finde safe trafficke, they determined to proceed to the coast of *Gilan*, which is a Prouince neere the *Caspian* Sea bordering vpon *Persia*: and thereupon appointed the said goods to be laden aboard the ship, and tooke into her also some merchandise of *Tifis* or *Persian* Merchants.

Gilan.

The second of May they weighed, and plyed downe the Riuer *Volga*, toward the *Caspian* Sea. The seuenth of May in the morning, they passed by a Tree that standeth on the left hand of the Riuer as they went downe, which is called *Mahomet Agatch*, or *Mahomet's Tree*, and about three verstes further, that is to say, to the Southwards of the said Tree is a place called *Vchoog*, that is to say, The *Russe* Weare: (but *Ochoog* is the name of a Weare in the *Tartar* tongue) where are certaine Corages, and the Emperour hath lying at that place certaine Gun-ners to guard his Fisher-men that keepe the Weare. This *Vchoog* is counted from *Astracan* sixty verstes: they proceeded downe the said Riuer without staying at the *Vchoog*. The ninth and

Vchoog.

Shallow water.

tenth dayes they met with shallow water, and were forced to lighten their ship by the *Panos*: The eleuenth day they sent backe to the *Vchoog* for another *Panos*: This day by mischance the ship was bilged on the grapnell of the *Panos*, whereby the companie had sustayned great losses, if the chiefest part of their goods had not beene layd into the *Panos*: for notwithstanding their pumping with three Pumps, heauing out water with Buckets, and all the best shifts they could make, the ship was halfe full of water ere the leake could be found and stopt. The twelfth day the *Panos* came to them from the *Vchoog*, whereby they lighted the ship of all the goods. The thirteenth day in the morning there came to them a small Boat, sent by the Captaine of *Astracan*, to learne whether the ship were at Sea cleare off the flats. The fifteenth day by great industrie and trauell they got their ship cleare off the shoales and flats, wherewith they had beene troubled from the ninth day vntill then: they were forced to passe their ship in three foot water or lesse. The sixteenth day they came to the *Chetera Bougori*, or Iland of foure Hillockes, which are counted fortie verstes from *Vchoog*, and are the furthest Land towards the Sea. The seuenteenth day they bare off into the Sea, and being about twelue verstes from the Foure hillockes, riding in fise foot and a halfe water about eleuen of the clocke in the fore-noone, they tooke their goods out of the *Panoses* into the ship, and filled their ship with all things necessarie. The eighteenth day in the morning about seuen of the clocke, the *Panoses* being discharged departed away towards *Astracan*, the winde then at South-east, they rode still with the ship, and obseruing the eleuation of the Pole at that place, found it to be 45. degrees 20. minutes. The nineteenth day, the winde South-east, they rode still. The twentieth day, the winde at North-west, they set sayle about one of the clocke in the morning, and steered thence South by West, and South South-west, about three leagues, and then anchored in fixe foot and a halfe water, about

Flats.

Chetera Bougori.

The *Caspian*
Sea.

45. deg. 20. minutes.
The first obser-
uation in the
Caspian Sea.

CHAP. I.
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bout nine of the clocke before noone, at which time it fell calme: the eleuation of the Pole at that place 45. degrees 13. minutes. The one and twentieth, hauing the winde at North-west, they set sayle, and steered thence South by West, and South vntill eleuen of the clocke, and had then nine foote water: and at noone they obserued the latitude, and found it to bee 44. degrees 47. minutes: then had they three fathoms and a halfe water, being cleare off the flats. It is counted from the Foure hillockes to the Sea about fiftie verstes. From the said noone-tide vntill foure of the clocke, they sayled South by East five leagues and a halfe: then had they five fathoms and a halfe, and brackish water: from that till twelue at night they sayled South by East halfe a league, East ten leagues: then had they eleuen fathoms, and the water salter. From that till the two and twentieth day three of the clocke in the morning, they sayled three and fiftie leagues, then had they sixteene fathoms water: from thence they sayled vntill noone South and by West seuen leagues and a halfe, the latitude then obserued 43. degrees 15. minutes, the depth then eight and twentie fathoms, and shallow ground: from that vntill eight of the clocke at night, they sayled South by East five leagues and a halfe, then had they three and fortie fathoms shallow ground. From thence till the three and twentieth at foure of the clocke in the morning, they sayled South South-west three leagues and a halfe: then could they get no ground in two and fiftie fathoms deepe. From thence vntill noone they sayled South nine leagues, then the latitude obserued, was 42. degrees 20. minutes. From that till the foure and twentieth day at noone, they sayled South by West seuentene leagues and a halfe, then the latitude obserued, was one and fortie degrees two and thirtie minutes. From noone till seuen of the clocke at night, they sayled South South-west foure leagues, then had they perfect sight of high Land or Hills, which were almost couered with Snow, and the midst of them were West from the ship, being then about twelue leagues from the neereft Land: they sounded but could finde no ground in two hundred fathoms. From thence they sayled South-west vntill mid-night: about three leagues from thence till the five and twentieth day, foure of the clocke in the morning, they sayled West three leagues, being then little winde, and neere the Land, they tooke in their sayles, and lay hulling: at noone the latitude obserued, was 40. degrees 54. minutes: they sounded but could get no ground in two hundred fathoms. At foure of the clocke in the after-noon, the winde North-west, they set their sayles: and from thence till the sixe and twentieth day at noone, they sayled East South-east foure leagues. From thence they sayled till eight of the clocke at night South-west three leagues, the winde then at North. From thence they sayled vntill the seuen and twentieth day two of the clocke in the morning, West South-west eight leagues, the winde blowing at North very much. From the said two till foure of the clocke, they sayled South by West one league: then being day light, they saw the Land plaine, which was not past three leagues from them, being very high ragged Land. There were certaine Rockes that lay farre off into the Sea, about five leagues from the same Land, (which are called *Barmake Tash*) they sayled betweene those Rockes and the Land, and about five of the clocke they passed by the Port *Bilbil*, where they should haue put in but could not: and bearing longt the shore about two of the clocke after noone, they came to *Bildib* in the Countrey of *Media* or *Sheruan*, against which place they anchored in nine foot water. Presently after they were at anchor, there came aboard of them, a Boat, wherein were seuen or eight persons, two *Turkes*, the rest *Persians*, the *Turkes* vassals, which bade them welcome, and seemed to be glad of their arriual, who told the Factors that the *Turke* had conquered all *Media*, or the Countrey *Sheruan*, and how that the *Turkes* *Basha* remayned in *Derbent* with a Garrison of *Turkes*, and that *Shamaky* was wholly spoyled, and had few or no Inhabitants left in it. The Factors then being desirous to come to the speech of the *Basha*, sent one of the *Tiskies* (or Merchants that went ouer with them from *Astracan*, passengers) and one of the Companies seruants *Robert Golding*, with those Souldiers, to the Capitaine of *Bachu*, which place standeth hard by the Sea, to certifie him of their arriual, and what commodities they had brought, and to desire friendship to haue quiet and safe trafficke for the same. *Bachu* is from *Bildib*, the place where they rode, about a dayes journey, on foot easily to be trauelled, which may be fixe leagues the next way ouer Land: it is a walled Towne, and strongly fortified. When the said Messenger came to the Capitaine of *Bachu*, the said Capitaine gaue him very friendly entertaynement.

In the morning very early, hee sent Horse for the rest of the companie which should goe to *Derbent*, sending by them that went, ten Sheepe for the ship. Whilest they were at breakfast, Master *Turnbull*, Master *Tailboyes*, and *Thomas Hudson* the Master of the ship, came thither, and when they had all broken their fasts, they went to *Bachu*. And from *Bachu* they proceeded towards *Derbent*, as it was by the Capitaine promised, being accompanied on their way for their safe conduct, with a Gentleman, and certaine Souldiers, which had the Capitaine of *Bachu* his Letters to the *Basha* of *Derbent*, very friendly written in their behalfe. In their journey to *Derbent* they forsooke the ordinarie wayes, being very dangerous, and trauelled thorow Woods till they came almost to the Towne of *Derbent*: and then the Gentleman rode before with the Capitaines Letters to the *Basha*, to certifie him of the *English* Merchants comming, who receiuing the Letters, and vnderstanding the matter, was very glad of the newes, and sent forth to re-

Brackish water
farre within
the Sea.43. degrees
15. minutes.41. degrees
32. minutes.40. degrees
54. minutes.*Bilbil*.*Bachu* Port.

The receiuing
of the English
into Derbent.

The latitude
of Bildib 40.
deg. 25. min.
The variation
of the Com-
passe 10. deg.
40. min.

Zere Island.

The English
suffer ship-
wracke.

ceiue them certaine Souldiers Gunners, who met them about two miles out of the Towne, saluting them with great reuerence, and afterwards rode before them: then againe met them other Souldiers, somewhat neerer the Castle, which likewise hauing done their salutations rode before them, and then came forth Noblemen, Captaines, and Gentlemen, to receiue them into the Castle and Towne. As they entred the Castle, there was a shot of twentie Peeeces of great Ordnance, and the *Basha* sent Master *Turnbull* a very faire Horse with furniture to mount on, esteemed to be worth an hundred Markes, and so they were conuayed to his presence: who after he had talked with them, sent for a Coat of cloth of Gold, and caused it to be put on Master *Turnbulls* backe, and then willed them all to depart, and take their ease, for that they were wearie of their iourney, and on the morrow he would talke further with them. The next day when the Factors came againe to the presence of the *Basha*, according to his appointment, they requested him that he would grant them his priuiledge, whereby they might trafficke safely in any part and place of his Countrey, offering him, that if it pleased his Maiestie to haue any of the commodities that they had brought, and to write his minde thereof to the Captaine of *Bachn*, it should be deliuered him accordingly. The *Bashas* answer was, that he would willingly giue them his priuiledge: yet for that he regarded their safety, hauing come so farre, and knowing the state of his Countrey to be troublesome, he would haue them to bring their commoditie thither, and there to make sale of it, promising he would prouide such commodities as they needed, and that he would be a defence vnto them, so that they should not be iniured by any: whereupon the Factors sent *Thomas Hudson* backe for the ship to bring her to *Derbent*. The latitude of *Bildib* by diuers obseruations is 40. deg. 25. m. the variation of the Compas 10. deg. 40. min. from North to West. They arrived at anchor against *Derbent* East and by South from the said Castle in foure fathom & a halfe water, the two and twentieth of Iune at ten of the clock in the morning: then they tooke vp their Ordnance, which before they had stowed in hold for easing the ship in her rolling. In the afternoone the *Basha* came down to the water side against the ship, and hauing the said Ordnance placed, and charged, it was all shot off to gratifie him: and presently after his departure backe, he permitted the Factors to come aboard the ship. The nine and twentieth day their goods were vnladen, and carried to the *Bashas* Garden, where hee made choise of such things as he liked, taking for custome of euery fise and twentie Kersies, or whatsoeuer, one, or after the rate of foure for the hundred. The Factors after his choise made, determined to send a part of the rest of the goods to *Bachn*, for the speedier making sale thereof. They departed from *Derbent* with the said Barke the nineteenth of Iuly, and arrived at *Bildib* the five and twentieth day. *Robert Golding* desirous to vnderstand what might bee done at *Shamaky*, which is a dayes iourney from *Bachn*, went thither, from whence returning, he was set on by theeues, and was shot into the knee with an Arrow, who had very hardly escaped with his life and goods, but that by good hap he killed one of the theeues Horses with a Caliuier, and shot a *Turke* thorow both cheekes with a Dag. On the sixt day of August, the Factors being aduertised at *Derbent* that their ship was so rotten and weake, that it was doubtfull shee would not carrie them backe to *Astracan*, did thereupon agree and bargaine at that place with an *Armenian*, whose name was *Iacob*, for a Barke called a *Busse*, being of burden about fise and thirtie tunnes, which came that yeere from *Astracan*, and was at that instant riding at an Island called *Zere*, about three or foure leagues beyond, or to the Eastward of *Bildib*, which Barke for their more safety, they meant to haue with them in their returne to *Astracan*, and thereupon wrote vnto *Wincoll* and the rest at *Bachn*, that they should receiue the same *Busse*, and lade in her their goods at *Bildib*, to be returned to *Derbent*, and to discharge their first Boat, which was obserued by them accordingly. When all their goods were laden aboard the said *Busse* at *Bildib*, and being readie to haue departed thence for *Derbent*, there arose a great storme with the winde out of the Sea, by force whereof the Cables and Halsers were broken, and their Vessell put ashore, and broken to pieces against the Rockes: euery of them that were in her saued their liues, and part of the goods. But there was a *Carobia* or Chist, wherein were Dollers, and Gold, which they had receiued for the commodities of the Companie, which they sold at *Bachn*, which at the taking out of the *Busse*, fell by the Barks side into the water amongst the Rockes, and so was lost. The packes of Cloth which they could not well take out of the *Busse* were also lost: other things that were more profitable they saued.

The third day of October all things were brought from the shoare aboard the ship: and that day the Factors went to the *Basha* to take their leaue of him, vnto whom they recommended those the Companies seruants, &c. which they had sent to *Bachn*, making account to leaue them behind in the Countrey: who caused their names to be written, and promised they should want nothing, nor be iniured of any. After this leaue taken, the Factors went aboard, purposing presently to haue set sayle and departed towards *Astracan*, the winde seruing well for that purpose at South South-east: And as they were readie to set sayle, there came against the ship a man, who weued: whereupon the Boat was sent ashore to him, who was an *Armenian* sent from *William Wincoll*, with his writing tables, wherein the said *Wincoll* had written briefly, the mis-hap of the losse of the *Busse*, and that they were comming from *Bildib* towards *Derbent*, they,

they, and such things as they saved with a small Boat, forced to put ashore in a place by the Seaside called the *Armenian Village*: Whereupon the Factors caused the ship to stay, hoping that with the Southerly winde that then blew, they would come from the place they were at to the ship, but if they could not come with that winde, they meant to sayle with the ship, with the next wind that would serve them, against the place where they were, and take them in, if they could: which stay and losse of those Southerly winds, was a cause of great troubles, that they afterwards sustayned through Ice, &c. entring the *Volga* as shall be declared.

The *Armenian Village*.

The latitude of *Derbent* (by diuers Observations exactly there made, is fortie one degrees fiftie two minutes. The variation of the Compasse at that place about eleuen degrees from North to West. From *Derbent* to *Bildib* by Land fortie sixe leagues. From *Derbent* to *Shamaky* by Land, fortie five leagues. From *Shamaky* to *Bachu*, about ten leagues, which may bee thirtie miles. From *Bachu* to *Bildib* five or sixe leagues by Land, but by water about twelue leagues. From the Castle *Derbent* East-wards, there reach two stone wals to the border of the *Caspian Sea*, which is distant one *English* mile. Those wals are nine foot thicke, and eight and twentie or thirtie foot high, and the space betweene them is one hundred and sixtie Geometricall paces, that is, eight hundred foot. There are yet to bee perceiued of the ruine of those wals, which doe now extend into the Sea about halfe a mile: also from the Castle West-ward into the Land, they did perceiue the ruines of a stone wall to extend, which wal, as it is reported, did passe from thence to *Pontus Euxinus*, & was built by *Alexander the great*, when the castle *Derbent* was made.

The latitude of *Derbent* 41. degrees 52. minutes.

The variation of the Compasse.

20 The fift of October about noone, the winde North North-east they weighed Anchor, and set sayle from *Derbent*, being alongst the Coast to the South-wards to seeke their men: but as they had sailed about foure leagues the winde scanted Easterly, so that they were forced to Anchor in three fathome water.

The seuenth day about seuen of the clocke in the morning, they set sayle, the wind South-west. They considered the time of the yeare was farre spent, the ship weake, leake, and rotten, and therefore determining not to carry any longer for *Wincoll* and his fellowes, but to leaue them behind, bent themselves directly towards *Astracan*: and sayling North North-east vntill midnight about sixteene leagues, the wind then came to the North North-west, and blew much, a very storme, which caused them to take in all their Sayles, saving the fore Corse, with which they were forced to steere before the Sea, South by West, and South South-west. And on the eight day about two of the clocke in the morning, their great Boat sunke at the ships sterne, which they were forced to cut from the ship to their great grieve and discomfort: for in her they hoped to saue their liues if the ship should haue miscarried. About ten of the clocke before noone, they had sight of the Land about five leagues to the South of *Derbent*, and bare alongst the Coast to the South-east-wards vnto *Nezaouo*, where they came at Anchor in three fathomes, and blacke Ozie, good Anchor hold, whereof they were glad, as also that the winde was shifted to the North-west, and but a meane gale. *Wincoll* and the rest of his fellowes being in the *Armenian Village*, which is about eightene Versts to the West-wards of *Nezaouo*, the place where against they rode at Anchor, saw the ship as she passed by that place, and sent a man in the night following alongst the Coast after her, who came against the ship where shee rode, and with a fire-brand in the top of a Tree made signes, which was perceiued by them in the ship, whereupon they hoysed out their Skiffe, and sent her ashore to learne what was meant by the fire: which returned a Letter from *Wincoll*, wherein he wrote that they were with such goods as they had at the *Armenian Village*, and prayed that there they might with the same goods bee taken into the ships.

Nezaouo.

30 The tenth day they sent their Skiffe to the *Armenian Village* to fetch those men and the goods they had, with order that if the winde serued, that they could not returne to fetch the ship, they of the ship promised to come for them, against the said Village. But in their want God sent them two Couies of Partridges, that came from the shoare, and lighted in and about their ships, whereby they were comforted, and one that lay sicke, of whose life was small hope, recovered his health.

The particulars of their returne are omitted. A strange accident of provision for their reliefes.

Pauoses were sent from *Astracan*, in which they laded the ships goods, leauing her at Anchor with *Russes* to keepe her.

60 The thirteenth of Nouember they departed also in those Lighters, with the goods towards the *Chetera Bougori*, leauing the ship at Anchor, and in her two *Russes*, which with three more that went in the *Pauoses* to prouide victuals for themselves and the rest, and therewith promised to returne backe to the ship with all speed, had offered to vndertake for twentie Rubbles in Money, to carrie the ship into some Harbour, where shee might safely winter, or else to keepe her where she rode all Winter, which was promised to bee giuen them if they did it: and the same day when with those Lighters they had gotten sight of the foure Ilands, being about eight Verstes South-west from them, the wind then at North-east, did freeze the Sea so as they could not row, guide, stirre, or remoue the said Lighters, but as the wind and Ice did force them. And so they continued driuing with the Ice, South-east into the Sea by the space of fortie houres, and then being the sixteenth day, the Ice stood. Whiles they droue with the Ice, the dangers which they

they incurred were great: for oftentimes, when the Ice with force of wind and Sea did breake, pieces of it were tossed and driuen one vpon another with great force, terrible to behold, and the same happened at sometimes so neere vnto the Lighters, that they expected it would haue ouerwhelmed them to their vtter destruction: but God who had preferred them from many perils before, did also saue and deliuer them then.

Trauell vpon
the Ice.

Chetera Babbas.

Within three or foure dayes after the first standing of the Ice, when it was firme and strong, they tooke out all their goods, being fortie and eight Bales or Packes of Raw Silke, &c. laid it on the Ice, and couered the same with such prouisions as they had. Then for want of victuals, &c. they agreed to leaue all the goods there vpon the Ice; and to goe to the shoare: and there vpon brake vp their Chests and *Corobias*, wherewith, and with such other things as they could get, they made Sleds for euery of them to draw vpon the Ice, whereon they layed their clothes to keepe them warme, and such victuals as they had, and such other things as they might conueniently carrie, and so they departed from the said goods and *Panoses* very early, about one of the clocke in the morning, and traouelling on the Ice, directed their way North, as neere as they could iudge, and the same day about two of the clocke in the after-noon, they had sight of the *Chetera Babbas* (foure Hillocks of Ilands so called) vnto the same they directed themselves, and there remayned that night. The goods and *Panoses* which they left on the Ice, they iudged to be from those *Chetera Babbas*, about twentie Versts. And the next morning departed thence East-wards, and came to the *Chetera Bongories* (or foure Ilands before spoken of) before noone (the distance betweene those places is about fiteene Versts) where they remained all that night, departing thence towards *Astracan*: the next morning very early they lost their way through the perswasion of the *Russes* which were with them, taking to much towards the left hand (contrary to the opinion of Master *Hudson*) whereby wandering vpon the Ice foure or fide dayes, not knowing whether they were entred into the *Crimme Tartars* Land or not, at length it fortun- ed they met with a way that had bene trauelled, which crost back-wards towards the Sea: that way they tooke, and following the same, within two dayes trauell it brought them to a place, called the *Crasnoyare* (that is to say, in the English Tongue) *Red Cliffe*, which diuers of the company knew.

The English
ship cut in pie-
ces with Ice.

There they remayned that night, hauing nothing to eate but one Loafe of Bread, which they happened to find with the two *Russes* that were left in the ship, to keepe her all the Winter (as is aforesaid) whom they chanced to meet going towards *Astracan*, about fide miles before they came to the said *Crasnoyare*, who certified them that the ship was cut in pieces with the Ice, and that they had hard scaping with their liues.

In the morning they departed early from *Crasnoyare* towards the *Onchooge*, and about nine of the clocke before noone, being within ten Versts of the *Uchooge*, they met *Amos Riall*, with the Carpenter, which he found at *Onchooge*, and a Gunner newly come out of England; and also sixtie fide Horses with so many *Cassacks* to guide them, and fiftie Gunners for guard, which brought prouision of victuals, &c. and were sent by the Duke to fetch the goods to *Astracan*. The mee- ting of that company was much joy vnto them.

December.

The Factors sent backe with *Amos Riall*, and the said company to fetch the goods, *Thomas Hudson* the Master, *Tobias Paris* his Mate, and so they the said Factors and their company mar- ched on to the *Uchooge*, where they refreshed themselves that day, and the night following. And from thence proceeded on towards *Astracan*, where they arriued the last day of Nouem- ber. These that went for the goods after their departure from the Factors, trauelled the same day vntill they came within ten Versts of the *Chetera Babbas*, where they rested that night. The next morning by the breake of the day they departed thence, and before noone were at the *Chetera Babbas*, where they stayed all night; but presently departed thence *Thomas Hudson* with the Carpenter and Gunner to seecke where the goods lay: who found the same, and the next day they returned backe to their company at the *Chetera Babbas*, and declared vnto them in what sort they had found the said goods.

Assaulted by
Tartars.

Their returne
to Astracan.

The third day early in the morning, they departed all from the foure *Babbas* towards the said goods, and the same day did lade all the goods they could finde vpon the said sleds, and withall conuenient speed returned backe towards *Astracan*. And when they came to the *Chetera Bon- gori*, where they rested the night, in the morning very early before the breake of day, they were assaulted by a great company of the *Nagays Tartars* Horse-men, which came shouting and hallowing with a great noyse, but our people were so inuironed with the sleds, that they durst not enter vpon them, but ranne by, and shot their Arrowes amongst them, and hurt but one man in the head, who was a *Russe*, and so departed presently. Yet when it was day, they shewed themselves a good distance off from our men, being a very great troope of them, but did not as- sault them any more. The same day our men with those carriages, departed from thence to- wards *Astracan*, where they arriued in safetie the fourth of December, about three of the clock in the after-noon, where our people greatly rejoyced of their great good hap to haue escaped so many hard euents, troubles and miseries, as they did in that Voyage, and had great cause therefore to prayse the Almighty, who had so mercifully preferred and deliuered them.

They

They remayned the Winter at Astracan, where they found great fauour and friendship of the Duke, Captaine, and other chiefe Officers of that place: but that Winter there hapned no great matter worth the noting.

In the Spring of the yeere 1581. about the midst of March, the Ice was broken vp, and cleare gone before Astracan.

The breaking
vp of the Ice.

A Letter of Master HENRIE LANE to the worshipfull Master WILLIAM SANDERSON, containing a brieft discourse of that which passed in the North-east discoverie, for the space of three and thirtie yeeres.

After Sanderfon, as you lately requested me, so haue I sought, and though I cannot finde some things that heretofore I kept in writing, and lent out to others, yet perusing at London copies of mine old Letters to content one that meaneth to pleasure many, I haue brieftly and as truly as I may, drawne out as followeth: The rough hewing may bee planed at your leisure, or as pleaseth him that shall take the paines.

First the honourable attempt to discover by Sea North-east and North-west named for Cathay, being chiefly procured by priuiledge from King Edward the sixth, and other his Nobilitie, by and as the cost and sute of Master Sebastian Cabota, then Gouvernour for Discoveries, with Sir Andrew Iudde, Sir George Barnes, Sir William Garrard, Master Anthony Huffie, and a companie of Merchants, was in the last yeere of his Maiesties raigne, 1553. The generall charge whereof was committed to one Sir Hugh Willoughbie Knight, a goodly Gentleman, accompanied with sufficient number of Pilots, Masters, Merchants and Marriners, hauing three Ships well furnished, to wit, The Bona Speranca, the Edward Bonauenture, and the Confidentia. The Edward Bonauenture, Richard Chancellor being Pilot, and Steuen Burrough Master, hauing discovered Ward-house upon the Coast of Finmark, by storme or fogge departed from the rest, found the Bay of Saint Nicholas, now the chiefe Port of Russia, there wintered in safetie, and had ayde of the people at a Village called Newnox.

Anno 1553.
Master William
Burrough was
then young,
and with his
brother in this
first voyage.
Newnox is
from the road
of S. Nicholas
Westward 35
miles.

The other two ships attempting further Northwards (as appeared by Pamphlets found after written by Sir Hugh Willoughbie) were in September encountred with such extreame cold, that they put backe to seeke a wintring place: and missing the said Bay fell vpon a desert Coast in Lappia, entring into a Riuer immediately frozen up, since discovered, named Arzina Reca, distant East from a Russian Monasterie of Monkes called Pechingho, from whence they neuer returned, but all to the number of seuentie persons perished, which was for want of experience to haue made Canes and Stones. These were found with the Ships the next Summer, Anno 1554. by Russe-fishermen: and in Anno 1555. the place sent vnto by English Merchants, as hereafter appeareth.

Note.

Anno 1554. the said ship Edward Bonauenture (although robbed homewards by Flemings) returned with her companie to London, shewing and setting forth their entertainments and discoverie of the Countries, euen to the Citie of Mosco, from whence they brought a priuiledge written in Russe with the Kings or great Dukes seale, the other two ships looked for and unknowne to them where they were.

Anno 1554.

Anno 1555. the said companie of Merchants for a discoverie vpon a new supply, sent thither againe with two Ships, to wit, the Edward Bonauenture, and another bearing the name of the King and Queene, Philip and Marie, whose Maiesties by their Letters to the said Muscouite, recommended sundry their subiects then passing, whereof certaine, to wit, Richard Chancellor, George Killingworth, Henrie Lane, and Arthur Edwards, after their arriuall at the Bay, and passing vp Dwina to Nologda, went first up to Mosco, where, vpon knowledge of the said Letters, they with their trayne had speciall entertainment, with houses and dyer appointed, and shortly permitted to the Princes presence, they were with Gentlemen brought through the Citie of Mosco, to the Castle and Palace, replenished with numbers of people, and some gunners. They entred sundry roomes, furnished in shew with ancient graue personages, all in long garments of sundry colours, Gold, Tissue, Baldekin, and Violet, as our Vestments and Copes haue bene in England, sutable with Caps, Jewels, and Chames. These were found to bee no Courtiers, but ancient Muscouites, Inhabitants, and other their Merchants of credit, as the manner is, furnished thus from the Wardrobe and Treasurie, waiting and wearing this apparell for the time, and so to restore it.

Anno 1555.
The King and
Queenes letters.

Then entring into the Presence, being a large roome floored with Carpets, were men of more estate, and richer shew, in number aboue one hundred set square: who after the said English-men came in, doing reuerence, they all stood up, the Prince onely sitting, and yet rising at any occasion, when our King and Queenes names were read or spoken. Then after speeches by interpretation, our men kissing his hand, and bidden to dinner, were stayed in another roome, and at dinner brought through, where might bee scene masse siluer and gilt Plate, some like and as bigge as Kilderkins, and Wash-bowles, and entring the Dining place, being the greater roome, the Prince was set bare-headed, his Crowne and rich Cap standing vpon a pinnacle by. Not farre distant sate his Metropolitan, with diners other of his kindred, and chiefe Tartarian Captaines: none sate ouer against him, or any, at other Tables, their backs towards him:

Entertain-
ment by the
Duke.

which

Master Killingworths beard
of a marvellous length.

Anno 1556. the
disastrous voyage.

Serchthrift.
Stephen Borough

Anno 1557.
Boghar voyage.

Musconie trade
long unfortunate.
1560.
The first trade
to the Narue.
1560.

Alcock slain in
Persia.
Banister dyed
in Media.
Edwards dyed
at Astracan.

which tables all furnished with ghests set, there was for the English-men, named by the Russes, Ghosti Carabelski, to wit, Strangers or Merchants by ship, a table in the midst of the roome, where they were set direct against the Prince: and then began the seruice, brought in by a number of his young Lords and Gentlemen, in such rich attire, as is aboue specified: and still from the Princes table (notwithstanding their owne furniture) they had his whole messes set oner all in massie fine Gold, deliuered enery time from him by name to them, by their sener all Christian names, as they sate, viz. Richard, George, Henrie, Arthur. Likewise Bread and sundry drinckes of purified Mead, made of fine white and clarified Honey. At their rising, the Prince called them to his table, to receiue each one a Cup from his hand to drinke, and tooke into his hand Master George Killingworths beard, which reacheth ouer the table, and pleasantly deliuered it the Metropolitane, who seeming to blesse it, said in Russe, This is Gods gift. As indeed at that time it was not onely thicke, broad, and yellow coloured, but in length fine foote and two inches of asseize. Then taking leaue, being night, they were accompanied and followed with a number, carrying pots of drinke, and dishes of meate dressed, to our lodging.

This yeere the two Ships, with the dead bodyes of Sir Hugh Willoughbie, and his people, were sent vnto by Master Killingworth, (which remayned there in Mosco Agent almost two yeeres) and much of the goods and victuals were recovered and saved.

Anno 1556. The Companie sent two Ships for Russia, with extraordinarie Masters and Saylers to bring home the two ships, which were frozen in Lappia, in the riuer of Arzina aforesaid. The two ships sent this yeere from England sayling from Lapland to the Bay of Saint Nicholas, tooke in lading with passengers, to wit, a Russe Ambassadour, named Ioseph Napea, and some of his men shipped with Richard Chancelor in the Edward. But so it fell out that the two which came from Lappia, with all their new Master and Marriners, neuer were head of, but in foule weather, and wrought Seas, after their two yeeres wintering in Lapland, became, as is supposed, vnstanch, and sunke, wherein were drowned also diuers Russes, Merchants, and seruants of the Ambassadour. A third ship the Edward aforesaid, falling on the North part of Scotland, vpon a rocke was also lost, and Master Chancelor with diuers other, drowned. The said Russe Ambassadour hardly escaping, with other his men, Marriners, and some goods saved, were sent for into Scotland, from the King, Queene, and Merchants, (the messenger being Master Doctor Laurence Huffie, and others:). And then, as in the Chronicles appeareth, honorably enter-tayned and receiued at London.

This yeere also the company furnished and sent out a Pinnesse, named the Serchthrift, to discover the Harborawes in the North coast from Norway to Wardhouse, and so to the Bay of Saint Nicholas. There was in her Master and Pilot, Stephen Borough, with his brother William, and eight other. Their discoverie was beyond the Bay, toward the Samoeds, people dwelling neere the Riuer of Ob, and found a sound or sea with an Island called Vaigats, first by them put into the Card or Map. In that place they throw Snow out of their said pinnesse, with shouels in August, by which extremitie, and lacke of time, they came backe to Russia, and wintred at Colmogro.

Anno 1557. The companie with foure good Ships, sent backe the said Russe Ambassadour, and in companie with him, sent as an Agent, for further discouerie, Master Antonie Ienkinson, who afterward Anno 1558. with great fauour of the Prince of Muscouia, and his letters passed the riuer Volga to Cazan, and meaning to seeke Cathay by Land, was by many troupes and companies of vncinill Tartarians encountred, and in danger: but keeping companie with Merchants of Bactria, or Boghar, and Vrgeme, traouelling with Camels, he with his companie, went to Boghar, and no further: whose entertainment of the King is to be had of Master Ienkinson, which returned Anno 1559. to Muscouie. And in Anno 1560. hee, with Henrie Lane, came home into Enghland: which yeere was the first safe returne, without losse, or shipwracke, or dead freight, and burnings. And at this time was the first trafficke to the Narue in Liouonia, which confines with Lituania, and all the Dominions of Russia: and the Markets, Faieres, Commodities, great Townes and Riuers, were sent vnto by diuers seruants: the reports were taken by Henrie Lane, Agent, and deliuered to the companie, 1561. The trade to Rie, and Reuel, of old time hath beene long since frequented by our English Nation, but this trade to the Narue was hitherto concealed from vs by the Danskers and Lubeckers.

Anno 1561. the said Master Antonie Ienkinson went Agent into Russia, who the next yeere after, passing all the riuer of Volga to Astracan, and ouer the Caspian sea, arrived in Persia, and opened the trade thither.

Also betweene the yeeres of 1568. and 1573. sundry Voyages after Master Ienkinsons, were made by Thomas Alcock, Arthur Edwards, Master Thomas Banister, and Master Geoffrey Ducket, whose returne (if spoyle neere Volga had not prevented by rousing Theemes) had altogether salued and recovered the Companies (called the old Companies) great losse, charges, and damages: But the saying is true, By vnitie small things grow great, and by contention great things become small. This may bee understood best by the Companie. The forwardnesse of some few, and euill doing of some vnjust Factors, was cause of much of the euill successe.

Arthur Edwards was sent againe, 1579. and dyed in the voyage at Astracan. About which matters, are to bee remembred the Voyages of Master Thomas Randolph Esquire, Ambassadour Anno 1567. And late of Sir Ierome Bowes, Anno 1583. both tending and treating for further Discoueries, Freedomes, and Prinuiledges, wherewith I meddle not. But in conclusion, for their paines and

and adventures this way (as diuers doe now adayes other wayes) as worthie Gentlemen sent from Princesses, to doe their Countrey good, I put them in your memorie, with my heartie farewell. From Saint Margarets neere Dartforth in Kent.

To the Reader.

I Haue had much trouble to giue thee this Authour, both for his Language, being Portugall (which for this, and some other parts of this worke, I was forced to get as I could) and for the raritie of his Relations; seeming both in themselves so stupendious, and not seconded in many things, that I say not contraried, by other Authours. Besides his booke came not out, till himselfe was gone out of the world. I answer, that Riccius the Iesuite his Relations came not to vs, till himselfe was likewise gone; and that that might rather plead not onely for the Maturitie, but the sinceritie, by that Cassian rule, Cui hono; for whom should a dead man flatter, or for what should hee lye? Yea, hee little spares his owne companie and Nation, but often and eagerly layeth open their vices: and which is more, I finde in him little boasting, except of other Nations; none at all of himselfe, but as if he intended to expresse Gods glorie, and mans merit of nothing but miserie. And how soeuer it seemes incredible to remember such infinite particulars as this Booke is full of, yet an easie memorie holdeth strong impressions of good or bad: Scribunt in marmore laeti, is said of one; and of the other, Omnia quae curant senes meminerunt. Neither is it likely but that the Authour wrote Notes, which in his manifold disadventures were lost otherwise, but by that writing written the firmer in his memorie, especially new whetted, filed, forbusbed with so many companions of miserie, whom in that state, Hec olim meminisse iuuabat; their best musick in their chaines and wandrings being the mutuall recountings of things seene, done, suffered. More marvell it is, if a lyar, that he should not forget himselfe, and contradict his owne Relations; which sometimes he may seeme to doe in the numbers of the yeere of the Lord; yea, and other numbers: but his leaues were left vnperfect at his death, and those numbers perhaps added by others after: and besides, mine owne experience hath often found figures mistaken from my hand, which being by the Compositor set at large, haue runne at large by ten times so much; and girt in otherwhiles as narrow with the tenth place diminished, or one figure set for another. And none but the Authour, or he which knowes the subiect, can easily amend that fault, being so great by so small and easie a lapse. The graduations of places I doe confesse otherwise than in the Iesuites, and as I suppose not so truly as theirs: for I thinke that he neither had Arte * or Instrument to calculate the same, but contented himselfe in the writing of this Booke to looke into the common Maps of China, and to follow them in setting downe the degrees, and so the blind led the blind into error; no printed Map that I haue seene being true. And perhaps the Chronicler to whom the papers were brought vnfinished might out of those Maps doe it; erring either of ignorance, or (which we haue often seene in Cards of remote places East and West) purposely, to conceale from others that which they haue found sweet and gainfull, the Mariner and Merchant not looking with the generous eyes of the ingenious, ingenuous Scholer.

For his repute at home; it was dedicated to King Philip the Third of Spaine; which impudence would not haue obruded (if altogether a tale) on such Maestie; licenced by the Holy Office, and printed at Lisbon; translated into the Spanish by the Licentiate, Francisco de Herrera Maldonado, Canon of the Church Riall of Arbas, and dedicated to a Clergie-man Seuerin de Faria, Printed 1620. at Madrid (and small credit it had beene to the House of the Farias, that one of them should publish in Portugall, and in Castile to another should be dedicated, a frinulous tale and denised foolerie.) I adde also the Authours stile so religious, and his often protestations: his credit, as Herrera reporteth with King Philip the Second, who spent much time in discourse with him about these things. I might adde the Spanish Translators Apologie at large, and one of him Fr. Andrada the Portugall Chroniclers testimonio.

If this moue thee not to beleene, yet beleene thus much, that I haue no minde to deceine thee, but giue thee what I found, onely much contracted, and not going all the way with our Authour, whose originall Booke is aboue one hundred and fiftie sheets of paper in folio, but contented with his China and Tartaria Relations: that also too much, if not true. And yet I would not haue an Authour reiected for his speeches framed by the Writer, in which many Historians haue taken libertie; no, if sometimes he doth mendacia dicere, so as he doth not mentiri; that is, if he be so credulous to beleene, or so improuident to proffer to others faith, probable falsehoods related by others (as I will not sweare but of himselfe hee might mistake, and by others be mis-led, the Chinois here might in relating these rarities to him enlarge, and de magnis maiora loqui) so as he still be religious in a iust and true delinerie of what himselfe hath seene, and belye not his owne eyes: the former is rashnesse and distastfull, the later is dishonest and detestable. Once, the Sunne Rising hath found many worshippers, but the Westerne Sunne is neerer night: and neerer obscuritie and meannesse are our Westerne affaires then those China Raies of the East; and wee were Backes and Owles not to beleene a greater light then our selues see and vse. All China Authours how diuersified soeuer in their lines, yet concur in a centre of Admiranda Sinarum, which if others haue not so largely related as this, they may thanke God they payed not so deare a price to see them; and for mee, I will rather beleene (where reason euicts not an eiectione firma) then seeke to see

Note for numbers (if great care bee not had) how easily, how dangerously mistaken.

* So it seemes by those words of his, fol. 122. Amda que confesso que me falta o milhor, que he saber o engenho para dar a entender o clima e a Altura dos graos &c. Falso graduations a common thing in Maps of East and West Indies.

Valignarius a great Iesuite wrote a booke with that title

at the Authours rate; and if he hath robbed the Altars of Truth, as he did those of the Calempley Idols, yet in Pequign equity we will not cut off the thumbs (according to Nanquin rigour) upon bare surmise without any euidence against him. How euer, cheaper I am sure he is by farre to thee then to mee, who would haue beene loth to be so true a labourer in a lying Authour, willingly or commonly (in my conceit) falsifying his owne sight, though perhaps not seldome deceiued in things taken vp on China mens trust, or entred into their China Bookes, such as he here often citeth. Men refuse not Siluer for the Oare; gather the Rose notwithstanding the prickles; neglect not Haruest mixed with weeds, Wheat with the chaffe, Fruit for the shells, and hate not Honie for the Bees sting; nor will I either in prodigallitie of faith beleene all, or be so penurious as to reiect the most of that which here I present. Use thou thy freedome, and him at thy pleasure (I say not mee) and if thou wilt not pardon such a brieft collection, thou wouldst hardly giue Castilian entertainment to all, and more then all, often yeelding brauadoes and enlarging flourishes of stile, beyond a translation, as if his Authour had not said enough. The variety, if it had beene meerly deuised, presents I know not how many entercourses as interludes of Comicke and Tragicke enents, more worthie the reading then most in this kinde, and as fit to recreate: how much more, where veritie is (as I suppose) the ground and substance, though perhaps inlayed with other phantasies among. That the Iesuites in some things differ, is their authoritie against his, who as more learned and iudicious, and longer experienced, might finde out some truths better then hee; as his various fortunes, and that time, might let him see many particularities which they could not, writing sixtie yeeres after. In many things they both agree: and Gaspar de Cruz hath many the same things; and that his strange Relation of the Crosse in China and the Hungarian of the Mount Sinai, is deliuered by Lucena, perhaps learned by some of His companie: and these exceptions by mee mentioned, are rather praoccupations, of censorious iudging my iudgement, then my iudiciall sentence, which the iudicious will suspend, and leane to better experience. Iudicent posteri; veritas Temporis filia.

CHAP. II.

Observations of China, Tartaria, and other Easterne parts of the
World, taken out of FERNAM MENDEZ PINTO
his Peregrination.

§. I.

MENDEZ his many miserable aduentures, his strange expedition with
ANTONIO DE FARIA; diuers coasts visited, Pirats
tamed, miseries suffered, glorie
recovered.



Fernam Mendez Pinto, borne at old Montemor in the Kingdome of Portugall, was placed in seruice at ten or twelue yeeres of age in Lisbon, the thirteenth of December, An. 1521. on the day of breaking the Scutchions, or publike mourning for King Emanuel. A yeere and halfe after he fled vpon occasion of a sudden accident, and got aboard a Caruile which was taken by a French Pirat, which would haue made sale of them at Larache to the Moores. But a fortnight after taking another Portugall ship comming from Saint Thome worth 40000. Duckets, they returned for France, carrying some with them for Sea seruice, the rest they set on shoare by night on the shoare of Melides, naked; which came to Santiago de Cacem, where they were relieued. Thence he went to Setuual, and serued Francisco de Faria a Gentleman belonging to the Master of Santiago, and after that was Page to the Master himselfe. But his meanes being short hee left his seruice.

* See of Gama
tom. i. pag. 26.
Straight of
Mecca or the
Red Sea.
Portugall Fort-
resse in Socotora
before the
Arabs Con-
quest.
A Martyr of
Mahomet. Mar-
tyrem non pen-
sed causa.

An. 1537. he went for India in a Fleet of fve ships; the Admirall was Don Pedro de Sylua, sonne of Vasco * da Gama (first Discoverer of the Indies, whose bones he carried with him in the ship at his returne, which were receiued by King Johns appointment in greater Funerall pompe, then had beene seene done to a Subiect.) They arriued at Din the fifth of September. Thence after seuteene dayes he went with two Foists for the Straight of Mecca, and came in sight of Curia Muria, and Abedalcuria, almost wracked with foule weather, and comming to Sacotora, watered neere the Fortresse which Francisco d'Almeida first Vice-roy of India, had built, 1507. Hauing receiued some refreshing of the Christians there, they departed, and in the heighth of Masua tooke a ship, but fve men being therein left of eightie; one of which was the Captaine, a Renegado of Malorquy, who for loue of a Moorish woman had denyed his Faith, and refusing to returne to Christianitie, notwithstanding all perswasions, wee bound him hand

and foot, and threw him into Sea with a great stone tyed about his necke: The ship also sunke, and little was saved.

They went to *Arquico* (then) in the Countrey of *Preste Iohn*; to deliuer a letter to *Aurique Barbosa*, the Factor of *Antonio Sylueira*, sent three yeeres before by *Nuno de Cunha*, who with fortie others escaped from the rebellion *Xael*, in which *Dom Manoel de Meneses*, with one hundred and sixtie *Portugals* were taken, foure hundred thousand Duckets, and fixe *Portugall Ships*, which were those that *Solyman Bassa A. 1538.* brought with prouision for his Armada to the siege of *Diu*; the King of *Xael* hauing sent them with sixtie *Portugals* for a *Cairo* present; the rest hee bestowed as almes on *Mahomets* house at *Mecca*. I with three others, were sent some dayes journeyes into the Countrey to *Barbosa*, then in the Fort of *Geleytor* in guard of the Queene, mother of the *Preste Iohn*, who welcommed them, as the nightly dew to the flowerie Garden, and as *Helena* to *Ierusalem*, so were they (said she) to her eyes.

Xael or *Iael* in surrection.

But (to leaue those things) he went thence to *Ormuz*, and then to *Goa*; there offered his seruice to *Pero de Faria* Captaine of *Malaca*, which entertained him. The occurrences of *Bata*, *Achem*, *Aaru* in *Samatra*, *Queda* in the continent, and his employments in those parts, as also of *Siaca*, *Paon*, *Patane*, I omit.

He saith that hee was wracked at Sea comming from *Aaru*; of eight and twentie, fve onely escaping, two of which the Crocodiles deuoured. Hee was taken and sold to a *Moore*, which carried him to *Malaca*. Thence *Pero de Faria* sent him to *Patane* in trade: from thence againe, imployed by *Antonio de Faria* to *Lugor*, *Coia Acem* a *Guzarate* Pirate set vpon them, tooke, and killed all, *Burall* and *Pinto* onely escaping, which leaping into the Sea were reserued by a Barke, and sent to *Patane*. *Faria* afraid to return to *Malaca*, where he was so indebted for those goods, vowed to be reuenged of the Pirat. And by helpe of his friends armed a Iunke with fve & fifty Souldiers, of which I and *Borall* (extreamely both indebted and wounded) were. From *Patane* we set forth in May, 1540. and to a Hauen called *Bralapisaon*, some fixe leagues off the firme Land, where we found a Iunke of the *Leguios*, bound for *Siam* with an Embassadour of *Nantaquim de Lindau*, Prince of the Ile of *Tosa* situate in six & thirty degrees, which seeing vs come, hastened away with all speed. *Faria* sent a *Chinese* Pilot to them with faire offers of loue and courtesie, who returned with a present, a rich Sword, and fixe and twentie Pearles in a Boxe of Gold, with this answer, That the time would come, when they should communicate with vs in the Law of the true God of infinite mercy, who by his death had giuen life to all men, with a perpetuall inheritance in the house of the good: and hee beleued that this should bee after the halfe of the halfe of time were past. Neither could *Antonio de Faria* returne any thing in recompence, they being gotten farre into the Sea.

Bralapisaon.

Tosa, Span Loffe.

A strange answer.

Heere wee watered, and after coasted to search the Riuer of *Pulo Cambim*, which diuides the Kingdome of *Champaa*, from the Seniorie of *Camboia* in the height of nine degrees. Thither we came in the end of May, and the Pilot went vp the Riuer three leagues, to a great Towne called *Catimparis*, where we stayed to take in prouision twelue dayes. *Faria* being curious, desired to know whence that Riuer came, the originall thereof (they told him) was a Lake called *Pinator*, Eastward from that Sea, two hundred and sixtie leagues in the Kingdome of *Quitiruan*; which Lake was compassed with high Hills, at the bottome of which, alongt the waters side, were eight and thirtie Townes, thirteene great, the rest small. One of these Great ones was named *Xincalen*, where was a great Gold Mine, whence euery day was taken a Barre and a halfe of Gold, which in our money amounteth by the yeere to two and twentie millions of Gold. Foure Lords are sharers, and are still at warres for a singular proprietie. They said that one of these called *Raiabitan*, in the Court of his house in iarres, had set vp to the necke in earth six hundred Bars of Gold in poulder, as good as that of *Menancabo* in *Samatra*; and that if three hundred of our men were sent thither, with one hundred Caliuers, they would without doubt become masters thereof. They said also that in *Buaquirim*, another of those Townes, was a Rocke of Diamonds, better then those of *Lane*, and of *Taniampura* in the Ile of *Iaua*.

Pulo Cambim.

Catimparis.

Lake *Pinator*.

Quitiruan.

Xincalen.

22. Millions Duckets. Gold mines, & iron minds.

Rocke of Diamonds.

Proceeding along the Coast of *Champaa*, from *Pulo Cambim*, we came to a shelve called *Saley-lacum*, and the next day to the Riuer *Toobafoy*, in the mouth whereof a Iunke passed by, to which we offered the courtesie of the Sea, and they in scorne made shew of a Negroes Buttockes, with many trumpets and other iollitie. Hence grew displeasure: in the night three Barks came to assaile vs, which we tooke, with the Captain, two *Acheners*, a *Turke*, & the *Negro*. This *Negro* confessed himselfe a Christian, slave to *Gasper de Mello* a *Portugall*, whom that dogge (he pointed to the bound Captaine) slew two yeeres since in *Liampoo*, with fixe and twentie *Portugals* besides with him in the Ship. What said *Faria*, is this *Similan*? Yea, said he, and he had thought in so small a Barke, there had not benee about fixe or seuen, and hee would haue bound your hands and feet, and impaled you as hee serued my master. *Faria* hauing serued him and his with the same sauce, tooke the Iunke, in which was thirtie six thousand Taels of *Iapon* Siluer, which make fiftie foure thousand *Cruzados* or Duckets, besides much good merchandize.

Similan a Pirate taken.

Faria proceeded alongt the Coast of *Champaa*, and came to the Riuer *Tinacorn*, by our men called *Varella*: into which enter the Ships of *Siam* and the *Malaya* Coast, which goe for *China*, and *Truck* for Gold, *Calamba* and *Iuory*, whereof that Kingdome hath store. Many *Paraos* or small

Tinacorn, or *Tawilachim*, or *Varella* Truck for gold.

Pilaucacem.

Bird-wonder.

Cunebetee, or
Chiammay.Pullo Champei-
loo.

* Gauia.

Quiay Taiam, a
Pirate.Thomas Ma-
stangue his ad-
uentures.

Pearle-fishers.

Guamboy, and
other Coast
Cities of China,
Sonne of the
Sunne, title of
the King of
China.Aynam or Hai-
nam, a great
Iland S. from
China.

small Barkes came aboard vs, and wondred to see white men with beards. They told him that if he would goe vp the Riuer to the Citie *Pilaucacem*, where the King resides, hee might in five dayes sell his goods: for great Merchants resorted thither from the *Lauhos*, and *Pafnaas*, and *Gne- os*. That Riuer they said came from the Hill *Moncalor*, eightie leagues from that place, and beyond that Hill it is much larger, but shallower, in some places making shallow fields, where bred infinite store of Fowles which couer the ground, in such innumerable numbers, that two and fortie yeeres before they caused the Kingdome of *Chintaleuhos*, (which is eight dayes journey) to be dispeopled. Beyond that Country of Birds, is another wilde and mountainous, where abide many creatures much worse then those Birds, Elephants, Rhinocerotes, Lions, Wilde-swine, Buffals, and Wilde-kine. In the midst of that Land or Kingdome (so it had beene in old time) is a great Lake, which the Natiues call *Cunebetee*, others *Chiammay*, from which proceeds this riuer, with other three in great quantitie washing that land. That lake, as some write, containeth in circuit sixtie Iaons (each of which is three leagues) alongst which are Mines of Siluer, Copper, Tinne, and Lead, carried thence by Merchants in *Casilas*, with Elephants and Badas (Rhinocerotes) to the Kingdomes of *Sornan*, or *Siam*, *Passiloco*, *Sauady*, *Tangu*, *Prom*, *Calaminkan*, and other Kingdomes. Being asked of the weapons of those Countries, they answered, That they haue none but Poles burned, and short Crises of two spannes. They might not go vp the Riuer in lesse then two months, or two and a halfe, by reason of the force of the water, which way downe, they might dispatch in eight or ten dayes.

Faria going from thence, came to *Pullo Champeiloo*, an Iland not inhabited in fourteene degrees and twentie minutes, at the entrie of the Bay of *Cauchin-China*: and thence hauing fitted his Ordnance to *Ainam*, to seeke *Coia Acem*: and being come to *Pullo Capas*, a Fleet of fortie great Iunkes, of two or three Deckes * a piece was seene in the Riuer by *Boralbo*, whom *Faria* had sent to discover, and after that another seeming two thousand saile great and small, and a walled Towne of some ten thousand houses. At his returne hee saw also one Iunke in the Barre of the Riuer at anchor, which seemed of another Coast. *Faria* supposed this last was of that Pyrat *Coia Acem*, which therefore hee assailed and tooke. One of the company was a Christian of Mount *Sinai*, named *Tome Mostangue* a Merchant, whose Barke *Solyman Bassa* had taken A. 1538. in the Port of *Indaa*, with seuen others to be victuallers for his Armada of sixtie gallies, wherewith he was sent by the Great Turke, to restore *Sultan Baadur* to his Kingdome of *Cambaya*, whereof the *Mogor* had then dispossessed him, and to driue the Portugalls out of *India*. And when he demanded of the Turkes his freight, which they had promised, they tooke his wife and his daughter, and openly rauished them before his eyes; his sonne, which cried at that spectacle, they threw into the Sea bound hand and foot: and laid himselfe in yrons, tooke away his goods, worth aboue fixe thousand Duckets. His wife and daughter died, and hee as desperate leaped one night into the Sea, at the Bar of *Diu*, with a sonne which there hee had, and got to *Surat*, and came thrice to *Malacca* in a Ship of *Garcia de Saa*; whence by *Stephen Gama* he was sent for *China*, with *Christouan Sardinha*, Factor of *Maluco*; whom riding at anchor in *Cincapura Quiay Tayiam*, Captaine of this Iunke slew with six and twentie Portugals, and saued him alieue because he was a Gunner. *Faria* cried out that he had heard of this *Quiay Tayiam*, that he had killed aboue one hundred Portugals, and spoiled them of one hundred thousand Cruzados, and that since he killed *Sardinha*, he caused himselfe to bee called by his name. Hee asked this Armenian where he was, hee shewed where he with fixe or seuen others were hidden in the Iunke. *Faria* went and opened the skuttle, and *Taiam* with his company began a new fight, killed two Portugals and seuen boyes, and wounded twentie; but in the end were slaine. *Faria* halted away for feare of the Iunkes in the Riuer, and came to the Coast of *Cauchin-China* where he rifled this Iunke, and found in her Spices and other goods, to the value of sixtie thousand Cruzados, besides Artillery, which the Pirate had taken out of the Ships of *Sardinha*, *Olineyra*, and *Matos*.

The next day hee set saile againe for *Ainam*, and by the way lighted on Boates fishing for Pearles, to whom they offered contract, who told them that *Guamboy*, a Port somewhat before, (as in *Cantan*, *Chincheo*, *Laman*, *Combay*, *Sumbor*, and *Liampoo*, and other Coast Cities) was a place of trade for strangers, and counselled him to goe thither: for there they had nothing but Pearles, which they fished for the treasure of the Sonne of the Sunne, by the command of the *Tan* of *Combay*, supreme Gouvernor of all *Cauchin-China*. And that the law was, that if any Barke besides the appointed entred, it should bee burnt with all the people therein. And because hee was a stranger, it was best for him to saile away before *Buhaquirim* the Mandarin, which was but seuen leagues thence came; who had fortie great Iunkes, with two thousand Mariners, and five thousand Souldiers; and did abide there the fixe moneths of fishing, from March to August both included. They much maruelled at the Portugall fashion, hauing neuer seene any such men, and suspected them theeuers (they professing themselves Merchants of *Siam*) with gifts and courtesie they wonne good estimation of these Fishers. One of these being asked touching *Aynam*, answered, That it was once an absolute Kingdome gouerned by *Prechan Gamu*, who dying without an heire there arose such contentions, that in foure yeeres and a halfe there dyed sixteen *Lacasas* of men, which are so many hundred thousands, whereby the Land was so dispeopled, that

that the *Cauchin* King made himselfe master thereof, with seuen thousand *Mogores*, which the *Tartar* sent him from *Tuymican*, then the chiefe Citie of his Empire. Hee set ouer the same *Hoyba Pagnarol*, who rebelled and made himselfe tributarie to the King of *China*, paying fixe hundred thousand Duckets, or foure hundred thousand *Tacis* yearly: and dying without heire, two hundred thirtie five yeares since, hee declared the King of *China* his Successour: and so it hath continued. He counselled him not to goe to *Aynam*; because they were Dissemblers, nor would the Monson suffer him to go to *Liampoo*; but to go to the good riuer *Tanauquir*, stil sounding as he went for the shoalds; there he should haue sure Anchorage, and in little space hee might sell all his goods; where yet it was not safe by reason of reasonlesse men to aduenture his goods on Land.

Tanauquir.

To that Riuer we went, and in the mouth thereof not able to stemme the Current, two Iunkes assailed vs, and their first Language was fixe and twentie Peeces of Ordnance: the Issue was, *Faria* tooke them both, most of their men being drowned or slaine, and found therein seuentene *Christians* Prisoners, by whom hee learned that the Captayne was a Rouer which bare two names, one of a *Christian*, *Francisco de Saa*, the other of a *Gentile*, *Necoda Xicaulem*. Five yeares he had bene a *Christian* at *Malaca*; *Garcia de Saa* Captayne of the Fortresse, in his Baptisme imparting his owne name to him, who married him to a Gentlewoman of *Portugall*. But hee going, Anno 1534. for *Chincheo* in a *China* Iunke with twentie *Portugals* and his Wife, slue both her and them at *Pulo Catan*: and the next yeare took another *Portugall* Iunke at *Chincheo*, which came from *Sunda*, and slue ten *Portugals* in her, and thence-forth practised Pyracie on *China* set, (vs hee thought vs to bee) and *Portugals*. The goods of the two Iunkes amounted to fortie thousand *Tacis*, and seuentene Brasse Peeces. The Captayne of this place was in league with him, and shared a third of his Pyracies. *Faria* therefore went to another Port fortie leagues Eastward, called *Mutipinan*, wherein were many Merchants which came in *Casilas* from the Land of the *Lauhos*, and *Pafuaas*, and *Gueos* with great store of siluer. The current setting strong against vs at the Rock of *Tilauinera*. Wee came to *Mutipinan*, and learned that the Riuer was deepe, the best in that Bay; the people peaceable, that Merchants had come nine dayes before from the Kingdome of *Benan* in two *Casilas*, each of five hundred Oxen, with store of Siluer, Iuory, Waxe, Benioyn, Camfire, Gold in poulder, to buy Pepper, Drugs, and pearles of *Aynam*; that they had not any Armada of great ships because the Wars which the *Prechau* (King) of the *Canchins* made were by land, that he abode at *Quangepaaru*, a Citie twelue dayes iourney thence; that his Mynes yeilded him fiftene thousand *Pikes* of Siluer, halfe of which by Diuine Law belonged to the people, which had remitted it to him on conditon to pay no other tributes, whereto the ancient *Prechau* had sworne to keepe it, as long as the Sun should giue light to the Earth. There hee sold a great part of his goods till newes of the *Tanauquir* Rouer made them afraid to come aboard: so that he was forced to set saile.

Xicaulem another Pyrate.

A Renegado *China* Robber.

Mutipinan.

Benan.

Quangepaaru.

Thus after many dayes spent in this Bay of *Cauchin-china*; because *Coia Acem* and the Pyrates which robbed *Christians* were in league with the *Mandarines*, and sold that which they had gotten in *Ainan*, he pursued that purpose againe, and came to Anchor in *Madel* a Hauen in that Iland where he encountred with *Hinimilau*, a *Chinese* Rouer which had become lately a *Moore*, and bitter enemy of *Christians*, of which Religion hee had also bene. Five *Portugall* Captiue Boyes, which were aboard him, cryed out for mercy, whereby *Faria* mooued, sent to know what they were, which answering with stones on their heads that came in the Boat, a cruell fight followed, in which *Faria* remayned *Victor*, and seised of the Captaine with fiftene others left aliue. He demanded for the *Portugall* Boyes, who told them they were in the Prow vnder Hatches; whereupon sending to see, they found them lying on a heape with their heads off, a woman with her two children being also so serued. *Faria* asked why hee dealt so with the small Innocents? He answered, it was sufficient that they were children of *Portugals*. Being asked why he had forsaken the *Christian* Religion; he said, because the *Portugals* had respected him being a *Gentile*, with Cap in hand saluting him *Quiaay Nicoda*, but after hee was *Christian*, made little account of him; whereupon he became a *Moore* in *Bintam*, and the King of *Iantan* vsed him with much honour, his Officers called him Brother, and hee sware on a Booke to become an Enemy to the *Portugall* and *Christian* Name as long as he liued, the King and Priest applauding and promising all happinesse to his soule. Seuen yeares he had bene in execution of that Oath, and had taken a Iunke of *Luys de Pania* in the Riuer of *Liampoo*, with foure hundred Bares of Pepper, slue eightene *Portugals*, besides slaues: and after that had taken at times foure ships, in which he had slaine neere three hundred persons, seuentie of them *Portugals*, and taken fiftene or sixteen hundred Bares of Pepper and other Commodities, of which the King of *Pan* had halfe, to secure him and let him haue sale: in the Riuer *Choaboque* on the Coast of *China*, he had killed *Ruy Lobo*, his old acquaintance, with seuentene *Portugals*, escaping a wracke, and taken into his Iunke on condition to pay him two thousand *Cruzados*, to let him on shoare at *Patane*; which notwithstanding, hee slue him and the rest by the *Moore*s counsell one night as they were asleepe. *Faria* would heare no further, but caused him to bee slaine and cast into the Sea. In Silke and other goods he found in the Iunke to the value of fortie thousand *Tacis*: the Iunke he burned, hauing none to man her.

Hinimilau an Ethnicke-Christian-Moore Pyrate.

The other *Necodas* or Captaynes of the Iunkes, seeing what *Faria* had done, consulted together, and seeing he might also doe as much to them, sent two chiefe men to him, desiring him as *King of the Sea*, to giue them securitie to passe, in dispatch of their busineses before the Monson were ended, and that as his Tributaries, they would giue him twentie thousand *Taeis* of Siluer; to which he sware, and that no Thiefe should rob them: and with a Present receiued the Money brought him within an houre after. A Boy which writ their Passes, gayned in thirteene dayes aboute foure thousand *Taeis* (besides gifts for dispatch) each Iunke giuing fise *Taeis* and the lesse Barkes two. The Vice-Roy also of *Ainan* sent him a rich Present, with a Letter to intreat him to serue the Sonne of the Sunne as Admirall from *Laman* to *Liamppoo*, at ten thousand *Taeis* annuall wages, besides (after three yeares end) further aduancement: whereto he excused his vnworthinesse, and departed to *Quangiparu*, a Citie of fifteene thousand Housholds, and so coasted all alongst the Iland of *Ainan* seuen monethes space, till the Souldiers were wearie, and required their shares as had bene agreed; which was quieted with promise to winter at *Siam*, and hauing there made Money of all to giue each man his part.

Quangiparu.

Iha dos ladrones.

Miserable wracke, and their fortnights miseries.

Reliefe almost miraculous.
* *Milbano.*
Wonderfull prouision.

Admirable escape.

Quoaman.

Comhay.

New Moone.
Tempests in China.
Guintoo.

Pullo Quirim.

With this agreement they came to an Iland, called *Theenes Iland*, because standing out of the Bay, it is their place to take the first of the Monson. Here at the new Moone in October wee were encountred with a cruell Tempest in the night, by which the foure Vessels were broken in pieces, fise hundred eightie sixe persons drowned, of which eight and twentie *Portugals*; three and fiftie of vs by Gods mercie saued, *Faria* being one, and one and twentie other *Portugals*, the rest Slaues and Mariners. They spent two dayes and a halfe in Buriall of their dead, and to get some of their prouision, which yet hauing taken Salt-water, would not last aboute fise dayes of the fifteene they staid there. *Faria* comforted them saying, that God would not permit so much euill but for a greater good; nor would haue taken from them fise hundred thousand *Cruzados*, but to giue them sixe hundred thousand: God doth not punish with both hands, his mercie curing the wounds which his Iustice maketh.

Thus we walked naked, and bare-foot on the Strand & in the Wildernes, suffering hunger and cold, many of our companions dying, not so much for want of food, as the stinke and putrified vnholsonnesse thereof. In this disconsolate plight, a Sea-kite * came flying from behind the South Cape of the Iland, and let fall from his Talons a Mullet a span long; which he taking vp with great prayse to God, and Prayer to Iesus Christ, not to consider their merits, but his merits for them, hee caused it to bee rosted and giuen to the sicke. Looking to the place whence the Fowle came, they saw more of them flying vp and downe, and going thitherwards, discovered a Valley with diuers Fruit-trees, and before they came at it, they found a Deere which a Tygre had newly killed, and with their generall cry was scarred from it, hauing begun to eate it. Wee fasted with it, and with many Mulletts which those Sea-kites got, and (scarred with our cries) let fall. This fishing they continued from Munday till Saturday, and then seeing a saile they hid themselves in the Woods. It was a *Lantea* or Barke with Oares, which came thither with thirtie persons to wood and water; and whiles they were disporting themselves, and had left their Barke vnmanned, *Faria* apprehended the occasion, and hauing instructed them, at the name of Iesus they all ranne vpon it, entred without gain-saying, and loosing the Prow put to Sea. The *Chinois* seeing their *Lantea* taken, hasted to the shoare, but scarred with a little Iron-piece out of their *Lantea*, they fled to the Thickets. We presently fell to eate, what an old man was dressing for the *Chinois*, and after searched and found Silkes, Damaskes, Muske, and other goods worth foure thousand *Cruzados*, besides Rice, Sugar, Hennes, which we most esteemed for recouerie of the sicke. There was a Boy of twelue or thirteene yeares old, whom *Faria* asked, whence and whose the *Lantea* was: hee answered, it was his Fathers, from whom they had unhappily taken in lesse then an houre, all hee had gotten in aboute thirtie yeares: hee came from a place, called *Quoaman*, where in barta for Siluer he had gotten those goods, which he was going to sell to the Iunkes of *Siam* in the Port of *Comhay*: and now hee going to supply his want of water, you haue taken away his goods without feare of the Iustice of Heauen. *Faria* promising to vse him as his Sonne; then, said hee, set me on shogre in that miserable Land where my true Father is, with whom I had rather dye then liue with so bad people. Much reasoning passed, and he said, they could speake well of God, but little vsed his Law: neither would he eate in three dayes space.

We determined to goe for *Liamppoo*, two hundred and sixtie leagues Northwards from thence, and to get if we could, a better Barke, this being little, and scanty able to brooke those New Moone-stormes on the Coast of China. At Sun-set wee set sayle, and next morning going East North-east, came to an Ile called *Guintoo*, where we tooke a fisher-barke with store of fresh fish, whence we tooke what we thought fit, with eight men of her, twelue to serue for the *Lantea*, our men being weake. They told vs that eightene leagues thence was a good Riuer, called *Xinguan*, within which was a poore fisher-village, called *Xamoy*, and three leagues higher vp, a Citie of good Trade. The next day in the euening we came to *Xamoy*, where a Iunke rode fitter for *Farias* purpose, which in the night he tooke, the men being asleepe; whom he bound, threatning to kill them all if they made any cry; and sayled presently with her to the Ile *Pullo Quirim*, nine leagues off, and in three dayes after to an Iland called *Luxitay*, where for the recouery of the sicke

ficke hee stayed fiftene dayes. In the Iunke hee found no Merchandize but Rice, the most of which he cast into the Sea to lighten her, and fit her for our Voyage. Thence wee put forth for Liampoo, where we heard were many Portugals from Malaca, Zunda, Siam, and Patane, which ysed there to winter.

In the way we encountred, after two dayes sayling, with a Iunke of Patane, which belonged to a China Pyrate, called *Quiay Panian*, a great friend of the Portugals, of whom he had thirtie in his company entertayned in his pay. They not knowing vs, began with a terrible salutation of fiftene Peeces of Artillery, but by Crosses in their Banner, we knew them and made signes, by which both congratulated each other with heartiest greetings, and *Quiay Panian* and he joyned in league to pursue their Fortunes together. They now purposed to goe to *Chincheo*, and there found five sayle of Portugals, which told them of a great Fleet of foure hundred Iunkes, with one hundred thousand men gone to the Iles of *Goto*, in succour of *Sucan of Pontir*, who had voluntarily subjected himselfe to the King of *China*, in one hundred thousand Taeis Tribute yearly. We tooke out of those five ships thirtie five Souldiers more, and proceeded on our way for *Liampoo*. In the way we encountred a small Paraoe with eight Portugals sorely wounded, whereof *Antonio Anriquez*, and *Mem Taborda* were, rich men of great esteeme.

These recounted to him that a *Guzerate Rouer*, *Coia Acem*, with three Iunkes and foure *Lanteas* (in which were five hundred men, one hundred and fiftie of them *Moors*) set vpon them (having parted seuentene dayes agoe from *Liampoo*, for *Malaca*, purposing to goe for *India*, if the Monlon had permitted) before the Ile *Gumbor*, and after some houres fight tooke them; eightie two persons (eightene of them Portugals) were slaine, and as many others captiued, with one hundred thousand Taeis value in their Iunke: one of the Pyrats Iunkes was fired and burnt to the water. These few in the furie of the entry escaped in the little Boat which hung at sterne; they being busied in the spoyle, and the Sunne then set, could not follow, but went into the Riuer with much triumph.

Faria and *Quiay Panian* who had kindred at *Lailoo*, prouided themselves there of Powder, Lead, Victuals, and other necessities for Money, by leaue of the *Mandarins*, (no Countrey in the World being like *China* for all kind of prouisions) and there got two greater Iunkes in truck of the other, and two *Lanteas*, and one hundred and sixtie Mariners, so that they were in all five hundred persons, of which ninetie five were Portugals. They had one hundred & sixty Harquebuses, forty Brasse Peeces, & sixty Quintals of Powder, nine hundred pots of Powder, foure thousand Darts headed with Iron, Arrowes, and many Fire-workes, with other Weapons. Thus prouided, they set forth in pursuit of *Coia Acem*, and by a Fisher-boat learned that he was in the Riuer *Tinlau*, there to furnish and fit the Iunke lately taken from the Portugals, to goe with it and two others for *Siam* (where he was borne) about ten dayes thence. *Faria* sent *Vicente Morosa* in the Fisher-boat, with some of his company to informe himselfe more fully, which making a shew of fishing with the rest, he easily did, and brought word aboard of the easinesse of the attempt. In the night they anchored, and went vp the Riuer in the morning, the enemy knowing nothing till they came in sight, and *Faria* crying out, *Hey, my Masters, in the Name of Christ, so them, to them, Santiago*, off went the Ordnance, the small shot succeeded, that none now in the Iunkes durst appeare. His small Vessels (*Lorche*) coming from the shoare with succour were so entertayned with great shot that they could not helpe themselves, and by our small Vessels were fired with the fire-pots; in three of them two hundred persons were slaine. Out of the fourth they leaped into the water, and were most slaine by *Panians* men.

Coia Acem which before was not knowne, seeing his *Moors* ready to try the waters courtesie to escape those fiery enemies, armed in Buffe, with Plates fringed with Gold, cryed out aloud that he might be heard, *La llah illullah Muhamed rocolalah: what shall you Muslemans and iust men of the Law of Mahomet, suffer your selues to be conquered of so feeble a Nation as are these Dogges, which haue no more heart then white Hens, and bearded women? to them, to them; the Booke of Flowres hath giuen promise from our Prophet to you and me, to bathe our selues in the blond of these Cafres without Law.* With these cursed words, the Deuill so animated them, that it was fearefull to see how they ranne on our Swords. *Faria* on the other side heartned his in the name of Christ crucified, and with a zealous feruour reached *Coia Acem*, such a blow with a two hand Sword on his Head-piece of Maile, that he sunke to the ground, and with another blow cut off his legges. Whereupon his men with such furie assailed *Faria*, not caring for thirtie Portugals which stood about him, that they gaue him two wounds, which put such spirit into our men, that in little space, eight and fortie of the Enemies lay dead vpon *Coia Acem*, and the rest they slue all but five, whom they tooke and bound, the Boyes cutting the others in quarters, and throwing them into the water with *Coia Acem*, and the King of *Bintans* chiefe *Caciz*, or Priest, the shedder and the drinker of Portugall blond, as he stiled himselfe in the beginning of his Writings, for which hee was of that cursed Sect much honoured.

Of the Enemies were slaine three hundred and eightie, of ours fortie two (eight of which were Portugals, *Faria* searched the Iland, and found a Village therein of fortie or fiftie houses, which *Coia Acem* had sacked, slaying some of the Inhabitants. Not farre off was a great house

Quiay Panian a China Pyrate.

Chincheo.

Goto.

Newes of Coia Acem.

Lailoo.

Optima spolia, Coia Acem slaine.

The Caciz harrid of Christians.

seeming a Temple full of sicke and wounded men, ninetie sixe in number, which the Pyrat had there in cure, whom he burned, setting the house on fire in diuers places, those that sought to escape being receiued on Pikes and Launces. The Iunke which they had taken from the *Portugals*, fixe and twentie dayes before, *Faria* gaue to *Mem Taborda*, and *Antonio Anriquez* in Almes for remission of his finnes, taking their Oath to take no more but their owne. He tooke speciall care of the wounded, and caused the slaues to be set free. After all this, there remayned of cleere gaines, one hundred and thirtie thousand *Tais* in Siluer, of *Japan* and other goods, which that Pyrat had taken along that Coast from *Sumbor* to *Fucheo*.

B. II.

ANTONIO FARIA his taking of Nouda a Citie in China, triumph
at Liampoo; strange Voyage to Calempluy, mi-
serable shipwracke.

Faria wracked
the second
time.

Violent wind.

Nouda.

China perillous
Coast.

Faria hauing recovered his sicke men, set sayle for *Liampoo*, and beeing come to the point of *Micny* in fixe and twentie degrees, by a storme he was driuen vpon a Rock in the darke night, and was forced to cast out all the goods, and cut all their Masts ouer-board; and with much adoe we escaped with their helpe (two and twentie drowned by ouer-hastinesse) to the Iunke of *Mem Taborda*. The second day after came two *Portugals* from *Quiay Panians* Iunke, and plained to vs their almost like misfortune (one gulf hauing taken away three men, and cast them a stones cast into the Sea) and the losse of the small Iunke with fiftie persons, most of which were *Christians*, and seuen *Portugals*. One of the *Lanteas* came and told of their disaduenture, the other *Lantea* lost, only thirteene men escaping, which the Countrey people carryed Captiues to *Nouda*: so that two Iunkes and a *Lantea* with aboue one hundred persons were lost, and in Munition and other goods, aboue two hundred thousand *Cruzados*, the Captayne and Souldiers hauing nothing left but that on their backs. The Coast of *China* is subiect to these strokes more then other Countries, so that none can sayle thereon one yeare without disasters, except at the full and change, they betake them to their Ports, which are many and good, without barred entries, except *Laman* and *Sumbor*. *Faria* went and anchored before *Nouda* and sent some to sound, and to take some of the people to enquire of his men, who brought a Barke with eight men and two women, one of whom (hauing first sworne by the Sea, that it below, and the winds above should pursue him if hee brake his Faith, and the beautie of the starres whose eyes beheld all wrong, as the *Chinese* requested) told him that he taking them to be Sea Routers and Robbers, had taken them and cast them in Irons. *Faria* writ to the *Mandarin* by two of those *Chinois*, with a Present worth two hundred Duckets, to returne his men, which returned the next day with an Answer written, that himselfe should come and demand Iustice at his feet, and he would doe as hee saw cause. Hee wrote againe, offering two thousand *Tais* for their Redemption, signifying that hee was a *Portugall* Merchant, which came to trade at *Liampoo*, and payd Customes without any Robbery; and that the King of *Portugall* his Lord was in true amitie with his Brother the King of *China*, and in *Malaca* his subjects vsed the *Chinois* iustly. This calling the King of *Portugall* the King of *Chinas* Brother, he tooke so hainously, that he caused the *China* Messengers to be whipped, and their leares cut, and sent them backe with a railing Answer written to *Faria*, which had so proudly blasphemed, calling his King the Brother of the Sonne of the Sunne, the Lion crowned with incredible power in the Throne of the Vniuerse, vnder whose feet all Crownes of all that gouerne the Earth, are placed with all their Seniorities, as all Writers affirme in their Histories. For this Heresie he burned his Writing with his Picture, as he would doe to himselfe, charging him presently to set sayle and be gone. *Faria* enraged, resolved to assault the Towne, hauing three hundred men, (seuentie of them *Portugals*) with the company of *Quiay Panian*, for that feat.

Nouda assaul-
ted.

Hauing therefore taken foure Barks, the next morning betimes with them, three Iunkes and a *Lorcha* or *Lantea*, he went vp the Riuer, and had fixe fathomes water and an halfe anchoring by the wals. And striking sayle without salutation of Artillery, we put off our Flagge of contract, after the *China* custome, to fulfill all complements of peace, sending new offers of loue and further satisfaction for the Prisoners. But the *Mandarine* full of indignation, hardly vsed the Messengers on the wall in sight of the Armada; whereupon, *Faria* desperate of doing any good that way leauing order with the Iunkes continually to shoot at the Enemie where they were thickest, he with his company landed without contradiction, and marched to the Towne. When we were come within little more then a Calieuer shot of the Ditch without the wall, there issued by two gates one thousand, or twelue hundred; about one hundred of them Horsemen, or Hackneymen rather (for they rode on leane Iades) which began to skirmish in such disordered sort, encountering one with another, and many of them falling to the ground, that they

see.

seemed to be of some neighbour Villages, which came more of force then with force or heart to the businesse. *Faria* expected them, encouraging his men, and making a signe to the Iunkes.

The Horsemen divided themselves, and wheeled about, as if that would have scared vs, which seeing, without effect they joyned in one bodie or heape rather; whereat the Captayne commanded all the Caléuers to shoot off at once, with such successe, that the former halfe of the Horsemen fell to ground. And then wee which till that time had stood still gaue the assault, crying on the name of Iesus, insomuch that they fled so confusedly, that they fell one vpon another, and when they came to the Bridge ouer the Ditch, they thronged themselves so that none could goe forward. In this case we came on them, and slae about three hundred, none of them scarcely drawing Sword to defend themselves. Wee prosecuted the victory to the gate, in which was the *Mandarine* with sixe hundred men, fairely mounted, armed with a Corslet of Crimson Veluet gilded, which we knew after to haue belonged to *Tome Perez*, which King *Emanuel* of glorious memorie had sent Embassadour to *China*. Hee and his began a fight with vs in the entrie of the gate, more valorous then the former, till a Boy of outs dismounted the *Mandarine* from his Horse with a Harquebuste shot thorow the breast, which caused the rest disorderly to flee, and we with them into the Towne. They casting downe their weapons ranne out at another gate toward the Countrey, none remayning. *Antonio Faria* gathering his companie together, marched orderly to the *Chifanga*, the Prison where our men were, brake vp the gates and grates, and freed his men. Then did he appoint halfe an houre to his people for spoile, himselfe going to the *Mandarines* house, and had 8000. Taies of Siluer there, & five great boxes of Muske: the rest he gaue to the Boyes, which was much Silke twisted, and vnwrought, Damaske, Satin, Porcelane; the sacke was so rich, that foure Barkes or Vessels in which they came, went foure times laden therewith to the Iunkes, that there was neither Boy nor Mariner which had not a Chift or Chifts of pieces, besides what they had secretly. Hauing spent an houre and halfe, he seeing night now come on, set fire in ten or twelue parts of the Citie, which being built of Pine timber suddenly arose into such a flame, that it seemed a Hell. And without impediment, he embarked his company with much riches, and many faire Girles tyed by foures and fives with Match, they crying ours triumphing.

It was now late, yet had *Faria* care of the wounded, which were fiftie of them, eight *Portugals*, and to burie the dead, which were nine only one *Portugall*; and keeping good watch that night, as soone as it was day, he went to a Village on the other side of the water, and found not one person in it, the houses still furnished with goods and provisions, with which he laded the Iunkes: and departed for a desert Island fiftene leagues from *Liampoo*, called *Pullo Hinhor*, where was good water and anchorage. After wee had sayled five dayes betwixt the *Iles Comolem* and the continent, *Premata Gundel* a Rouer which had done much damage to the *Portugals* in *Pactane*, *Sunda*, *Siam*, taking vs for *Chineses*, set vpon vs with two great Iunkes, in which were two hundred fighting men besides Mariners, and grappling with the Iunke of *Mem Taborda*, had almost taken it, when *Quay Panian* came to her succour with such a stroke on her quarter, that both Iunke; the three *Lorchas* which *Faria* brought from *Nonday* comming in, saued most of our men, the enemies being all drowned, and *Mem Taborda* freed. Meane while, *Premata Gundel* had with two hookes and Iron chaines fastned himselfe to *Farias* Iunke, both in the poope and prow, such a cruell battell following, that in lesse then an houre most of *Farias* men and himselfe were wounded, and twice in danger of taking, when the three *Lorchas*, and a little Iunke which *Pero Sylua* had taken at *Nonday*, came in to his succour, so that eightie sixe *Moores* which had entred *Farias* Iunke were slaine, who had cooped our men before in the poop-roome; and thence entering the *Pirates* Iunke, put all therein to the sword.

This victorie cost seuentene of ours their liues, five of them of the best *Portugall* Souldiers, besides three and fortie wounded. The prize was valued at eightie thousand Taies, the most of it *Iapan* Siluer, which the Pirate had taken in three Iunkes, come from *Firando* bound for *Chimcheo*. In the other Iunken Iunkes was said to be as much. With this prize *Faria* went to a little Island, called *Buncalon*, foure leagues off, and stayed there eightene dayes, making Cottages for the wounded, which there recovered health. Thence they departed, *Quay Panian* going in that Iunke of the Pirate, with 20000. Taies ouer and about for his part: in fixe dayes we came to the Ports of *Liampoo*, which are two Iles, in which the *Portugals* made at that time their contraction, and was a Towne of one thousand houses, and sixe or seuen Churches built by them, with Sherifs, an Auditor, Alcaldes, and other Officers; the Notaries vsing to write, *I. N. publike Notarie for the King our Lord, in this Citie of Liampoo*, &c. as if it had bene seated betwixt *Santarem* and *Lisbon*: and such was their forwardnesse, that some houses cost three or foure thousand *Cruzados*, all which were razed afterwards by the *Chinois*; so vncertaine are the things of *China* (which in these parts are so esteemed) so subiect to disastres and disaduentures.

When *Faria* was come to *Portas de Liampoo*, he sent *Mem Taborda*, and *Anriques* first to acquaint the Townes-men what had passed, who sent *Ieronimo do Rego* with two *Lancas*, to thanke him for the bountie shewed in the case of *Coin Acem*, and with refreshings; and for the businesse

Thomas Perez

The Mandarine slaine.

Prisoners loosed.
The Towne sacked.

Comolem Islands.
Premata Gundel a Pirate.

Another sea fight.
Panians Iunke, and another Iunke.
Farias victorie.

120000 Cruzados.

Buncalon

Liampoo, a Portugall Towne on the coast of China, seuen leagues from Liampoo.

Ciull warres
in China. Fabu-
lous rumour.
Quasay.

Farias triumph

Thomas P...

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businesse at *Nonday*, he need not be afraid there to winter, the King of *China* being as they said, lately dead, and ciull warres succeeding, thirteene competitors being in *Armes* to enforce their pretended right: and that the *Turan Nay*, which was next person to the King in all the Go- uernment, with meere and mixt Empire of Maiestie Regall, was besieged in the Citie of *Quo- anly*, by *Prechan Muan* Emperour of *Cauchinas*; in whose fauour it is holden for certaine, that the King of *Tartaria* is comming with an Armie of nine hundred thousand men; and that in this troubled estate *Nonday* would not be thought of, which was in comparifon of many other Cities in *China*, lesse then *Oeiras* compared with *Lisbon*. He was fixe dayes after with great triumph and glorious shewes, made of his owne Fleet, and of the many Boats, Barkes, and Citi- zens which came to fetch him, there being three hundred men in festiuall apparell, with many Gold Chaines, and gilded Swords, till he came into the Port, in which rode in a rew, twentie six Ships, and eightie Iunks, besides a greater number of smaller vessels, fastned one before another in two wings, making a street betwixt them, adorned with Laurell, and other greene boughes, and sweet herbs, the Ordnance thundring on both sides a congratulation. The *Chinois* wondred, and asked if he were Brother or neere Kinsman to their King, they receited him in such honour: *Nay*, said a conceited *Portugall*, but his father shooed the Kings Horses, and therefore is he wor- thie of this honour. Hereat they were more then amazed, and said, There were great Kings in the World, of which their Authours had made no mention, and the King of *Portugall* seemes one of them, and much to exceed the *Cauchim*, or the *Tartar*, and it were no sinne to say he may hold compare with the Sonne of the Sunne, the Lion crowned in the Throne of the World. Others confirmed the same, alledging the great riches which the bearded men generally posses- sed. A glorious *Lancea* was purposely adorned for his person in which hee went, with many Muscull Instruments of the *Chinas*, *Malayos*, *Champaas*, *Siamites*, *Borneos*, *Lequios*, and other Nations which there secured themselues vnder the *Portugals*, for feare of Routers which filled those Seas.

*I should wearie you to let you see the rest of this pompous spectacle, and more to heare their Orations preferring him before Alexander, Scipio, Annibal, Pompey, Cæsar: Neither will Religion let mee goe with him to their Masse: nor doe I euer dine worse then at solemne Feasts; and others will grudge me a roome at Comedies: all which pompes I will leaue to our Author, enlarged by the Spanish translator, Canon of the Church of Arbas, as dedicated to Manuel Seuerin de Faria. There hee stayed five moneths, spending the time in Hawking, Hunting, Fishing, Feasting. Quia Panian in this time dyed. After hee made ready to goe to the Mines of *Quoangiparu*. Others dissuaded him by reason of warres in those parts, and a famous Pyrat called *Similan*, told him of an Iland called *Calcmpluy*, in which seuentene Kings of *China* were buried with much treasures, in Vests, and Idols of Gold, and other incredible riches; which hee on no other testimonie embraced, (without con- sulting with his friends, who not a little blamed him therefore) and went with *Similan* in search of this Iland, setting out May the fourteenth, 1542.*

Currents in
in the Bay of
Nanquin.

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He set forth with two *Panouras*, which are as it were Frigots, but somewhat higher: Iunks he vsed not, both for secrecie, and because of the Currents which set out of the Bay of *Nanquin*, which great ships cannot stemme, by reason of the ouer-flowings from *Tartaria* and *Nixibum Flaon*, in those moneths of May, Iune, and Iuly. He had with him, fixe and fiftie *Portugals*, with a Priest, and fortie eight Mariners of *Patane*, and fortie two Slaues: more our Pilot *Similan* would not admit, fearing suspition in trauersing the Bay of *Nanquin*, and entry of many Riuer much inhabited. That day and night wee cleared the Iles of *Angitur*, and followed our voyage thorow a Sea before neuer sayled by *Portugals*. The first five dayes, we sayled with good winde, in sight of land to the entrie of the Bay of *Nanquins* fishings, and passed a gulfe of fortie leagues, and had sight of a high Hill called *Nangafu*, alongst which we ranne to the North five dayes; at the end whereof, *Similan* put into a small Riuer, the people whereof were white, of good sta- ture, with small eyes like the *Chinois*, but differing in speech and behaiour. After three dayes the tempest ceasing, we set sayle East North-east, seven dayes together in sight of land, and cross- ing another gulfe, there was a straight open to the East, called *Silempaquim*, ten leagues in the mouth, within which we sayled five dayes in sight of many Townes and Cities very faire; and this Riuer or straight was frequented with innumerable shipping; insomuch that *Faria* was a- fraid to bee discovered, and would needs against *Similans* minde turne some other way. Thus out of the Bay of *Nanquin* (*Similan* telling them of a moneths worke of sayling by the Ri- uer *Sumbepadan*, one hundred and seuentie leagues distant thence to the North) wee sayled five dayes, at the end whereof wee saw a very high Hill called *Fanius*, and comming neere it, entred a goodly rode, where one thousand ships might ride at anchor. Wee sayled thence thirteene dayes along the coast, and came to the Bay of *Buxipalem* in 49. degrees, where wee found it som- what cold and saw Fishes of strange shapes, some like Thornbacks, about foure braces or fa- thoms compasse, flat nosed like an Oxe; some like great Lizards, speckled blacke and greene, with three rewes of prickles on the backe, like bristles, three spannes long, very sharpe, the rest of the body full, but of shorter; these Fishes will contract themselues like Hedge-hogs, and looke fearefully; they haue a sharpe blacke snout with tuskes, after the manner of a Bore, two spannes long.

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long. Other deformities and diuersities of Fishes we saw. Fiftene leagues further, we came to an another fairer Bay called *Calnidan*, fixe leagues in compasse set round with Hills, diuersified with Woods and Riuer, foure very great.

Similan sayd that the filth of dead Carcasses of creatures, proceeding from the ouerflowings, specially in Nouember, December, and Ianuarie, at the full of the Moone, caused the generation of such diuersitie of Fishes and Serpents in that Bay, and the former, which were not seene in other parts of that Coast. *Faria* asked him whence those Riuer came, and hee said that he knew not, but if it were true which was written, two of them came from a great lake called *Moscumbia*, and the other two from a Prouince of great Mountaines, which all the yeere were couered with snow, called *Alimania*, and in Summer when great part of the snow was melted, they became so impetuous, as wee now saw: and for that Riuer in the mouth whereof we were entred, called *Paatebenam*, wee were now in the name of the Lord of heauen to turne the Prow to the East, and East South-east * to search againe the Bay of *Nanguim*, which we had left behind two hundred and sixtie leagues, all which way we had made higher then *Calempluy*. The second day we came to a high Mountaine called *Botinasau*, stored with diuers kindes of wilde beasts, which continued neere fiftie leagues and fixe dayes sayling: and after came to another Hill as wilde as the former, called *Gangitanou*, and all the way forward was mountainous, and so thicke of trees that the Sunne could not pierce. *Similan* sayd, that in ninetie leagues space there was no habitation, and in the skirts thereof lined a deformed sauage people onely by their Hunting, and some Rice which they got in *China*, by exchange of wilde beasts skinnies, which hee sayd came to aboue a million yeerely. Of these *Gigahos*, wee saw a bearded youth with fixe or seuen Kine before him, to whom *Similan* made a signe, and hee stayed till we came to the Bankes side, and shewing him a piece of Greene Taffata (which hee sayd they much esteemed) with a harsh voyce he sayd, *Quiten paran fausan*, words which none vnderstood. *Faria* commanded to giue him three or foure Couados of the taffata, and fixe Porcelanes, which he receiued with much ioy, saying, *Pur pacam pochy pilaca hunangue doren*, signing with his hand to the place whence hee came, and leauing his Kine, he ranne thither. He was cloathed with a Tygers skin, the hayre outward, his armes, head and legges bare, with a rude pole in his hand; well shaped, seeming ten palmes or spans long, his hayre hanging on his shoulders. Within a quarter of an houre hee returned with a liue Deere on his backe, and thirteene persons with him, eight men and fife women, with three Kine tyed in coards dancing at the sound of a Drum, giuing now and then fife strokes on it, and other fife with their hands, crying aloude, *Cur cur binau falem*. *Antonio de Faria*, caused to shew them fife or fixe pieces and many Porcelanes. All of them were cloathed in like manner, only the women had on their wrists grosse bracelets of Tin, their hayre longer then the men, and full of Flowers, and on their neckes a great neck-lace with coloured Shells, as big as Oyster-shells. The men had great poles in their hands, furred halfe way with such Pelts as they wore; they were strong set, with thicke lippes, flat noses, great open nostrils, bigge faces. *Faria* caused to measure them, and none of them were higher then ten spannes and a halfe, one old man nigh eleuen, the women not ten: but I suppose the most sauage that euer yet were discouered. *Faria* gaue them three corges of Porcelane, a piece of Greene Taffata, and a basket of Pepper; and they fell on the ground, and lifting vp their hands with their fists shut, sayd, *Unanguahilen opomguapan lapau, lapau, lapau*. They gaue vs the three Kine and the Deere, and after many words, in three houres conference returned with like dance as they came.

Wee followed our way fife dayes more vp the Riuer, about fortie leagues, in which we had sight of that people, and sixteene dayes more without sight of any, at the end of which we came to the Bay of *Nanguim*, hoping in fife or fixe dayes to effect our desires. *Similan* willed *Faria* not to let his *Portugals* be seene. And hauing sayled fixe dayes East and East North-east, we had sight of a great Citie called *Sileupamor*, and entred into the Port two houres within night, being a faire Bay almost two leagues in circuit, where abundance of shipping rode at anchor, seeming about three thousand: which made vs so afraid, that out againe we went, and crossing the Riuer (which may bee about fixe or seuen leagues ouer) wee ranne alongst a great Champaine the rest of the day with purpose to get some refreshing, hauing passed thirteene hungry dayes. We came to an old building called *Tanamadel*, and got prouision to our mindes. This place, the *Chinois* which wee found there, told vs, belonged to an Hospitall two leagues thence for entertainment of the Pilgrims, which visited the Kings Sepulcher. Wee continued our voyage seuen dayes more, hauing spent two moneths and a halfe since wee came from *Liamppoo*, and now *Faria* could no longer conceale his discontent, that hee had thus followed *Similans* proiect, and receiuing of him answer little to the purpose, had stabbed him with his Dagger if others had not interposed *Similan*, the night following as wee rode at anchor neere the land, swam a shoare, the watch not perceiuing, which *Faria* hearing was so impatient, that going on shoare to seeke him, hee returned frustrate, and found of his fixe and fortie *Chinois*, two and thirtie fled. Full now of confusion, it was by counsell resolved to seeke *Calempluy*, which could not be farre off: and the next night entred a Barke riding at anchor, and tooke fife men sleeping therein; of whom hee learned

Calnidan.

Moscumbia.

Alimania.

Paatebenam.

* Aleste & Aleste.

Botinasau.

Gangitanou.

Giants.

Their wilde dance.

A Corge is 20.

Sileupamor.

Tanamadel.

learned that *Calempluy* was ten leagues off, and with their helpe found it, eightie three dayes after he had set out on that enterprile.

The wonder-
full wall.

Statues.

360. Hermita-
ges.

Steeple-pina-
cles.

He goeth on
land.

Iesus made a
patron of
theeues.

He enters an
Hermitage.

The speech
betwixt *Faria*
and an Hermit

Absolons vowes

Compleat hy-
pocritic.

This Iland was seated in the midst of the Riuer, and seemed to bee a league in Compasse. Hither came *Faria* with trouble and feare, three houres within night, anchoring about a chamber shot from it. In the morning it was agreed, first to goe about it to see what entrances it had, and what impediments might befall their designe. The Iland was all enuironed with a rampire of hewen Marble, fixe and twentie spannes high, so well cut and set together, that all the wall seemed but one piece, the like whereof wee had neuer seene in *India*, or elsewhere: from the bottome of the water to the brim, it containd other fixe and twentie spannes. In the top was a border of the same worke round ingirting it, like a Friers girdle, of the bignesse of a rundlet of twelue gallons, on which were set grates of Latten turned, euery fixe fathoms fastened into holes of the same Latten; in each of which was the Idoll of a woman, with a round ball in her hands, none knowing what it signified. Within these grates, was a row of many Monsters of cast Iron, which in manner of a dance hand in hand, compassed the Ile round. Further inwards from those monstrous Idols, in the same ranke, was another of Arches of rich worke pleasant to behold. And all from hence inward, was a groue of dwarfe Orange-trees thicke set; in the midst whereof were builded three hundred and sixtie Hermitages, dedicated to the Gods of the yeere, whereof those *Paynims* haue many fabulous praises. A quarter of a league higher, on a hill to the East, were seene buildings with seuen fronts of houses like Churches, all from the top to the bottome wrought with gold, with high Towers seeming Bell-steeple; and without, two streets with Arches which encompassed these buildings, of the same worke with the fronts; and all from the highest top of the steeple pinacles to the bottom wrought with gold; whereby we iudged it some sumptuous and rich Temple.

After this view taken, *Faria* resolved (though it were late) to goe on shoare, to see if he could speake with any in those Hermitages; and so (leauing sufficient guard in the Barks) with fortie Souldiers, twentie Slaues, and foure *Chinois*, (which knew the place, and had bene sometimes there, and might serue vs for Interpreters) he committed the two Barks to Father *Diego Lobato*, and entred at one of the eight Entrances; walking thorow the Orangetto-groue to an Hermitage, two Caliuier shots from our landing place, with the greatest silence that might bee, and with the name of *Iesus* in our heart and mouth. Hauing yet seene no person, hee felt at the doore of the Hermitage with his Halberd, and perceiued it locked on the inside: hee bade one of the *Chinois* knocke, which hauing done twice, he heard an answer within answering, *Praised bee the Creator which gilded the beauntious Heauens, goe about and I will know thy businesse*. The *Chinois* went about and entring the backe doore, opened that where *Faria* stood, who with his companie going in, found one man seeming aboue one hundred yeeres old, in a long Russet Damaske garment, by his presence seeming Noble (as after wee learned he was) who seeing such a troupe fell downe, trembling hand and foot. A good while it was before hee could speake, and then asked what wee were, and what we sought. The Interpreter answered by *Farias* command, that hee was the Captaine of these strangers of *Siam*, who bound for the Port of *Liampoo* in trade of Merchandise was wracked at Sea; hee and these escaping miraculously, and therefore vowing to come to that Holy land on Pilgrimage, to praise God for deliuerance from so great a danger, and was now come to fulfill it; and withall to demand somewhat in almes to relieue him for his returne, protesting after three yeeres to restore it double whatsoever hee now tooke. *Hiticon* (that was his name) answered, *I haue well heard what thou hast said, and that damnable designe whereto thy blindness (as the Pilot of Hell) hath drawne thee and thine associates to the bottome of the lake of night. For in stead of thanks for so great a benefit, thou comest to rob: and what I pray thee will the Diuine iustice repay thee at thy last breath! change thou thy euill purpose, and (beleeue me) God will change thy punishment*. *Faria* prayed him, hee would not bee angry, saying, hee had no other remedie of life: whereat the Hermite lifting his hands and eyes to Heauen, sayd, weeping. *Blessed bee thou Lord, which sufferest on earth men, which take for remedie of life thine offences, and for certaintie of glorie will not serue thee one day*. And then turning his eyes to the companie which were rising the Hangings and Chests, taking the siluer from amongst the bones of the deceased therein, hee fell twice from his seate with grieve; and pensuely put *Faria* in minde of his last breath, of restitution, of penance perpetuall to his flesh, and liberall and discreet communicating to the poore, that the seruuant of night should haue nothing to accuse him in the day of account: praying him also to command his companie, to gather vp the bones of the Saints, that they should not lye contemptible on the ground. *Faria* gaue him many good words and complements, professing himselfe (which hee whispered neerer) sorrie of what had passed, but if hee should not doe it, his companie had threatened to kill him. If it bee so, said the Hermit, then shall thy paine bee lesse then these ministers of night, whom as hungry Dogs, it seemes all the siluer of the world would not satisfie.

Thus with many good words hee tooke leaue of the Hermit (hauing taken all they could get) who told him his knowledge might make his sinne more penall. *Nuno Coelho* praying him not to be

So angry for so small a matter, hee replied, *More small is the feare which thou hast of death, when having spent thy life in foule facts, thy soule shall stand as foule at the passage of this dung-hill of thy flesh.* And if thou seekest more Siluer to fill thy infernall appetite, thou mayst finde in the houses adjoining enough to make it split, as well in danger of Hell for this already, saue that more burthened thou shalt descend swifter to the bottome. Pray, sayd Coelbo, take all in patience, for so God hath commanded in his holy Law : the Hermit shaking off his head, sayd, I now see that which I neuer thought to haue heard, *Inbred wickednesse and vertue fauned, the same man stealing and preaching :* and turning to Faria, prayed him that hee would not suffer them to spet on the Altar, being liefer to dye a thousand times then to see it, which he promised. Hee then demanded of Hiti-
 10 con, what persons liued in all those houses ; who answered, three hundred and sixtie Talagre-
 pos onely, and fortie Menigrepos which serued them without, for their prouision, and the care of the Sicke. Hee asked if the Kings vsed to come thither : no sayd he, *The King being sonne of the Sunne, can absolue all and none may condemne him.* Asked of their Armes, hee sayd, *To goe to Heauen, there needed not armes to offend, but patience to suffer.* For the mixture of that Siluer with dead bones in the chests, hee answered, that it was the *Almes which the deceased carryed with them, to provide them of necessities in the heauen of the Moone.* Asked of women with them, hee sayd, that the *Bee stings those which eat the honey, and pleasures of the flesh needed not to the life of the Soule.* And thus parted hee from the Hermit with embraces, with purpose to returne the next day (it being now night) to the other houses, and not taking aboard with him this
 20 Hermit, as hee was aduised, saying, his gowtie legges could carrie no tydings of vs : which yet hee did, creeping to the next, and bidding him goe call the Bonzi.

The Hermitages, Hermits & attendants, as Lay brethren. Papall power.

For an houre after midnight, wee saw fires in a rew, which our Chinois told vs, were signes of our discouerie, and therefore aduised vs to haste away. Faria was awakened, and would needs
 a shoare with fixe men, and ranne like a mad-man from one place to another : his companie requested him to haste away, and he answered, for his honour hee would first see the danger, and
 intreated them to stay one halfe houre, and swearing hereto, away hee goeth, and followes the
 sound of a Bell to an Hermitage, in which were two men in religious habits ; the place was richer then the former wee had beene in. They tooke thence an Idoll of Siluer from the Altar
 with a myter of Gold on his head, and a wheele in his hand, and three Candlesticks of siluer
 30 with long chaynes ; and taking the two Hermits with them, returned aboard the Barkes with great haste. Of one of these, they learned that *Pilan Angiroo* had come to the house of the Sepulchers of the Kings, and cryed out to them to awaken out of their sleepe, telling them of their oath to the Goddesse *Amida*, of Strangers with long beards and Iron bodies, which had robbed the Saints, and would kill them all, whence followed the fires, and sending to giue notice to the Cities *Corpitem*, and *Fumbana* for ayde, their Religion prohibiting them to handle any thing which might draw bloud. Faria now hauing gone downe the Riuer a great way, was much enraged for omitting such oportunitie, plucking his beard, and beating himselfe with anguish, till not long after his heate was cooled.

They are discovered.

§. III.

Their Shipwracke in which Faria and most of them were drowned ; the miserable wandrings of the rest to Nanquin : their Imprisonment, sentence and appeale to Pequín ; rarities obserued in those places and wayes ; of the beginnings of the China Kingdome, and of their admirable Wall.

50 Euen dayes wee sayled thorow the Bay of *Nanquin*, the force of the current carrying vs more speedily, and came all discontent to a Village called *Susoquerim*, and there provided our selues of victuall and instruction, and entred into a straight called *Xalingau*, in which wee ranne in nine dayes one hundred and fortie leagues, and turning to enter the same Bay of *Nanquin*, which was there ten or twelue leagues wide, wee sayled with
 Westerly windes thirteene dayes : and being in the sight of the Mines of *Conxinacan* in 41. degrees and two thirds, there a *Tusan* or tempest from the South, tooke vs with windes and raines
 seeming more then naturall, and the winde chopped into the North North-west, the Sea going so high that (except our prouisions and Chests of plate) we threw all into the Sea, cut both
 our masts ouer-board, and about midnight heard a great cry in the *Panira* of *Antonia de Faria*,
Mercy Lord God, whereby wee imagined shee was cast away ; we seconded the same cry, but
 heard no answer. Our Barke also the next day, split on a Rocke, and of fiew and twentie *Portu-*
 60 *gals*, eleuen were drowned, besides eighteene *Christian* boyes, and seuen *China* Mariners. This hapned the fifth of August, 1542.

Xalingau.

Conxinacan.

Faria drowned, and both the Barkes wracked.

Wee fourteene which escaped, the next day trauelled into the Land, along ft a Hill, and discovered a Lake, without shew of Land, which made vs returne backe, where wee found our men
 cast

Four other
drowned.

An Hospitall.

* Malaca is said
to stand in the
Kingdome of
Siam, though
now not yeel-
ding subie-
ction.

Sileyiacau.

Suzanganee.
Strange oath.

Xiangulee hard
viage.

Chautir.

Taypor.

Nanquim.

Talagrepes.

cast on shoare, to the renewing of our sorrow, and the next day buried them, that the Tigris (of which there are many) should not eat them. In this, hauing nothing but our hands to doe it, and they thirtie fixe now stinking, wee spent the most part of the day. Thence wee went Northward thorow the Woods three dayes, till wee came at a straight, without sight of any person. In swimming ouer three men and a boy were drowned, being faint, the current strong, and the water somewhat spacious: the men were two brethren *Belchior* and *Gaspar Barbosa*, and *Francisco Borges Caycira*, all of *Ponte de Lima*, and of good account. Wee which remaind (eleuen men and three boyes) passing that obscure nights winds, raines, and cold, imitated by our disconsolate sighs, teares, and feares, saw before day a fire Eastward, and went right towards it, commending our selues to God our only hope. And traueiling along the Riuer, wee came in the euening where five men were making Coles, and casting our selues at their feet, desired them to take pitie on vs, and helpe vs to some place where wee might finde reliefe. They gaue vs a little Rice and warme water, and shewed vs the way to a Village where was an Hospitall, to which wee came an houre within night, and found there foure men appointed to that charge, which vsed vs charitably.

The next day they asked what wee were, and whence: and wee told them, strangers of *Siam*, which came from the Port of *Liampoo* to the fishing at *Nanquim*, where by tempest we lost all but our battered flesh. They asked what wee intended to doe, and wee answered, to goe to *Nanquim*, to get passage to *Cantan*, or *Combay*, where our Countrey-men haue trade by licence of the *Aitao* of *Paquim*, vnder the shadow of *The Sonne of the Sunne, the Lion crowned in the Throne of the World*; for whose sake we desired them to let vs stay there till we had recouered strength to trauell, and to giue vs some clothing to couer vs. They carried vs about the Village, and begged some old clothes and victuals, and two Taeis in money for our reliefe, and gaue vs two Taeis of the House; and with words of much comfort to trust in God, they gaue vs a Letter of commendation to the Hospitall of *Sileyiacau*, which was in a great Towne three leagues thence, and had better maintenance. Thither we went, and shewed our Letter from the Overseers of *Buatendoo*, in the said Village of *Cathoran* to the Officers of this house, which fate then at Table in consultation, and the Scribe reading the Letter, they accommodated vs in a neat room with fourteene Beds, a Table, and many Stooles, and Meate; and next morning examined vs, wee answering as before. They gaue charge to a Physician to cure vs, and wrote our names in a Booke, to which we subscribed. In eightene dayes wee all recouered, and went thence to a place called *Suzanganee*, five leagues off, and sate downe wearie at a Well, where one came to vs with a handful of Wheat eares, which he wetted in the water, and adured vs holding the same in our hands, by these substances of bread and water, which the high Creator had made for the sustenance of man to tell the truth what we were, &c. which we did, answering as before; and he gaue leaue to his neighbours to relieue vs. They layde vs in a Church Porch, and gaue vs victuals, and the next day we begged from doore to doore foure Taeis, which well helped our wants.

Thence we went two leagues to *Xiangulee*, with intent to goe to *Nanquim*, one hundred and fortie leagues distant. Comming thither late, three boyes which were feeding Cattell, ranne into the Towne with an out-crie of *Theeues*; the people running out, and so welcomming vs, that one of the boyes died with the blowes. They kept vs two dayes in a Cisterne of water vp to the waste, full of Horleaches, without victuals, and our hands bound; whence by a man of *Suzanganee*, wee were freed, reporting better things of vs. Thence wee went to *Fingmilan* (in the way finding good reliefe at a Gentlemans house) still auoyding Cities and Townes of note, for feare of stricter iustice, two moneths holding on our way, sometime in, sometimes out, from Village to Village, one of which was *Chautir*, where a woman was then buried which had made the Idoll her Heire, and we were inuited as poore men to eate at her Graue, and had fixe Taeis giuen vs to pray for her soule. At *Taypor* an Officer charged vs to be Rogues, begging against the Law, and therefore layed vs in Prison, where we continued fixe and twentie dayes, in which *Rodrigues Brano*, one of our companie died. Thence wee were sent to *Nanquim*, and there continued fixe weekes in a miserable Prison (in which was said to be foure thousand Prisoners) where two of our companie and a boy died of the whipping, and the rest hardly escaped; being besides sentenced also to haue our thumbs cut off as theeues.

After this bloody whipping, they brought vs to a house within the Prison where wee were cured, being as it were an Hospitall for the sicke, where in eleuen dayes wee were pretily well recouered, but lamenting the cutting off our thumbes according to the rigour of the Sentence which had bene giuen, one morning came in two honourable persons which were Procurers of the poore. These questioned vs of our case, and hearing the same, made a Petition to the *Chæm* on our behalfe, and the eight *Conchacis*, which are as it were Criminall Iudges; and being there delayed, they made another Petition to another Table, called *Xinfan nicor pitau*, where are foure and twentie *Talagrepes* assistants, austere Religious men, as *Capuchines* amongst vs, which reuiue the cases of the poore, which prohibited the *Chæm* to proceed, and granted an appeale to the *Aitau* of *Aitau* in *Pequim* to moderate the Sentence, which the two Procurers brought vs.

Wee

Wee and thirtie others were embarked, chained with long chaines, the two Procurers procuring vs some clothing, and Rice, and commending vs to *Chifu*, the Officer or Capitaine appointed to carrie vs, with a Certificate in our behalfe to procure vs almes. The Riuer being then high swollen hindred our iourney. Three dayes wee stayed at a Village called *Minca: ntem*, where *Chifu* dwelt, and embarked his wife and children; wee were tyed to the seats where wee rowed, and could not haue perfect sight of the Cities, yet thus much wee obserued. *Nanquin* is in 39. degrees and a third, washed by the Riuer *Batampina*, which signifieth *The flower of fish*: which Riuer, as I was then told and after saw, comes from *Tartaria*, out of the Lake *Fanostir*, nine leagues from the Citie *Langame*, where *Tamerlane* King of the *Tartars* resided. This Lake is eight and twentie leagues long, and twelue broad, very deepe, and yeelds fine Riuers; first, this of *Batampina*, running thorow the midst of *China* three hundred and sixtie leagues, and entering the Bay of *Nanquin* in 36. degrees. The second *Lechune* which goeth alongst the Hills of *Pancruum*, & diuiding the Land of *Cauchim*, and *Catebenan*, which within the Countrey confines with the Kingdome of *Champaa* in 16. degrees. The third is *Tauquiday*, that is, *The mother of waters*, passing West North-west by the Kingdome of *Nacataas* (a Land whence *China* was peopled) and falls into the Sea in the Kingdome of *Sornau*, or *Siam*, by the Barre of *Cuy* an hundred and thirtie leagues beneath *Patane*. The fourth Riuer is *Batobasoy*, which passing by the Prouince of *Sansim* (which was drowned *An. 1556.*) goeth into the Sea by the Barre of *Cosmim* in the Kingdome of *Pegu*. *Leysacotay* is the fifth, runneth Eastward to the *Archipelagus* (as the *Chinois* say) of *Xinxinpon*, which confineth the *Mosconites*, entering into a Sea innavigable, as being in 70. degrees of latitude. The *Chinois* affirme, that in *Nanquin* are eight hundred thousand households, foure and twentie thousand houses of *Mandarines*, sixtie two great market places; one hundred and thirtie shambles, each hauing eightie blockes; eight thousand streets, of which the sixe hundred principall haue grates of Latten on both sides all alongst; two thousand three hundred *Pagodes* or Temples, one thousand of which are Monasteries of Religious persons, richly built, with Towres of sixtie or seuentie Bells of Metall and Iron, which make a noise horrible to heare; thirtie Prisons great and strong, each hauing two or three thousand Prisoners, and an Hospitall. The houses of the *Mandarines* are of earth, encompassed with Walls and Ditches, with faire Bridges, and rich Arches. The principall Magistrates haue high Towers with gilded pinacles, where are their Armories and Treasures. The Street-arches with their night shut Gates, their new and full Moone feasts, incredible fishings, their ten thousand Silke-loomes, one hundred and thirtie Gates in the strong wall, with as many Bridges ouer the ditch (a Porter, and two Halbardiers in each to see what goeth in or out) twelue Fortresses with Bulwarkes and Towers, but without Artillerie, the value to the King three thousand Cruzados a day, or two thousand Taeis, I can but touch. The rarities of *China*, compared with the things seene at home, seeme doubtfull or incredible.

In the first two dayes wee saw in our iourney by the Riuer no notable Citie or Towne, but of Villages a great quantitie which seemed to be of Fisher-men and Labourers, and within Land as farre as we saw, appeared woods of Pines and other trees, Orange groues, fields of Wheat, Rice, Millet, Panike, Barley, Rie, Pulse, Flaxe, Cotton, and Gardens with houses for the *Grandes*. Cattell appeared alongst the Riuer as much as in *Prete Johns* Countrey. On the tops of Hills were seene Temples with gilded * Steeples shining farre off. On the fourth day we came to a good Citie called *Pocasser*, twice as big as *Cantan*, well walled with Townes and Bulwarkes, in manner like ours, with a Hauen before the wall of two Falcon shots long, fastned with Iron grates in two rewees, with Gates for the entrance and vnloading of ships, which come thither from all parts. In the end of the Towne on a Mount stood a Castle with three Bulwarkes and five Towers, in one of which the *Chinois* told vs, that the Father of this King held Prisoner nine yeeres a King of *Tartaria*, poisoned at last by his owne vassals, vnwilling to giue so much to redeeme him as was demanded. In this Citie, *Chifu* gaue leaue to three of vs nine, to goe (with foure Halbardiers to guard vs) and begge Almes, which in sixe or seuen streets gat the worth of twentie Cruzados in clothes and money, besides Flesh, Rice, Fruits, and Meale; halfe of which our Guard had according to the custome. They carried vs to a Temple where was great concurse of people that day, being solemne to that Sect of *Tauhinarel* (one of their 32. *Gentile Sects.*) That House they said had bene the Kings, and that this Kings Grand-father was borne there, his Mother dying in child-birth, in honour of whose death and buriall in the same chamber he had dedicated this Temple in that Palace. All the Building with the Offices, Gardens, and all the appurtenances are founded in the aire on three hundred and sixtie Pillars (each of one stone) seuen and twentie spannes high, bearing the names of the three hundred and sixtie dayes of the yeere; and in each of them is a feast with much almes, bloody Sacrifices, and dances to the Idoll of that day and Pillar, which stands therein richly enshrined, with a Siluer Lampe before him. Beneath goe eight streets or wayes enclosed on both sides with Latten grates, with doores for the people which come to those feasts.

Ouer the house where the Queene was buried was a round Chappell all lined with Siluer, seeming richer in the worke then matter. In the midst was a siluer Throne of fifteene steps, round

The Iesuits place this Citie in 32. and in other places they likewise disagree in their calculation. The reason I suppose is, that *Pinto* neuer obserued the height by Instrument, nor perhaps had skill thereby: this he confessed, cap 105. pag. 222. but followed the Maps which at his returne he saw, which haue placed *Nanquin* in that height, falsely, as I conceiue to keep others from the true knowledge of these parts; a thing visuall in the old Maps of the East and West parts of the World; and sometimes they did graduate places falsely of ignorance.

Nanquin described: See of it in *Pantoia*.

Their iourney by water from *Nanquin* to *Pegu*.

* This gilding perhaps is but a kind of earth which the *Chinois* haue, looking like gold.

Pocasser.
The *Tartar* Prisoners.

A pensile Palace.

360. Pillars to the 360. dayes of the yeere.

Queens siluer Chappell, and the riches and Images therein

to the top encompassed with fixe rewes of siluer grates with the tops gilded. On the highest of them was a great Globe, and thereon a Lion of siluer, bearing vp a chist of Gold three spans square, in which they said were her bones, by the blind people worshipped as great Reliques. There hung on foure bluer tyres which crossed the Houle, fortie three siluer Lampes (so many yeares she liued) and seuen of Gold in memory of her seuen Sonnes. Without at the entry were two hundred fiftie three siluer Lampes great and rich, which the *Chaens* and great mens Wiues presented in her honour. Without the doores were in fixe rewes round about Statues of Giants fiftene spans high, well proportioned of Brasse, with Halberds and Maces in their hands, which the *Chinois* said were twelue hundred. Amongst them were foure and twentie Serpents of Brasse very great, each hauing a woman sitting thereon with a Sword in her hand of the same metall, and a siluer Crowne on the head: *so many had sacrificed themselves at her death to doe her seruice in the next World.* Another compasse enuironed that of the Giants, all of triumphant Arches gilded, with a great quantitie of siluer Bels hanging on siluer chaines, which by the motion of the Aire continually yeilded a strange sound. Without those Arches in the same proportion stand two rankes of Latten grates encircling the whole worke, set in spaces with Pillars of the same, and thereon Lions set on balls, which are the *Armes of the Kings of China.*

The Iesuits say
his armes are
golden Dra-
gons.
Monstrous sta-
tues.

At the foure corners were placed foure Monsters of Brasse, one (which the *Chinois* call the *Denourring Serpent of the deepe Cane of the House of smoke*) in the figure of a dreadfull Serpent, with seuen Serpents comming out of his brest, spotted with greene and blacke with many prickles more then a span long, quite thorow the bodie like Hedge-hogges, each hauing in his mouth a woman ouerthwart, with disheuelled haire, looking deadly. The old or great Serpent holds in his mouth a Lizard halfe out, of about thirty spans in length, as bigge as a Pipe, with nose and lips full of blood, and in his hands he holds a great Elephant so forcibly, that his entrailes seeme to come out of his mouth; all so naturally represented, that it is most dreadful to behold. The folds of his tayle were about twentie fathome long, enfolding therein another Monster, the second of the foure, called *Tarcamparoo*, which they say was the *Sonne of that Serpent*, which stands with both his hands in his mouth, which is as bigge as a gate, the teeth set in order, and the blacke tongue hanging out about two fathomes. Of the two other, one was the *Figure of a woman*, named *Nadelgan*, seuentene fathomes long, and fixe about, from whose waste issued a beake or face about two fathomes, which cast smoake out of the nostrils, and flames of fire out of the mouth, which they make therein continually, saying, shee is the Queene of the Fierie Spheare, and shall burne the Earth at the end of the World. The fourth is *like a man*, set cowering with cheekes puffed like ships sayles, so monstrous that a man could not endure the sight. The *Chinois* call him *Uzanguenaboo*, and say, that it is hee which makes Tempests in the Sea, and throwes downe Houses by Land, to which the people giue much Almes not to hurt their Iunkes.

Xinligau.

The second day we went from *Pocasser*, and came to another Citie called *Xinligau*, very great, well built, walled with Tyles, ditched about; with two Castles at the end, hauing their Towres, Bul-warkes, and Draw-bridges: in the midst of each Castle was a Towre of five Lofts with many workes painted, in which the *Chinois* said, were fiftene thousand Picos of siluer, of the Rents gathered in that *Archipelago*, which this Kings Grand-father there layd vp in memory of his Sonne *Leuquinan*, which signifieth the *ioy of all*, holden for a Saint, because he dyed a Religious man, and lyes there buried in the Temple of *Quia Varatel*, the *God of all the Fishes in the Sea*, of whom they haue large Legends. In that Citie and another five leagues from it is made the greatest part of the Silke of that Kingdome, the waters there giuing quicker colours (they say) then in other parts. The Weauers Loomes of these Silkes, which they affirme thirteene thousand, pay yearely to the King three hundred thousand Taels. Going further vp the Riuer, wee came the next day Euening to a great Champaigne, continuing ten or twelue leagues, in which were many Kine, Horses, and Mares, pastured for the shambles as well as other flesh, and kept by many men on Horle-backe. These Champaignes past, wee came to a Towne, called *Iunquileu*, walled with Tyles, but without Towres or Bul-warkes.

Leuquinan.
God of Sea
fish.
Silke-loomes.

Huge pastures.

Junquileu.

Albuquerque.
See tom. i. lib. 2.
pag 32.

The Spanishe
hath the Palsy,
and it seemes
a kind of Palsie
gotten by
stroke or bla-
sting of the
Aire.

Here wee saw a stone Monument with an Inscription, *Heere lyeth Trannocem Mudeliar, Vncle to the King of Malaca, who dyed before hee was reuenged of Captayne Albuquerque, the Lion of Sea Robberies.* We enquiring hereof, an old *Chinese* said, that about fortie yeares agoe, the man there interred had come Embassadour from a King of *Malaca*, to sue to the *Sonne of the Sunne*, for succour against a Nation of a Land without name, which had come from the end of the World, and taken *Malaca*, with other incredible particularities printed in a Booke which hee made thereof. Hauing spent three yeares in this Suite, and brought it to some maturitie, hee sickned of the *Aire* one night at Supper, dyed in nine dayes, and left this Memoriall.

Wee proceeded on our way the Riuer growing lesse, but the Countrey more peopled, scarcely a stones cast free of some House, eyther of a *Pagode*, or Labourer. And two leagues higher on a Hill compassed with Iron grates were two Brasse Statues standing on their feete, one of a man,

man, the other of a woman, both seuentie foure spans long with their hands in their mouthes, and puffed cheekes; fastned to Cast-Iron Pillars, seuen fathomes high. The Male was named *Quiay Xingatalor*, the woman *Apancapatur*. The *Chinois* told vs that the man was Fire-blower in Hell to torment such as in this life gaue them no Almes: the woman was the Hell-Porter, which suffered the Almes-giues to flye by a Riuer of cold water, called *Ochilenday*, and hid them their from the Deuils hurting them. One of our company laughed at this Tale, whereat a *Bonzo* was so offended, that hee set *Chifus* in rage with vs, who bound vs hand and foot, and gaue vs one hundred stripes a-piece. Twelue Priests were incensing these Monsters when wee were there with Siluer-centsours full of sweet Odours, Saying, *as wee serue thee, helpe thou vs*: another company of Priests answering: *So I promise thee as a good Lord.* And thus went they on Procession about the Hill an houres space founding certayne Bells causing a dreadfull noyse.

Two monstrous statues and their deuotions.

Hence wee passed vp the Riuer eleuen dayes, all peopled with Cities, Townes, Villages, Castles, in many places, scarcely a Calieuer shot distant one from another: and all the Land in compasse of our sight had store of great Houses, and Temples with gilded Steeples, which amazed vs with the sight. Thus wee came to the Citie *Sampitay*, where wee stayed fve dayes by reason of the sicknesse of *Chifus* Wife. There by his leaue wee went thorow the streets, a begging, the people wondering at vs, and giuing vs largely. One woman amongst others which busily questioned with vs, shewed vs a Crosse branded on her left arme, asking if we knew that signe, and wee devoutly answering, yes, shee lifted vp her hands to Heauen, and sayd, *Our Father which art in Heauen, hallowed be thy Name*, in Portugues, and could speake no more, but proceeded in *China* speech, and procured leaue to lodge vs at her House those fve dayes: telling vs she was named *Inez de Leiria*, and was the Daughter of *Thomas Perez*, which came Embassadour to *China*, and by reason of a Rebellious Portugall Captayne, hee was taken as a Spye with twelue others; so beaten that fve dyed, the other seuen hundred to diuers places, where they dyed in misery, only *Vasco Caluo*, being now left alieue. Her Father, she said, was banished to this Towne, and there marryed with her Mother hauing somewhat to mayntaine her, and by him made a Christian. They liued together many yeares like good Catholikes, and conuerted many to the Faith of Christ, in that Citie three hundred assembled on Sundayes to her house to their holies. She shewed vs an Oratorie in which was a Crosse of wood gilded, with a Candlestick and siluer Lampe. Wee asked her what they did, when they came there, and shee said, nothing but kneele before that Crosse, with their hands and eyes lifted to Heauen, and say, *Lord Iesus Christ, as it is true that thou art the true Sonne of God, conceived by the Holy Ghost in the wombe of the Holy Virgin Mary, for the saluation of Sinners, so pardon our sins, that wee may obtayne to see thy face in the glory of thy Kingdome, where thou sittest at the right hand of the Highest. Our Father which art in Heauen, hallowed be thy Name. In the Name of the Father, and of the Sonne, and of the Holy Ghost, Amen.* And so kissing the Crosse, they embraced one another and went home; alway liuing friendly with each other. Her Father (she said) had left other Prayers written, which the *Chinois* had stolne away, so that now they could say no more. Whereupon we promised to leaue her other Prayers, and taught the Christians seuen times there, and *Christopher Borrell* writ in *China* Letters the Lords Prayer, *Aue Mary*, Creed, *Salue Regina*, Tenne Commandements, and other good Prayers. Shee had giuen a Present to *Chifus* Wife to deale with her Husband to giue vs this leaue, and to vse vs kindly, and the Christians there gaue vs fiftie Taeis of Siluer, and *Inez de Leiria* other fiftie closely, desiring vs to remember her in our Prayers.

Frequencie of China people.

Sampitay.

See Mass. l. 6. these Portugall Rebels had possessed *Tamus*, and raised a Fort in the Island, whence followed that out rage to *Perez* after foure months trauell from *Canton* to the Court. *Lopez Soares* which sent *Perez* to *China*, went Vice-roy, A. 1515. *China* Christians and Christianitie.

We continued our journey vp the *Barampina*, to a place called *Lequimpan*, of tenne or twelue thousand Houses. Neere to the wall stood a long house with thirtie Furnaces for the purifying of siluer which was taken out of a Hill fve leagues distant, called *Tuxengum*; in which Mines the *Chinois* told vs, there continually laboured one thousand men, and that it yeelded to the King yearly fve thousand * *Pikes* of siluer. We departed thence in the Euening, and the next Euening anchored betwixt two small Cities standing ouer against one another, one named *Pacan*, the other *Nacan*, both well walled and builded. These two Cities occasion mee to recite what I haue heard often heard read in the thirteenth Chapter of the first Chronicle of the fourescore which they haue of the Kings of *China*; that sixe hundred thirtie nine yeares after the Flood, there was a Land, called *Guantipocau*, in which liued a pettie Prince, called *Turban*, which had by his Concubine *Nancaa*, three Sonnes, refusing to marry, and entring into Religion of the Idoll *Gizom* (still much esteemed in *Iapon*, *China*, *Cauchin-china*, *Camboia*, *Siam*, of which I haue seene many Temples) appointing his eldest Sonne by the said *Nancaa* his heire. His Mother then liuing was against this, and marryed herselfe with *Silan* a Priest, and slue *Turban*; whereupon *Nancaa* and her children fled downe the Riuer seuentie leagues, and fortified a place which she called *Pilaunera*, that is, *the refuge of the poore*. Fve yeares after *Silan* prepared a Fleet of thirtie Barkes to destroy her and all her faction, thinking that her Sons comming of age might dispossesse him. But she hauing Intelligence, hauing of men, women, and children, not aboue one thousand and three hundred persons, and but three or foure Boats not sufficient to conueigh away those few, by common consent and aduice appointed a three dayes Fast therein to begge succour

Loquimpan, Mines of *Tuxengum*. * 1000. Picoes is a Million of Taeis. *Pacan* and *Nacan*.

China Chronicles and Legends.

Beginnings of the Kingdome of *China*.

of God, in all which time none might eate aboue once, in paine of death. This Fast ended they cast Lots and the Lot fell on a Boy of seuen yeares old, which was also named *Silan*, whom after all Ceremonies ended they bid lift vp his hands to Heauen, and tell them some remedie to these dangers. Who prophesied Victory to her ouer the Tyrant *Silan*, commanding her to embarke hers in her Enemies Barkes, and at the sound of the waters to runne along the Land, till God shewed where shee should found a habitation of great name, which through all times should send out his mercy with voyces and bloud of strange Nations: after which words the Boy fell downe dead.

Legend of *Pe-
quim*.

The thirty Barkes came (saith the Storie) five dayes after without any people therein: for at a place called *Catchasoy*, a blacke Cloud arose ouer them, which rayned on them scalding drops, which destroyed them all. *Nancaa* with teares and thankes embarked her three Sonnes and the rest, and went downe the Riuer conducted by the sound fortie seuen dayes, and then came to the place where *Pequim* now stands. Five dayes after they came aland, was the first stone layd thereof by *Pequim*, eldest Sonne of *Nancaa*, and the Citie called by his owne name. And a siluer shield hangeth on the Arch of the chiefe gate *Pommicotay*, and hath this inscribed, in which are fortie Warders, and in the rest ordinarily but foure. The day also of the foundation (beeing the third of August) is kept with great Solemnitie, and thereon the King vseth to shew himselfe to the people. The later Kings also haue made a Law that no Strangers, except Embassadors and Slaues should enter the Kingdome. The two other Brethren founded these two Cities, called by their owne names *Pacan* and *Nacan*, and their Mother founded *Nanquin*, which tooke the name of hers.

No stranger
may enter *Chi-
na*.

IN the fift Booke of the chiefe places of that Empire, is written, that King *Crisnagol* (which reigned as we may accord our computation with theirs) about the yeare of our Lord 528. builded the wall, the people contributing ten thousand Pikes of siluer (which are fiftene Millions of Cruzados) and two hundred and fiftie thousand men (thirtie thousand Officers and the rest Labourers) which was continued seuen and twentie yeares, and then finished, being, saith that Booke the length of seuentie Iaons (euery Iaon is foure leagues and an halfe) which make three hundred and fiftene leagues. The Priests and Iles are said to contribue as many, and the King and Officers another third, so that seuen hundred and fiftie thousand men laboured therein. This wall I haue seene and measured, being generally sixe fathomes high, and fortie spannes thicke: and foure fathomes runneth a kind of Rampire, twice as thicke as the wall strengthened with a Bituminous substance on the out-side like Potters worke; and in stead of Bulwarkes it hath houses of two lofts with beames of blacke wood, called *Cambes*, that is, *Iron-wood*, seeming stronger then if they were of stone-worke. This wall or *Chanfacan* (so they call it, that is, *strong resistance*) runneth with an equall course till it encounters with Hills, which are all Chanfred and made so that it is stronger then the wall it selfe, the wall being only in the spaces twixt Hill and Hill, the Hills themselves making vp the rest.

The wall of
China.

*Sem brasas dalto
e quarenta pal-
mos de largo.*

*Von todas
th infiradas ao
picão.*

Five Riuers
interrupting
the wall.

Wall-forts.

Thus in Spaine,
Malefactors
are sentenced
to the Gallies,
or Garrisons of
Oran, Penon, &c
Huge Prison.
chaens of the
wall.

In all that way are but five entrances, caused by the *Tartarian* Riuers, which with impetuous force cut the Countrey aboue five hundred leagues entring the Sea of *China*, and *Cauchin-china*: And one of them more forcible then the others enters the Kingdome of *Sornau* (commonly called *Siam*) by the *Barre of Cuy*. At euery of those five entrances the King of *China* hath one Fort and the *Tartar* another: in euery of the *China* Forts there are seuen thousand men, six thousand foot, and one thousand Horse, in continuall pay; most of them Strangers, *Mogors*, *Champaas*, *Pancrus*, *Coracones*, and *Gizares* of *Persia*, the *Chinois* being but meane Souldiers. In all the space of this wall are three hundred and twentie Regiments, each of five hundred men (in all one hundred & sixty thousand) besides Ministers, Commanders, and their retinue which the *Chinois* said, made in all two hundred thousand men, allowed by the King only sustenance, all or most of them being condemned to that seruice, and therefore receiuing no pay. And in *Pequim* is a great and admirable Prison-houle, in which are Prisoners continually for the Fabricke of this wall of three hundred thousand men and vpwards, most of them from eightene to five and fortie yeares old: whereof some are men of good qualitie, which for their ill behauiours and enormities are hither sentenced, expecting to be remoued hence to the seruice of the wall: whence they may haue returne according to the Statutes thereof made, and approoued by the *Chaens*, which therein dispense the Regall power with meere and mixt Empire. There are twelue of them which may pay to the King a Million of Gold for Rent.

§. IIII.

Minde Salt-pits: Mines of Coretumbaga, Copper-workes; Idolatry and Chri-
stianitie; China Trades, and River Faires; their comming to
Pequin, tryall and sentence. Rarities of
Pequin.

Returne to our Voyage, from Pacan and Nacan, wee passed vp the Riuer to *Min-
doo*, a greater Citie then either of the former, which on the Land side had a great
Lake of Salt-water, with great store of Salt-pits therein, which the *Chinois* said,
did ebbe and flow like the Sea, from which it is about two hundred leagues distant;
and that this Citie Rents to the King yearly one hundred thousand Tais, of the thirds of the
Salt, and as much more of the Silkes, Sugars, Porcelane, Camfire, Vermillion, Quick-silver,
which are there in great quantitie. Two leagues about this Citie were twelue long Houses, in
which many men were sounding and purifying Copper, making such a noyse with the Ham-
mers that this place (if any on Earth) may resemble Hell. In each House were fortie Furnaces,
twentie on a side, with fortie great Anvils, on each whereof eight men were hammering round,
with such quicknes as scarce permitted the eyes obseruance; so that in each house there were three
hundred and twentie continuall Labourers, besides Workmen of other kinds. Wee asked how
much Copper they might make yearly, and they answered, betwixt one hundred and ten, and
one hundred and twentie thousand Pikes, of which the King had two parts, because the Mynes
were his; the Hill where the Mine was, is called *Coretumbaga*, that is, *Riuer of Copper*, which in
two hundred yeares (so long was since the Discouery) was not emptied.

About these Houses one league neere the Riuer, wee saw on a Hill encompassed with three
rewes of Iron Grates, thirtie Houses in five ranks, very long, with great Towres of Bels
of Metall, and Cast-Iron, with gilded Pillars and carued workes, and artificiall Frontis-
pieces of stone. Here we went on Land by *Chifus* leaue, because hee had so vowed to that *Pa-
go*, which is called *Bigaypotim*, that is, *the God of one hundred and ten thousand Gods*, *Corchoo*, *Fun-
ganc*, *ginato ginaca*, strong & great (say they) about all the rest: For they hold euery thing hath a
particular God which made it and preserues it in its nature, & that this *Bigaypotim* brought forth
all of them at his arme-pits, and that of him they all hold their being, as of a father by filiall vni-
on, which they call *Byaporentesay*. In *Pegu* where I haue bene sometimes, there is a *Pagode*
like this (there called *Ginocoginana*, the *God of all greatnesse*) whose Temple was built by
the *Chinois* when they ruled in *India*, which was after their Computation accorded with ours
from *Anno Dom. 1013.* till *1072.* conquered by *Oxinagan*, whose Successor seeing how much
bloud was payd for so little good, voluntarily relinquished it. In those thirtie Houses stood a
great quantitie of Idols of gilded wood, and as many more of Tinne, Copper, Latten, Iron,
Porcelane, so many that I dare not mention the number. Wee had not gone thence fixe or seuen

leagues, when we saw a great Citie ruined with the houses and wals on the ground, seeming a
league in circuit. The *Chinois* said, that it had bene called *Cobilouzaa*, that is, *Flowre of the field*,
sometimes prosperous; and that one hundred fortie two yeares since, as is written in a Booke, na-
me *Toxefalem*, there came in company of Merchants from the Port of *Tanagarim*, a man which
wrought Miracles, in a moneths space raising vp five dead persons, the *Bonzos* saying, he was a
Witch, and because they could not hold dispute with him, prouoking the people against him,
saying, that if they did not kill him, God would punish them with fire from Heauen. The in-
raged multitude killed one *John* a Weauer, where he sojourned, and his two Sonnes in Law, and
his Sonne; which sought to defend him, and when they had gone about to burne him, in vaine,
the fire being extinct, the *Bonzos* stoned him, preaching Christ vnto them, which had come
from Heauen to dye for Sinners, and to giue life to all which professed his Law with Faith and
Works. They say, that the bodie was cast into the Riuer, which for the space of five dayes would
not runne lower, and thereby many were moued to professe that Religion: and as wee doubled a
point of Land, we saw a Crosse of stone on a little Hill environed with Trees. *Chifus* Wife fal-
ling into trauell (of which she dyed) we stayed there nine dayes, and did our Deuotions thereto,
prostrate on the Earth. The people of the Village (called *Xifangu*) maruelling, came running to
the place and falling on their knees, kissed the Crosse often, saying, *Christo Iesu, Iesu Christo*,
Maria Mican, late impone *Mondel*, that is, was a Virgin in his Conception, Birth, and after
it. They asked if they were Christians, and we affirming it, had vs to their Houses and vsed vs
kindly, being all of that Weauers Posteritie and Christians. They also confirmed that which

the *Chinois* had told vs, and shewed vs the Booke printed of his Miracles, which they said was
named *Matthew Escandel*, an Hungarian by Nation, an Heremite of Mount *Sinay*, borne at *Bu-
da*. That Booke tels that nine dayes after his death, the Citie *Cobilouzaa* shooke so, that the peo-
ple ranne out into the fields, and abode in Tents; to whom the *Bonzos* came and bid them feare
nothing, for they would beseech *Quay Tiguarew*, *The God of the night*, to command the Earth
A a 3 to

Min-
doo.

The custome
300000. Cru-
zados.

3840. Ham-
mer-men.
A Pico is 1000.
Tais.

Bigaypotim.

Chinaruled
uer India.

Cobilouzaa.

A Christian
martyred.
Lucena hath
this storie.

A Crosse.

Mat. Escandel
an Hungarian.

Earthquake.
The China
Pluto.

to doe so no more, otherwise they would giue him no Almes. Thus went the Priests alone in Procession to that Idols House, and making their night-Sacrifices and Perfumes, the Earth quaked about eleuen of the clocke at night, and ouerthrew the whole Citie (one only of about foure thousand *Bonzos* remayning aliue) into a Lake more then one hundred fathomes deepe, called after this *Fiunganorsee*, that is, *punished from Heauen*.

Iunquilnan.

*Sem colares,
nem algemas.*

How such infinite numbers liue.

Sugar-houses.
Infinite provisions and store houses.

Pastures of beasts.

Dogs for meat.

Moueable Cities on the water.

Beauties and glories of this Riuer-Citie.

Hence we came to a great Citie, called *Iunquilnan*, very rich, with many Iunkes and Barkes, where we stayed five dayes, *Chifu* there celebrating his Wiues Exequies, and giuing vs food and rayment for her soule, freeing vs from the Oare, and giuing vs leaue to goe on Land when wee would, without our * Collers, which was very great ease to vs. Thence we went vp the Riuer, still seeing on both sides many and faire Cities and Townes, and other very great populations, 10 strongly walled, and Fortresses alongst the water with Towres and rich Houses of their Sects, with innumerable cattell in the fields, and shipping in the Riuer, in some places five hundred, six hundred, yea, one thousand sayle, in which were sold all things could be named. Many *Chinois* affirmed, that there were as many liued in that Empire on the water, as in Cities and Townes: so many in both, that were it not for the good gouernment of their Trades, they would eate one an other. As in Duckes, one trades in buying and hatching the Egges, and selling the young; another in breeding them for sale when they are great, others in the Feathers, others in the heads, and in wares, others in the Egges, &c. none interloping the others Trade vnder paine of thirtie stripes. In Hogs, one trades in selling them together aliue, others kill them, and sell them by weight, others in Bacon, others in Pigges, others in Soufe. So in fish, hee which sels fresh 20 may not sell salt, some sell them aliue, &c. and so in Fruits and other things. And none may change his Trade without license. They haue also along this Riuer of *Batampina*, in which wee went from *Nanquin* to *Pequin*, (the distance of one hundred and eightie leagues) such a number of Ingenios for Sugar, and Presses for Wines, and Oyles made of diuers sorts of Pulse and Fruits, that there are streets of them on both sides of the Riuer, of two or three leagues in length. In other parts are many huge store-houses of infinite provisions of all sorts of flesh, in which are salted and smoked Beefe, tame and wilde Hogs, Ducks, Geese, Cranes, Bustards, Emes, Deere, Buffals, Ants, Horfe, Tygres, Dogs, and all flesh which the Earth brings forth, which amuzed and amazed vs exceedingly, it seeming impossible that there should bee people in the World to eate the same. Wee saw also great store of Barkes fenced at Poupe and Prow, with Reedes of Canes full 3 of Ducks to sell, in diuers lofts ouer one another, which goe out at foure strokes of a Drumme; fixe or seuen thousand together to feed, where they set them, at the sound of the Drumme returning againe, with like exceeding crie. In the like sort they let them out to lay on the grasse. They that hatch them haue long houses with twentie Furnaces full of dung, with some hundreds of Egges couered therein, and hatched by that heate, the mouth stopped till they thinke fit time, then putting in a Capon halfe plucked and wounded on the brest, they shut it againe, and after two dayes, the Capon hath drawne them all forth, and they put them into holes provided for them.

We saw along the Riuer in some places store of Swine wild and tame kept by men on Horlebacke, in other places tame Deere kept by Footmen, all maymed in the right foreleg, that they should not runne away, which they doe when they are young. Wee saw Pennes full of little Dogges to sell, Barkes full of Pigges, others of Lizards, Frogs, Snakes, Snailles, all being meate with them. In these (being of small price) they may sell many kinds. Yea, the dung of men is there sold, and not the worse Merchandize, that stinke yeelding sweet wealth to some, who goe tabouring vp and downe the streets to signifie what they would buy. Two or three hundred sayle are seene sometimes freighted with this lading in some Port of the Sea; whence the fatned soyle yeelds three Haruefts in a yeare.

Wee came to a Faire of *China* where on the water 2000. Barkes, besides small Boats which goe vp and downe and small Barkes were assembled in one place, and made a Citie with streets in the water aboue a league long, and a third part of a league broad. These Faires are principally on the Holy day of some *Pagode*, whose Temple is by the waters side. In this *Water-citie*, by the order of the *Aitao* of *Bitampina* (who is chiefe President of the thirtie two Admirals of the thirtie two Kingdomes of this Monarchie) are sixtie Captaynes appointed; thirtie for the gouernment and ordering of the same in matters of Iustice, and other thirtie to guard the Merchants in comming safely secured from Theeues.ouer all these is a *Chaem*, which hath Mere and mixt Rule in Causes Ciuill and Criminall without Appeale. These Faires last from the new Moon to the ful, in which it is a goodly thing to see two thousand streets or ranks strait, enclosed with Barkes, most of them flourishing with Streamers and Banners, and railes painted, whereon are sold all things that can be desired, in others Mechanike Trades, & in the midst Boats going vp and downe with people to trade without any confusion or tumult. As soone as it is night, the streets are enclosed with Cables. In euery street is ten Lanthornes lighted on the Mafts (which yeelds a fairer lustre then the former sight by day) to see who goeth by and what is his businesse. In each of these streets is a Watch-bell, and when that of the *Chaems* sounds, all the rest answer with as strange an Object to the Eare as the former to the Eye. In euery of these Vowes are

Ora-

Oratories built on Barkes with gilded Tents, where the Idoll and Priests receiue the Deuotions and Offerings of the people.

Amongst other remarkable things we saw one row or street of aboue one hundred Barkes laden with Idols of gilded wood of diuers sort, which are sold to be offered in the Pagodes; and besides, feet, legs, armes, and heads, which sicke folkes offered for Deuotion. Other Barkes there are with Tents of Silke, in which Comedies and pastimes are represented. In others are sold Letters of Exchange, the Priests giuing them Bills to receiue in Heauen what their folly lay downe there, with great increase (*Our Scrineners would scarcely grow rich here with this Trade*) others are laden with skulls of dead men, they dreaming that all the Almes of those men, whose skulls these haue beene, shall belong to their soules, and that the Porter of Heauen seeing them come with thus many attending, will open to him as an honourable person: Others haue Cages of Birds, and call to men to set free those Captiues, which are the creatures of God, with their Almes which they which doe, let loose the Bird and bid him tell God what he hath done in his Seruice: others do the like with living fishes, offering their freedome to the charitable Redeemers (*which themselves will not giue them; much like the sale of Indulgences*) saying, they are Innocents which neuer sinned, which freed by Almes are let goe in the Riuer with commendations of this their Redeemers Seruice to the Creator. Other Barkes carry Fiddlers and Musicians to offer their Seruice: Others (the Priests) sell Hornes of sacrificed Beasts, with promise of I know not what Feasts in Heauen: others had Tents of sorrow, Tombes and all Funerall appurtenances with Women-mourners, to be let out for Burials: others laden with Books of all sorts of Historie, and these also haue Scriueners and Proctours; others haue such as offer their seruice to fight in defence of their honour; others haue Mid-wives, others Nurses; others carry graue men and women to comfort those that haue lost Husbands, Wiues, Children, and the like disconsolate persons: others Boyes and Girles for seruice; others offer Counsellors in Cases of Law or Learning; others Physicians: and to conclude, nothing is to bee sought on the Land which is not here to be found in this Water-citie.

Once, the cause of the greatnesse of this Kingdome of China, is this easie concourse of all parts by water and Riuers: some of which in narrow places haue bridges of stone like ours, and some made of one only stone laid ouer, sometimes of eightie, ninetie, or one hundred spannes, long, and fiftene or twentie broad. All the High-wayes haue large Causies made of good stone, with Pillers and Arches fairely wrought inscribed with the Founders names and prayes in golden Letters. In many places they haue Wels to refresh the Trauellers. And in more barren and lesse inhabited places are single women which giue free entertainment to such as haue no monie, which abuse and abomination, they call a worke of Mercie, and is prouided by the deceased for good of their soules, with Rents and mayntenance. Others haue also bequeathed in the like places, houses with Lights to see the way, and fires for Trauellers, water and Lodging. I haue in one and twentie yeares vnfortunate trauels seene a great part of Asia, and the riches of Europe, but if my testimonie be worthy credit, all together is not comparable to China alone: such are the endowments of nature in a wholesome Ayre, Soyle, Riuers, and Seas, with their Policie, Iustice, Riches and State, that they obscure all the lustres of other parts. Yet such is their bestiall and Deuillish Idolatry, and filthy Sodomitry publicly permitted, committed, taught by their Priests as a vertue, that I cannot but grieve at their vngratitude.

Departing from this admirable Citie, we sailed vp the Riuer, till on the ninth of October, on Tuesday we came to the great Citie of Pequim, whither wee were sent by Appeale. Wee went three and three as Prisoners, and were put in a Prison called *Gofania serca*, where for an entrance they gaue each of vs thirtie stripes. *Chifu* which brought vs presented to the *Aitao* our Processe signed with twelue seales from *Nanquin*. The twelue *Conchalis* which are Criminall Iudges, sent one of their company with two Notaries, and fixe or seuen Officers to the Prison where wee were, and examined vs, to whom we answered as before, and hee appointed vs to make petition to the *Tanigores*, of the holy Office by our Proctours, and gaue vs a Taell for almes, with a caueat to beware of the Prisoners that they robbed vs not; and then went into another great Roome, where he heard many Prisoners Causes, three houres together, and then caused execution to be done on seuen and twentie men, sentenced two dayes before, which all dyed with the blowes to our great terrour.

And the next day wee were collared and maniced, being much afraid that our *Calempliys* businesse would come to light. After seuen dayes the *Tanigores* of the Hospitall of that Prison came in, to whom we with pitifull lamentation gaue the Certificate which wee brought from *Nanquin*. By their meanes the *Conchalis* petitioned the *Chaem* to reuoke the Sentence of cutting off our thumbs, seeing there was no testimonie of theft by vs committed, but only our poueritie, we more needed pitie then rogour. He heard the pleading for and against vs for diuers daies, the Prometor or Fiscall laying hard against vs that wee were theues; but being able to proue nothing, the *Chaem* suspended him from his Office, and condemned him in twentie Taels to vs, which was brought vs. And at last we were brought into a great Hall painted with diuers representations of execution of Iustice for seuerall crimes there written, very fearefull to behold: and at the end a fairer gilded roome crossed the same, where was a Tribunall with seuen steps,

Bridges, and high-wayes admirable.

Filthy charity.

The Authors opinion of Pequim.

Their hard vslage.

Their Cause heard. The Fiscall (set on worke it seemes by the Iudge which had sentenced them) punished.

com

Tribunal and
pompe.

Quansy works.

The Kings
almes.Description of
Pequim, or as
the Chinois call
it Pequim.
Aquesendoo a
Booke written
of Pequim.
1600. houses
for Deputies.24000. sepul-
chers.

Hospitals 500.

24000. Barge-
men.14000. Pur-
veyors.
Curtisan
street.100000. Lan-
derers.
1300. Mona-
stries.* By letting
the houses to
other men.360. Gates
and Castles.

3800. Temples

Foure chiefe
Sects.

compassed with three rewees of grates, Iron, Latten, and blacke Wood; inlayed with Mother of pearle, hauing a Canopie of Damaske fringed with Gold and greene Silke, and vnderneath a Chaire of Siluer for the *Chiem*, and a little Table before him, with three Boyes attending on their knees richly attired, with chaines of gold on their neckes; the middlemost to giue him his Penne, the other two to receiue Petitions and to present them on the Table; two other Boyes standing at his side in exceeding rich aray, the one representing *Iustice*, the other on the right hand *Mercy*, without which conioyned, the Iudge (they say) becomes a Tyrant. (*The rest of the state and ceremonie I omit*) wee kneeling on our knees, with our hands lifted vp, and our eyes cast downe to the ground, heard gladly our Sentence of absolution. Only we were for one yeere banished to the workes of *Quansy*, and eight moneths of that yeere ended to haue free passport to goe home, or whither we would. After the Sentence pronounced, one of the *Conchals* stood vp, and five times demanded aloud if any could take exception against the Sentence: and all being silent, the two Boyes representing *Iustice*, and *Mercy*, touched each others Ensignes which they had in their hands, and said aloud, *let them be free according to the Sentence*, and presently two *Chumbms* tooke off our Collars and Manicles, and all our bonds. The foure moneths (the *Tanigores* told vs) were taken off the yeere, as the Kings almes in regard of our pouertie; for had wee beene rich, wee must haue serued the whole yeere. They gaue vs foure Tacis of almes, and went to the Captaine which was to goe for *Quansy* to commend vs to his charitie, which vsed vs accordingly.

Pequim may be called the Mother Citie of the Worlds Monarchie for the wealth, gouernment, greatnesse, iustice, prouisions. It stands in the height of 41. degrees to the North; it containeth in circuit, as the *Chinois* (and as I after heard read in a little Booke written of the greatnesse thereof, called *Aquesendoo*, which I brought with mee into this Kingdome) thirtie leagues, ten in length, and five in bredth, all which space is enuironed with two Walls, and innumerable Towers and Bulwarkes. Without is a larger space, which they say, was anciently peopled, which now hath but Hamlets, and scattered Houses, and Garden-houses (of which fixteene hundred are of principall note, in which are the fixteene hundred Proctors for the fixteene hundred Cities and Townes of note, of the two and thirtie Kingdomes of this Monarchie, which reside there three yeeres for the said Townes. Without this circuit or wall, there are in the space of three leagues broad, and seuen long, foure and twentie thousand Sepulchres of *Mandarines*, with their little gilded Chappels, encompassed with grates of Iron and Latten, with rich Arches at their entries. Neere to them are Gardens, Groues, Tankes, Fountaines; the walls lined within with fine Porcelaine, adorned also with Lions and Pinacles of diuers paintings. There are in that space five hundred Lodgings, called Houses of the Sonne of the Sunne, for entertainment of Souldiers maimed in the Kings warres (besides many others for the old and sicke) euery of which receiue their monethly allowance, and haue in them as they said two hundred men, in all one hundred thousand. Wee saw another street very long, where liued foure and twentie thousand Rowers for the Kings shipping: and another about a league long, where liued fourteene thousand Tauerners for prouision for the Court; and another where were infinite Curtesans freed from tribute (which those of the Citie pay) for seruice of the Court, many running from their husbands, and here protected by the *Tuan* of the Court, which is supreme in cases of the Kings house.

In that compasse also liue the Landerers of the Citie, which were, as they told vs, about one hundred thousand, there being many Tankes or Ponds compassed with stone and Riuer. There are therein, as that Booke sayth, thirteene hundred Noble houses of Religious men and women, which professe the foure chiefe Sects of the two and thirtie which are in that Kingdome: some of which, they say, haue about one thousand persons within them besides seruitors. There are other houses store with great walls in which are Gardens, and Groues with game for hunting; and are as it were the Halls of Companies where many resort to see Playes, and the great men make their feasts there with incredible costs. Some of these houses cost about a million, maintayned by Companies of rich Merchants, which are said to gaine much thereby. And when any will make a feast, he goeth to the *Xipatom* of the house, who sheweth him a Booke wherein is containd the order of feasts and seruices (which Booke I haue seene and heard read) of all sorts, and of what prices they are, whether Sacred to their Idols, or Secular, (of which our *Author* hath a large Chapter, here omitted.)

Now for *Pequim*, it hath three hundred and sixtie Gates, each hauing a Castlet with two Towers, and a Draw-bridge, a Notarie, and foure Warders, to take notice of those which goe in and out, and an Idoll proper according to the dayes of the yeere, euery of which is festiual in one of them. The *Chinois* reported that there are therein three thousand eight hundred Temples or Pagodes, in which are continually sacrificed birds and wilde beasts, which they say, are more acceptable then tame: those especially very faire which are of the *Menigrepos*, and *Conquais*, and *Talagrepos*, the Priests of the foure chiefe Sects, of *Xaca*, *Amids*, *Gizon*, and *Canom*. The streets are long and large, the houses faire, of one or two lofts, encompassed with Iron and Lat-

ten

ten grates, and at the streets end are triumphall arches, closed at night; in the chiefe are Watch-bells. Euery street hath a Capitaine and foure Quarter-masters or Corporals, which euery ten dayes acquaint the *Loucheys* or *Chaems* with occurrents. That Booke reports of one hundred and twentie water-passages, fixe fathome deepe of water, and twelue wide, with many stone bridges, which are said to be eightene hundred rich and faire, with arches, pillars, and chaines: it tels also of one hundred and twentie Market-places, each of which haue their monethly Faires, (which make some foure faires a day thorow the yeere) of which we saw ten or twelue in our two moneths free abode, very full of horse-men and foot-men with all commodities to be sold. There are one hundred and sixtie Shambles, each hauing one hundred blockes for Fleish of all sorts, the price set downe on euery blocke, and besides the shop-weights, are weights at euery Gate to examine the weight againe. And besides those generall shambles, euery street hath fise or sixe shops which sell all kinde of Fleish; houses also for Poultrie, and for Bacon, and hanged Beefe.

120. Riuersets;
1800. Bridges.
120. Market-
place:.

166. Shambles

§. V.

Foure Buildings incredibly admirable in Pequin, and diuers of their Superstitions: their Hospitals and prouisions for the Poore. The Kings reuenues and Court; their Sects.

BVt nothing seemed to me more admirable, then the Prison, called *Xmanguibaleu*, that is, the Prison of the exiled, whose compasse containeth about two leagues square, as well in length as breadth, walled high and ditched deepe, with draw-bridges hanged on Iron cast pillars very great. It hath a high arch with two towers, whereon are six great watch-Bells, at the sound whereof the rest within answer, which are sayd to bee one hundred. In this Prison are continually three hundred thousand men from * sixteene to fiftie yeeres of age, all condemned to banishment, for the fabrike of the wall betwixt *Tartaria* and *China*; whom the King findes maintainance onely, without other pay. After they haue serued sixe yeeres they may goe out freely, the King freely remitting their sentence in satisfaction of their labour. And if in the meane time, they kill an enemy, or haue bene thrice wounded in sallies, or performe any worthy exploit, he is also freed. There are * two hundred & ten thousand employed in that seruice, of which yeerly in those that dye, are maimed or freed, one third part is set off, and supplied from that Prison, which was builded by *Goxiley* the successor of *Crisnagol*, the founder of the wall, brought thither from all parts of the Realme, and sent to the *Chaem* of the wall at his appointment. These prisoners are sent from other prisons, being loose, saue that they weare at their necke, a board of a spanne long and foure fingers broad, inscribed with their name, and sentence of exile, such a time. In this Prison are two Faires yeerly, one of which wee saw, kept in Iuly and Ianuarie, franke and free without payment of tolls; to which are thought to assemble three millions of persons: the Prisoners being meane-while shut vp. The Prison hath three Townes, as it were, with streets and Officers, besides the *Chaems* lodgings, fit to entertaine a King. There are also all necessaries sold. Their are groues, and tankes of water for washing, Hospitals also and twelue Monasteries, with rich houses, wanting nothing that a rich and noble Citie should haue: the Prisoners hauing their Wiues and Children with them, the King allowing a competent house for them.

Prison of the
exiled, to the
Tartarian wall,
almost eight
leagues com-
passe.
* Or 18. to 45.

Multitudes of
Prisoners and
men employed
in the wall.
* Before hee
sayd 200000.

Huge Faires;

Another building about as great as that, was the *Muxiparan*, or treasure of the Dead, compassed with a strong wall and ditch, with many stone Towers and painted pinacles: the wall on the top in stead of battlements, was compassed with Iron grates, close to which were set great store of Idols of different figures, of Men, Serpents, Horses, Oxen, Elephants, Fishes, Snakes, monstrous formes of Wormes, and creatures neuer seene; all of Brasse and cast Iron, and some of Tinne, and Copper; a sight more admirable to the view, then can be imagined. Passing by a bridge ouer the ditch, wee came to a great Hill, * at the first entrie all enuironed with thicke grates of Latten, floored with stones white and blacke, so shining that a man might see himselfe therein, as in a glasse. In the midst of that Hill stood a marble pillar of fixe and thirtie spannes high, all seeming to bee but one stone; on the top whereof stood an Idoll of siluer with a womans face, with both hands griping a Serpent spotted with blacke and white. And further, before the gate (which stood betwixt two high towers, borne vpon foure and twentie bigge stone pillars) stood two figures of men with Iron maces or battle Axes, in their hands, as guarding the passage, one hundred and fortie spannes high, with dreadfull countenances, called *Xixipitan Xalicau*, that is, the Blowers of the House of Smoake. At the entrie of the gate, stood twelue Halberdiers, and two Notaries at a table, which writ downe all that entred. After wee were entred, we came into a large street set on both sides with rich Arches, with infinite bells of Latten hanging thereon, by latten chaynes, by the moouing of the ayre yeelding a great sound. The street was almost halfe a league

Another ad-
mirable Fa-
brike.

* *Tetreyro*, and
so after.

Fire-blowers
of Hell.

3000 Houses
full of skulls.

China Charnel
or Purgatorie.

The Devils
banner tryum-
phant in stu-
pendious Ser-
pents; then
which neither
figure nor
creature hath
beene more a-
bused to super-
stition as glo-
rying of that
his conquest,
Gen. 3. though
a stronger then
he represented
by the brazen
Serpent, Ioh. 3.
hath taken the
old Serpent and
led captiue, and
brake the Ser-
pents head,
which heere
seemes inten-
ded with Eth-
nike vanitie.

The third
strange Edi-
fice of Nacapi-
rau the King of
China.
140. Monaste-
ries.

Tartarian cru-
eltie.

Nunnes sacred
to diuers Gods

The Porters of
Hell.

Jupiter or God
of Rayne.

* Encoñado á
bun bordão.

a league long, and within those arches were two ranks of houses, like as it were great Churches with gilded pinacles, and painted inventions, in number as the *Chinois* affirmed three thousand, all from the bottome to the rooffe full of *Skulls of dead men*. Behind those houses was a hill of Bones, reaching to the roofes of the houses, of the same length of halfe a league and very broad. Wee asked the *Chinois*, if any account were kept thereof, and they answered, that the *Talagrepes* which had the government of those houses, had registers for them all, and that euery house yeelded two thousand *Taxis* rent, left thereto by the deceased for their soules discharge, the King hauing therof the fourth part, and the *Talagrepes* the rest for expences of the Fabrike; the Kings fourth part was spent on the exiled Prisoners of *Xnamguibalen*.

Wee walked thorow the street, and in the midst saw a great hill round encompassed, with two rewes of Latten grates; in the midst whereof was a brazen Serpent, aboue thirtie fathoms in her circles, well proportioned, notwithstanding that incredible massinesse. This monstrous Snake which the *Chinois* call the *Serpent deuourer of the House of smoake*, had set in his head, a Ball or Bullet of cast Iron of two and fiftie spannes circumference. Aboue twentie paces further, was the figure of a Man in brasse, of Giantly limbes and proportion, who sustained with both his hands another bullet, which (eying the Serpent with an angry visage) made as though he threw it at him. Round about that figure, were many smal gilded Idols on their knees, with hands lifted vp to him as in admiration: and in foure wyres of Iron enuironing, were one hundred and sixtie two siluer Candlestickes, each hauing fixe, seuen, and ten nosles. This Idoll gaue name to the whole Fabrike, and was called *Muchiparom*, who was, sayth the *Chinois*, the *Treasurer of all the bones of the dead*, and that Serpent comming to rob them, hee threw that bullet in his hands, and made her flee to the darke bottome of the house of smoake, where God had cast her for her badnesse: And that three thousand yeeres before hee made the former throw, and that three thousand yeeres after, he shall make another, and so each three thousand yeeres another, till the fift which shall kill her: after which all these bones shall returne to their bodyes, to remayne alway in the house of the Moone. This their *Bonzos* preach, and that those soules shall bee happie, whose bones are thither brought, so that no day passeth in which two thousand bones are not brought thither. And they which are too farre distant to haue their bones brought, send a Tooth or two, which with their almes will doe as much good as the whole: so that I suppose there are teeth enough in those houses to lade many ships.

A third building wee saw without the walls, sumptuous and rich, named *Nacapiran*, which signifeth, *The Queene of Heaven*; which they meane not of the Virgin *Marie*, but thinke that as temporall Kings are married, so also is the Heauenly, and that the Children which hee getteth of *Nacapiran*, are the *Starres*; and when the starres seeme to shoute or fall in the ayre, that then one of those Children dye, all his brethren weeping so many teares, that the Clouds are therewith filled, and water the earth, and make it fruitfull, as being the almes which God giues for the soule of the deceased. Wee saw heere one hundred and fortie Monasteries, of their wickedly Religious men and women; in euery of which, were sayd to bee foure hundred persons, which come to fixe and fiftie thousand; besides seruitors, which haue not yet vowed the profession, as those within, who goe in sacred habite of red with greene stoles, their beards and heads shauen, with beades about their neckes, for their prayers, but aske no almes, hauing sustenance of their owne proper. In this Edifice of *Nacapiran*, the *Tartarian* King lodged, Anno 1544. when hee layd siege to this Citie, as shall after bee deliuered; wherein for a diuellish and bloudie Sacrifice, he commanded 30000. persons to be slaine: fifteen thousand of which were Women, or girles rather, the Daughters of the chiefe men of the Kingdome, and Religious, professed of the Sects of *Quiay Figrau*, God of the *Motes of the Sunne*, and of *Quiay Nuandel*, God of the *Battells*, and of *Compositan*, and of foure others, *Quiay Murn*, *Quiay Colompom*, *Quiay Mubelee*, and *Mubeec Lacasaa*, whose fise Sects, are the chiefe of the two and thirtie. Within this building wee saw diuers memorable things. One was a Wall against the other, almost a league compasse, borne vp with stone arches, and in stead of battlements, arounded with Latten grates, and at euery fixe fathoms, Iron workes on pillars of Brasse fastened one to another, whereon by chaynes hung innumerable bells, making a continuall strange noyse, with the motion of the ayre.

At the great Gate of this second wall, in terrible shapes, stood the two Porters of Hell (as they call them) *Bacharom* and *Quisau*, with Iron Maces in their hands, terrible to looke on. Passing vnder an Iron chayne, fastened to the breasts of these Diuels, wee came into a faire street long and wide, compassed with painted arches, on the top whereof were two ranks of Idols all that length, in which were aboue fise thousand Images, wee knew not of what matter, being all gilded, with Myters on their heads of diuers inventions. At the end of this street, was a great square Hill set with blacke and white shining stones, the whole square compassed with foure rewes of Giants of mettall, each of fiteene spannes, with Halberds in their hands, and gilded beards. At the end of all stood *Quiay Huiaon*, God of the *Raine*, set vp against a battion or border, seuentie spannes long, and his head so high, that it reached to the battlements of the tower, (which were aboue twelue fathoms) by his mouth, eyes, nostrils, and breasts, casting out water, which the people below gathered as a great relique. This water came from the top of the tower by

by secret pipes. Wee passed vnder his legges, which stood as a great portall, and came to a large house like a Church, with three Iles on marble pillars, and on the walls on both sides, many Idols great and small of diuers figures, all gilded, set on their bases in good order. At the end of this house on a round of fiftene steps, stood an Altar made in fashion of a Throne, and thereon the Image of *Nacipiran*, like a goodly woman, with her hayre loose, and her hands lifted to heauen, all of gold so burnished, that it dazeled the eyes. About that tribunall in the foure first steps, stood twelue Kings of *China* crowned in siluer. And beneath, were three rewes of gilded Idols on their knees, with their hands lifted vp, many siluer Candle-sticks hanging about them. Going thence, wee came to another street of arches like the former; and from thence by two others of rich buildings, to a great hill, in which were eightie two Bells of mettall very great, hanging by chaynes from Iron beames sustained with Iron Columnes. Thence wee went to a strong Gate twixt foure towers, in which stood a *Chifu* with thirtie Halberdiers, and two Notaries, which tooke the names of all passengers, to whom wee gaue thirtie Reis for entrance.

Golden statue of *Nacipiran*

The fourth remarkable and famous building, was in the Riuer of *Batampina*, in an Iland about a league in compasse, walled round with stone eight and thirtie spannes aboue water, within filled with earth, round encompassed with two rewes of Latten grates; the vttermoost sixe spannes high for people to leane on, the inner of nine, holding siluer Lions with balls, the Armes of the *China* Kings. Within these grates in good order, were placed one hundred and thirtene Chappels, in manner of round Bulwarkes; in each of them, was an alabaster Sepulcher seated on the heads of two siluer Serpents, with faces of women and three hornes on their heads. In euery of them were thirtene Candlesticks of siluer, with seuen lights in each burning. In the midst of a spacious place compassed with three rewes of grates, with two rankes of Idols, stood a high Tower with fise steeples of diuers paintings, and on their tops, Lions of siluer; in which tower the *Chinois* sayd, were the bones of the one hundred and thirtene Kings, worshipped by them for great reliques. These bones say they, euery New Moone, feast one with another, whereupon the vulgar at those times, offer to them infinite store of Fowles of all sorts, Rice, Kine, Hogges, Sugar, Honey, and other prouision; which the Priests receiue, and deceiue them in recompence, with as it were Iubilees, of plenarie Indulgences, and remission of sinnes as they beleue.

The fourth glorious Edifice.

113. Chappels, and their contents. 14. 9. Candlesticks.

Indulgences.

In this Tower wee saw a rich house all lined with siluer plates, from the top to the bottome, in which stood those one hundred and thirtene Kings statues, and the bones of each King in his owne statue; and they say, that by night these Kings communicate and passe the time together, which none may see but the *Cabixondos*, (a higher degree of *Bonzos*, as that of *Cardinals* with vs) which fables they beleue for very certaintie. In this great circuit wee told three hundred and fortie Bells of mettall and cast Iron, in seuentene places, by twentie in a place, which all found on those New-moone feasts abouesayd. Neere to that tower, in a rich Chappell built on seuen and thirtie columnes of stone, stood the Image of *Amida* made of siluer, with the hayres of gold, on a Throne of foureteene steps, all wrought with gold, the hands eleuated to Heauen: beneath her shoulders, hung (like lines of beades) many little Idols, as big as the middle finger: and the secret parts were couered with two great Oyfter-pearles, garnished with gold: They being demanded the meaning of this mysterie, sayd, that after the generall Floud in which all mankind was drowned, God sent *Amida* from the Heauen of the Moone, (being great Chamberlaine to *Nacipiran* his wife) to restore the destroyed world; who setting heere teete in *Caltemplay* before mentioned, being lately freed of the waters, shee turned it into gold, and there standing on her feet with her face in heauen, a great quantitie of Creatures issued from downe her arme; downe her right hand Males, and Females downe the left; hauing no other place in her bodie whence to bring them forth, as other women of the world, whom for sinne God hath subiected to filthinesse of corruption, to shew how filthy sinne is. After shee had finished this trauell or child-birth of 33333. Creatures, (as they number) one third part Males, and two parts Females; shee remayned so weake, hauing no bodie to prouide her any thing, that with dizzinesse shee fell to the ground dead without recouerie. Whereat the Moone in condoling her death couered her selfe with sorrow, which are those shadowes wee see from the earth; which say they, shall remaine so many yeers as she produced Creatures (33333) & then the Moone shall put off her maske of sorrow, and the night shall bee after as cleere as the day. Such and other like mad stufte did they tell, which might make one wonder, and more to weepe, that the Deuill should gull them with such manifest lyes, being otherwise so vnderstanding a people.

Rich siluer Temple.

Lady *Amida* Image.

Amida Chamberlaine to *Nacipiran*, as *Iris* to *Iuno*: a tale perhaps deuised from that Raine-bow couenant, Gen. 9. 15. as that which followeth from Gen. 3. 16.

A Nunnerie.

From this Hill we went to another Temple of Nuns, sumptuous and rich, in which they told vs was the Mother of this King, *Nhay Camisama*, but would not let vs enter being strangers. Thence by a street of Arches, wee went to a haue called *Hicharioo Topileu*, where was store of strange shipping of diuers Kingdomes, which come continually to that Temple for a plenarie Iubilee, which the King with many priuiledges hath granted them, and dyet on free cost. To speake of other Temples and matters of *China*, which wee saw in our two moneths libertie were infinite.

The

Hospitals for children.

How the poore children are placed to Trades.

* Span. Aminto.

Provisions for all sorts of poore.

Provision against sterility, and for the poore. See *sup. cap. 4. §. 6.*

Royall revenue how disposed. The Jesuites also say, the King cannot at pleasure dispense it.

Not to compare China with what we see here.

Admiranda Pequini.

* *Minapan* the Kings Palace: the number of Eunuchs perhaps is mistaken by the Printer: the Span. hath 10000. one cipher lesse. Yet *Pantoia* saith, that yeere when hee writ, were chosen 3000. out of 10000. and in the Palace were 16000. Eunuchs.

The King of *China* most resideth at *Pequin*, for so he sweareth at his Coronation. There are certaine streets seuered in this Citie by themselves, wherein are houses called *Laginampur*, that is, *The Schoole of the poore*, in which Orphans which know no father are taught to write and reade, and mechanike trades to earne their livings. Of these Houses they haue about two hundred, and as many more of poore Nurses which giue sucke to Children, exposed or cast forth by their Parents (which are punished if they bee knowne) and after they are weaned, are committed to the former houses. And if any by naturall defect are vnable to learne a Trade, they apply him to that whereto he is able, as those that are blind to Mills, two to grind, and one to sift; and so in other cases. Besides, no Trades-man may keepe shop without licence, which is not granted but with imposing on them some of these poorer. The Miller is to giue meate and drinke to each of those blinde persons, and clothes, and fiftene shillings yeerely, which when hee dieth he may giue for his soule, that no poore should perish, according to the fourth precept of * *Amida*. For Creeples which cannot goe, they place them with makers of Frailes, Baskets, and other handiworkes: and those which cannot vse their hands haue great Hampers giuen them, and Baskets to serue for Porters to carrie what men buy, from the Markets to their houses; such as haue neither hands nor feet to vse, are placed in great houses like Monasteries, where are many mercenary women which pray for the dead, halfe of the Offerings remayning to them, the other halfe to the Priests. If they be dumbe, they place them in a house like an Hospitall, where they are sustayned with the Fines imposed on Reqraters and scolding women. For common women which are diseased they haue other houses, where they are cured and prouided for, at the costs of other common women, each paying a monethly fee. The Dowries or Ioynters of conuicted Adulteresses are bestowed on the Hospitals of female Orphans, that honestie may gaine by dishonesties losse. Other honest poore men are maintayned in other streets, at the charges of Solicitors and Lawyers which maintayne vniust Suits, and of partiall bribed Iudges.

For the provision of the poore I haue further heard read out of their Chronicles that *Chanfiran Punagor*, Great Grandfather of the King now reigning, desiring to doe God seruice (being blinde after a sicknesse which he had) ordayned that in euery Citie there should be store-houses of Wheat and Rice, that if any dearth should happen, there might be a yeeres provision, and the poore should not perish: and to this purpose he applied the tenth part of the Kings Customes. They say, that God recompenced this his charitie with restitution of his sight, which continued fourteene yeeres after till his death. This is still obserued, and the number of those Store-houses is said to be fourteene thousand. At Haruest the old is diuided to the Inhabitants as they haue need, which after two moneths are to lay in as much new, and fixe in the hundred more, that the store be not diminished. But if the yeere proue barren, it is diuided to them without gain: and that which is giuen to the poore which haue not to satisfie, is paid out of the Kings Rents of that place, as the Kings Almes. And all the rest of the Royall reuenues are diuided into three parts; one for maintenance of the Kings estate, and for the gouernment of the Kingdome; the second for the defence of the Countiey, for Ports, Fleets, and the like; the third is put vp in the Treasurie at *Pequin*, with which the King by ordinary power may not meddle, being deputed for defence of the Kingdome against the *Tartars*, and other warres with conuincing Kings; this part of the treasure is called *Chidampur*, that is, *The wall of the Kingdome*. For they say, that if such occasions happen, the King shall not lay tribute whiles that lasteth, nor shall the people be vexed, as in other Countries, where such prouidence is not vsed.

Indeed I feare to particularize all that we saw in this Citie, lest the Reader should doubt or mutter at the raritie, measuring things by that little they haue seene, and iudging by their owne curtailed conceits the truth of those things which mine eyes haue seene. But high capacities, haughtie spirits, and large vnderstandings, that measure not other states by the miseries and meannesse before their eyes, will perhaps be willing to heare things so rare; which I hold the more pardonable in others to doubt of, forasmuch as I verily confesse, that I my selfe which beheld them with mine eyes, am often amazed, when with my selfe I recount the greatnesse of *Pequin*, in the admirable estate of that *Gentile* King, in the splendor of the *Chaens* of Iustice, and of the *Anchacys* of gouernment, in the terror and dread caused in all by their Officers, in the sumptuousnesse of the Houses and Temples of their Idols; and of all the rest therein. For only in the Citie *Minapan* which stands within the wall of the Kings Palace are 100000. * Eunuchs, and 30000. women, 12000. men for his Guard, and 12. *Tutans*, which is the greatest dignitie, and commonly called the Sun-beames, as the King is called, the Sonne of the Sunne, whose person they represent. Beneath these 12. are 40. *Chaens* as Vice-royes, besides the inferiour dignities, as *Anchacys*, *Aytaos*, *Ponchacys*, *Lauteaas*, and *Chumbins*, all which in the Court are about 500. and none of them haue lesse then 200. men depending, the greater part of which are *Mogores*, *Persians*, *Coracons*, *Moens*, *Calaminbans*, *Tartars*, *Cauchins*, and some *Bramaas*; the Naturals being little esteemed as effeminate, and wanting valour, how wittie soeuer in Arts and husbandrie. The women are white, chaste, more giuen to labour then the men.

The earth is fertile, which their ingratitude rather ascribes to the merit of their King, then the prouidence of God. Some Priests also barter with them vpon Bills of exchange to bee re-

payed

payed an hundred for one in Heauen, which Letters they call *Cuchimiocos*. Other Priests are of another Sect, called *Naufolins*, which denye the Soules immortalitie, and therefore teach to take their pleasures in this life. Another Sect is called *Trimécau*, which holds, that a man shall so long lie in his Graue as hee hath liued aboue ground; after which, by the prayers of their Priests, the Soule shall returne into another creature seuen dayes, and then seeke for the old bodie left in the Graue, to carrie it to the Heauen of the Moone, where it shall sleepe many yeeres, till it be conuerted into a Starre, and there remayne fixed for euer. Another beastly Sect, called *Gizom*, holds that Beasts onely shall enioy Heauen, in recompence of their penance and trauels here sustayned, and not Men which follow their lusts, except they leaue to Priests at their death, to pray for them.

Sects in China.
Cuchimiocos.
Naufolins.
Trimécau.

Gizom.

§. V I.

Their remoue to Quansy, quarrels, miseries; Tartarian huge Armie, and losse at the siege of Pequim, reported. Quansy taken, and Nixianco: M E N D E Z his exploit. Their entertaynement by the Tartar King, and going to Cauchinchina with his Embassadors, with many Tartarian obseruations.



After we had two moneths and a halfe gone vp and downe in the Citie of *Pequim*, on Saturday the thirteenth of Ianuary, 1544. they carried vs to *Quansy* to fulfill our Sentence, where we were brought before the *Chaem*, who made vs of his Guard of eightie Halbarders allowed him by the King, which made vs thankfull to God, being a place of litle labour and more maintenance and liberty. But after a moneth, the Deuill sowed strife betwixt two of our companie, which in reasoning about the Families of the *Madureyras*, and the *Fonssecas*, whether were more eminent, grew to heate, thence to brauing words, and after to blowes and wounds, not onely of those two, but by part takings of fise of the rest. The *Chaem* and *Anchacys* sentenced vs to thirtie blowes a man, which made vs more bloudy then our wounds. Then they carried vs to a prison, where we lay in Irons sixe and forty dayes. After which we were brought to the Barre, and receiued other thirty stripes, and removed to another prison, where we stayed two moneths, then removed to certaine Iron-works fise moneths, much pinched in backe and belly, and being diseased with a contagious sicknesse, they sent vs forth to begge, which wee did foure moneths. In this miserie wee sware to each other to liue Christianly and louingly, and that each moneth one should bee chiefe, whom all the rest should obey, whereby wee after liued in peace.

Quansy.

Portugals quarrell.

Paritie a peace-breaker.

Musick for the comfort of the dead.

Vasco Caluo.
See the former note §. 3.

Newes of the Tartarian Armie, and siege of Pequim.

Langame.
** Rhinocerets.*
16000. Barkes.

Christouan Borralho the chiefe for that moneth, distributed vs by couples to take their turnes weekly to begge, two to fetch water, and make ready what we got, two to get wood. I and *Gaspard de Meyrelez* went one morning to the Wood, and *Meyrelez* being Musically played on his Viall, and sung; a thing pleasing to that people, which spend much time in pastime and banquets, and profitable to vs in procuring almes. As wee went, wee met with a Funerall pompe with Musick in the midst: one of which Musicians knowing *Meyrelez*, prayed him to play and sing as loud as he could, that this dead man wee now carrie to buriall may heare thee, to comfort him in leauing his wife and children, whereto he was much affected. Hee modestly refusing, the other angerly answered, and others intreated, and almost forced him to goe with them to the burning Buriall after their custome. I thus left alone, went and got my bundle of wood on my backe. In the way homeward I met in the way an old man, clothed in blacke Damaske furred with white Lambe, who hauing shewed mee a siluer Crosse, told me, that he was a poore *Portugall*, *Vasco Caluo*, which seuen and twentie yeeres since was captiued with *Tomé Pirez*, whom *Lope Soares* had sent Embassador to *China*, which had a miserable successe by reason of a *Portugall* Captaine. Hee brought me to his house, and told me the storie of his and his fellowes adventures, and I ours to him: and at his request I fetched the rest of our companie to his poore house. Hee brought vs to another roome, where his wife was, with her two little sonnes, and two small daughters. Shee entertayned vs louingly, and shewed vs her Closet with an Altar, and a Crosse thereon, secretly kept; shee also and her children said a *Portugall* Prayer, with the *Pater noster*, *Creed*, and *Aue Maria*, to our great ioy.

Eight moneths being spent in this our miserie and beggerie, on Wednesday the thirteenth of Iuly, a great tumult and crie arose amongst the people, by reason of newes of the Tartarian King his coming to *Pequin*, with a greater power then euer any King had in the World; that there were in his Armie 1800000. men, 600000. of which were Horse-men, which had come by Land from *Langame*, and *Famfir*, and *Mecny*, with 80000. Badas* to carrie their prouision. Twelue hundred thousand Foot-men had come in sixteene thousand Laules and Iargas downe the *Batampina*. And because the King of *China* durst not resist so great a power, hee was gone

Nauticor com-
meth to
Quansy.

The Citie ta-
ken.

Nixiamco a
China Castle
assaulted.

The Tartars
losse.

Mendez his
vndertaking.

The Castle
taken.

Lautimey.

to Nanquim. Moreouer it was said that in the Pinall of *Manicataron*, a league and halfe off was lodged one *Nauticor*, a *Tartarian* Captaine with 70000. Horse, who within few houres would bee at that Citie. This newes much terrified vs, and the next morning the Enemie appeared with Colours quartered greene and white in seuen battels, neere to a *Pagode* called *Petilan Naimioo*, a little from the walls. From that *Pagode* they came with sound of Instruments of warre in one grosse Squadron like a halfe Moone, and encircled the Citie: and being within Callier shot, they made a shout as if Heauen and Earth would haue gone together, and scaling it with two thousand Ladders which they brought with them, assaulted it in all places they could very resolutely, and at last brake into the gates by certaine deuices of great Iron Presses, and slue the *Chaem* with many *Mandarines*, putting the Citie to the sword, sacke, and fire; killing, as was thought, 60000. persons, and after stay of seuen dayes there, went for *Pequim*, where their King was.

Two dayes after they were gone, they came to a Castle called *Nixiamcoo*, which he besieged. *Nauticor* called the seuentie Captaines to consultation, and agreed to make ready five hundred Ladders that night for the next dayes assault. The next day their *Palinguindoens* (so they call their Martiall Instruments) sounded, and fourteene battalions marched, and gaue assault with great cries, scaling the walls, and fighting furiously; the besieged also defending themselves courageously, and in two houres killing three thousand *Tartars*, the rest fleeing; many wounded with poisoned Arrowes, whereof they died. A Counsell of Warre was hereupon called, one of them being the man which had vs in custodie; who returning with two Captains of his acquaintance to supper, in their discourse of that misfortune they cast eyes vpon vs there prisoners, and questioned of what Nation we were, and whether our Kings vsed to warre, and whether any of vs knew any Stratagem to get that Castle, promising our freedome if we could effect it. To which we answered accordingly, and *George Mendez* vndertooke the designe against our likings fearing his disabilitie, and our further danger. One of these Captaines told the *Mitiquer* (*Nauticor*) hereof, who sent to *Tileymay* the Captaine which had charge of vs, to bring vs to him. He gaue vs a graue welcome (being now in counsell with the seuentie Coronels, two houres after midnight, and first made vs to eate, hauing taken off part of our Irons; and then made large promises to *George Mendez* if he could doe as he had said; to which he answered, that hee could answer nothing till he saw it, and then he would tell him the way to take it. Wee were removed to a Tent adioyning, and there guarded, full of feare lest this vndertaking would cost our liues, with a People so cruell. The next day *George Mendez* and two others of our companie were carried with a band of Horse-men about the Castle to view it, and then brought to the *Mitiquer*, to whom he professeth great facilitie of effecting his purpose: which so contented him, that he sware by the Rice he eate to present vs to the King, and to fulfill his promises, presently taking off the remainder of our Irons. Hee made vs to eate neere him, and did vs other honour. After which, *George Mendez* as Camp-master appointed store of Chifts, Boxes, and materials to fill vp the ditch, and three hundred large scaling Ladders able to hold each three Souldiers, against the next morning to be made ready two hours before day. All this was happily effected, the ditch filled, and *Mendez* with two others of vs first scaled the wall, and set vp the *Tartars* Colours; five thousand *Tartars* gallantly seconding, so that with a hote skirmish the besieged were all slaine, and the Castle taken; the gates opened to the *Mitiquer*, who with great ceremonies tooke thereof possession. He caused *George Mendez* and the rest of vs to eate neere him, razed the Castle, and taking *Mendez* with him on horse-backe returned to his Tent, giuing him 1000. *Tais*, and each of vs 100. the cause of much emulation in some of our companie, who by his meanes had obtayned libertie. Thence the *Mitiquer* marched by places desolate, to a good Towne by the Riuers side, called *Lautimey*, the people whereof were fled; the Towne these barbarians fired, as they did other places where they came. The next day they burned *Bunxay*, a sowne field of aboue fixe leagues circuit, most Wheat; and came to the Hill *Pommitay*, and the next day to the Riuer *Palemzitan*, within two leagues of the Kings Campe. *Guiay Paran* sonne of the King of *Persia*, at the Castle of *Lautir*, by the Kings appointment stayed for him; to whom *Mitiquer* on his knees deliuered his Scimitar, hauing first kissed the ground five times. Hee welcomed him with honourable termes, and after that, stepping backe two or three paces with a new ceremonie, and with a voyce high and seuer (as he which represented the Kings person) said, *He, whose rich border of his garment my mouth continually kisseth, whose great power ruleth ouer others by Land, and on the Iles of the Sea, sends to tell thee by mee his Slaue, that thy honourable comming is as welcome to his presence as the sweet Summer morning, wherein the bathing of cold water most delights the flesh: and that without delay thou hastenest to heare his voice, mounted on this Horse richly furnished out of his Treasurie with mee, that thou mayest be equall in honour with the principall of his Court, and they which see thee thus honoured may know that thou art a strong member, whose valour deserves this reward.*

Thus with great state and pompe they went to the King: and fifteene dayes after he brought vs to the Tents of the King well horied, then in the sumptuous House of *Nacapiran*. When he came to the Trenches, hee descended from his Litter (wee from our Horfes) and asked leaue of

Nauticor

Nantaran to enter, which granted, he againe went to his Litter, and we followed on foot: at the next passage he descended, and went in leauing vs to expect him. An houre after he returned with foure faire Boyes gallantly arayed in greene and white, with their golden Xorcas on their feet, to whom all the people rose vp, and drawing their Scimitars laid them on the ground, saying three times, *A hundred thousand yeeres lue the Lord of our heads.* Wee lying prostrate with our faces on the ground, one of the Boyes said to vs with a loude voice, *Reioyce yee men of the Worlds end, for the houre of your desire is comne, in which the libertie which the Mitaquer promised you in the Castle of Nixianco, shall bee granted you. Lift up your heads from the ground, and your hands to Heauen, giuing thanks to the Lord which made the Stars.* Wee answered as wee were taught, *Let it bee our fortune that his foot tread on our heads:* the Boy answered, *The Lord grant your request.*

State of the
Tartarian
Campe and
Tent Royall.

These foure Boyes with Mitaquer guided vs on thorow a Gallerie standing on fixe and twentie Pillars of Brasse, from which wee entred a great Hall of timber, in which stood *Mogores, Persians, Berdsos, Calaminbans, and Bramas*: thence wee came to another Hall, called *Tighipan*, where were great store of armed men in fixe files quite thorow the Hall, their Swords garnished with Gold. There Mitaquer performed some ceremonies, swearing on the Maces which the foure Boyes carried, kneeling and kissing the ground three times. Then we passed another gate, and came to a square great Hall like the Cloister of a Monasterie, in which stood foure files of brazen Images like Sauages with Maces and Crownes, seuen and twentie spannes high, and fixe broad, which the Tartars said were the three hundred and sixty Gods which made the dayes of the yeere; which the Tartar King had taken out of a Temple, called *Angicamoy*, in the Citie *Xipatom*, in a Chappell of the Sepulchres of the Kings of *China*, to carrie home in triumph. In this Hill was a Garden of strange herbs and flowers, and therein a Tent vpon twelue turned posts of Camphire wood, in which was a Throne all garnished with much curiositie of Gold and Siluer workes, representing very liuely the Sunne, Moone, Starres, Cloudes. In the midst of the Throne stood a siluer great Statue, called *Abicannilancor*, that is, *God of the health of Kings*, (taken also from *Angicamoy*) about which stood foure and thirtie Idols as big as children about fixe yeeres old, in two rankes set on their knees and hands lifted vp as in veneration. At the entrie of the Tent were foure Boyes gorgeously arayed which went about it with Censers, and at the sound of a Bell prostrated themselves on the ground, and censing, said, *Let our crie come vnto thee as a sweet saour that thou mayest heare vs.* That Tent was guarded by sixtie Halbarders, standing a pretie distance from it round about. Beyond that Hill wee entred another place, where were foure rich roomes, in which were many great persons.

The Guards.

Xipatom.

Curious
Throne.

Thence we followed Mitaquer and the Boyes vnto a great Hall like a Church, where stood fixe Porters with Maces, which with new ceremonie let vs in. Here was the King of Tartars, accompanied with his *Grandes*, among which were the Kings of *Pafua, Mecny, Capimper, Raia Benam*, and the *Anchesacotay*, and other Kings to the number of fourteene, all in rich attire, placed at the foot of the Throne, two or three paces distant; and a little further off stood two and thirtie faire women, playing on diuers Instruments. The King sate on the Throne, encompassed with twelue Boyes on their knees, with small Scepters of gold on their shoulders; amongst which was a faire Damsell which euery anone fanned the King. This was the sister of Mitaquer, who by her meanes enioyed that grace and respect in the Armie. The King was about fortie yeeres old, tall, not fleshy, well set; his beard short with Mostachos like the *Turks*, his eyes somewhat small, his countenance seuer; clothed in a shining reddish vesture set with Pearles; on his feet certaine Slippers greene wrought with Gold and Pearles; and on his head a kind of Sallet with a border of Diamonds and Rubies. Before we came at him by ten or twelue paces, we made our courtesie, three times kissing the ground, with other ceremonies which wee were taught. The King commanded the Musike to cease, and bid Mitaquer aske this Nation of the end of the world, if they haue a King, and how their Land is called, and how farre it is from *China*. One of vs answered for the rest, that our Land was called *Portugall*, our King was great and mightie, and from thence to *Pequin* was about three yeeres Voyage; whereat he much marvelled, as not thinking the World so great; and striking on his thigh said aloud with eyes to Heauen, *O Creator of all things, which of vs poore Pismires on the Earth may be able to comprehend the marvels of thy greatnesse?* And signing with his hand he made vs come neerer to the steps of the Throne where the fourteene Kings were placed, and demanded vs againe, how farre? and when we said, three yeeres; he asked, why we came rather by Sea then by Land? wee answered, that the diuersitie of States and Kings in the way hindred. He asked, What doe you seeke with so farre trauels and great troubles? wee gaue as good reason as we could; whereat he shaking his head, said to the King of *Benam*, an old man, that it seemed that our Countrey had much Couetousnesse, and little Iustice; so, said the other, it appeares; for those men which flie on the top of all waters, by wit and industrie to get that which God hath not giuen them, either pouerty forceth to forsake their Countrey, or vanitie and blindness caused by couetousnesse, makes them forget God and their Fathers. After this, the women began againe to play, and the King retired himselfe into a house alone with his women which played, and the Damsell

The Tartar
King.
His State.

His persons

that fanned. One of the twelve Scepter-boys told *Mitaquer* from his Sister, that the King commanded hee should not goe away, which he tooke for a great grace, and wee returned to our Tents.

Tartars losse.
Consultation.
Fortie and three dayes after we came to the Campe Royall (in which space were many fights betwixt the besiegers and besieged, two assaults by scaling with the *Tartars* losse) the *Tartarian* called a Councell, where were assembled seven and twentie Kings, and many great men and Captaines, which agreed that seeing Winter was now comming, and the waters of both Rivers had risen and filled the Trenches, and many were sicke (four or five thousand dying daily) that it was best to raise the siege. The King therefore embarked the Foot-men with the munitions, fired the Tents, and went away with 300000. Horse by land, and 20000. *Badas*, 450000. men being found by accounts, to have dyed in this expedition, most of sickness, 300000. Horses and 60000. *Badas*, for want of provisions the two last moneths and a halfe of this Siege (which endured sixe moneths and a halfe.) Besides, 300000. had runne to the *Chinois*, wonne by their great pay. Hee lodged the first night of his departure at a River called *Quaytragum*; the next day he came to *Guizampee*, which hee found wholly forsaken; thence to *Liampen*, and after seenteene dayes (eight leagues a day) he came to *Guauxitum*, and forced it, committing therein cruell slaughters, to provide his Armie of necessities by the spoyle thereof. The next day hee came to *Caixilo*, which he medled not with being great and strong, having therein 50000. men, of which 10000. were *Mogores*, *Cauchims*, and *Champaas*, better Souldiers then the *Chinois*. Thence hee passed to the walls of *Singrachiron*, and the next day to *Xipator*, and then sent away 20000. most of his Souldiers, spending seven dayes in the pay, and execution of Iustice on Prisoners. Thence discontent, hee went to *Langame* by water, (with onely one hundred and twentie Laules, in which were some ten or twelve thousand men) where sixe dayes after hee arrived in the night without any pompe.

Langame.
There he stayed sixe and twentie dayes, till all his companie were come both of horse and foot, after which hee went to a greater Citie called *Tuymican*, where he was personally visited by confining Princes and Ambassadors from remoter Kings, *Xatamas* of *Persia*, *Siammom* Emperour of the *Gueos*, which within the Countrey confine with *Brama* of *Tangu*, the *Calaminhan* Lord of the brute force of Elephants, the *Sornau* of *Odias*, (intituled King of *Siam*) whose Segniorie comprehendeth seven hundred leagues of coast, from *Tanaucarim* to *Champaa*, containing seven-teen Kingdomes; the King of the *Mogores* whose Kingdome lyes within land, betwixt *Corazan* neere *Persia*, and the Kingdome of *Dely* and *Chitor*, and an Emperour called *Caran*, whose Segniorie confineth within the Mountaines of *Gencalidan*, with a Nation which the Naturals call *Moscooby*, of whom wee saw some in this Citie, ruddie, of bigge stature, with shooes, and furred cloathes, having some latine words, but seeming rather for ought wee observed *Idolaters* then *Christians*, and much given to vnnaturall lust. To the Ambassadors of that Prince *Caran*, better entertainment was given then to all the rest. Hee brought with him one hundred and twentie men of his guard, with Arrowes and gilded quiuers, all cloathed in *Shamois* skinnies, murrie and greene; and twelve Porters on horsebacke with Maces of Silver, leading twelve Horses in their right hands with rich embroidered Furnitures. After whom followed twelve men of high and Giant-like stature, cloathed Sauage-like in Tygers skinnies, leading great Grey-hounds in chaynes and collers of Silver, muzled. Then came twelve Boyes, faire and well proportioned of equall stature in gallant array, & next them *Leixigan* the Ambassador himselfe, in a Chariot (they call it a *Pirange*) with three wheelles on a side, garnished with Silver and a Chayre of the same, attended with fortie Foot-men in murrie and greene, yeelding a goodly sight, all things manifesting the greatnesse of his Lord. Wee were one day in his lodging with *Mitaquer*, who was sent to visit him, where amongst other strange things, we saw five roomes hanged with Tapestry of Frogges very rich, like that vsed amongst vs, as if they had come from one place; the Canopies, Silver-tables, Furniture and State, all rich. This Ambassador came not only to welcome home the *Tartar*, but to treat also of a Marriage for his Lord, with one of the *Tartars* Sisters, named *Meica Vidau*, a woman of thirtie yeeres, very charitable to the poore, whom wee haue often seene in their Festiuall dayes.

Caran.
A Marriage treated on betwixt the Caran and Tartar.
They depart from *Tartaria*.
Mitaquer at our request mentioned vs to the King, who sayd, he would send vs with his Ambassador shortly to *Cauchenchina*; and caused vs to be brought againe to his presence with great ceremonie of State and Maiestie as before at *Pequim*, where hee questioned vs, if we would serue him, which we excused saying, we had Wiues and Children in our owne Countrey; and asking *George Mendez*, hee accepted. Eight of vs were commended to the Ambassador which was to goe to *Vzanguce* in *Cauchenchina*, & we went in the same Barke. We set forth from *Tuymican* the ninth of May, and came to a Schoole or Vniuersitie called *Guatipamor*, where wee lodged in a Temple (or Monasterie) called *Naypatim*. Next morning wee followed our voyage downe the River, and two houres within night came to *Puxanguim*, a small Citie, well fortified with Towers and Bulwarks after our fashion, with store of Artillerie of wood, like the Pumps of ships, the stocks where the Barrells were fastned being plated with Iron, and carrying a bullet as bigge as a Falcon: which inuention they say, they receiued of a people called *Alimanis*, of a land named

Vzanguce.

An Vniuersitie.

Puxanguim.

Guns of wood.

named *Muscoo*, which by a great and deepe lake of salt water, came thither with nine Barkes of oares, in companie of a Lady, which was sayd to bee exiled out of her Countrey by a King of *Denmarke*. The next day wee came to *Linxan*, and five dayes after we continuing our course downe the Riuer, came to *Singafatur*, a huge Temple, more then a league in compasse; in which space were built one hundred and sixtie foure large and long houses full of Skuls, the other bones lying without in great piles. On a Hill compassed with nine grates of Iron, was standing against a strong stone wall, a monstrous statue of Iron thirtie braces high, and six broad, in both his hands holding a bullet sixe and thirtie spannes about, of cast Iron also. (This to wound the Serpent which came to robbe them) himselfe being hee which should one day restore the flesh to their owne bones, if they gaue Almes, otherwise to the most vnable and putrid: his name *Pachinaran Dubeculem Pinanfaque*, who 74000. yeeres agoe, was borne of a *Tortoyse* named *Migania*, and of a *Sea-horse* one hundred and thirtie braces long, named *Tibremoncan*. The Ambassadors told vs, that of his Confraternities, there arose to him of annuall rents about 200000. Tacis, and as much more of the Sepulchers of the Nobles, which were by themselves; that there belonged to him twelue thousand Priests preying on him, and praying for the dead, who might not without their Superiours licence depart out of that Circuit. These Priests once a yeare may defile themselves in fornication within that Circuit; without, as oft as they will, without sinne, the *Chisangues* permitting egress. There are many women also enclosed, who by their *Libangus* or *Prioresse* leaue, permit themselves to those Priests.

Linxan.
Singafatur
Temple and
superstitions.

The second day after, wee came to a great Citie on the Riuer side called *Quanginan*, where the Ambassadors stayed three dayes for prouision, and by reason of a Feast at the entrance of *Talapicor* of *Lechune*, who is there as a Pope: who had priuiledged these inhabitants to be all Priests, authoris'd to Sacrifice and giue Bills of exchange for money to bee repayed in Heauen. He gaue the Ambassadors grace to legitimate in his Countrey for money, and to giue tytles of Honour; which hee recompenced, giuing to the Priests all that he could make, and two thousand Tacis the King had giuen vs, for which he gaue vs fiftene in the hundred. Foure dayes wee passed downe the Riuer to *Lechune*, the mother Citie of that false Religion of *Gentilitie*, as *Rome* is with vs, wherein is a sumptuous Temple, in which are seuen and twentie *Tartar* Emperours buried in rich Chappels lyned with Siluer, hauing abundance of siluer Idols. On the North-side a little from the Temple, was a notable strong great wall, within which were built two hundred and eightie Monasteries, of men and women; in which were sayd to bee two and fortie thousand religious professed, besides seruitours. In those Houses are many Brazen pillars with Idols of their Saints thereon, so much more gilded as esteemed. In one of them was the Kings Sister a widow, which had bene wife of *Raia Benan*, Prince of *Pafua*, after whose death shee entred Religion with sixe thousand women. The Ambassadors visited her, and kissed her foot as a Saint.

Monkes and
Nuns, chaste
in the Devils
name.

Quanginan.
A Gentle Pope

Lechune.

Idols.

Monasteries.

Departing thence downe the Riuer five dayes, wee came to a great Citie called *Rendacalem*, in the confines of *Tartaria*. And thence forwasds began the Segniorie of *Xinaleygrau*, thorow which wee trauelled foure dayes, and then came to a Towne called *Voulem*, where the Ambassadors were well receiued, and prouided of Pylots for those Riuers; which wee descended seuen dayes without seeing any thing of note, and then came to a straight called *Quatanur*, into which the Pylots entred to escape a Pyrat, which had spoyle the most part of the Countrey. Thus wee came to the Lake *Singapamor*, called by the Naturals *Cunebetee*, and sayd to containe sixe and thirtie leagues in Circuit. Foure Riuers runne thence, *Ventram* Eastward thorow *Siam*, entering the Sea by the barre of *Chiatabu*, in twentie sixe degrees; *Iangumaa* Southwards by the *Laos* and *Gueos*, and part of *Dabambu* enter the Sea at *Martuan*, in the Kingdome of *Pegu*; *Pumfieu* runnes thorow all *Capimper* and *Sacotay*, and all the Empire of *Monginoco*, with part of *Meleytay* and *Sonady*, and so to the barre of *Cosmin*, neere *Arracan*. Of the fourth Riuer the Ambassadors could giue vs no instructions, but some thought it to bee *Ganges*. In seuen dayes more, wee came to a place called *Caleypute*, where they threw stones at vs, and would not suffer vs to land. Thence we sayled by another larger Riuer nine dayes, and came to *Tarem* a good Towne, subiect to the *Cauchim*, where we were well receiued: and in seuen dayes more came to a good Citie called *Xolor*. There were Siluer mines, in which one thousand men were at worke, whence they sayd was yeerely taken sixe thousand Pikes, which makes eight thousand Quintals of ours. Thence wee went other five dayes by that great Riuer, the Countrey being well peopled, and came to the Citie *Manaquileu* at the foot of the Hills *Comhay* in the borders of *China*, and *Cauchim*; thence to *Tinamquaxy*. Thence they sent their foure Barkes to *Huzamguet*, the chiefe Citie of *Cauchim*, and went by Land to *Panangrem*, where the King was.

Rendacalem.
Xinaleygrau.

Singapamor
Lake, or *Cune-*
bete.
Ventram.
Chiatabu.
Iangumaa.
Pumfieu.

Caleypute.
Tarem.

Xolor.

Comhay.
Huzamguet.

Their entertainment there and iourney thence to Japan, I omit, with their following long Pilgrimage in that Easterne world; wherein I am afraid to wander in places and affaires so vnconth. We are alreadie of things so strange, and therefore uncertaine, I will passe to other Authors; and first to the Philippina's and Spanish Commerce of China. The Voyage of Legaspi, is taken out of a Latine Manuscript, the rest out of Mendoza, his Spanish discourse of China, and certayne Friars which went thither; the two Letters except, borrowed of an Italian Author.

CHAP. III.

Spanish plantation of the Philippinas, and what entercourse hath thence hapned betwixt them and the Chinois.

§. I.

First discoverie of the Philippinas: written by Frier IVAN

GONZALES DE MENDOSA.

Magelane
straights.**M**

Agalanes, was the first that discovered these Ilands, having passed the straight (which vnto this day beareth the tytle of his name) and came vnto the Iland of *Zubu*, whereas they did Baptise certaine of the Inhabitants, and afterwards in a banquet, the same Ilanders did kill him, and other fortie of his companions, which was the occasion that *Sebastian de Guetaria*, a naturall *Biskin* borne, for to escape with his life, did put himselfe in a ship that remayned of the voyage (which afterwards was named the *Vittorie*) and in her, and with a few people that helped him, with the fauour of God hee came vnto *Sinill*, having compassed the whole world, from the O-
rient vnto the Ponent, a thing which caused vnto all men great admiration, but in particular vnto the Emperour *Charles* the fift of famous memorie, who after he had giuen many gifts and fauours vnto the sayd *Sebastian de Guetaria*, he gaue order that a new Armie should bee made readie, and to returne againe in demand of the sayd Ilands, and to discover that new world.

The second
Voyage.

Villa Lobos.

So when all things were in a readinesse, for to depart on their Voyage (the which was done with great breuitie) they ordayned for Generall of all that fleete, one *Villa Lobos*, commanding him to goe by the *Nuona Espania*, The *Villa Lobos*, arriued at the Ilands of *Malucas*, and at those of *Terrenate*, and at other Ilands joyning vnto them, the which Ilands were layd to gage by the aforesayd Emperour vnto the Crowne of *Portugall*. In these Ilands they had great warres by meanes of the *Portugals*, and seeing themselves with little helpe and small resistance, for to goe forwards with their conquest, they left it off, and went to the most part of them with the aforesayd *Portugals*, vnto the *India* of *Portugall*, from whence afterwards, they sent them as prisoners vnto the sayd King of *Portugall*, as offenders, that had entred his Ilands without his licence: who did not onely leaue to doe them any harme, but did intreate them very well, and sent them vnto their owne Countrey of *Spaine*, and gaue them all things necessarie for their iourney, and that in abundance.

Then certaine yeeres after, *Don Philip* King of *Spaine*, being very willing that the discovering should goe forwards, which the Emperour his father had so earnestly procured, sent and commanded *Don Luys de Velasco*, who was his Vice-roy of the *Nuona Espania*, that hee would ordayne an armie, and people for to returne and discover the sayd Ilands, and to send in the sayd fleete for *Gouernour*, of all that should bee discovered. *Miguel Lopez de Legaspi*, who did accomplish all that his Maiestie had commanded, and made the discoverie thereof as followeth, to bee declared.

When the *Spaniards* came vnto them, they were without Lord or head, or any other to whom they should shew dutie, but hee which had most power and people, did most command: so that this (and that there were so many of equall power) was the occasion that ciuill warres continued, without any respect of nature, kindred, or any other dutie, but like vnto brute Beasts, killing, spoyling, and captiuing one another, the which was a great helpe vnto the *Spaniards*, for to subiect that Country with so great ease vnto the King, and called them the Ilands *Philippinas*, in respect of his name. They did vie amongst them, to make Captiues and Slaues, such as they did take in vnlawfull warres, and for trifling matters, the which God did remedie, by the going thither of the *Spaniards*: for you should haue a man with fortie or fiftie friends in his companie, or seruants, that vpon a sodaine, would goe and set vpon a small Village of poore people and vnprovided, and take and binde them all, and carrie them away for Slaues, without any occasion or reason, and make them to serue them all the dayes of their life, or else sell them to other Ilands. And if it so chanced, that one did lend vnto another, a basket or two of Rice (the which might bee worth a Ryall of plate) with condition, to returne it againe within ten dayes: if the debtor did not pay it the same day, the next day following hee should pay it double, and afterward to double it euery day, so long as he did keepe it, which in conclusion, would grow to bee so great, that to pay the same, hee is forced to yeeld himselfe for Captiue and Slaue.

But vnto all such as were captiued in this order, or in such like, the King of *Spaine* hath commanded to giue libertie, yet this iust commandement is not in euery point fulfilled and accomplished, because such as should execute the same, haue interest therein. All these Ilands were *Gentiles* and *Idolaters*, but now there is amongst them many thousands Baptised, vnto whom the

King

King hath shewed great mercie; in sending vnto them the remedie for their soules in so good time: for if the *Spaniards* had stayed any more yeares, they had bene all *Moors* at this day; for that there were come vnto the Iland of *Borneo*, some of that Sect that did teach them, and lacked little, for to worship that false Prophet *Mahomet*, whose false, peruerse and corrupt memory, was with the Gospel of Christ easily rooted out.

In all these Ilands they did worship the Sunne and Moone, and other second causes, figures of men and women, which are called in their Language *Maganitos*, at whose Feasts (which they doe make very sumptuous, with great Ceremonies and Superstition) they doe call *Magadurais*. But amongst them all, they haue in most veneration an Idoll, whom they called *Batala*, the which reuerence they had for a Tradition, yet can they not say what should be the occasion that he should deserue more then any of the rest, to be had in so great estimation. In certayne Ilands not farre off, called the *Illocos*, they did worship the Deuill, and made vnto him many Sacrifices, in recompence of a great quantitie of Gold he had giuen vnto them, but now by the goodnesse of God, and the great diligence put and done by the Fathers of the Order of Saint *Austin* (who were the first that passed into those parts, and liued worthily) and also by the Friers of Saint *Francis*, which went thither ten yeares after, all these Ilands or the most part of them are baptized, and vnder the Ensigne of Iesus Christ: and the rest which doe remayne and are not, is more for lacke of Ministers and Preachers, then for any obstinacie of their parts. There is now gone thither certayne Fathers of the Order called Iesuits, who will be a helpe vnto them with their accustomed zeale and labour. And now goeth thither many other Religious men, very well learned and Apostolike, of the Order of Saint *Dominicke*, who will doe their endeouour to conuert them vnto Christ, as it behooueth Christians to doe.

They of these Ilands were accustomed to celebrate their Feasts aforesaid, and to make Sacrifices vnto their Idols, by the order of certayne women which were *Witches*, whom they doe call in their Language *Helgoi*, that were had in as great estimation amongst them, as be the Priests amongst *Christians*. These did talke ordinarily with the Deuill, and many times in publike, and doe Deuillish Witch-crafts both in wordes and deedes: into whom it is to bee beleued that that the Deuill did enter, for that straight-ways they did answer vnto all things that were demanded of them, although for the most part they would tell a Lye, or else such words that might be giuen diuers interpretations of, and of diuers vnderstandings. They did also vse to cast Lots, they were great *Agorismers*, or obseruers of times: in so much that if they beginne any Journey, and at the beginning they meete with a *Cayman* or Lizard, or any other sauage Worme, they know it to be a signe of euill fortune, whereupon they would straight-ways leaue off their Journey, although it did import them very much, and returne vnto their Houses, saying, that the Heauen will not that they should goe forward on that Journey: but all these Lyes and falleneffe haue bene taught them, and they perswaded to by the Deuill, are ouerthrowne and taken away by the Law of the Gospel (as aforesaid) and haue now amongst them many Monasteries full of Religious men, of the Order of Saint *Austine*, Saint *Francis*, and of Iesuits. According vnto the common opinion, at this day there is conuerted and baptized more then foure hundred thousand soules, which is a great number: yet in respect of the quantitie that are not as yet conuerted, there are but a few. It is left vndone (as aforesaid) for want of Ministers, for that, although his Majestie doth ordinarily send thither, without any respect of the great charge in doing the same, yet by reason that there are so many Iland, and euery day they doe discouer more and more, and being so farre off, they cannot come vnto them all, as necessitie requireth. Such as are baptized doe receiue the faith with great firmenesse, and are good *Christians*, and would be better, if that they were holpen with good ensamples: as those which haue bene there so long time are bound to doe: that the lacke thereof doth cause some of the Inhabitants so much to abhorre them, that they would not see them once painted vpon a wall. For prooffe whereof (and for to moue such as haue power and authoritie to put remedie in the same, I will declare vnto you here a strange case, the which royally did passe of a truth in one of these Ilands, and is very well knowne amongst them: that is, there chanced to dye an Ilander, a principall man amongst them: a few dayes after that he was baptized, beeing very contrite for his sinnes, the which he had done against God before he was baptized, and after hee dyed. So after by the Diuine permission of God he appeared vnto many of that Iland whom hee did perswade forthwith to receiue the Baptisme, with reasons of great efficacie, and declared vnto them (as one that had experienced the same) the reward of that good deed which without all doubt should be giuen vnto them, if they would receiue the same, and liue after conformable, and according vnto the Commandements of Christ, for the which he told them, and said, that forth-with so soone as he was dead, he was carried by the Angels into glory, there whereas all things were of delight, pleasure, and content, and did communicate onely in the sight of God, and that there was none that entred therein, neither could enter, except he were baptized, according vnto the preaching of the *Spaniards*, of whom and of others that were like vnto them, there was an infinite number. Therefore, if so be that they would goe and enjoy of those benefits and delights, it is necessary that first they should be baptized, and afterwards to obserue and keepe the Com-

The Deuill was worshipped.

Witches.

Spaniards shared in the Philippinas.

Spanish report of a Vision.

man.

The Indians
would not goe
into Heauen
because there
were Spanishe
Souldiers.

Ciuit.
Honey.
Cinamon.
Linseed Oyle.

mandements that be preached vnto them by the Fathers, that are amongst the *Castillas*, and therewith he vanished away, and they remayned treating amongst themselues, concerning that which they had heard, and was the occasion that some of them forth-with receiued the Baptisme, and that others did delay it, saying, that because there were *Spaniard* Souldiers in glorie, they would not goe thither, because they would not be in their company. All this hurt is done by one peruerse or impious man, and with one euill ensample, the which amongst many good, as you haue in those parts: but especiall amongst them in particular, it ought to bee reprehended and punished seuerely with rigour.

These Ilands at the first discovery of them, had the fame to be *Mal Sanos*, or vnwholesome, but since experience hath shewed and proued it to the contrary: It is a Countrey maruellous fertill, and yeeldeth very much Rice, Wheate, Goates, Hennes, Deere, Buffes, Kine, and great store of Hogges, whose flesh is so sauourie as the Mutton they haue in *Spaine*: there be also many Cats that yeeld Ciuet, great store of fruits which be very good and sauourie: great abundance of Honey, and Fish, and all sold at so small a price, that almost it is sold for nothing. Also there is great store of Cinamom, but no Oyle of Oliues, but that which is carried thither out of the *Nuoma* *Espania*: they haue much Oyle of *Algongols*, and of Flaxe-seed, the which they doe spend ordinarily in that Countrey, so that the Oyle of Oliues is not missed with them.

There is great store of Cloues, Saffron, Pepper, Nutmegs, and many other Drugges: great store of Cotton and Silke of all colours, the which is brought vnto them by Merchants of *China*, euery yeare a great quantitie, from whence cometh more then twentie ships laden with peeces of Silkes of all colours, and with Earthen Vessell, Powder, Salt-peter, Iron, Steele, and much Quick-siluer, Brasse, Copper, Wheate, Flowre, Walnuts, Bisket, Dates, Linnen Cloth, Counting Chests very gallantly wrought, Calls of Net-worke, *Buratos*, *Espumillas*, Basons and Ewres, made of Tinne, Parchment Lace, Silke Fringe, and also of Gold, the which is spunne and twisted after a fashion neuer seene in all Christendome, and many other things of great curiositie, and all this aforesaid is sold very good cheape. Likewise such things as the Ilands doe yeeld, are sold very good cheape, for you shall haue foure Roues of Wine, which cometh of the *Palmetree* for foure Rials of Plate (the which for lacke of that made of Grapes is very good) twelue Haneges of Rice for eight Rials of Plate, three Hens for one Riall, a whole Hogge for eightene Rials, a whole Buffe for foure Rials, a Deere for two Rials, and yet it must bee both great and good, foure Roues of Sugar for fixe Rials, and the like.

Q. II.

First Plantation of the Philippinas, by MICHAEL LOPEZ DE LEGASPI.

* This I translated out of a Manuscript Latine which I found with M. Hak. Natiuity Port. *Islas de los Reyes*

Islas Ladrones.

The Philippinas called also the Ilands of the Poncat or West. *Baia de Sibabas.*

Michael * Lopez de Legaspe, Generall of the *Spanishe* Armada, on Tuesday the one and twentieth of Nouember, Anno Dom. 1565. set forth of the Hauen of Natiuitie in New *Spaine*, and sayled betwixt the South and the West, and after West-ward, till he came in nine degrees; in that height seeking the Ilands *de los Reyes*, thence to make for the *Philippinas*. After eight dayes, the ship called *Saint Luke* was missing, the Captayne whereof was *Alfonso de Arellano*, suspected to haue maliciously with-drawne himselfe. The Fleet continuing their course in nine and ten degrees, after fiftie dayes had sight of an Iland of Fishermen and many other small Ilands not inhabited, which they passed by. It was agreed that they should heighthen their course to thirteene degrees, in which way they came on Monday the seuenteenth of Ianuary, 1566. to one of the Ilands of Theeues, called *Goean*, and sayling toward it, fixe miles off, fiftie or sixtie *Paraos* swift sayling Barkes with eight or ten men quite naked met them and inuited them to their Habitations, where at night they anchored. The next morning, fixe hundred of their *Paraos* came about them with victuals to sell, Rice, Honey, Sugar-canes, Plantans, Fruits of diuers kinds, and Ginger whereof there groweth great store naturally. Their principall desire in barter was Iron Nails, giuing a large sacke of Rice for a Naile; their sackes deceitfully filled with grauell and chaffe, with Rice in the top. These people are well proportioned and strong. They fought with the *Spaniards* which were watering, and in the time of fight would be trucking with the ships, as senselesse of their danger. A Mariner which stayd behind was slaine, whose death they reuenged with many of the Sauages slaine in the night, one of them being taken and sent into New *Spaine*. Their name fits their Theeuish disposition.

Eleuen dayes after the fleet renewed their Voyage, and course in thirteene degrees eleuen dayes longer, and then had sight of the *Philippinas*, hauing sailed from the Port of Natiuitie, eight thousand miles. They anchored in a faire Bay called *Baia de Sibabas*, and there rode seuen dayes; whiles two Boats went to discouer, one to the North, the other Southward..

A Gentleman of one of them was slaine by an *Indian*, rashly leaping on shoare. These *Indians* haue Iron Launces, with a head or tongue a handfull and halfe long. They haue also shields, Bowes and Arrowes. In making peace each man takes two or three drops of bloud of his arme or brest and mixe both in some Vessell together, which is drunke with Wine and Water. Many *Paraos* came to the *Spaniards* with a white flag in the Prow, in token of peace, and the Admiral erected the like in her Poope to signifie their leaue to enter. These *Indians* are clothed, but bare-foot. The *Spaniards* demanded prouision, which the other promised, but gaue only to the Captayne a sucking Pigge and an Egge. These people are very timorous, perfidious, and therefore suspicious. The Ilands beare Hogges, Goats, Hennes, Rice, Millet, Potatoes, Pome-citrons, Frisoles, Cocos, Plantans, and many sorts of Fruits. They weare Bracelets, and Earrings, and Gold Chaines, and whithersoeuer the Fleet went, was shew of Gold in the Land, whereof they digge but for necessary vses: the Land is their Money bagge.

The Fleet departed hence, and two dayes after came to the Port of the Ile *Tandoia*, where a small Riuer enters; vp which they went in Boats, and came to a Towne called *Camungo*. There they were well entertayned, and had victuals set them: which whiles they were eating, an *Indian* spake some *Spanish* words, and asked for *Antonie Baptista Villalobos*, and Captaine *Cabeça de Vaca*: for which the Lord of the place was angrie with him, and hee appeared no more. The next day the *Spaniards* returning found them armed, threatening them if they came on shoare. They minding not to deale cruelly, *Martin de Goyre* was sent to discouer some conuenient harbour, who saw the Citie *Tandaya*, and other Townes of other neere Ilands, and hauing gone fixtie miles found the great Bay where was *Cabalia* a Towne well inhabited. Thither went the Fleet, and the Inhabitants fled. Onely *Camatuan* the sonne of *Malataque* a blind man, chiefe of that place, came to them, whom they detayned thinking thereby to get some prouision; but in vaine. He sent forth Souldiers which brought him fise and fortie Hogs, leauing in lieu somewhat for exchange, and dismissing *Camatuan*, who had taught the Captaine the names of the neighbouring Iles and of their Gouvernours. Hee brought them to *Mesagua* two and thirtie miles off, and then was sent away appalled and ioyfull. The Iland *Mesagua* hath beene frequent, but then had but twentie Inhabitants, which would not see the *Spaniards*. They went to another Iland where the people were fled with their goods. Then went they to *Butuan* which is subiect to the Ile *Vindena* or the Ilands *Corrientes*. The winde draue them to *Bohol*, where they anchored. The next day they saw a Iunke and sent a Boat to it, which wounded some of their men. They had Arrowes and Lances and a Bafe, and two brasse Peeeces. They cryed to the *Spaniards* *abordo, abordo*. The *Spaniards* sent out another Boat better fitted, which tooke eight, the rest were slaine or fled, hauing fought valiantly. In the Iunke they found white sheets painted, Silke, Almayzaree, Callicos, Iron, Tin, Brasse, and some Gold. The Iunke was of *Borneo*, and so were these *Moore*s. All was restored (their intent being to get friends, and the *Burneois* satisfied).

The Captaine sent the *Saint Iohn* to discouer the Coast of *Butuan*, and learne where the Cinamon was gathered, and to find some good Port in fit place to build. The *Burneois* told the Captaine the cause of the *Indians* flight, that about two yeeres before some *Portugals* bearing themselves for *Spaniards*, had comne thither from the *Molucas*, and hauing made peace with them, set on them and slue about a thousand *Indians*, the cause of that depopulation. This the *Portugals* did to make the *Spaniards* odious, that if they came thither, they might not be admitted. The Captaine sent a well furnished ship to search the Coast, which came to a place where the *Borneo* Gouvernour said he had friends; and leaping on shoare hee was slaine of the *Indians*. The *Saint Iohn* returned from *Butuan*, which said, they had seene the King, and two Iunkes of *Moore*s in the Riuer at anker, and that the Iland was great and rich, and exchanged with them fine Gold for Testons, one for six in equall weight. They bought Wax of the *Moore*s but had Earth inclosed in the Cakes; they also incensed the *Indians* against the *Castilians*, which would haue made purchase of them, but were forbidden by the King. They said, they had there seene Wax, Cinamon, Gold, and other precious things.

On Easter Euen the other ship returned to their great ioy, which had thought her lost, hauing staid twentie dayes longer then her limited time. They had sailed about the Iland *Isla* the space of six hundred miles: and in their returne came to *Subo* a well peopled Iland, and plentifull of all things. The Captaine determined to goe thither to buy prouision, or else to force them. For *Magelane* had beene there; and the King, and most of the Inhabitants were baptised; and acknowledged the Catholike King; *Magelane* also dying in their defence; and thirtie other Souldiers in *Maran*. They also had broken league and slaine some of *Magelane* Souldiers. On Friday April twentie seuen, the Fleet arrived at the Port of *Subo*, and one came from King *Tapas* to them, saying, that Hee with ten chiefe men would come to them. The Captaine expected them a whole day and the next, in which space the Ilanders hid their goods in the Woods. The third day the Captaine sent his brother *Andrew* and the Camp-master, to admonish the King in the *Malayan* tongue, to receiue them, as Vassals of the *Spanish* King. Which not succeeding, hee resolved to vse force. The *Indians* out of other Ilands had assembled together to the number of

two

Tandoia.

Camungo.

Tandaya.

Mesagua.

Bohol.

Wicked policy, an *Indian* pestilence which since hath infected others.

*Moore*s call it *Subo*.

Isla.

Subo.

See tom. i. l. 44 c. 2.

two thousand, which prouoked our men, but at the report of the Ordnance ran away, and the Spaniards won the Towne. Many signes of Gold and Gemmes appeared in the Iland. And being situate so neere to the richest Regions, the Gouvernour hopeth accesse thereby to the increase and glorie of the Spanish Crowne, if Spanish Colonies be there planted. The Captaine from the Citie of *Subo* sent the Admirall ship with his brother *Andrew de Vrdanera*, to certifie the *L. Lewys de Velasco*, the sonne of the Vice-roy, what had beene done,

This which followeth is taken out of *Fray Iuan Gonzales de Mendoza* his Spanish Relation of *China*, & is here much abbreviated. *Manilla*.

Miguel Lopez de Legaspi, Generall of the Fleet, and Gouvernour of the Countrey which they should discouer, dyed in the said Ilands with the Title of *Adelantado*, hauing first peopled some of them to the vse of His Maestie, especially that of *Manilla*, which is fise hundred leagues in circuit; in which is seated the Citie of *Luson* (called also *Manilla*) as the Metropolitan of all the Iland, where the Gouvernours haue settled their residence euer since the first discouerie. They haue there founded a Cathedrall Church, and Friar *Dom. Domingo de Salachar* was consecrated the first Bishop thereof in *Madrid*, 1579. At this present there be three Monasteries of Religious men in that Iland, the one of the Order of Saint *Austine*, and were the first that by the Commandement of his Maestie did enter into this Ilands, preaching the Law of the Gospell, which was great profit vnto their soules, yet great trauell vnto them, & cost many of them their liues in doing it: the other Monasterie is of barefoot Friers of the Order of *S. Francis* of the Province of *S. Ioseph*, who haue bin great Examples, with great profit vnto them of those Parts. The third are of the Order of *S. Dominicke*, or Preachers, who haue done their dutie in all things so well as the other. These three Orders were alone in those Ilands for certayne yeares, till now of late time haue gone thither Iesuits, which haue bin a great ayde and helpe vnto their Religion.

When these Spaniards were come vnto these Ilands, they had straight-ways notice of the mightie Kingdome of *China*, as well by the relation of them of the Ilands (who told vnto them the maruels thereof) as also within a few dayes after, they did see and vnderstand, by ships that came into those Ports with Merchants, that brought Merchandize and other things of great curiositie from that Kingdome, and did particularly declare the mightinesse and riches thereof. This being knowne vnto the Religious people of Saint *Austin*, who at that time were alone in those Ilands: but in especiall vnto the Prouinciall, Friar *Martin de Herrada*, seeing the great capacitee or towardnesse which the *Chinois* had more then those of the Ilands in all things, but in especiall in their gallantnesse, discretion and wit: hee straight-ways had a great desire to goe thither with his fellow to preach the Gospell vnto those people, of so good a capacitee to receiue the same: who with a pretended purpose to put it in vre and effect, he began with great care and studie to learne that Language, the which he learned in few dayes: and did make thereof a Dictionary. Then afterwards they did giue great entertaynement and Presents vnto the Merchants that came from *China* for to procure them to carrie them thither, and many other things, the which did shew their holy zeale: yea, they did offer themselues to bee slaues vnto the Merchants, thinking by that meanes to enter in to preach: but yet none of these diligences did take effect, till such time as the Diuine Maestie did discouer a better way, as shall bee declared vnto you in this Chapter following.

CH. III.

of *LIMAHON* a China Robber and Rouer, by whose occasion the Spaniards sent into China.



He Spaniards did enjoy their neere habitation of *Manilla* in great quietnesse & in obedience vnto the Christian King *Don Philip*, and in continuall Traffick with the *Chinois*. But being in this securitie and quietnesse, vnlooked for, they were beset with a mightie and great Armada or Fleet of ships, by the Rouer *Limahon*, of whose vocation there are continually on the Coast, the one by reason that the Countrey is full of people, whereas of necessitie must be many idle persons: and the other and principall occasion, by reason of the great tyrannie that the Gouvernours doe vse vnto the Subjects. This *Limahon* came vpon them with intent to doe them harme as you shall vnderstand. This Rouer was borne in the Citie of *Trucheo*, in the Prouince of *Cuytan*, which the Portugals doe call *Catim*. He was of meane Parentage, and brought vp in his youth in libertie and vice, he was by nature Warlike and euill inclined. He would learne no Occupation, but was ginen to rob in the high-ways, and became so expert that many came vnto him and followed that Trade. Hee made himselfe Captaine ouer them which were more then two thousand, and were so strong that they were feared in all that Prouince where as they were. This being knowne vnto the King and to his Councell, they did straight way command the Vice-roy of the Prouince whereas the Rouer was, that with all the haste possible he should gather together all the Garrisons of his Frontiers, to apprehend and take him, and if it were possible to carry him alieue vnto the Citie of *Taybin*, if not his

head.

Limahon a Chinese Rouer.

Where *Limahon* was borne.

head. The Vice-roy incontinent did gather together people necessary, and in great haste to follow him.

The which being knowne vnto *Limahon* the Rouer, who saw, that with the people hee had, he was not able to make resistance against so great a number as they were, and the eminent danger that was therein, hee called together his Companies, and went from thence vnto a Port of the Sea, that was a few leagues from that place: and did it so quickly and in such secret, that before the people that dwelt therein, could make any defence (for that they were not accustomed to any such assaults, but liued in great quietnesse) they were Lords of the Port, and of all such ships as were there: into the which they imbarcked themselves straight-ways, weighed Anchor and departed to the Sea, whereas they thought to be in more securitie then on the Land (as it was true.) Then he seeing himselfe Lord of all those Seas, beganne to rob and spoyle all ships that hee could take, as well strangers as of the naturall people: by which meanes in a small time he was prouided of Mariners, and other things which before hee lacked, requisite for that new Occupation. He sacked, robbed and spoyled all the Townes that were vpon the Coast, and did very much harme. So hee finding himselfe very strong with fortie ships well armed, of those he had out of the Port, and other that hee had taken at the Sea, with much people such as were without shame, their hands imbrued with Robberies and killing of men, he imagined with himselfe to attempt greater matters, and did put it in execution: he assaulted great Townes, and did a thousand cruelties. So he following this trade and exercise, he chanced to meete with another Rouer as himselfe, called *Vintoquian*, likewise naturally borne in *China*, who was in a Port void of any care or mistrust, whereas *Limahon* finding opportunitie, with greater courage did fight with the ships of the other: that although they were threescore ships great and small, and good Souldiers therein, he did ouercome them, and tooke five and fiftie of their ships, so that *Vintoquian* escaped with five ships. Then *Limahon* seeing himselfe with a fleet of ninetie five ships well armed, and with many stout people in them, knowing that if they were taken, they should be all executed to death; setting all feare apart, gaue themselves to attempt new inuentions of euill, not onely in robbing of great Cities, but also in destroying of them.

For the which, commandement was giuen straight-ways vnto the Vice-roy of that Province (whereas he vsed to execute his euill) that with great expedition he might be taken, who in few dayes did set forth to Sea, one hundred and thirtie great ships well appointed, with forty thousand men in them, and one made Generall ouer them all, a Gentleman called *Omoncon*, for to goe seeke and follow this Rouer with expresse commandement to apprehend or kill him. Of all this prouision, *Limahon* had aduertisement by some secret friends, who seeing that his Enemies were many, and he not able to counteruaile them, neither in shippes nor men, determined not to abide their comming, but to retyre and depart from that Coast: so in flying he came vnto an Iland in secret, called *Tonxacaotican*, which was fortie leagues from the firme Land, and is in the right way of Navigation to the Ilands *Philippinas*.

From this Iland they did goe forth with some of their ships robbing and spoyling all such as they met with Merchandize, and other things that they carried from one Iland to another, and from the Iland vnto the firme, and comming from thence amongst them all, they caused to take two ships of *China* which came from *Manilla*, and were bound to their owne Countrey. And hauing them in their power, they searched them vnder hatches, and found that they had rich things of Gold, and *Spanish* Rials, which they had in trucke of their Merchandize, the which they carried to the Ilands. They informed themselves in all points of the State, and fertilitie of that Countrey, but in particular of the *Spaniards*, and how many there were of them in the Citie of *Manilla*, who were not at that present aboue seuentie persons, for that the rest were separated in the discouering and populing of other Ilands newly found, and vnderstanding that these few did liue without any suspicion of Enemies, and had neuer a Fort nor Bulwarke, and the Ordinance which they had (although it was very good) yet was it not in order to defend themselves nor offend their Enemies, hee determined to goe thither with all his fleet and people, for to destroy and kill them, and to make himselfe Lord of the said Iland of *Manilla*, and other adjacent there nigh the same. So with this determination hee departed from those Ilands whereas hee was retyred, and went to Sea, and sayling towards the Ilands *Philippinas*, they passed in sight of the Ilands of the *Illocos*, which had a Towne called *Fernandina*, which was new founded by the Captayne *Iohn de Salzedo*, who at that instant was in the same for Lieutenant to the Gouvernour: Foure leagues from the same they met with a small Galley, which the said *Iohn de Salzedo* had sent for victuals. He cast about towards her, and with great ease did take her, and did burne and kill all that was in her, and pardoned one of them. This being done, hee did prosecute his Voyage according vnto his determination, and passed alongst, but not in such secret but that he was discouered by the Dwellers of the Towne of *Fernandina*, who gaue notice thereof vnto the Lieutenant of the Gouvernour aforesaid, as a wonder to see so many ships together, and a thing neuer seene before at those Ilands. Likewise it caused admiration vnto him, and made him to thinke and to imagine with great care what it might be, he saw that they did beare with the Citie of *Manilla*, and thought with himselfe, that so great a fleet

Vintoquian a Rouer robbed by this Rouer.

One hundred and thirtie great ships of Warre with forty thousand men. *Omoncon*.

Illocos.

Fernandina.

as that was, could not goe to the place which they bare in with, for any goodnesse towards the dwellers therein, who were voide of all care, and a small number of people, as aforesaid: Wherewith he determined with himselfe with so great speed as it was possible, to ioyne together such *Spaniards* as were there, which were to the number of fiftie foure, and to depart and procure to get the fore-hand of them, to aduertise them of *Manilla*, and to aide and helpe them to put their Artillerie in order, and all other things necessarie for their defence.

1574. This *Limahon* was well prouided of prouision, and all other things necessarie, and hauing the wind faire, hee was alwaies in the fore-front, and came in the sight of *Manilla* vpon Saint *Andrewes* Eue, in the yeere 1574. whereas hee came to an anchor that night with all his whole estate.

For all the contradiction of the winde this same night the foure hundred *Chinois* did put themselves within a league of the Citie, vpon Saint *Andrewes* day at eight of the clocke in the morning, whereas they left their Boats and went on land, and in great haste began to march forwards in battel aray diuided in two parts, with two hundred Harquebusses afore, and immediately after them other two hundred Pike-men: and by reason that they were many, and the Countrey very plaine, they were straightwaies discovered by some of the Citie, who entred in with a great noise, crying, *Arme, arme, arme, the Enemies come.* The which aduice did little profit, for that there was none that would beleue them: but beleueed that it was some false alarme done by the people of the Countrey for to mocke them. But in conclusion, the Enemies were come vnto the house of the Generall of the Field, who was called *Martin de Goyti*, which was the first house in all the Citie that way which the Enemies came. And before that the *Spaniards* and Souldiers that were within the Towne could be fully perswaded the rumour to be true, the Enemies had set fire vpon his house, and slue him and all that were within.

Martin de Goyti slaine.
At this time, by the order of his Maiestie was elected for Gouvernour of these Ilands *Philippinas*, *Guido de Labacates*, after the death of *Miguel Lopez de Legaspi*, who vnderstanding the great fleet and power of *Limahon* the Rouer, and the small resistance and defence that was in the Citie of *Manilla*, with as much speed as was possible he did call together all their Captaines and dwellers therein: and with a generall consent they spared no person of what qualitie and degree soeuer he was, but that his hand was to helpe all that was possible, the which endured two

Guido de Labacates Gouvernour.
dayes and two nights, for so long the Rouer kept his ships and came not abroad. In which time of their continuall labour, they made a Fort with Pipes and Boards filled with sand and other necessities thereto belonging, such as the time would permit them: they put in carriages, foure excellent Peeces of Artillerie that were in the Citie. All the which being put in order, they gathered all the people of the Citie into that little Fort. The night before the Enemy did giue assault vnto the Citie, came thither the Captaine *Iohn de Salzedo*, Lieutenant vnto the Gouvernour. The Rouer in the morning following, before the breake of the day (which was the second after he gaue the first assault) was with all his fleet right against the Port, and did put a-

A fort erected.
land fixe hundred Souldiers, who at that instant did set vpon the Citie, the which at their pleasure they did sacke and burne. They did assault the Fort with great cruelty, as men fleshed with the last slaughter, thinking that their resistance was but small. But it fell not out as they did beleue, for hauing continued in the fight almost all the day, with the losse of two hundred men, that were slaine in the assault, and many other hurt, he straightwaies departed from thence, and returned the same way that he came, till they arriued in a mightie Riuer, fortie leagues from the Citie of *Manilla*, that is called *Pangasinan*, the which place or soyle did like him very well, and where he thought he might be sure from them, who by the commandement of the King went for to seeke him. There hee determined to remayne, and to make himselfe Lord ouer all that Countrey, the which he did with little trauell, and built himselfe a Fort one league within the Riuer, whereas he remayned certaine dayes, receiuing tribute of the Inhabitants thereabouts, as though he were their true and naturall Lord: and at times went forth with his ships robbing and spoyling all that he met vpon the coast. And spread abroad, that he had taken to himselfe the Ilands *Philippinas*, and how that all the *Spaniards* that were in them, were either slaine or fled away. With this consideration they entred into counsell, and did determine to ioyne together all the people they could, and being in good order, to follow and seeke the Rouer. Then the Gouvernours commanded to be called together all the people bordering thereabouts, and to come vnto the Citie whereas hee was. Likewise at that time hee did giue aduice vnto such as were Lords and Gouvernours of the Ilands, called *Pintados*, commanding them to come thither, with such ships as they could spare, as well *Spaniards* as the naturall people of the Countrey.

Citie burne.
The Generall of the field with the people aforesaid, did depart from *Manilla* the three and twentieth day of March, Anno 1575. and arriued at the mouth of the Riuer *Pangasinan* vpon tenable Wednesday in the morning next following, without being discovered of any. Then straightwaies at that instant the Generall did put a-land all his people and foure Peeces of Artillerie, leauing the mouth of the Riuer shut vp with his shipping, in chayning the one to the other, in such sort, that none could enter in neither yet goe forth to giue any aduice vnto the Rouer of his arriuall: he commanded some to goe and discouer the fleet of the Enemy, and the

Pangasinan.
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place whereas he was fortified, and charged them very much to doe it in such secret sort; that they were not espied: for therein consisted all their whole worke. Hee commanded the Capitaine *Gabriel de Ribera*, that straightwaies he should depart by Land, and that vpon a sudden he should strike alarme vpon the Enemie, with the greatest tumult that was possible. Likewise he commanded the Captaines *Pedro de Cauer* and *Lorenzo Chacon*, that either of them with forty Souldiers should goe vp the Riuer in small ships and light, and to measure the time in such sort, that as well those that went by land, as those that went by water, should at one instant come vpon the Fort, and to giue alarme both together, the better to goe thorow with their pretence: and he himselfe did remayne with all the rest of the people, to watch occasion and time for to aide and succour them if need be required. This their purpose came so well to passe; that both the one and the other came to good effect: for those that went by water, did set fire on all the fleet of the Enemie: and those that went by land at that instant had taken and set fire on a Trench made of timber, that *Limahon* had caused to bee made for the defence of his people and the Fort: and with that furie they slue more then one hundred *Chinos*, and tooke prisoners twenty women which they found in the same Trench, but when that *Limahon* vnderstood the rumour, hee tooke himselfe straightwaies to his Fort which hee had made for to defend himselfe from the Kings Nauie, if they should happen to finde him out.

The next day following, the Generall of the field did bring his Souldiers into a square battell, and beganne to march towards the Fort, with courage to assault it if occasion did serue thereunto: hee did pitch his Campe within two hundred paces of the Fort, and found that the Enemie did all that night fortifie himselfe very well, and in such sort, that it was perillous to assault him, for that he had placed vpon his Fort three Peeces of Artillerie, and many Bases, besides other Engines of fire-worke. Seeing this, and that his Peeces of Artillerie that hee brought were very small for to batter, and little store of munition, for that they had spent all at the assault which the Rouer did giue them at *Manilla*, the Generall of the field, and the Captaines concluded amongst themselves, that seeing the Enemie had no ships to escape by water, neither had he any great store of victuals for that all was burnt in the ships, it was the best and most surest way to besiege the Fort, and to remayne there in quiet vntill that hunger did constraine them either to yeeld or come to some conclusion: which rather they will then to perish with hunger.

This determination was liked well of them all, although it fell out cleane contrarie vnto their expectation; for that in the space of three moneths that siege endured, this *Limahon* did so much that within the Fort he made certaine small Barkes, and trimmed them in the best manner he could, wherewith in one night he and all his people escaped.

It happened vpon a day, that there came to the Campe a ship of *Mignell de Loarcha*, wherein was Friar *Martin de Herrada* Prouinciall of the *Augustine* Friars. Seuen leagues after they were out of the mouth of *Pagasinan*, they met with a ship of *Sangleyes*, who made for the Port, and thinking them to bee Enemies, they bare with them (hauing another ship that followed them for their defence) and had no more in them but the said Prouinciall and five *Spaniards*, besides the Mariners. This ship of *Sangley* seeing that hee did beare with them, would haue fled, but the winde would not permit him, for that it was to him contrary, which was the occasion that the two ships wherein the *Spaniards* were, for that they did both sayle and rowe, in a small time came within Cannon shot. In one of the ships there was a *Chino*, called *Sinsay*. This *Sinsay* went straightwaies into the fore-ships, and demanded what they were, and from whence they came: and being well enformed, hee vnderstood that hee was one of the ships of warre that was sent out by the King of *China*, to seeke the Rouer *Limahon*, who leauing the rest of the fleet behind, came forth to seeke in those Ilands to see if hee could discouer him to bee in any of them: and the better to bee enformed thereof, they were bound into the Port of *Buliano*, from whence they came with their two ships: from whom they would haue fled, thinking they had beene some of the Rouers ships. Being fully perswaded the one of the other, they ioynd together with great peace and friendship: the *Spaniards* straightwaies entred into their Boat, and went vnto the ship of the *Chinos*, and carried with them the aforesaid *Sinsay*, for to be their Interpreter, and to speake vnto the *Chinos*. In the said ship came a man of great authoritie, who was called *Omoncon*, who brought a Commission from their King, and shewed it vnto the *Spaniards*, and vnto the Father Prouinciall: in the which the King and his Counsell did pardon all those Souldiers that were with *Limahon*, if that forthwith they would leaue him and returne vnto the Kings part: and likewise did promise great gifts and fauour vnto him that did either take or kill the aforesaid Rouer. Then did *Sinsay* declare vnto him of the comming of the Rouer vnto the Ilands, and all that happened in the siege of the Citie, as aforesaid: and how they had him besieged in the Riuer of *Pagasinan*, from whence it was not possible for him to escape.

The Capitaine *Omoncon* reioyced very much of these newes, and made many signes of great content, and did embrace the *Spaniards* many times, and gaue other tokens whereby hee did manifest the great pleasure hee receiued, and would therewith straightwaies depart vnto the

Limahon after three moneths siege escaped.

rest of the fleet. And for that they looked euery day for the death or imprisonment of the Rouer, the better to enforme himselfe: hee determined (for that it was so nigh hand) to goe and see the Generall of the field in *Paganfinan*, and carrie with him *Sinsay*, one that was known both of the one and the other: by whose meanes they might treat of such things that best accomplished the confirmation of the peace and friendship betwixt the *Chinois* and the *Spaniards*, as also of the death or imprisonment of *Limabon*. With this resolution, the one departed vnto *Paganfinan*, whereas they arriued the same day, and the others vnto *Manilla*, whither they went for victuals.

Omoncon remayned there certaine dayes, after the which he seeing that the siege did long endure, and that his staying might cause suspicion of his death: and againe, that the whole fleet did tarrie his comming to his intelligence of the Rouer, being fully perswaded and certaine, that he could not escape the *Spaniards* hand: they had him in such a straight, and that they would without all doubt, send him vnto the King alieue or dead (as they promised him) hee was determined to returne vnto *China*, with the good newes that hee had vnderstood, with a determinate intent, to returne againe and carrie the Rouer, after that they had him prisoner. With this resolution in the end of certaine dayes hee went vnto the *Gouernour*, certifying him of his pretence, whereby hee might giue him licence to put it in execution. The *Gouernour* did like well of his pretence, and did promise him the same, the which the Generall of the field did offer vnto him: and which was, so soone as the Rouer should be taken prisoner, or slayne, to send him vnto the King without any delay, or else, to put him whereas he should be forth-comming, and to giue them aduertisement to send for him, or come himselfe: and did offer him more, that for his voyage he should be provided forthwith of all things necessarie, without lacking of any thing. *Omoncon* did giue him great thanks for the same, and in recompence thereof did promise vnto the *Gouernour*, for that he vnderstood, and had intelligence of the Fathers, of Saint *Augustine*, that his Honour, and his Antecessor, and the *Adelantado*, *Miguel Lopez de Legaspi*, had desired many times to send vnto the Kingdome of *China* some Religious men, to treat of the preaching of the Gospell, and to see the wonders of that Kingdome, and how that they neuer could put this their desire in execution, for that those *Chinois* which came thither, although they did offer them whatsoever they would demand, fearing the punishment that should be executed on them according vnto the Lawes of the Kingdome: hee did promise him, that he would carrie them with him vnto *China*, such Religious men as his Honour would command, and some Souldiers, such as would goe with them: hoping with the good newes that hee carried, to runne in no danger of the Law, neither the Vice-roy of *Ancheo* to thinke euill thereof, and for a more securitie that they should not bee euill entreated, hee would leaue with him pledges to their content.

Omoncon promieth to carrie the Friers vnto *China*.

A good pretence.

The Friers names that went to *China*.

A token that fine cloth is esteemed.

Spanish bountie.

The *Gouernour* being very ioyfull of these newes, did therewith send for the Prouinciall of the *Augustine* Friers, who was elected but few dayes past: his name was Frier *Alonso de Aluaredo*, vnto whom hee declared the offer that the Captaine *Omoncon* had made vnto him, whereat he reioyced. They determined that there should goe but two Religious men, by reason that at that time there was but a few of them, and two Souldiers in their companie. The Religious men should be, Frier *Martin de Herrada* of *Pamplona*, who left off the dignitie of Prouinciall: and in companie with him should goe, Frier *Hieronimo Martin*, who also was very well learned, and of the Citie of *Mexico*: the Souldiers that were appointed to beare them companie were called, *Pedro Sarmiento*, chiefe Sergeant of the Citie of *Manilla* of *Vilorado*, and *Miguel de Loarcha*, both principall men, and good *Christians*, as was conuenient for that which they tooke in hand. These Fathers did carrie them for this purpose, that if they did remaine there with the King, preaching of the Gospell, then they should returne with the newes thereof, to giue the *Gouernour* to vnderstand of all that they had seene, and happened vnto them: and likewise vnto the King of *Spain*, if need did so require. And the *Gouernour* in token of gratitude, did giue vnto the Captaine *Omoncon* in the presence of them all, a gallant Chaîne of Gold, and a rich Robe of crimson in graine: a thing that hee esteemed very much, and much more esteemed in *China*, for that it is a thing that they haue not there. Besides this, they did ordayne a reasonable Present for to send vnto the *Gouernour* of *Chincheo*, hee that dispatched *Omoncon* by the commandement of the King, to goe and seeke the Rouer: also another Present for the Vice-roy of the Prouince of *Ochian*, who was at that present in the Citie of *Ancheo*. And for that *Sinsay* should not finde himselfe agreed (who was a Merchant well knowne amongst them, and perhaps might bee the occasion of some euill and disturbance of their pretence) they gaue vnto him also another Chaîne of Gold, as well for this, as also for that hee was euer a true and perfect friend vnto the *Spaniards*. Then straightwaies by the commandement of the *Gouernour* there were brought together all such *Chinois* as were captiue and taken from *Limabon* out of the Fort aforesaid, at *Paganfinan*, and gaue them vnto *Omoncon*, to carrie them free with him: and gaue likewise commandement that the Generall of the field, and all such Captaines and Souldiers that were at the siege of the Fort, should giue vnto him all such as did there remaine: binding himselfe to pay vnto the Souldiers,

Souldiers, to whom they did appertain, all whatsoever they should bee valued to bee worth.

Vpon a Sunday at the break of day, being the five and twentieth of Iune, after they had prayed vnto God to direct their voyage, they set sayle with a prosperous wind: there were with the Friars, Souldiers and men of seruice, twentie persons, besides the *Chinos* that were captiues, and the people of the Captaine *Omoncon*. They were not so soone off from the coast, but the wind abated, and they remayned becalmed certaine dayes: but afterwards they had a lustie gale, that carried them forwards. The *Chinos* doe gouerne their ships by a compasse diuided into twelue parts, and doe vse no Sea Cards, but a brieue description or Ruter, wherewith they sayle: and commonly for the most part they neuer goe out of the sight of Land. They marvelled very much when that it was told them, that comming from *Mexico* vnto *Philippinas*, they were three moneths at the Sea and neuer saw Land. Vpon the Sunday following, we had sight of the Land of *China*: so that wee found all our Voyage from the Port of *Buliano*, from whence wee had last departed, vnto the firme Land to bee one hundred and fortie leagues; and twentie leagues before they came in the sight thereof, they had sounding at threescore and ten and fourescore fathom, and so waxed lesse and lesse vntill they came to the Land: which is the best and surest token they haue to bee nigh the Land. In all the time of their Voyage the Captaine *Omoncon* with his Companie shewed such great courtesie and friendship to our men, as though they had bene the owners of the said ship: and at such time as they did embarke themselves, hee gaue his owne Cabine that was in the sterne to the Friars, and vnto *Pedro Sarmiento*, and to *Miguel de Loarcha*, hee gaue another Cabine that was very good, and commanded his companie in the ship that they should respect them more then himselfe: the which was in such sort, that on a day at the beginning of their Voyage, the Fathers found them making of Sacrifice vnto their Idols, and told them, that all which they did was a kinde of mockage, and that they should worship but onely one God: and willed them to doe so no more. Who onely in respect of them did leaue it off, and not vse it after in all the Voyage: whereas before they did vse it euery day many times. Besides this, they would worship the Images that the Friars did carrie with them, and kneele vpon their knees with great shew of deuotion: who now hauing sight of the firme Land, in so short time, and passed that small Gulfe so quietly, which was wont to bee very perillous and full of stormes: they did attribute it vnto the Prayers of the Friars, their companions and Souldiers. As they drew neerer the Land, they might discover from the Sea, a very gallant and well towred Citie, that was called *Titubul*, whereas the King hath continually in Garrison ten thousand Souldiers, and is vnder the gouernement of the Prouince of *Chincheo*. The next day wee came vnto a Watch-towre, which was situated vpon a Rocke at the entrie into a Bay, who had discovered our ship, and knew the Standard or Flagge to bee the Kings: and made a signe vnto seuen ships which were on the other side of the Point, which was part of a companie ordayned for to keepe and defend the coast, which were more then foure hundred. Straightwayes the Captaine of the seuen ships came forth to know what wee were: Hee issued forth from behind the Point, with three ships that did rowe with Oares very swift: and when he came nigh vnto them, he shot at them to make them to amaine: the which *Omoncon* would not doe, for that he supposed (as afterwards hee did confesse) that he should be some man of little estimation, and not the Generall of the coast. But as he drew nigher vnto him, he did know him by the Flagge hee bare on the sterne, in the Foist wherein he was himselfe with his Souldiers, and straightwayes caused to amaine his sayles, and tarried for him. The Generall did the like, and stayed behind, sending a Boat for to bring the Captaine vnto him, and to declare what hee was, and from whence hee came. *Omoncon* did forthwith embarke himselfe into his Boat without any resistance, but rather with feare that he should be punished for that hee did flee from him. The Generall gaue him good entertainment.

This Generall was a goodly man of person, and was very well apparelled, and did sit in a Chaire in the sterne of his ship, the which was all couered to keepe away the Sunne: he commanded the Captaine *Omoncon* to sit downe by him vpon the hatches, without Chaire or any other thing, who did obey him, although first he did refuse it with great modestie, as not wor-
thie to haue that honour, which was not esteemed a little. After that he was set, hee gaue him to vnderstand in effect of all his voyage and successe, and in what extremitie hee left *Limahon*, and also how that he carried with him the Friars and other *Spaniards*, which went to carrie the newes, and to treat of peace with the Vice-roy of *Aucheo*: vnto whom, and vnto the Gouer-
nour of *Chincheo*, he carried presents, sent from the Gouerneur and Generall of the field of the Ilands *Philippinas*. When the Generall had heard this relation, he commanded the Boat to re-
turne and to bring them before him, that he might see what manner of men they were of per-
son, and the vse of the apparell: and likewise to satisfie himselfe of other desires that came in-
to his mind by that which *Omoncon* had said of them. The Fathers and their companions did
obey the commandement, and did embarke themselves in the Boat, and came vnto the ship
whereas the Generall receiued them with great courtesie after his fashion.

They departed
towards *China*.

China Com-
passes diuided
into 12. parts.
Chinois meane
Mariners.

Sounding

They leaue
the worship-
ping of one
Idoll to wor-
ship another.

Titubul in the
Prouince of
Chincheo.

§. IIII.

Friar MARTIN DE HERRADA, and other Spaniards entertaynment
in China, and their returne to the Philippinas.Tansuso, or
Tansuso.

Itchin a little while after, Omoncon and his companie arriued at the Port of Tansuso hard by, vpon Wednesday in the euening, being the fift day of Iuly. This Tansuso is a gallant and fresh Towne of foure thousand Housholders, and hath continually a thousand Souldiers in Garrison, and compassed about with a great and strong wall, and the gates fortified with plates of Iron, the foundations of all the houses are of Lime and Stone, and the walls of Lime and Earth, and some of Bricke: their houses within very fairely wrought, with great Courts, their streets faire and broad all paved. Before that Omoncon did come vnto an anchor, they saw all the Souldiers and the people of the Towne were gathered together vpon the Rockes that were ioyning vnto the Port, all armed ready vnto the battell, amongst whom there was a principall Captaine, and three more of his companions, that were sent him by the Gouvernour of Chinchea, whom they doe call in their language, *Insuanto*, who had vnderstanding of the comming of Omoncon, when the ship entred into the Port, Omoncon did salute the Towne with certaine Peeces of Artillrie, and discharged all his Harquebuses sixe times about, and therewithall tooke in her sayle, and let anchor fall. Then straightwaies the Captaine whom the *Insuanto* had sent, came aboard the ship, who had expresse commission, not to leaue the companie of our people after that they were disembarked, till such time as they came whereas he was, but to beare them companie, and to prouide them of all things necessarie: the which he did accomplish.

Ensignes to
know the
Loyties.

All these Captaines and Ministers of the King doe weare certaine ensignes for to be knowne from the common people, to wit, broad Wastes or Girdles embossed after diuers manners: some of Gold and Silver, some of the Tortois shell, and of a sweet wood, and other some of Iuorie, the higher estates hath them embroidered with Pearles and precious stones, and their Bonnets with two long eares, and their Buskins made of Sattin, and vnshorne Veluer.

Board-licence.

Then after, so soone as they were come to an anchor in the Port, the Iustice did send them a Licence in writing for to come forth of the ship, as a thing necessarie, for that without it the Waiters or Guards of the water side, will not suffer them to put foot on land. This Licence was written vpon a boord whited, and signed by the Iustice, whose charge it is to giue the Licence. Then when they came ashoare, there were the Souldiers that were appointed by the *Insuanto* in a readinesse to beare them companie, and did direct and leade them vnto the Kings houses of the said Citie: the like hath euery Citie almost throughout all the Kingdome, and there they bid lodge them. These houses are very great and very well wrought, and gallant, with faire Courts below, and Galleries aboue: they had in them Stanges or Ponds of water full of fish of sundry sorts.

The first lan-
ding of the
Friars.

The people of the Citie did presse very much to see these strangers, so that with the presse, as also with the great heate, they were maruellously afflicted: which being perceiued by the Iustice, he gaue order that they might bee eased of that trouble, and caused Sergeants to keepe the doore, and their Yeomen to make resistance against the people. When night was come, the Iustice of the Citie did make a Banquet according to the fashion of the Countrey: and it was in the fashion following. They were carried into a Hall that was very curiously wrought, wherein were many Torches and waxe Candles light, and in the midst thereof was set for euery one of the Guests a Table by himselfe, as is the vse and fashion of that Countrey: euery Table had his couering of Damaske or Sattin very well made, the Tables were gallantly painted, without any Table-clothes, neither doe they vse any, for they haue no need of them, for that they doe cate all their victuals with two little stickes made of Gold and Silver, and of a marvellous odoriferous wood, and of the length of litle Forkes, as they doe vse in *Italie*, with the which they do feed themselves so cleanly, that although their victuals be neuer so small, yet doe they let nothing fall, neither foule their hands nor faces. They were set downe at these Tables in very good order, and in gallant Chaires, in such sort, that although they were euery one at his Table by himselfe, yet they might see and talke one with another, they were serued with diuers sorts of cates, and very well dressed, both of flesh and fish, as gamons of Bacon, Capons, Geese, whole Hens, and pieces of Beefe, and at the last, many little baskets full of sweet meats made of Sugar, and Marchpanes all wrought very curiously. They gaue them Wine of an indifferent colour and taste, made of the Palm-tree. All the time that the supper lasted, there was in the Hall great store of Musicke of diuers Instruments, whereon they played with great comfort, some one time and some another. The Instruments which they commonly doe vse, are Hoybuckes, Cornets, Trumpets, Lutes, such as be vsed in *Spaine*, although in the fashion there is some difference. There was at this Banquet (which endured a great while) the Captaine that was ordained for their Guard, and the Captaine Omoncon, and *Sinsay*. When Supper was done

The vse of
their banquetsWine of a
Palme tree.

done, they were carryed into very faire Chambers, whereas were faire Beds, where they slept and eated themselves.

The next day in the morning, was brought vnto them their ordinarie victuals, and that in a bundance, as well of Flesh as of Fish, Fruits and Wine, to be dressed vnto their owne content, and according vnto their manner: they would take nothing for the same, for so they were commanded by the *Insuantes*. This was brought vnto them euery day, so long as they were there, & in the way when as they went vnto *Chincheo*. The same day arriued a Captayne of fortie Ships in the same Port, and so soone as hee was alhoare, he went straight-ways vnto the Palace for to see the strangers: who being aduertised of his comming, came forth and receiued him at the Palace gate, whereas was vied betwixt them great courtesie. The Captayne came with great Maiestie, with his guard of Souldiers and Mace-bearers before him, with great musike of Hoy-buckles, Trumpets and Drums, and two Whiffelers, or Typ-staues, that made roome, putting the people aside: also there came with him two executors of Iustice, hauing each of them in their hands a Set made of canes, which is an instrument wherewith they doth whip and punish offenders. When this Captayne came vnto the Palace gate, whereas the father Friars and their companions did receiue him, he was brought on the shoulders of eight men very richly apparelled, in a chayre wrought of Iuorie and Gold, who stayed not till they came into the inner Chamber, whereas he did alight from the chayre, and went straight vnder a Cloath of estate, that was there ordinarily for the same purpose, and a Table before him: there hee sate downe, and straight-ways arose vp, and standing he did receiue the strange ghests, who did courtesie vnto him according vnto their fashion, which is to joyne their hands together, and to stoope with them and their heads downe to the ground: hee gratified them againe, with bowing his head a little, and that with great grauitie. These speeches being finished, there was brought forth certaine pieces of blacke Silke of twelue vares long a piece. And his Officers did put on the Friars shoulders each of them two, which was for either shoulder one, and was brought about their bodies and girt therewith: the like was done in order vnto the *Spanish* Souldiers, and vnto *Omoncon*, and *Sinsay*, and to their Interpreter. But vnto *Omoncon*, and *Sinsay*, was giuen vnto either of them a branch or Nosegay made of Siluer, which was set vpon their heads, which is accustomed honour, that is done vnto such as haue done some great enterprife, or such like. After that this ceremonie was done, they played vpon the Instruments aforesayd, which came with the Captayne. In the meane time of their musike, there was brought forth great store of Conserues, March-panes, and things made of Sugar, and excellent good Wine: and so being on foote standing, hee caused them to eate, and hee himselfe from the Chayre whereas he sate, did giue them to drinke euery one in order, without rising vp, which is a ceremonie and token of great fauour, and of loue.

This being done, hee arose from the chayre vnder the Cloath of state, and went and sate downe in that which was brought on mens backs, and with declyning of his head a little, hee departed out of the Hall and out of the house, and went vnto his owne house, whereas by the counsell of *Omoncon*, and *Sinsay*, within an houre after they should goe and visite him, the which they did: hee receiued them maruellously well and with great courtesie: who maruelled at his great Maiestie and auctoritie, for that *Omoncon* and *Sinsay*, when they did talke with him were vpon their knees, and so did all the rest. Hee gaue them againe in his owne house a gallant banquet, of diuers sorts of Conserues and Fruits, and excellent Wine of the Palme-tree, and did talke and reason with them in good sort, and was more familiar than at his first visitation.

After that the Fathers with their companions had remained two dayes in the Port of *Tansuse*, the thrid day they departed in the morning towards *Chincheo*. At their going forth of the Town, they were accompanied with a great number of Soldiers, both Harquebusses & Pikes, and before them a great noyle of Trumpets, Drums, and Hoy-bucks, till such time as they came vnto the Ri- uers side, whereas was a Brygandine prouided and made readie in all points, to carrie them vp the Riuer: all the streets alongst whereas they went, there followed them so much people that it was innumerable, and all to see them. All alongst the Riuer whereas they went, was seated with Villages very gallant and fresh, both on the one side and on the other.

At the end of the two leagues, they came vnto a great Bay, where was at an Anchor a flete of more then one hundred and fiftie Ships men of warre, whose Generall was this Captaine, whom wee haue spoken of. At such time as the flete did discouer them, they began to salute them, as well with great pieces of Artillerie, as with Harquebusses, and other kinde of pastimes, which commonly they doe vse at such times.

Our *Spaniards* did trauell vp the Riuer more than three leagues, hauing continually both on the one side and on the other, very many and faire Townes, and full of people. In the end of the three leagues, they went aland halfe a league from the Towne of *Tangoa*, whereas straight- ways all such things as they carryed with them, were taken vpon mens backs, and carryed vn- to the Towne before them, whereas they were carrying their comming, for to giue them great entertaynement. At their going alhoare, they found prepared for the two Religious men, little Chayres to carrie them vpon mens backs, and for the Souldiers and the rest of their companions horse. The Fathers did refuse to bee carryed, and would haue gone a foot, but *Omoncon*, and the

other Captayne would not consent thereunto. The Fathers obeyed their reasons, and entred into the Chayres, and were carryed with eight men a piece, and the other their companions with foure men a piece, according vnto the order giuen by the Gouvernour. Those that carryed the Chayres, did it with so good a will, that there was striving who should first lay hands to them. This Towne of *Tangoa*, hath three thousand Souldiers, and is called in their language *Coan*: at the entring in, it hath many Gardens and Orchards and a street where through they carryed the *Spaniards* vnto their lodging, they affirmed to bee halfe a league long, and all the street whereas they went, was full of boards and stalles whereon was layd all kinde of Merchandise very curious, and things to bee eaten, as fresh Fish and salt Fish of diuers sorts, and great abundance of Fowle, and Flesh of all sorts, Fruits and greene Herbes in such quantitie, that it was sufficient to serue such a Citie as *Sinilis*. They were brought vnto the Kings house, which was very great, marueilously well wrought with stone and bricke, and many Halls, Parlours, and Chambers, but none aboue, but all below. So soone as they were a foote, there was brought from the Captayne or Iustice of the Towne, whom they doe call *Ticoan*, a message, bidding them welcome, and therewith a present, which was great store of Capons, Hennes, Teales, Duckes, Geese, Flesh of foure or fise sorts, fresh Fish, Wine, and fruits of diuers sorts, and of so great quantitie, that it was sufficient for two hundreth men. All the which they would haue giuen for a little coole ayre, by reason that it was then very hot weather; and againe, the great number of people that came thither to see them did augment it the more. In the Euening the two *Spanish* Souldiers went forth into the streets to walke abroad, and left the two Friars within their lodging, vnto whom afterwards they did giue intelligence of all things that they had seene, which did cause great admiration: the wall of the Towne was very broad, and wrought with lyme and stone, full of loope-holes and watch-towers. And as they passed through the streets there came forth of a house a very honest man, as it seemed, who was very well apparelled and stayed them, for that in the same house, there were certayne Dames principall personages, that did see them a farre off, and not content therewith, they did request them with great courtesie for to enter into the house, that they might the better see them: the which they did straightwayes accomplish, and entring in, they were brought into a court, whereas was set Chayres for them to sit downe, and the Ladies were there a little from them, beholding them with great honestie and grauitie. Then a little after, they set them a banquet with March-panes and sweet meats made of Sugar, which they did eate without any curiositie, and drunke after the same. The banquet being done, they made signes and tokens vnto them, that they receiued great content with their sight, and that they might depart when that their pleasure was, the which they did, after that they had made great curtellies with thanks, for their friendship receiued of both parts.

china Women. So after they had taken their leaue, they went to see a House of pleasure, that was hard by the Towne-wall, wrought vpon the water, with very faire galleries and open lodges to banquet in, made of Masons worke, and therein many Tables finely painted, and round about it Cisterns of water, wherein was store of Fish, and joyning vnto them Tables of very faire Alabaster, all of one stone, and the least of them was of eight spannes long: and round about them were brookes of running water, that gaue a pleasant sound in the meane time they were banquetting, and nigh thereunto many Gardens full of all sorts of Flowers. And a little from that place they saw a

House of pleasure. Bridge all of Masons worke, and the stones very well wrought and of a mightie bignesse, they measured some of them, that were twentie and two and twentie foote long, and fise foot broad, and seemed vnto them, that it was a thing impossible to bee layd there by mans hands. Of this bignesse, yea and bigger they did see layd vpon many other Bridges, in the discourse of their voyage, going to *Chincheo* and *Ancheo*. The next day in the morning when they were vp and ready, they found in the house all things in a readinesse and in very good order, for their departure, as well their little Chayres, and Horse, as for men to carrie their stuffe and apparell, which did not a litle make them to maruell, how that euery one of them with a waster vpon their shoulders, did diuide their burthen in two parts, fixe rones before and fixe rones behinde, and did trauell with the same with so great ease and swiftnesse, that the Horse could not indure with them. They went vnto the *Ticoan* his house. They found him with great Maiestie, but yet gaue them great and good entertaynement. Hee did likewise put vpon each of them, two pieces of Silke, in the same order as the Gouvernour of *Tansuso* did.

Stone-bridge. From this Towne of *Tangoa* vnto *Chincheo*, is thirteene leagues, and so playne way that it giueth great content to trauell it: in all the way they could not see one spanne of ground but was tilled and occupied. The like they doe say, is of all the ground that is in the whole Kingdome: it is full of people, and the Townes one so neere to another, that almost you can not iudge them to bee many Townes but one, for that there was but a quarter of a league distant, one Towne from another, and it was told vnto them that in all the Prouinces of the Kingdome, it is peopled in the same order. All their ground they till is watred, which is the occasion of the fruitfulness therof, so that they doe gather fruit all the yeere long, and our *Spaniards* did see in all places whereas they came, that they were gathering of Rice, some new sprung vp, some with eares, and some ripe. They doe plough and till their ground with Kine, *Bufalos*, and Bulls, which are

Thrifte tillage

Plowing with Bufalos.

very

very tame, and although they bee very great, yet be their hornes but of a spanne long and turning backwards to the tayle, in such sort that they cannot doe any hurt or harme with them: they doe gouerne them with a coard that is made fast to a ring that is in their nose, and in like sort doe they gouerne the *Bufalos*. They doe feed them commonly in the fields of Rice, for that they haue no other grassings, and all the time that they are feeding, a Boy doth ride on euery one of them to disturbe them, that they doe no harme therein. But to cate the weedes and grasse that doe grow in the Rice.

All the high-ways are couered with the shadow of very faire Orchards, which doe garnish it very much, and they are planted in very good order: and amongst them there are Shops, where-
10 as is sold all manner of Fruits, to the comfort of all such as doe trauell by the way, which is an infinite number, some on foote, some on horse-backe, and others in little chayres. Their waters by the high-ways, are very good and light. The same day when they had trauelled halfe way, they saw a farre off comming marching towards them in very good order, a Squadron of Souldiers, which at the first caused them to maruell, and to bee afrayd, till such time as they drew nigher, it was told vnto them, that it was the Captayne of the guard vnto the *Insuanto*, or Gouverneur of *Chincheo*, who came by his order to receiue them with foure hundred Souldiers, very well armed with Pikes and Harquebusses, and well apparelled. So soone as the Captayne came vnto them, hee was mounted on a bay Horse, but of small stature, as they for the most part bee in all that Prouince, hee alighted and came vnto the Fathers, and his companions (who likewise
20 did alight from their little Chayres) and did salute the one the other with great courtesie.

The Captayne came very well apparelled with a Chayne of gold about his necke, a man of a good audacitie and vnderstanding. Hard vnto his stirrop hee had a Page that went with him, and carried a great *Tira sol*, made of Silke, that did shadow him all ouer. Hee had before him great musicke of Trumpets and Hoybuckles, whereon they played in great concord. This Captayne with his foure hundred Souldiers, did continually guard them for pompe, not necessitie; for the people may not weare weapons but the Souldiers. In this high-way continually there went and came many packe-Horses, laden with Merchandise and other things, but the most part of them were Mules. The high-ways are very broad, that twentie men may ride together
30 on a ranke, and one not hinder another, and are all paved with great stones.

Vpon a Saturday being the eleuenth of Iuly, came our *Spaniards* vnto the Citie of *Chincheo*,
40 feure houres before it was night. This Citie is of the common sort in that Kingdome, and may haue seuentie thousand households. It is of great trafficke and well provided of all things, for that the Sea is but two leagues from it: it hath a mightie Riuer running alongst by it downe into the Sea, by which is brought by water and carryed downe all kinde of merchandise. There is a Bridge ouer the sayd Riuer, which is supposed to bee the fairest that is in all the world: it hath a draw bridge to serue in time of warres, or for any other necessitie: the Bridge is eight hundred paces long, and all wrought with stones of two and twentie foote long, and fise foote broad, a thing greatly to bee maruelled at: at the entrie thereof, there were many armed Souldiers ready to fight, who when they came within Harquebuste shot did salute them in very good order. There was nigh vnto the sayd bridge in the Riuer riding at anchor, more then a thousand Ships
50 of all sorts, and so great a number of Boates and Barkes, that all the Riuer was couered, and euery one full of people that had entred into them for to see the *Castillas*, for so they did call the *Spaniards* in that Countrey, for the streets in the Suburbs, nor in the Citie could not hold them, the number was so great, yet their streets are as broad as our ordinary streets in any Citie in all *Spaine*. This Citie is compassed with a strong Wall made of stone, and is seuen fathom high, and foure fathom broad, & vpon the Gates many towers, wherein is placed their Artillerie, which is all their strength, for that they doe not vse in their Kingdome strong Castles, as they doe in *Europe*. The houses of the Citie are all built after one sort and fashion, but faire, & not very high, by reason of
50 the Earthquakes which are ordinarily in that Country. All the streets (but especially that wherein they passed at their comming thither) haue on the one side and on the other, Sheds, vnder the which are shops, full of rich Merchandise and of great value, and very curious. They haue in equall distance the one from the other, many triumphant Arches which doe set out the streets very much, and is vsed in euery principall street throughout all the Kingdome, in the which they haue excellent Market-places, whereas is to bee bought all things that you will desire to be eaten, as well of Fish, as of Flesh, Fruits, Hearbs, Comfits, Conserues, and all things so good cheape, that it is almost bought for nothing.

The *Insuanto* or Gouverneur of the Citie, did send that forthwith they should goe vnto his House, for that hee had great desire to see them. In the midst of the streete, where was no lesse
60 number of people then in the other, whereby they entred into the Citie, they met with a *Loytia*, that came to entertaine them with great Maiestie, and had carryed before him many Banners, Mace-bearers, and Tipstaues, and others which carryed Sets or Whips, which they did traile after them, made fast vnto long stickes, which were the Executioners, the which doe goe alwayes making of way, parting the people before the *Loytia*, as you haue heard. The maiestie and

insuanto

Pasturage

A thing to
keepe away
the Sunne.

High-ways.

Chincheo hath
seuentie thou-
sand households

Faire Bridge.

A thousand
ships in one
Riuer.

They haue no
vse of Castles.
Earthquakes
in this Coun-
trei.
Rich Mer-
chandise.
Triumphant
Arches.

The Insuanto.

An Assistant.

Serpents knotted the Kings Armes.

and company wherewith he came was so great, that they verily did beleue him to be the *Insuanto*: but being certified, they vnderstood that it was one of his Counsellors that came from the Gouvernours home to his owne house, which was in the same street whereas hee met with them. This Counsellor was carried in a Chaire of Iuorie, garnished with Gold and with Curtaines of Cloth of Gold, and on them the Kings Armes, which are certayne Serpents knotted together (as hath beene told you.) But when he came right against the *Spaniards*, without any staying he made a signe with his head, and commanded that they should returne backe againe vnto his house, which was hard by: the Captaines did straight-ways obey his commandement, and returned with them. The Counsellor entred into his house, which was very faire, hee had in it a faire Court, and therein a gallant Fountaine and a Garden. After him entred the *Spaniards* all alone, the rest remayned without in the street at the *Loytas* commandement, hee entertayned them with very good words of semblance, and commanded a Banquet to be brought forth, and Wine to drinke, he began first both to eate and drinke. Then he commanded to call in the Captaine, vnto whom was giuen the charge to beare them companie, and did chide with him very sharply and seuerely, because he did carrie them on foot (they could not vnderstand whether it were done for a policie, or of a truth, although the effects wherewith hee did chide seemed of a truth) hee straight-ways commanded two rich Chaires to be brought forth to carry the Fathers, and to giue vnto their companions Horses: the which beeing done, hee willed them to goe and visit the Gouvernour, who did tarrie their comming: and that another time at more leisure he would see and visit them.

Goodly sight.

They followed their way all alongst the street, which seemed vnto them to be more fairer then the other wherein they entred, and of more fairer houses and triumphant Arches: and also the shops that were on the one side and on the other, to be better furnished with richer things then the others, in so ample sort, that what therewith, as also the great number of people which they saw, they were so amazed, that they were as people from themselves, thinking it to be a Dreame. To conclude, after they had gone a good while in that street, delighting their eyes with new things neuer seene of them before: they came into a great place, whereas were many Souldiers in good order with their Harquebusses, Pikes and other Armour in a readinesse, apparelled all in a Liury of Silke, with their Ancients displayed. At the end of this place,

The Palace.

was there a very faire and sumptuous Palace, the gate was wrought of Masons worke of stone, very great and full of figures or Personages, and aboue it a great window with an Iron grate all gilt: they were carried within the gates, the Souldiers and the people which were without number, remayned without and could not be atoyded but with great difficultie. When they were within the first Court, there came forth a man very well apparelled and of authoritie, and made signes with his hand vnto them that brought the *Spaniards*, that they should carrie them into a Hall that was vpon the right hand, the which was straight-ways done. The Hall was very great and faire, and at the end thereof there was an Altar, whereon were many Idols, and all did differ the one from the other in their fashion: the Altar was rich and very curiously trimmed with burning Lampes: the Altar-cloth was of cloth of Gold: and the fruntlet of the same.

State-ceremonie.

After awhile that they had beene there whereas the Idols were, there came a Seruant from the Gouvernour and said vnto them in his behalfe, that they should send vnto him the Interpreter; they straight-ways commanded him to goe. And the Gouvernour said vnto him that he should aduise the Fathers and the rest of his companions, that if they would talke and treat of such businesse as they came for, that it must be done with the same ceremonie and respect, as the Nobles of that Prouince doe, vse to talke with him, which is vpon their knees (as afterwards they did see many times vsed) if not that they should depart vnto the House whereas they were lodged, and there to tarrie the order that should be sent from the Vice-roy of *Ancho*.

The *Spaniards* were of diuers judgements, struiuing amongst themselves a good while, but yet in conclusion, the Religious Fathers, whom the Gouvernour of the Ilands had ordayned and sent as principals in this matter, and whose judgement they should follow, said, that they ought to accept the condition, seeing that by no other meanes they could not come vnto that they pretended: and not to leaue it off for matters of small importance, for that therein they make no offence vnto God, and it may be a meane vnto the conuerting of that mightie Kingdome.

When that the *Insuanto* vnderstood that the *Spaniards* would enter with the reuerence accustomed, and in such order as was declared vnto them, hee straight-ways commanded that they should come into the Hall whereas hee was, they entred into another Hall as bigge as the first: whereas were many Souldiers with their weapons in their hands in very good order, and richly apparelled, and next vnto them were many Tipstaues and Sergeants, with different Ensignes or Badges, all apparelled with long Robes of silke, garded and embroydered with Gold, and euery one of them had a Helme on his head, some of siluer and other some of Tinne gilt ouer, which was a gallant thing to see: all had long haire and died yellow, which hung downe behind their eares vpon their backs: they were placed in very good order, and made a lane that the *Spaniards* might passe thorough: then they came into a Gallerie, which was joyning vnto the Chamber where the Gouvernour was, and there they heard such a noyse of Instruments of diuers sorts, which

which endured a good while, and was of so great melodie, that it seemed vnto them that they neuer before heard the like: which caused vnto them great admiration to see so great Majestie amongst *Gentiles*. When the Musicke was ended, they entred into the Hall aforesaid, and had not gone many steps, when as they met with the Counsailler that met with them in the street aforesaid, and with him other two of his companions all on foot and bare-headed before the Gouvernour, and their Ensignes of Majestie left off: which is generally vied in all the Kingdome, the inferiour to make any shew when that he is before his Superiour. Then they made signes vnto them for to kneele downe, for that the *Insuanto* was nigh at hand in a rich Towre, vnder a Canopie of great Riches, and did represent so great Majestie as the King himselfe: hee did enter-
10 tayne them with tokens of great loue, and humanitie, and told them by their Interpreter, that they were very well welcome, and that hee did greatly rejoyce to see them, with many other words of great fauour. This Gouvernour was a man of goodly person, well fauoured, and of a merry countenance, more then any that they had seene in all that Countrey. Hee caused to bee put vpon the shoulders of the Fathers and of the Souldiers that were with him, euery one of them two pieces of silke, which was crossed about them like Skarfes, and likewise to either of them a branch of filuer: the like courtesie he did vnto the Captaine *Omoncon*, and vnto *Sinsay*, and commanded to giue vnto all their Seruants euery one of them a Mantle of Cotton painted. This being done, the Fathers did giue vnto him the Letters which they carried from the Gouvernour and Generall of the field, and a note of the Present that was sent him: crauing pardon for
20 that it was so small, but time and oportunitie would not serue as then to send vnto him a thing of greater price and valour: certifying him, that if the friendship which they pretended did goe forwards, and come to be established, that then all things should be amended and amplified. Hee answered vnto their proffers with words of great fauour, and made signes vnto them to arise, and to goe and take their rests, there whereas they were lodged: the which they did, and found all things in very good order and well furnished, as well of Beds as of all other necessities, which was done by the commandement of the Gouvernour. Before they departed out of the Palace the Captaine of the guard did carrie them vnto his Lodging, which was within the Court, and there he made them a Banquet with Conserues, and Fruits in abundance: the which being done, hee
30 and other Gentlemen of the Palace did beare them company vntil they came to their Lodgings, which they greatly desired, for that they were wearie of their Iourney, and also with the trouble of the great presse of people that pressed on them in the streets, & otherwise for to see them: the which Captaine of the guard did appoint a Company of Souldiers for to guard them both night and day, the which was done more for Maiestie then for necessitie or securitie of their persons. They had a Steward appointed to prouide them and all their company of all things necessary, and that in abundance, and not to take of them any thing, which was giuen by particular commandement by the Gouvernour.

The next day many of the Gentlemen of the Citie did goe vnto the *Spaniards* to visit them, and such as could not goe themselves did send their Seruants, bidding them welcome. The *Spaniards* did make answer, and gratified them all, in the which visitation they spent all the whole
40 day, hauing great admiration to see the good behauiour, nurture, and gallant demeanour of those Gentlemen, and the great discretion they had in the demanding of any thing they would know as also in their Answeres made to our requests. The next day the *Insuanto* sent a commandement wherein he willed the two Fathers to remayne in their Lodgings and take their ease: but the two Souldiers *Pedro Sarmiento*, and *Miguel de Loarcha*, should come and speake with him, and that they should bring with them their Interpreter, for that hee had one there with him (who was a *Chino*, and vnderstood the Language of the *Philippinas*, but so badly, that they could not by his Interpretation talke of any matter of importance. So when they came thither, they were brought whereas he was, but with lesse ceremonie, he requested them to declare vnto him the whole circumstance of the comming of *Limahon* the Rouer, vnto the Ilands, and how the
50 *Spaniards* dealt with him: that although he had beene informed particularly in all things, by the Captaine *Omoncon* and *Sinsay*, yet he was in a ieaousie that they told him not the truth. Hee was nothing deceived in that he suspected, for after that our Souldiers had made a true Relation of the comming of the Rouer vnto *Manilla*, and of all the rest, hee found that they differed very much, the one from the other, for that they did attribute it wholly vnto themselves: to get honour and benefit: but the *Insuanto* like a wiseman straight-ways vnderstood their pretence. But when that he perceiued that *Limahon* was neither dead nor Prisoner, but onely besieged, he offered vnto them that if they would returne againe vnto *Paganfinan* vpon him whereas he was, he would giue vnto them five hundred ships of warre, with people sufficient to serue both by Sea and Land, and more if they would request. They answered him, that all such cost and labour were but in vaine, for that the Generall of the field who hath him in siege, with the people and
60 ships that he hath are sufficient to end that Enterprize, and to send him hither alieue or dead, and that long before that their fleet should come thither. And besides this, their Ilands were poore of victuels, and could not sustaine so great an Armie many dayes. Beeing satisfied with these reasons, he gaue place that the Interpreter which they brought should come in where as they were,

Great Maicsty.

The Insuanto
person and en-
tertainment.

Vaine glory.

Boasting.

Mortified
Friars.

were, for he remayned at the doore without, for that hee would bee fully certified to auoid the suspicious doubt he had before he come in presence, yet he did helpe them very much. So when their Interpreter was come in, the *Spaniards* seeing good occasion and oportunitie for to declare that which passed the day before, betwixt them and the Fathers, touching the speaking vnto him on their knees: and seeing, as it seemed vnto them, that he was at that time in a good mind for to heare them, they did vtter vnto him all the whole contention (after that they had declared many reasons of great consideration, to giue them to vnderstand that it was not conuenient to doe it, but especially to religious men, who were there as principals ouer the rest, vnto whom the King of *Spaine* (their Lord) himselfe doth stand on foot, when as they doe intreate of any matter, although it be but of small importance: for that they are Priests and Ministers of God, 10 whom he doth worship and reuerence.

The *Infuante* with a merry countenance did answere them, that vnto that time hee vnderstood no more of them, then in that he was informed by the Captaine *Omoncon*, and did not acknowledge them to bee any other but *Castillas*: without knowing wherefore they came, nor from whom, for lacke of the Letters sent from their Gouvernour, and Generall of the field, the first time that hee spake with them: neither had hee any knowledge of the custome of their Countrey: yet notwithstanding, that which hath passed heere, without any exception of person, if they would take it in good part, in that which is to come shall be amended: and from that day forwards, at all times whensoever it were their pleasure to come of themselues, or at such time as they were sent for, for to talke with him as they doe vse in *Castilla* or *Spaine*, vnto such of their dignitie and vocation, the which hee granted with a very good will: although hee not grant vnto any that pre-eminence, no not vnto a Vice-roy, except he were an Ambassador sent from some King.

Spaniards feasted.
Table-rite.

A Comedy &
other sports.

The Viands.

The next day, the Gouvernour called a Gentleman of his House vnto him, and commanded him to go and visit the *Spaniards*, and to informe himselfe of them if that they lacked any thing. And also that he should in his name inuite them for the next day following to dine with him in his House. This Gentleman went vnto them and accomplished his message: and the *Spaniards* answered, kissing his hand for the great care he had of them: they were carryed into a Hall that was below in the second Court, whereas were many Chaires of Veluet and Tables that were painted with their frontals before. In the first Chaires they caused the Friars to sit downe, euery one at a Table by himselfe, and each of them other sixe Tables, placed in order, compassing round like a Circle: then were the *Spanish* Souldiers set in the same manner, and each of them had five Tables, and next vnto them the Captaine of the guard belonging vnto the Gouvernour, and two other Captaines: and euery one of them had three Tables. For that it is the custome of that Countrey to make a difference in the qualitie of the guests, by the number of the Tables. All these were placed in circle or compasse (as aforesaid) that they might see one another. In the midst betwixt them there was a round compasse, whereas was represented a Comedie with much pastime, and indured all the Dinner time, and a good while after. There was also great store of very good and excellent Musicke, accompanied with gallant voyces, also Iesters with Puppets, and other things of great pastime, to driue the time away. On the first Table was set to euery one of the guests, little Baskets wrought with Gold and Siluer wyre, full of sweet meates made of Sugar, as March-panes, Castles, Pitchers, Pots, Dishes, Dogges, Bulls, Elephants, and other things very curious, and all gilt: besides this there were many Dishes full of flesh, as Capons, Hennes, Geese, Teales, Gamons of Bacon, pieces of Beeffe, and other sorts of flesh wherewith all the Tables were replenished, sauing that whereat they did sit to dine, which was replenished with victuals that was dressed (for all the other was raw) and was of so great abundance, that there was at times more then fiftie dishes, and they were serued with great curiositie. They had Wine of diuers sorts, and of that which they doe make in that Countrey of the Palme-tree, but of so great excellencie, that they found no lacke of that which was made of Grapes. The Dinner endured foure houres, in so good order that it might haue bene giuen vnto any Prince in the World.

Their Seruants and Slaues that they brought with them at the same time, did dine in another Hall nigh vnto the same, with so great abundance as their Masters. When Dinner was done, the Gouvernour commanded the people to come vnto him, with whom hee did talke and common with great friendship, and good conuersation, and would not consent that they should kneele downe, neither to be bare headed. So after that he had made vnto them tokens of friendship, and detayned them a while, in demanding of many things, lastly, he told them that there was an order come from the Vice-roy of *Aucheo*, that they should goe thither with great speed. So hee tooke his leaue of vs with great friendship and courtesie. At their going forth out of the Hall, they found the Captaine that did dine with them, and with him many other Gentlemen that tarried their coming for to beare them company vnto their Lodging: going before them many Seruants, that did carrie the raw meate, that was vpon the other Tables ouer and aboue that which they did eate on, the which was done for great Maiestie, and a Ceremonie very much vsed in that Kingdome, so many times as they doe make any Banquet.

When

When they came vnto their Lodging they found that the *Insuanto* had sent them a very good Present, in the which was for euery one of them foure pieces of silke, and counting chifts with other things, and certayne painted Mantles for the Seruants and Slaues. After they had taken their leaue of the Captaines and Gentlemen that did beare them company home, they beganne with great ioy to put all things in order for their Iourney the next day following.

THe next day in the morning, before that the *Spaniards* were stirring, there was within the House all things necessary for their Iourney, as well of Litter chaires, as of Horses and Men for to carrie them, and their stufte, the which they did with so good a will (as aforesaid) that they did fall out and strue amongst themselves, who should be the first that should receiue their burthen. So all things beeing in good order, they departed, hauing in their company the same Captaine and Souldiers, that vnto that time had beene their guard, vntill they came vnto the Citie of *Ancheo*, whereas the Vice-roy was. This day by reason they vnderstood that they should depart, the prease and multitude of the people was so great, that although they had Tip-staues before them, to beate the people away and to make roome, yet was it almost night before they could get out of the Citie: so that they were constrained to remaine in a Towne there hard by all that night, whereas by the commandement of the Gouvernour they were very well lodged, and their Supper made readie in very good order, as it was in seuen dayes together; till such time as they came vnto *Ancheo*, without taking for the same, or for any other thing necessarie for their sustentaion, any price or value. There went continually before them a Post with a prouision from the Gouvernour, written in a great board wherein was declared who they were, and from whence they came, and commanding that there should be prouided for them all things necessarie in abundance, vpon the Kings cost, which was the occasion that so much people came for to see them, that in the high-waies they were many times disturbed with great trouble, the third day they came vnto a Citie which was called *Megoa*, which was sometimes the head gouernment, the which was of forty thousand households, but a great part thereof was dispeopled: the occasion thereof they told vs (and was) that about thirtie yeares past, the *Iapones*, who brought for their Guides three *Chinois*, came vpon that Citie (to reuenge themselves of an injurie that was done vnto them) the which they put in execution with so great secrecie and policie, that they made themselves Lords of the Citie without any danger or hurt vnto themselves: for that fiftie *Iapones*, men fit for that purpose, did apparell themselves in *Chinois* apparell without being knowne, and came vnto a Gate of the Citie, whereas the Souldiers that had the charge thereof were void of all suspicion. And within a little while after that, followed two thousand that did dis-imbarke themselves in a secret and vnknowne place, and came in very secret order, because they would not be discouered, and did beset that gate of the Citie, whereas their companions were, which they sent before: who so soone as they saw them nigh at hand, drew out their weapons, the which they carried hid vnder their apparell, & set vpon the Soldiers (that were void of feare and vnarmed) with so great furie and force, that they being amazed wert easily slain, so that they were Lords of the Gate, whereas they left very good guard, and followed their victorie, and made themselves Lords of the Citie, without any danger vnto their persons, and did possesse the same certaine daies, and did sacke the same in spite of them all, with great harme and losse vnto the Inhabitants thereof, vntill such time as the Vice-roy of *Ancheo* did leaue an Armie together of threescore and ten thousand men, but they seeing that they could not defend themselves against so many, in one night they left the Citie and went vnto their ships; whereas they had left them in very good order, and carried with them the spoile of the Citie, leauing it beaten downe.

So soone as they came thither, the Friers remayned in their Lodgings, but *Pedro Sarmiento* and *Miguel de Loarcha* went to visit the Gouvernour, vsing the *Spanish* courtesie with him: and he receiued them with great ioy and courtesie. After they had taken their leaue and returned vnto their Lodgings, the Gouvernour sent to visit them *El Tju*, who is the ancientest of his Council. At their departure from this Citie, traouelling towards *Ancheo*, they passed ouer a mightie great Riuer, by a Bridge all made of stone: the goodliest and greatest that euer they had seene, whose greatnesse did cause wonderfull admiration, so that they stayed and did measure it from one end to another, that it might be put amongst the wonders of that Countrey, which they tooke a note of. They found that it was one thousand and three hundred foot long, and that the least stone wherewith it was built, was of seuentene foot, and many of two and twentie foot long, and eight foote broad, and seemed vnto them a thing impossible to bee brought thither by mans art, for that all round about so farre as they could see, was plaine ground without any Mountaines: by which they judged them to be brought from farre. When they were passed that Bridge, they trauelled all the rest of the day till night vpon a Cawfie that was very broad and plaine, and on both sides many Victualling Houses, and the fields sowed with Rice, wheate, and other Seeds: and so full of people as in the streets of a good Towne or Citie.

After they had trauelled more then halfe a league in the Suburbs of the Citie of *Ancheo*, they met with a Post that came from the Vice-roy: who brought order that they should remaine

Ancheo.

Megoa a great
Citie spoiled
by Iapanders.
Stratagem.Admirable
stone bridge.

Suburbs of
Aucheo.

mayne in a house that was appointed for them in the sayd Suburbs. So soone as they were alighted, there came a Gentleman to visite them, sent from the Vice-roy to bid them welcome, and to know how they did with their iourney, and also to see that they were well prouided for that night, of all things necessarie, and that in abundance. After this Gentleman, came other Captaynes to visite them, and brought with them great store of Conserues, Wine and Fruit: which is a common custome amongst them, when that they goe in the like visitation, and it is carried by their seruants in little Baskets very curiously wrought, or else in Barrels made of earth all gilt. Within two houres after their coming thither, there came another messenger from the Vice-roy, with many men laden with Capons, Hennes, Geese, Teales, gamons of Bacon, and Conserues of diuers sorts, and of great abundance, sufficient for one hundred men to suppe that night, and for their dinner the next day. The next day in the morning very earely, there came much people vnto their lodging, sent by the Vice-roy, and brought with them two rich Chayres, for to carrie the Fathers in, and the Curtaines tyed vp, that they might the better bee seene, and for their companions very good Horses, saddled after the fashion which they doe vse. They forthwith made haste for to depart, and although they made great speed, yet were they a good houre and a halfe, before they could come vnto the gates of the Citie, and seemed vnto them that they had trauelled two leagues in the Suburbs: well peopled, faire houses, and many shops full of Merchandise.

Palace open
once a day.

State.

Before they came vnto the Gates, they passed a mightie Riuer three times ouer Bridges, that were great and very faire, and the Riuer so deepe, that great Ships came vp the same, but their mastes stooping downe, to passe vnder the bridges. This Citie is the head Citie of all the Province, verie rich and fertile, and many Townes belonging vnto it, and but eight leagues from the Sea. They had no leasure to tell the Souldiers, but they saw that from the Gate vntill they came vnto the Vice-royes Palace on both sides, which was a good way, to bee full of them, and all richly apparelled and of one colour. The people that were at the windowes and in the street, betwixt the houses and the Souldiers were so great a number, that it seemed to be doomes day, and that all the people in the world were there ioyned together in that street. When they came vnto the Palace which was two houres after day, the Gentlemen that were their guides, did cause the *Spaniards* to enter into a roome which was hard by, till such time as the Gate was open, for that it is open but once a day, and so continue no longer time then the audience endureth, which is done by the Vice-roy once euery day, and that is but a small time. But first, before he doth enter into audience, there is shot off foure peeces of Artillerie, with a great noyse of Trumpets, Drums and Waytes. And there is no day that passeth without audience, as our people did see by experience so long as they were there, and were likewise informed of others. The houre being come, and the ceremonie done as aforesayd, the Gates were opened, and there was in the Court many Souldiers, apparelled in the same luerie that those were of in the street. From the midst amongst them came forth a Gentleman, who was as it was told them, the Captayne of the guard of the Vice-roy, who came with great grauitie and authoritie, towards the place whereas our people were, and after they had saluted the one the other, hee made signes vnto them, that they should goe towards the gates of the Palace. When they were within the first Court, which was great and wrought with mightie pillars, there was a great number of Souldiers, and many Sergeants, that entred into another great court, and mounted vp a payre of stayres that was on the one side, whereas all the people were with great silence, sauing the Captayne of the guard, who went with our people till they came to the gates of the Hall, where was the Vice-roy, at which gate hee stayed with his head discouered, and made signes vnto ours that they should doe the like.

Ceremonie.

Vice-royes
state.

Then straight-ways came forth of the Hall a man apparelled in a long Robe, of good personage, and asked of the *Spaniards*, if they would speake with the Vice-roy, and they answered, yea: then asked hee againe from whom they came, and by whom they were sent, they answered, that they were sent by the Gouvernour of *Philippinas*, who was seruant vnto the mightiest King in all Christendome. When he had this answer, he returned againe into the Hall, and within a little while after he came forth, and bad them come in, but gaue them to vnderstand, that in entring into the hall whereas the Vice-roy was, that they should kneele downe, and talke with him in that order, till hee commanded to the contrarie, if they would vse this Ceremonie, that then they should come in, if not, that they should returne backe againe. They sayd, that they would obserue the order giuen vnto them. Therewith hee went in, who seemed to bee the Master of ceremonies, making a signe that they should follow after him, and doe that which hee willed them to doe. At the entring in at the doore, they stayed a little, and then kneeled downe right ouer against there whereas the Vice-roy sate, in a Chayre very high like vnto a Throne, with a Table before him, and was in so darke a place that almost they could not see his face very well. On the one side of him, there were some like vnto Heralds of Armes, with Scepters in their hands, and on the other side, two men of a gallant comlineffe armed with Corslets, made of scales of Gold downe to the calfe of their legges, with Bowes in their hands of gold, and Quiuers at their backs of the same. Both the one and the other were vpon their knees. There was

vpon

vpon the Table before him, paper and all things necessarie to write : which is an ordinarie vse amongst them at all times, when there is any publike audience, and on the one side of the board a Lion made of blacke wood, which was (as after they vnderstood) the Armes of that Prouince. So straight-ways hee made signes vnto them to draw neere, which they did, and kneeled downe a little from the Table which was whereas the Master of Ceremonies did will them; In this sort they began to talke with him by their Interpreter, and told them the occasion of their comming into that Citie and Kingdome, and from whom and vnto whom they were sent. But hee made signes vnto them that they should arise, the which they did with a very good will, and did perseuer in their intent. But the Vice-roy did cut them off before they could make an end, and asked if they had brought any Letter from their King, vnto the King his Lord, whom they would goe to see and talke with : but when they answered no, hee straight-ways tooke his leaue of them, saying, that they were welcome, and that they should depart vnto their lodgings and to take their ease, for that afterwards they should haue occasion to declare their mindes vnto him, and hee would giue them their answer, for that the King was farre off, and it requi- reth a long time to come whereas hee is, but he would write vnto him, and according vnto his commandement, he would make them answer. And therewith hee tooke the Letter, and the memoriall of the present, and commanded in his presence, to put about the neckes of the Friars in manner of a scarfe, to either of them sixe pieces of Silke, and vnto the Soldiers their compani- ons, and vnto *Omoncon*, and *Sinsay*, each of them foure pieces, and to euery one of their seruants two a piece, and to giue vnto the two Friars and the Souldiers, *Omoncon*, and *Sinsay*, euery one of them two branches of Siluer.

With the Silke about their neckes, and with the branches in their hands, they returned out of the Hall and downe the stayres the way they came, and so through the court into the streets, from whence they saw them shut the Court gate with so great a noyse, as when they did open it. From thence at the request of *Omoncon*, and *Sinsay*, they went vnto the house of *Totoc*, who is the Captayne generall of all the men of Warre, and vnto the house of *Cagnitoc*, who is the chiefe Standard-bearer : their houses were nigh the one the other, very faire and great. They found them with as great Maiestie as the Vice-roy, and in the same order, with a Table before them, and had on each side of them armed Souldiers, kneeling on their knees. Yet did they not vse our men with the courtesie that the Vice-roy vsed, to cause them to stand vp, which was the occasion, that straight-ways they made a show that they would depart and bee gone, complain- ing of *Omoncon*, and *Sinsay*, for that they did carrie them thither, and told them with anger, that the Gouverneur of *Manilla*, did intreat them in a different sort, who was there resident for the mightiest Prince in all the world, and they but easie Merchants, neither was their going thither to bee equalled, vnto the benefite that they came thither for. This discontent the which they receiued, was the occasion that they would not goe to make any more visitations, although the sayd *Omoncon*, and *Sinsay*, for their owne interest, would haue carryed them to the houses of other Officers, and Gentlemen of the Court.

At their comming thither, they found all their stufte in good order, and their dinner maruei- lous well provided, and the whole house hanged and trimmed, as though it had beene for the Kings owne person, with many wayting men and Souldiers, those which did guard them both day and night, and hanging at the doore two tables or boards (commanded by the Vice-roy) whereon was written who they were, that were there lodged, and from whence they came, and wherefore, and that none whofoeuer, should bee so hardie as to offer them any wrong or dis- turbance, vpon payne to bee for the same offence seuerely punished. In this house they were more in quiet, then in any other place; whereas they had beene, neither did the people giue them so much trouble, by reason of the great care which the Iudges had in putting order for the same, by the commandement of the Vice-roy, yet was it the greatest Towne and most populed, of all that Prouince (although in other Prouinces there bee that be much bigger) and is affirmed that the Citie of *Taybin*, or *Suntiem*, (there whereas the King and his Court is resident) hath three hundred thousand households, and yet there is a bigger Citie in the Kingdome cal- led *Lanchin*.

This Citie of *Auchee*, hath a very faire and strong Wall made of stone, which is siue fathom high, and foure fathom broad, the which was measured many times by our people, for that they had a gate out of their lodging that did open to the same. This wall is all couered ouer with tyles to defend the rayne-water for hurting of it, which could not to the contrarie but re- ceiue damage, for that there is no lyme vsed in the whole wall. They haue not one Castle in all this Citie, neither is there any vsed in all that Kingdome, for all their force and strength is in their Gates, the which bee made very strong, with a double wall, within very broad, betwixt the which are continually many Souldiers, such as doe keepe watch and ward both day and night. Vpon these gates they haue much Ordnance, but very ill wrought. The whole wall is full of battlements, and thereon written the names of such Souldiers as are bound to repayre thi- ther in the time of necessitie. At euery hundred paces they haue lodgings, the which are very huge and great : there whereas in the time of necessitie doe remayne and dwell their Captaynes,

Lions the Armes of that Prouince, per- haps this de- ceived *Pinto*, who mistooke them (seeing them common on pillars, &c.) to be the Kings Armes, which were but of some places.

Totoc.
Cagnitoc.

Reports of *Pe- quin*, called *Taybin* also and *Suntiem*.
Lanchin for *Nanchin*, or *Nanquin*. See *Ricci*.

Auchee descri- bed.

Ordnance bad

The Citie
double moted.

Vnwholsome.

Foundations.

Vice-royes
Feast.

Idoltrous
rite to the
Sunne.

Comedies.
Tumblers.

Taybin or Pa-
quin; diuersly
called, either
by reason of
diuers langua-
ges; or because
they giue ap-
pellatiue
names (as the
Tatars call the
same Citie
Cambalu, that
is, the Royall
Citie) thereto.

All things
good cheape.

xii. Idols in
one Chappell.

so long as their troubles doe indure, all the wall is fortified with two great motes or ditches, the one within and the other without, the which they doe fill at all times when they please, by sluices which they haue from the Riuer for the same purpose, and doe serue of water almost all the houses in the Citie, whereas they haue their stanges for the most part full of Fish. This mightie Citie is situated in a great playne, and compassed round about with mightie Rockes and Mountaines, which is the occasion that it is not so healthfull, and the Inhabitants say, that it is by reason of the Mountaines, and many times it is ouer-flownen in the winter, by spring-tydes from the Riuer. And in that yeere that this doth happen, it doth destroy and ruinate a great part of the Citie, as it was at that time when our people did see it, for that in the winter before they were troubled with these great tydes, which did them much harme.

The next day after that our people came into the Citie, the Vice-roy did send to inuite them to dinner to his owne house, whereas he made them a great banquet in the forme following. At their comming vnto the Palace there came forth a great number of Gentlemen, seruants vnto the Vice-roy, to bid them welcome, with great store of musicke and tokens of mirth. Being entered into the first Court, they brought them into a mightie Hall that was maruellously well trimmed, wherein was a great number of Tables set in such order, as they were in the banquet that was made them by the Gouverneur of *Chincheo*, (as hath bene told you) although the number and furniture did farre excell the other. But before they did sit downe, there came vnto them two Captaynes principall men, vnto whom the Vice-roy had committed the charge of the banquet, to doe all things in his name, for that it is a custome in that Kingdome, that Noble men must not be present in their banquets they make. So the charge was giuen vnto them, to make them be merrie, & to bid his ghests welcome. When they came vnto them they vsed great courtesie, and passed away the time in gallant discourses, till it was time to go to dinner, and that they began to bring in their victuals. Then before they did sit downe, the Captaynes did take each of them a cup in his hand, in manner of a *Sorlus*, as they doe vse, and being full of Wine, they went together whereas they might discouer the Heauen and offered it vnto the Sunne, and vnto the Saints of heauen, adding thereunto many words of prayers: but principally they did request that the comming of their new ghests might be profitable vnto them all, and that the friendship which they did pretend to establish, might be for good both vnto the one and to the other. This their prayer being done, they did spill out the Wine making a great courtesie, then were they straight-ways filled againe, and making reuerence vnto their ghests euery one by himselfe, they set the Cups downe vpon the Tables whereas the Fathers should dine, whereas they were set euery one by himselfe. This being done, the first seruice was set vpon the boards, and the Captaynes were set at other Tables. The time which the banquet indured (which was very late) there was great store of musicke of diuers Instruments, as of Vials, Gitterns, and Rebuckes, and with them many lesters did make them merrie at their dinner. The which being done, the sayd Captaynes did beare their ghests companie out of the Palace, whereas they did anew inuite them to dinner for the next day, in the same Hall: they obeying their request did come, whereas was made vnto them a banquet more notable than the first. This day at the banquet was present the *Totoc*. In this second banquet they had as the day before, very much musicke, and a Comedie that indured long, with many prettie and merrie iests: there was also a Tumbler, who did his feates very artificially, as well in vaulting in the ayre, as vpon a staffe that two men did hold on their shoulders. Before the Comedie did begin, by their Interpreter the signification thereof was told them, that the better they might content themselves in the conceiuing.

The next day they sent the present, and those who carryed it in, did afterward giue our people to vnderstand that in opening the present, there was a note thereof taken before a Notarie, and straight-ways put in againe where it was taken out, before the sayd Notarie and other witnesses, the which being done, hee sealed it vp, and sent it vnto the Citie of *Taybin*, vnto the King and his Counsell, for that they haue a rigorous Law in that Kingdome, that doth prohibite all such as haue any office of Gouvernement, to receiue any present of what qualitie soeuer it bee, without licence of the King or of his Counsell. This is conformable vnto that, which the Gouverneur of *Chincheo* did in the presence of our people.

The next day following, the Vice-roy did send to visite them, and to aske of them a Sword, a Harquebuss and a Flaske: for that hee would cause others to bee made by them, the which they did send, and afterwards vnderstood, that they had counterfeited the same, although not in so perfect manner.

Then after a time our people seeing, that their being in that Citie seemed to be long and like to be longer, they did procure to driue away the time in the best manner they could, and went abroad into the Citie, and did by either of them that which they thought best. Whereof they found great abundance, and of so small price, that they bought it almost for nothing. They bought many Bookes that did intreat of diuers matters, which they brought with them to the Ilands. The next day they went to see the Gates of the Citie, and all such curious things as were to be scene, so farre as they could learne or vnderstand, which were many. But amongst them all, they saw a sumptuous Temple of their Idols, in whose chiefe Chappell they counted, one hundred and

and eleuen Idols, besides a great number more that were in other particular Chappels, all were of carued worke, very well proportioned and gilded: but in especiall three of them that were placed in the midst of all the rest, the one had three heads proceeding out of one bodie, the one looking on the other in full face, the second was the forme of a Woman with a Child in her armes, the third of a Man appparelled after the forme and fashion, that the *Christians* doe paynt the Apostles. Of all the rest some had foure armes, and some had sixe, and other eight, and other some maruellous deformed monsters. Before them they had burning Lamps, and many sweet perfumes and smels, but in especiall, before the three aboue specified.

Three headed Image.
A woman with childe.

But when that the Vice-roy did vnderstand, that our people did goe viewing the Citie gates and Temples (and perceiue that they that gaue him the notice did suspect it, that it was to some ill intent) therewith hee straight-wayes commanded, that they should not goe forth of their lodging, without his licence: and likewise commanded the Captayne that was their guard not to consent thereunto, as he had done, and likewise that none should carrie them any thing for to sell, for he that did it should be punished with whipping. Yet notwithstanding, they had euery day very sufficient necessaries for their personages in such ample wise, that there did always remayne, and not lacke. In this closenesse and keeping in, they suffered many dayes with much sadnesse, and oppressed with melancholicke humours, to see that their purpose wherefore they went thither seemed to be long, and euery day was worse and worse. Yet notwithstanding they did passe it ouer in the best wile they could, in committing it with heartie zeale vnto God, for whose honour and glory they did attempt that voyage, and prayed vnto him for to mooue their hearts to consent, that the religious Fathers might remayne in that Countrey, for to learne the language (as they had begun many dayes before) by which meanes their soules might be saued, and clearely deliuered from the tyrannie of the Deuill, who of truth had them in possession. So after many dayes, that they had remayned in that close estate, as aforesayd, they determined for to goe and talke with the Vice-roy, and to bee fully resolu'd, either to tarry or returne from whence they came, but were not permitted.

Vice roy's iealousie.

In this order they remayned in the Citie certayne dayes, and for to conclude, either to stay there, or depart the Kingdome, they were resolute, and determined to write a Letter vnto the Vice-roy. They could finde none that would write this letter for them, although they would haue payed them very well for their paines. Till in the end, by great request and prayings, the Captayne *Omoncon* did write it for them, and straight-wayes departed vnto the Citie of *Ampin*, that was not farre off, to put away the suspition they might conceiue, that hee did write the letter, if that peraduenture the Vice-roy would take it in ill part. Their letter being written, they found great difficultie in sending the same, for that there was none that would carrie it, neither would they consent, that our men should enter into the Palace to deliuer it. But in conclusion, what with requests and gifts, they perswaded their Captayne of their guard to carrie it, who did deliuer the same vnto the Vice-roy, in name of the *Castillo*, saying, that he tooke it of them to bring it vnto him, for that they did certifie him, that it was a thing that did import very much. Hauing read the letter, he answered, that he would giue the King to vnderstand thereof, as hee said at the first time. And in that, touching the Friars remaining in that Countrey to preach, at that time he could make them no answer, for that in such matters, it was first requisite to haue the good-will of the Royall Counsell. Yet would hee make answer vnto the Letter they brought from the Gouverneur of *Manilla*, and that they might depart, and returne againe, at such time as they brought *Limahon* prisoner or dead, the which being done, then shall the friendship be concluded which they doe pretend, and to remayne and preach at their will. With this answer they remayned without all hope to remaine there, and did incontinent prepare themselves for to depart from *Manilla*, and bought many bookes to carrie with them, wherein was comprehended all the secrets of that Kingdome. By reason whereof, they might giue large notice vnto the royall Maiestie of King *Philip*. The which being vnderstood by the Vice-roy, who had set spies to watch their doings, he did send them word that they should not trouble themselves in the buying of bookes, for that he would giue them freely, all such bookes as they would desire to haue: the which afterwards hee did not accomplish.

Ampin.

People in great subiection.

In the meane time that they stayed in this Citie, amongst all other things that they vnderstood, to driue away the time was one, it was giuen them to vnderstand that in one of the Prisons, there was a *Portugall* prisoner, who was taken in a ship of the *Iapones*, with others of his Nation, who were all dead in the Prison, and none left aliue but hee alone. Our people being very desirous for to see him, and to learne of him some secrets of that Countrey, for that hee had bene there a great while, they did procure to talke with him, asking licence of the supreme Iudge and Lieutenant vnto the Vice-roy, who did not onely refuse to grant it them, but did make diligent inquirie who they were, that did giue them to vnderstand thereof, for to punish them.

A Portugall prisoner.

Vpon a sodaine there came newes vnto the Citie, that the Rouer *Limahon*, was vpon the coast of *Chincho*, vsing his old accustomed cruelties, and how that he had spoyled and robbed a Towne vpon the sea coast. This newes was throughout all the Citie, and appeared to bee true, touching

Taocay another
Pirat, taken to
bee Limahon.
Suspicion of
euill.

Omoncon and
Sinsay, at vari-
ance.

Generall con-
sultation.

the effect of the deed : yet false touching the person, for that the Rouer was called *Taocay*, an enemy, and contrarie vnto *Limahon* : but a friend vnto *Vintoquian*, of whom wee haue spoken of. But thereupon the Vice-roy, and all of the Citie, were comfortable in the suspicion that they had receiued, which was that our people were come into that Kingdome vpon some euill pretence, and to see the secrets thereof, to some euill end, which was the occasion that from that time forwards, they shewed them not so good countenance as they did before. These newes was not so soone come, but straight-ways the Vice-roy did send for *Omoncon*, (who was then returned from his visiting) and *Sinsay*, vnto whom he had done courtesie, and giuen them the tytle of *Loyties* and Captaynes, and hee did reprehend them very sharply for that they had brought ouer people thither, and sayd, that they had told him a lye, in saying that *Limahon* was besieged, in such sort that hee could not escape, neither had the *Castillos* burnt his Ships, and that all was but a made matter amongst themselves, and how that the Captiues which they brought, and sayd that they had taken from *Limahon*, they had robbed from other places, and sayd that the *Spaniards*, were spies that came to discover the secrets, and strength of the Kingdome, and that they had brought them thither, by force of gifts that they had giuen them. They answered him with great humilitie, in saying, that in all that which they had sayd they did speake the truth, and that it should appeare at such time, as the newes of the Rouer should bee better knowne, the which if it shall appeare to be contrarie, they were there readie for to suffer whatsoever punishment that should bee giuen them. The Vice-roy being somewhat satisfied with this their iustification, bad them to depart, remitting all things vnto time for the true declaration thereof. Then *Omoncon*, and *Sinsay*, came straight-ways to giue the *Spaniards* to vnderstand of all that had passed with the Vice-roy, and what they vnderstood of him, which caused in them so great feare, that for the time which it indured (which was till such time as they vnderstood the truth as afore sayd) they payed very well for their feasts and banquets the which they had made them. All this happened in the time that *Omoncon*, and *Sinsay*, were at variance, and spake many iniurious words the one of the other, discovering their intents and deuises, whereby it plainly appeared, that in all that which they had told vnto the Vice-roy, they lyed, but in especiall *Omoncon*. *Sinsay* did dissemble, for hee sayd and told vnto all people, that by his order and industrie, our people did fire the Ships of *Limahon*, and besieged him, with other speeches in the like sort, yet twentie dayes before his comming thither, all was ended and done as appeared. The occasion of their enmitie and falling out, was for that the Vice-roy had giuen vnto *Omoncon*, a tytle and charge of more honour, then vnto *Sinsay*, hauing made betwixt them a consort, that the reward or dignitie should bee equally diuided betwixt them, and that the one should speake of the other the best they could, because the Vice-roy should doe them friendship. This condition and consort (as appeareth) was euill performed by *Omoncon*, being addicted vnto selfe-loue, and seemed vnto him that *Sinsay*, did not deserue so much as hee did, for that he was a base man, and of the Sea, and hee of the more nobilitie, and had the office of a Captayne.

With this griefe and care remayned the *Spaniards* certaine dayes kept close in their lodgings, and were not visited so often as they were when they first came thither, which did augment very much their feare, till such time as they vnderstood, that the Vice-roy either of his owne good-will, or else by some particular order from the King and his Counsell, had called together all the *Gouernours* of that Prouince of *Aucheo*, to intreat of matters touching *Limahon*, as also in particular, why and wherefore the *Spaniards* came thither, and to resolute themselves wholly in all things requisite for the same. So when that they were all come together, which was in a short time, and amongst them the *Gouernour* of *Chimcheo*, who by another name was called *Insuanto*, they had particular meetings together with the Vice-roy, in the which they were all agreed to haue a generall meeting, whereunto should bee called the *Castillos*, and to demand of them in publike audience, the cause of their comming and being heard, to giue them their answer according as they had determined : for the which vpon a day appointed they met all together (but not the Vice-roy) in the house of the *Cagontoc*, and commanded to come before the *Castillos*, who did accomplish their request with a great good-will, for that they vnderstood that they were called to entreat of their matter, either to tarrie or depart. So when they came thither, they were commanded to enter into a mightie Hall, whereas they were all set in verie rich Chayres with great grauitie and maiestie. The *Insuanto* seemed to bee the chiefest amongst them, but whether it was for that hee was the principallest next vnto the Vice-roy (or as it was told them) for that it was hee that sent *Omoncon*, in the chase of the Rouer *Limahon*, they knew not, but so soone as they were entred into the Hall, they were commanded to draw nigh, there, whereas they were all placed, without bidding them to sit downe, neither did they vse any particular circumstances or courtesie. The *Insuanto* tooke vpon him the charge, and demanded of the *Spaniards* (by meanes of the Interpreters) what was the occasion of their comming into that Countrey. The *Spaniards* answered as they thought : and supposed, that at that time it could not bee, but that *Limahon* was either taken prisoner or slaine. Then did the *Insuanto*

con-

conclude his speech, in saying vnto them that they should returne vnto their owne Countrey to the Ilands, and at such time as they did bring *Limabon*, they would conclude all things touching the friendship they requested, and also for the Preaching of the Gospell.

So from that day forwards, they did procure with all haste for to depart, and gaue the Vice-roy to vnderstand thereof, who answered them and sayd, that they should comfort themselves and receiue joy and pleasure, and that hee would dispatch them, so soone as the Visitor of that Prouince was come to *Ancheo*, which would bee within ten dayes, for that hee had written vnto him, that he should not dispatch them vntill his comming, for that he would see them. From that day forwards, he commanded that sometimes they should let them goe forth abroad to recreate themselves, and that they should shew vnto them some particular pleasure or friend-
 10 ship. So one of them was carryed to see the Mustering of their men of warre, which they haue in a common custome throughout all the Kingdome, to doe it the first day of the New-moone, and is sure a thing to bee seene: and they doe it in the field which is joyning vnto the walls of the Citie, in this manner following. There were joyned together little more or lesse then twen-
 30 tie thousand Souldiers, Pike-men and Harquebussie shot, who were so expert, that at the sound of the Drum or Trumpet, they straight-ways put themselves in battle aray, and at another sound in a Squadron, and at another the shot doe diuide themselves from the rest, and discharge their Pieces with very gallant and good order, and with a trice put themselves againe into their places or standings: this being done, the Pike-men came forth and gaue the assault all toge-
 30 ther, with so good order and consort, that it seemed vnto the *Spaniards*, that they did exceed all the warlike orders vsed in all the world: and if it were so, that their stomacks and hardinesse were equall vnto their dexteritie, and number of people, it were an easie thing for them to con-
 30 quer the dominion of all the world. If it so chance, that any Souldier should lacke in his Office, and not repayre to his place appointed, hee is straight-ways punished very cruelly, which is the occasion, that euery one of them hath a care vnto his charge. This their Muster indured foure houres, and it was certified vnto the *Spaniards*, that the same day and houre it is done in all Cities and Townes, throughout the whole Kingdome, although they are without suspicion of enemies.

Five and twentie dayes after that the *Insuanto* had giuen the resolute answer vnto the *Spani-*
 30 *ards*, came the Visitor thither: and the whole Citie went forth to receiue him, who entred in with so great Maestie, that if they had not knowne who hee was, they could not haue beene perswaded, but that he had beene the King. The next day following, the *Spaniards* went to vi-
 30 lite him, for duties sake, as also for that hee had a desire to see them. They found him in his lod-
 30 ging, where he began to make visitation of the Citie. In their Courts were an infinite number of people, which came thither with Petitions and complaynts, but in the Halls within, there was none but his Seruants and Sergeants. When that any came for to present his Petition, the Porter that was at the entrie made a great noyse, in manner of an *O est*, for that it was a good way from the place whereas the Visitor did sit, then cometh forth straight-ways one of his Pages, and taketh the Petition, and carryeth it vnto him. At this time it was told him how
 30 that the *Castillas* were there: hee commanded that they should enter, and talked with them a few words, but with great courtesie, and all was touching the Imprisonment of *Limabon*, with-
 30 out making any mention of their departure or tarrying. So after a while that hee had beheld them and their apparell, he tooke his leaue of them, saying, that by reason of the great businesse hee had in that visitation, he could not shew them any courtesie, neither to vnderstand of them what their request and desire was, but gaue them great thanks for their courtesie shewed, in that they would come to visite him.

Three dayes after the Visitor was come thither, the *Insuanto* departed for his owne house, with order that with all speed possible, hee should ordayne Ships wherein the *Castillas* should re-
 30 turne vnto the *Philippinas*. Likewise the same day, all those that were there assembled by the order of the Vice-roy, departed vnto their owne houses. And the *Spaniards* were commanded for to stay vntill the full of the Moone, which should bee the twentieth of August, and that day they should take their leaue of them: for on that day amongst them, it is holden for good to be-
 30 gin any thing whatsoever. Wherein they doe vse great superstition, and doe make many ban-
 30 quets, as vpon New-yeeres day.

The day before the departure of the *Spaniards*, there came some in behalfe of the Vice-roy to inuite them, and made them banquet in the order and fashion as at the first: although this (for that it was at their departure) was more sumptuous, wherein was represented a Comedie, which was very excellent and good, whose argument was first declared vnto them. All the which they did represent so naturally, and with so good apparell and personages, that it seemed a thing to
 30 passe in Act. There was not in this banquet the Vice-roy, but those Captaynes which were there the first time: and another Captayne, vnto whom was giuen the charge to bring the *Spaniards* vnto *Manilla*, who was called *Chautalay*, a principall Captayne of that Prouince. When the banquet was ended, they were carryed with great companie from the Hall whereas the banquet was made, vnto the house of the *Cogontoc*, who was the Kings Treasurer, & dwelt there hard by,

New-moone
Musters.

Their assuities,
their Pieces, &
hearts, are layd
to be naught.

Souldiers are
punished.

Visitors en-
trance in state.

Manner of his
Courts.

Superstitions.

Parting com-
plement.

Treasurer,
of

Presents.

of whom they were marvellously well received with louing words and great courtesie: in saying that he hoped very shortly to see them againe, at such time as they shall returne with *Limahon*, and that as then their friendship should be fully concluded, and would intreat with them in particular of other matters. This being done, he gaue vnto them a Present for to carrie vnto the Gouvernour of *Manilla* in recompence of that which was sent vnto the Vice-roy: the Present was forty pieces of Silke and twentie pieces of *Burato*, a Litter Chaire and gilt, and two *Quitafoles* of Silke, and a Horse. Likewise hee sent the like Present vnto the *Generall of the field*, and to either of them a Letter in particular: these things were put in Chists which were very faire and gilt. Besides this he gaue other forty pieces of Silke of all colours for to bee parted amongst the Captaines and other Officers that were at the siege of *Limahon*, with three hundred blacke Mantles and as many *Quitafoles* to be parted amongst the Souldiers. Besides all these, he gaue vnto the Friers each of them eight pieces of Silke, and vnto the Souldiers their companions foure pieces of each of them, and to euery one his Horse and a *Quitafol* of Silke; their Horses were very good to trauell by the way. This being done, the *Cogonro* tooke his leaue of them, and willed them to goe and take leaue and licence of the Vice-roy and the *Vistor*, that they might depart, for that all things were in a readinesse for their Voyage: the which commandement they did straight wayes accomplish, being very well content and satisfied of the great fauours and courtesies, the which they receiued both of the one and the other: Likewise of the *Tocor*, i *Captaine Generall*, whom they also did visit and tooke their leaue.

To keepe away the Sun.

The *Spaniards* departed from the Citie of *Ancheo*, vpon a Tuesday, beeing the three and twentieth of August in the sight of all the people of the Citie, who came forth to see them with so great presse and throng, as they did when they first came thither into the Countrey: they were all carried in Litter Chaires, yea, their very slaues, for that it was so commanded by the Vice-roy: the Friers were carried by eight men a piece, and the Souldiers by foure men a piece, and all their Seruants and Slaues were carried by two men a piece. Looke so many men as was to carrie them, there went so many more to helpe them when they waxed wearie, besides foure and twentie that carried their Stuffle. There went alwayes before them a Harbinger for to prouide their Lodgings, and with him went a Pay-master, whose charge was to ordaine and prouide men for to carrie their Litter Chaires, and to giue them for their trauell that which is accustomed, and to pay all costs and charges spent by the *Spaniard*.

After that they departed from *Ancheo*, they made of two dayes Iourney one, which was the occasion that they came to *Chincheo* in foure dayes. At their entring into the Citie they found a Seruant of the *Insuanto*, with order and commandement, that they should proceed forwards on their Iourney, and not to stay in the Citie, but to goe vnto the Port of *Tansuso*, whither he will come the next day following. They obeyed his commandement, and made so much haste that in two dayes they came vnto the Village of *Tangoa*, whereas they had beene before, and particular mention made thereof. In the same Village they were lodged, well entertayned and had great good cheere: from thence they went in one day to *Tansuso*, which was the first Port whereas they did dis-imbarke themselves, when as they came from the Ilands vnto that firme Land: the Iustice of the Towne did lodge them in the same House whereas they were first lodged, and did prouide for them of all things necessary and needfull, and that in abundance, till the coming of the *Insuanto*, which was within foure dayes after, for that hee could not come any sooner (although his desire was) for that it was very foule weather.

Superstition.

The third of September, the *Insuanto* sent and commanded the *Spaniards* that they should imbarke themselves, for that it was that day the conjunction of the Moone (although at that time the ships were not fully in a readinesse.) They obeyed his commandement, and the *Insuanto* himselfe went to the water side, in whose presence came thither certaine Religious men of their manner, and after their fashon they made Sacrifice with certaine *Prayers*, in the which they craued of the Heauens to giue good and faire weather, and a sure Voyage and fauourable Seas vnto all those that saile in those ships. This Ceremony, being done (which is a thing very much vsed in that Countrey) the *Spaniards* went vnto the *Insuanto*, who was there with great company and Maiestie: he entertayned them very friendly and with cheerefull words making an outward shew that he bare them great loue, and that their departure was vnto him a great griefe. Then he requested them to giue him a remembrance of such things as was necessary and needfull for their prouisiou for the Sea, for that he would giue order for the prouiding of the same, the which hee did, and was with so great abundance that they had for the Voyage, and remayned a great deale to spare. He then commanded to be brought thither Cates to eate and drinke, and gaue it them with his owne hands, as well the one as the other: he himselfe did eate and drinke with them, which is the greatest fauour that can be shewed amongst them. The Banquet being ended, he commanded them in his presence to goe aboard their ships, because that was a luckie day, and also to accomplish that which the Vice-roy had comanded, which was that he should not depart from thence, vntill they had first seene them imbarked. The *Spaniards* obeyed the commandement, and tooke their leaue of the *Insuanto*, with great courtesie and reuerence, and with outward shewes that they remayned indebted for the great courtesie & good will that they had receiued:

Plentifull provision.

Luckie day.

and

and therewith they departed to the waters side, towards the Boat which was tarrying for them.

As they passed by the Religious men (that before we spake of) they saw a great Table set, and vpon it a whole Oxe with his throat cut, and hard by the same a Hogge and a Goate, and other things to be eaten: the which they had ordained for to make Sacrifice, which they doe vse in the like Affaires.

They being imbarcked in the Boate, they were carried aboard the Admirall, which was the ship appointed for them to goe in: then presently they beganne to stirre the ship, from one place vnto another with certaine Boats and Cables which they had there readie for the same purpose. The ship did not so soone begin to mooue, but the Religious men ashore did beginne their Sacrifice, the which did indure vntill night, ending their Feasts and Triumphs in putting forth of the Citie, and vpon their Gates many Cressets and Lights. The Souldiers shot off all their Harquabusses, and the shippes that were in the Port shot off all their Artillerie, and on the shoare a great noyse of Drummes and Bels: all the which being ended and done, the Spaniards went ashore againe vnto their Lodging: but first the *Insuanto* was departed vnto his owne House, with all the company that he brought with him.

The next day the said *Insuanto* did inuite them vnto a Banket, which was as famous as any which had beene made them vnto that time. He was at the Banket himselfe, and the Capitaine Generall of all that Prouince. There was abundance of meates and many pretie deuises to passe away the time, which made the Banket to indure more then foure houres: the which being done, there was brought forth the Present which the *Insuanto* did send vnto the Gouvernour of *Manilla* in returne of that which was sent to him. The Present was fourteene pieces of silke for the Gouvernour of *Manilla*, and ten pieces for the Generall of the field: he also commanded to be giuen vnto the Friers each of them foure pieces, and vnto the Souldiers each of them two pieces, and vnto their Seruants and Slaues certaine painted Mantels, and therewith hee tooke his leaue of them very friendly, and gaue vnto them Letters, the which he had wrote vnto the Gouvernour, and vnto the Generall of the field, answere vnto those, the which they had wrote vnto him, and said that all things necessary for their departure was in a readinesse, with victuals for tenne moneths put aboard their ships, so that when as wind and weather did serue they might depart. Also that if in their Voyage it should so fall out, that any of the *Chinois* that went in their ships, should doe vnto them any euill, either abroad or at the Ilands: that the Gouvernour thereof should punish them at his pleasure, and how that the Vice-roy will thinke well thereof: In conclusion, he said vnto them, that he hoped to see them there againe very shortly, and to returne againe with *Limabon*, and then he would supply the wants which now they lacked. The Spaniards did kisse his hands, and said, that they had receiued in courtesie more then they deserued, and that in all things, there did abound and not lack, that they remained greatly indebted vnto him for their friendship, and would giue their King notice thereof, that whensoever occasion should be offered, to repay them with the like: and therewith the *Insuanto* departed to his owne House, leauing in the company of the Spaniards five Captains, those which should go with them in their company to Sea, and also *Omoncon* and *Sinsay* who were that day in the Banket, with the Habit and Ensigne of *Loytias*, for that the day before it was giuen vnto them by the *Insuanto*.

Vpon Wednesday which was the fourteenth of September, the wind came faire, wherewith they hoysed vp their Sayles and went to Sea: at their departure there was at the waters side the *Insuanto* and the Iustice of *Chincheo* to see them sayle, they sayled forwards directing their course towards a small Iland that was not farre off, with determination there to take water for their ships, for that it had in it many Riuer of very sweet water. Within a small space they arriued there, and it had a very faire and sure Port, wherein might ride in securitie a great Nauy of ships. All Thursday they were there recreating and sporting themselves, for that it was a pleasant Iland, and full of fresh Riuer. Vpon Friday being the sixteenth of September, the day being somewhat spent, they made saile and tooke Port foure leagues from that place in another Iland called *Laulo*, for to put themselves in a new course, different and contrary vnto that which they tooke when they came vnto that Kingdome, for that the *Chinois* had by experience proued, that in those monethes the winds were more fauourable then in other monethes, and for the most part North and North-east winds: all that night they remained in that Iland, and the next day following they sayled vnto another Iland which was called *Chautubo*, not farre distant from that of *Laulo*. This Iland was full of little Townes, one of them was called *Gautin*, which had five Forts or Towers made of Lime and stone, very thicke and strongly wrought: they were all foure square, and sixe fathome high, and were made of purpose for to receiue into them all the people of those little Townes, to defend themselves from Routers and Theeues that daily come on that Coast.

They very much noted, that although this Iland were rockie and sandie, yet was it tilled and sowed full of Rice, Wheate, and other Seeds and Graine. There was in it great store of Kine and Horse, and they vnderstood that they were gouerned, not by one particular man, to whom they were subiect, neither by any other amongst themselves, nor of *China*, but in common: yet notwithstanding they liued in great peace and quietnesse, for that euery one did content himselfe with

*Insuanto's fare-
well Feast.*

Ten moneths
prouision.

Laulo.

Monsones

*Chautubo:
Gautin.*

Kine and
Horse.
Common-
wealth.

Corchu.

with his owne. Vpon Sunday in the afternoone they departed from this Iland, and sayled their course all that night, at the next morning they arriued at another Iland, called *Corchu*, which was twentie leagues from the Port of *Tansuso*, from whence they departed. The *Spaniards* seeing what leisure they tooke in this their Voyage, they requested the Captaines to command the Mariners that they should not enter into so many Ports or Harbours. The Captaines answered, and requested them to haue patience, for that in making their Iournies as they did, they doe accomplish and follow the order set downe by the Vice-roy and *Insuanto*, the *Chinois* are very fearefull of the Sea, and men that are not accustomed to ingulfe themselues too farre, neither to passe any stormes.

Ancon.

Neere vnto this Iland there was another somewhat bigger, which is called *Ancon*, wholly dispeopled and without any dwellers, yet a better Countrey and more profitable for to sow and reape then that of *Corchu*. The *Spaniards* being at an Anchor there, vnderstood by the *Chinois* that in times past it was very well inhabited, vnto the which arriued a great Fleet belonging to the King of *China*, and by a great storme were all cast away vpon the same: the which losse and destruction being vnderstood by another Generall that had the Guard of that Coast, Ysuspecting that the dwellers thereof had done that slaughter, hee came to the shoare and slue many of the Inhabitants, and carried all the rest in their ships vnto the firme Land, who afterwards would neuer returne thither againe, although they gaue them licence after that they vnderstood the truth of that successe: so that vnto that time it remained dispeopled, and full of wilde Swine, of the brood that remained there at such time as they were slaine and carried away as you haue heard.

A straight.

This Iland and the rest adjoyning thereunto (which are very many) haue very excellent and sure Ports and Hauens, with great store of fish. These Ilands endured vntill they came vnto a little Gulfe, which is five and fortie leagues ouer, and is sayled in one day, and at the end thereof is the Port of *Cabite*, which is neere vnto *Manilla*. So when that winde and weather serued their turne, they departed from the Iland of *Ancon*, and sailed till they came vnto another Iland called *Plon*, where they vnderstood by a ship that was there a fishing, how that the Rouer *Lima-hon* was escaped in certaine Barkes, which he caused to bee made very secretly within his Fort, of such Timber and Boards as remained of his ships that were burnt, the which was brought in by night by his Souldiers, on that side of the Fort which was next vnto the Riuer, and were not discovered by the *Castillas*, which were put there with all care and diligence to keepe the mouth that come in to helpe them. And towards the Land there whereas he might escape, they were without all suspicion (they were so strong) and did not mistrust that any such thing should be put in vre, as afterwards did fall out, the which was executed with so great policie and craft, that when they came to vnderstand it, the Rouer was cleane gone, and in safeguard, calking his Barkes at the Iland of *Tocaotican*, the better for to escape and saue himselfe, and they said, that it was but eight dayes past that he fled. With this newes they all receiued great alteration, but in especiall *Omoncon* and *Sinsay*.

From the Phil-
ippinas to the
China is 200.
leagues

After they had remained three weeks in that Harbour detayned with a mighty North-wind, that neuer calmed night nor day in all that time. The eleuenth day of October, two houres before day, they set sayle and went to Sea. Sixteene leagues from the Port, sailing towards the South, they discovered a mightie Iland very high Land, which was called *Tangarruan*, and was of three score leagues about, all inhabited with people like vnto those of the Ilands *Philippinas*. Vpon Sunday in the morning being the seuenteenth day of October, they discovered the Iland of *Manilla*, of them greatly desired, they sayled towards the Iland that they so long desired to see, and came thither the twentie eight day of October, as aforesaid. So that from the Port of *Tansuso*, which is the first Port of *China*, till they came vnto the Iland of *Manilla*, they were five and fortie dayes, and is not in all full two hundred leagues, which may be made with reasonable weather in ten dayes at the most.

A Tempest.

I could haue here added two other Voyages of Franciscans, to China, the one by Peter de Alfaro, and other three of his Order, 1579. the other 1582. by Ignatio, &c. both written at large by Mendoza. But I hasten to our Iesuites exacter Relations. Only I will conclude this Storie with Alfaro's returne from China to the Philippinas, and his Relation of their Witch-crafts used in a Tempest then happening: after that two Letters mentioning English ships on that Coast.

But it so fell out, as they were going alongst the Coast of the Iland for to enter into the Port of *Manilla*, and being within five leagues of the entry thereof, vpon a sudden there arose the North-wind with so great furie, and caused so great a Sea, that they found themselues in a great deale more danger then in the other storme past, in such sort that they sponed before the winde with their fore-sayle halfe Mast high, shaking it selfe all to pieces, and in euery minute of an houre readie to be drowned. The *Chinois* for that they are Superstitious and Witches, beganne to inuocate and call vpon the Deuill, for to bring them out of that trouble (which is a thing commonly vsed amongst them, at all times when they find themselues in the like perplexitie) also they doe request of him to shew them what they should do to bring themselues out of trouble. But when the *Spaniards* vnderstood their dealings, they did disturbe them that they should

not

not perseuer in their Lots and Inuocations, and beganne to conjure the Deuils, which was the occasion that they would not answere vnto the Inuocation of the *Chinois*, who did call them after diuers manners, yet they heard a Deuill say, that they should not blame them because they did not answere vnto their demand, for they could not doe it for that they were disturbed by the conjuration of those *Spanish* Fathers, which they carried with them in their ship.

Coniuring against coniu-
ring.

So presently when the night was come, God was so pleased that the storme ceased, and became in few houres very calme, although it endured but a while, for as they began to set sayle to nauigate towards the Port, and almost at the point to enter into the same, a new storme seized on them, and with so great force, that they were constrained to returne vnto the Sea, for feare to bee broken in pieces vpon the shoare. The *Chinos* began anew to inuocate the Deuils by writing, which is a way that they neuer let but doe answere them, as they did at this instant, and were not disturbed by the coniuations of the Fathers, yet notwithstanding they lyed in their answer, for that they said, that within three dayes they should be within the Citie of *Manilla*, and after it was more then foure dayes.

Inuocation by
writing.

In conclusion, hauing by the fauour of almighty God overcome all their trauels by the Sea, and the necessitie of the lacke of water and victuals, they arriued at the desired Port the second day of February, *Anno* 1580. whereas they were receiued by the Gouverneur, and of all the rest with great ioy, &c.

Two Letters taken out of BARTOLOME LEONARDO DE ARGENSOLA his Treatise, called *Conquista de las Islas Malucas*, Printed at *Madrid*, 1609. pagg. 336.

337. mentioning the comming of two English ships to China: which seeme to bee two ships of the fleet of * BENIAMIN WOOD:

* See sup. l. 3.
c. 1. §. 2.

The former written by the Visitor of *Chincheo* in China,
vnto the Gouverneur of the *Philippinas*, Don
PEDRO DE ACUNNA.

TO the grand Captaine of Luzon. Because wee haue understood, that the Chineses, which went to trade and trafficke into the Kingdome of Luzon, haue bene slaine by the Spaniards, wee haue made inquisition of the cause of these slaughters, and haue besought the King to doe iustice on him, that hath bene the cause of so great mischiefe, to procure a remedie for the time to come, and that the Merchants may liue in peace and safety. In the yeeres past, before I came hither to be Visitor, a certaine Sangley, called Tioneg, with three Mandarinnes or Iudges hauing the Kings Passe, came to Cabit in Luzon, to seeke Gold and Silver: which was all lyes: because he found neither Gold nor Silver. And therefore I besought the King, that he would punish this deceiver Tioneg, that the good iustice that is vsed in China might be knowne. In the time of the former Vice-roy, and Capado, Tioneg and his companion Yanlion deliuered this vnto the King, that hee would cause all the Papers of the cause of Tioneg to be coppied out, and that he would send for the said Tioneg with his processe before himselfe: And I my selfe saw the said Papers, and caused it to appeare that all was but lyes which the said Tioneg had said. I wrote vnto the King, saying, That by reason of the lyes which Tioneg had made, the Castillians suspected that wee sought to make warre vpon them: and that therefore they had slayne aboue thirtie thousand Chineses in Luzon. The King did that which I besought him. And so he chastised the said Yanlion, commanding him to bee put to death. And hee commanded Tionegs head to be cut off, and to be put in a Cage. The people of China which were slayne in Luzon, were in no fault. And I with others negotiated this businesse with the King, that I might know his pleasure in this affaire: and in another matter, which was this: That there came two English ships to these coasts of Chincheo; a thing very dangerous for China: That the King might consider what was to bee done in these two matters of so great importance. Likewise wee wrote vnto the King, that he would command the two Sangleys to be punished, which shewed the Hauens to the Englishmen. And after wee had written these things aforesaid to the King, he answered vs that wee should learne, wherefore the English ships came vnto China: whether they came to robbe or no? That they should dispatch from thence a Messenger immediatly to Luzon: and that they should signifie to them of Luzon, that they should not giue credite to the base and lying people of China: And that forthwith they should put to death those two Sangleyes, which shewed the Hauens to the Englishmen. And touching the rest that wee wrote vnto him, wee should doe as wee thought best. After wee had receiued this order, the Vice-roy, the Capado, and I sent this message to the Gouverneur of Luzon: That his Lordship might know the greatnesse of the King of China. Seeing hee is so mightie, that hee governeth all that the Moone and Sunne doe shine vpon. And also that the Gouverneur of Luzon may know the great wisdome wherewith this mighty Kingdome is governed. Which Kingdome this long while none durst attempt to offend. And albeit the Japonians haue pretended to disquiet Corea, which is vnder the Government of China: yet they could not obtayne their purpose: but they were driven out of it: And Corea hath remayned in great peace and safety, as at this day they of Luzon doe well understand.

I found this
translat. with
Master H.
Luzon.

Tioneg.

30000. Chineses
slaine in the
Philippinas.

Two English
ships on the
coast of Chin-
cheo in China.
Jealousie of
Strangers.

Danger of
bringing ships
to a China Ha-
uen.
China ambi-
tion.
Japonian at-
tempt.
Corea is vnder
China.

The

The Answer of Don PEDRO DE ACUNNA, Gouvernour of the Philippines,
to the Visitour of Chincheo in China.

THe Gouvernour answered these Letters by the same Messengers that brought them: using termes full of courtesie and authoritie. Hee rehearsed the rebellion of the Sangleyes, from the beginning: Hee iustified the defense of the Spaniards, and the punishment that was executed upon the Offenders. Hee said, that no Common-wealth can be governed without chastising the bad, nor without rewarding the good. And therefore that he did not repent him of that execution: because it was done for representing of them that thought to destroy vs. That the Visitour should bee Judge, what hee would doe, if the like case should happen in China. That the griefe that he had was, that he could not saue certaine Sangleyes Merchants Anhayes, which died among the offenders: But that this was vnpossible to be remedied; because the furie of warre doth not giue leaue to kill some, and to saue others, especially being not knowne of the Souldiers in the heate of battell. That using mercy to those that remayned aline, condemned them to rowe in the Gallies: which is the punishment, which is ordained among the Castillians for those that haue deserued death. Yet if it seeme in China that it ought to be moderated, hee would grant them libertie. But let it be considered, said Don Pedro, that this may be a cause, that in not chastising so great an offence, they may hereafter fall againe into the same. A thing that would shut vp all accesse vnto fauour. That the goods of the Chineses that were slayne are in safe custodie. And that it may be seene, that no other affection moueth mee then that of iustice, I will shortly send them to be deliuered to the right Heires, or vnto such persons as of right they belong vnto. None other respect moueth mee to any of these things, but that of reason. Whereas you tell mee, That if I will not set at libertie those prisoners, licence will be granted in China to the kinsfolke of those which died in the Rebellion, to come with an Armie to Manila, it breedeth no feare in mee. For I hold the Chineses to be so wise, that they will not be moued to such things vpon so weake a ground: especially none occasion thereof being giuen them on our part. And in case they should be of another minde, wee Spaniards are a People which know very well how to defend our Right, Religion, and Territories. And let not the Chineses thinke, that they are Lords of all the World, as they would haue vs thinke. For wee Castillians, which haue measured the World with spannes, know perfectly the Countreyes of China. Wherefore they shall doe well to take knowledge, that the King of Spaine hath continuall warres with as mighty Kings as theirs is, and doth suppress them, and putteth them to great troubles. And it is no new case, that when our enemies thinke that they haue vanquished vs, they finde vs marching and destroying the Confines of their Land, and not to cease, untill wee haue cast them out of their Thrones, and taken their Scepters from them. I would be much grieved with the change of the commerce: But I beleene also that the Chineses would not willingly lose it, since that thereby they obtayne so great profit, carrying to their Kingdome our Silver, which neuer faileth in trucke of their merchandise, which are slight things, and soone worne out.

China pride re-
torted.

Spanish Silver
carried to
China.

* The English
ships spoken of
by Spaniards
according to
the mutuall
hostilitie of
those times.

The ships of the Englishmen, which arrived on the coast of China, it was determined not to receive: because they be no Spaniards, but rather their enemies, and Pirats. Wherefore if they come to Manila, they shall be punished. Finally, because wee Spaniards doe alwaies iustifie our causes, and doe boast our selues, that it cannot bee said in the world, that wee vsurpe other mens possessions, nor innade our friends, that shall be fulfilled which is here promised. And from hence forward let them know in China, that wee neuer doe any thing for feare, nor for threats of our enemies. Don Pedro concludeth, offering continuance of amitie by new bonds of peace with the Kingdomes of China: and that he will set at libertie in due time the Prisoners which he held in the Gallies: albeit he thought to vse them, as he did, in the voyage of Maluco; which he put in execution with speed. And all this he precisely performed.

CHAP. IIII.

The report of a Mahometan Merchant which had beene in Cambalu: and the
troublesome trauell of BENEDICTVS GOES, a Portugall Ie-
suite, from Lahor to China by land, thorow the
Tartars Countreyes.

Epist. Eman.
Caruel. 1599.

Xatai and Xam-
balu, for Catai
and Cambalu.

Caygar.



Erome Xauere a Iesuite, in a Letter from Lahor in India, subiect to the Mogol, dated, August, 1598, relateth that an old man there knowne to haue distributed 100000. Peeces of Gold at Mecca, affirmed to the Prince that he had liued in Xatai thirteene yeeres, in Xambalu the chiefe Citie; that the King thereof was mighty, and had in his Empire one thousand and fiftie Cities, some very populous; that he had often seene the King, with whom no man speaks but by a Supplication, nor is answered but by an Eunuch. And asked how hee had accesse thither, he said, he being a Merchant sustayned also the person of the Embassadour of the King of Caygar, and

and being detained in the first Citie by the Magistrate, he shewed his Commission, and Poste was presently sent to the King, who returned in a moneth, riding ninety or an hundred courses a day, with change of Horses; bringing him Letters of admission. Hee said that they punish theeues severely: that these *Xaitians* are white, long bearded, personable, and comely, therein to be preferred before the *Rumes* or *Turkes*; in Religion *Isauites* (*Christians*, so called of *Iesus*) some *Musauites* or *Iewes*, and many *Mahumetans*, insomuch that they hoped to bring the *Christian* King to that Sect. They had (he said to the *Iesuite* in another conference) many Temples, and Images painted and grauen, and Crucifixes which they with great deuotion worshipped; many Priests, much reuerenced, each hauing his owne Church; to whom they offer their gifts; they liued single and kept Schooles; one supereminent: at the Kings charge were the Churches built and repaired; they wore blacke clothes, and on holidayes red, with Caps like the *Iesuites*, but greater; many Monasteries of both Sexes, and some in their owne houses, obseruing a single life; the Countrey rich, hauing many siluer Mines; and that the King had foure hundred Elephants, which they said were brought from *Malaca*, and that Merchants resorted thither; the Voyage sixe moneths. *Xauerius* addeth, that in *Caximir* he heard of many *Christians* in *Rebat*, a Kingdome adioyning to *Catai*, with Churches, Priests, and Bishops. These reports (sayth *Trigantius*) the *Saracens* made, either of purpose to deceiue, after their wont; or were deceiued by like shew of Holies in Images, Lamps, Altars, Priests vestments, Processions, Singings, and the like, which the *Deuill* hath imitated among the *Chinois* like to our (*Romish*) Rites.

These reports caused the *Iesuites* in *India* to thinke of sending one of their Society into those parts. *Pimenta* the Father Visitour sent notice thereof to the Pope, and to the King of *Spain*, who tooke Order with the Vice-roy to be aduised herein by *Pimenta*. *Benedictus Goez*, a brother of that Society and Coadjutor to *Xauerius*, was thought fit for that designe, hauing the *Persian* tongue. And hauing come from *Echebar* (father of the present *Mogol*) who had lately taken *Brampor*, with his Legat, to *Goa*; hee was sent backe to *Labor*, to accompanie the Merchants; which euery fifth yeere, as that *Saracen* related, with title of Legats of the King of *Persia*, and other Easterne Kings (not otherwise admitted) went thither. In the yeere therefore 1602. he went to *Agra*, where *Echebar* applauded his purpose, and gaue him foure hundred Crownes for his journey, besides a thousand Rupias hee had already spent. He changed his habite, and disguised himselfe like an *Armenian* Merchant, and so went to *Labor*, calling himselfe *Branda Abedula*, whither he came on the eight of December. He went to the house of *Iohn Galisco* a *Venetian*, and there provided himselfe of necessaries, wearing his haire and beard long, and *Leo Griemone* a *Greeke*, well skilled in *Turkish* and *Persian*, vndertaking to be his companion, with *Demetrius* another *Greeke*, and *Isaac* an *Armenian*. Furnished with diuers writings and a Catalogue of moueable Feasts till *An. 1610*. he set forth *An. 1603*, the sixth of Ianuarie from his Superiour, and in Lent after from *Labor*, with the companie of Merchants which goe from the *Mogols* to *Cascar*, almost fise hundred men, with many Camels and cariages.

In a moneths journey they came to a Citie called *Athee*, in the Prouince of *Labor*; and after fiteene dayes, passed a Riuer, a slight shot broad, where they stayed fise dayes, being told of theeues in great number at hand. Two moneths after they came to another Citie called *Passaur*, where they rested twentie dayes. Thence they going to another small Towne, met with a certaine Anchorite a stranger, by whom they vnderstood that thirtie dayes off was a Citie named *Capherstam*, into which the *Saracens* are not permitted entrance, and if they enter are put to death. But *Ethiopic* Merchants are admitted their Citie, yet not their Temples. Hee said, that the Inhabitants of that Region goe to Church all of them in blacke; their Countrey fertile, and plentifull of Grapes. Hereby *Goes* supposed that they were *Christians*. In the place where they found this stranger, they stayed other twentie dayes. And because the way was infested with Theeues they received of the Lord of the place a Conuoy of foure hundred Souldiers. In fise and twentie dayes they came from hence to a place called *Ghideli*, all which way their cariages went at the foot of a Hill. The Merchants with Armes on the tops of the Hill made search for Theeues, which vse to throw stones from thence on the Passengers, except thus preuented. In this place the Merchants pay Tribute. Being assaulted by Theeues many were wounded, and they had much adoe to saue their liues and goods. *Benedict* escaped by flight into the Woods. At night they came againe together, and auoyded the Theeues. After other twentie dayes journey they came to *Cabul*, a Citie and Mart frequent, not yet hauing passed the *Mogols* Dominions. Here they stayed eight dayes: for some of the Merchants would goe no further, and others durst not, being so few. In this Mart the Sister of the King of *Cascar*, by whose Dominion they were to passe to *Catai*, happened on the Carauan. The Kings name was *Maffamet Can*; this his Sister was Mother to the King of *Cotan*, and called *Agebanem* (*Age* is a title giuen by the *Saracens* to those which haue beene on Pilgrimage at *Mecca*, whence she now returned.) Being destitute of prouision for her journey, shee demanded aide of the Merchants, promising to restore all faithfully with encrease when they were comne to her Kingdome.

Goes thought it a fit occasion to procure the friendship of another King, his *Mogoll* Patents now wearing out. Hee lent her therefore on sale of some goods sixe hundred Crownes, refusing any

A Course or
Cose is a mile
and halfe, and
sometime two
miles.

De Christ. expē.
dit. ap. Simas l. 5
c. 11, 12, 13.
Ianic. thes. rer.
Ind. t. 3. c. 24.

Athee.

Passaur.

Capherstam.
Saracens not
admitted.

Ghideli.

Assault of
Theeues.

Cabul.

A kind of
Marble much
valued in China

Ciaracar.

Parnam the ex-
treme border
of the Mogoll.

Aingharan.
Calcia.
Gialalabath.

Chemam.
Samarhan or
Samarcand.
Boghar.

Tengi-Badascian.

Ciarciunav.
Serpanil.

Sarcil.

Snowie way.
Tangbetar.

Iaconich.

Hiarchan.

Catay-Carauan

Precious
Marble.

any contract of interest, which shee bountifully repayed in pieces of Marble much esteemed in China, the best merchandise for such as goe to Catay. *Leo Grimane* the Priest, wearied with the tediousnesse of the iourney, went no further, and *Demetrius* stayed in this Citie on merchandising affaires. *Goes* held on with *Isaac* the Armenian, in the companie of other Merchants, which gaue likelihood of better securitie. The first Citie they came at was called *Ciaracar*, in which place is great store of Iron. Here *Goes* was not a little troubled, the *Mogols* Scale in these his borders being neglected, which all this way hitherto had freed him from payment of Customes. Ten dayes after they came to a small Towne, called *Parnam*, the vtmost of the *Mogoll* confines.

After five dayes stay, they had twentie dayes iourney ouer high Mountaines into a Region named *Aingharan*. In fifteene dayes more they came to *Calcia*. The people of this Region hath yellow haire on head and beard like the *Low-Country-men*, and dwell in diuers Villages. Ten dayes after, they came to a place called *Gialalabath*, where the *Bramanes* exact Customes granted them by the King *Bruarate*. After other fifteene dayes they came to *Talhan*, where Ciuill broiles detayned them a moneth; the *Calcians* rebelling and endangering the wayes. Hence they passed to *Chemam*. Vnder *Abdulahan* King of *Samarhan*, *Burgania*, and *Bacharate*, and of other neighbouring Kingdomes, is a small Towne, the Captaine whereof sent to the Merchants to containe themselues within the walls, the *Calcians* infesting all without. They answered, that they would pay their Customes, and pursue their iourney by night. But hee forbad them, saying, that the Rebels had no Horses as yet, which if they could take from the Carauan, they would proue more mischieuous: much better it were, if they would ioine with him to repell them. Scarcely were they comne to the walls, when the rumour came of the *Calcians* coming: at which newes the Captaine and his ranne away. The Merchants erected a sudden fortification of their packes, and carried into the same great store of stones to serue their turnes if Arrowes failed. The *Calcians* perceiuing that, sent a message to the Merchants, that they should feare nothing, for they would accompanie and defend them. They durst not trust them, but resolved to flee to the next Wood, the Theeues taking out of the packes what they pleased, and then calling them forth, and permitting them with their emptied packes to enter the emptie walls. *Benedict* lost nothing but a Horse, for which also hee after receiued Cotton clothes. They liued within the walls in great feare. But at that time a great Captaine, named *Olobet Ebadascan*, sent his Brother out of the *Bucharate* Region to the Rebels, which caused them to permit the Merchants to goe freely: in all which iourney the Rere was vexed with Pilferers. Foure of them set vpon *Goes*, to escape whom hee threw amongst them his Persian Turbant, whereof they making a foot-ball, hee meane while set spurres to his Horse and ouertooke his companie.

Eight dayes after with a tedious passage they came to *Badascian*, called *Tengi*, which signifieth *Atroublesome way*: for there is space but for one to passe, and that on the high banke of a great Riuer. The Inhabitants with a companie of Souldiers set vpon the Merchants, and tooke from *Goes* three Horses, which hee after redeemed with gifts. Here they stayed ten dayes, and thence in one day came to *Ciarciunav*, where they were five dayes detayned with raines in the open field, and were besides assaulted by Theeues. Ten dayes after they arriued at *Serpanil*, a place quite forsaken. They climbed into a high Hill, called *Sacrubma*, whither the strongest Horses were only able to passe, the rest going about. Two of *Goes* his Horses halted, and had much adoe to ouertake their fellowes. In twentie dayes iourney comming to the Prouince *Sarcil*, they there found many neighbouring Villages. After two dayes stay for refreshing, they in two dayes more came to the foot of a Hill, termed *Ciecialith*, which they ascended, thicke couered with Snow, wherewith many were frozen, and *Goes* was in great danger. For the Snow held them fixe dayes; after which they came to *Tangbetar*, which belongs to the Kingdome of *Cascar*. There *Isaac* the Armenian fell from the banke of a great Riuer into the water, and was eight houres space halfe dead. In fifteene dayes more they attayned the Towne *Iaconich*, such an ill way that *Goes* lost fixe Horses with the trauell. In five dayes he got (hasting before the companie) to the chiefe Citie named *Hiarchan*, whence hee prouided his companions of necessaries, who soone after arriued there in Nouember, 1603.

Hiarchan the Seat Royall of the Kingdome of *Cascar*, hath great resort of Merchants, and is also well stored with variety of merchandise. The Carauan of *Cabul* here ends their Voyage: and from thence to *Catay* is a new one furnished, the Captainship whereof the King selleth at a great price, and conferreth on the Captaine Regall power ouer the Merchants thorow all that way. It was a yeeres space before they could all bee ready to so long and dangerous a iourney, which required many persons. Neither is it performed euery yeere, but by them onely which know they shall be admitted into *Catay*. There is no better merchandise (as before is said) then a certaine shining Marble, which wee are wont to call *Iasper*, for want of a fitter word; which the King of *Catay* buyeth at a great price; and what hee leaueth they may sell to others at exceeding rates. Of it they make diuers ornaments for Vessels, Garments, Girdles, with leaues and flowers artificially engrauen. The *Chinois* call it *Tuscè*; and of it are two kinds, one more precious

precious which is taken out of the Riuer *Cotan*, not farre from the Citie Royall, in manner as the Divers fish for Pearles, and is brought out like thicke flints; the other meaner is digged out of Hills, and is sawed into broad stones about two Ells wide, after fitted to the Voyage. This Hill is twentie dayes Iourney from that Citie Royall, and is stiled *Carsangui Cascio*, that is, *The stonie Mountayne*. They are thence taken with incredible labour, both for the desertnesse of the place, and the inexorable hardnesse of the Marble, which they say is forced with fire made thereon to yeeld: the license also to take it, is deere sold by the King to some one Merchant, who purchaseth the Monopoly; and when they goe thither they carrie a yeares prouision for the Labourers, which in that space returne not.

Goez visited the King, whose name is *Mahamethin*, and presented him with a Watch, a Glasse and other *European* Commodities, which made him very welcome. Hee would not at first tell him of going to *Catay*, but only spake of the Kingdome of *Cialis* East-ward from thence, and procured his grant thereto, assisted by the Sonne of his Sister the Pilgrime Queene before mentioned. Sixe moneths passed, and *Demetrius* one of his old Societie which staid at *Cabul*, came thither. At that time by the Kings License one of the Merchants was stiled Emperour as in jest, to whom the other Merchants after the custome gaue Presents, which *Demetrius* refusing, was in danger to be imprisoned and beaten (for so large is his power) had not *Benedict* interceded and by a gift compounded the businesse. Theeues also brake into the House and setting a Sword to the *Armenians* breist terrified him from crying; but our Brother *Demetrius* hearing, cried out and scared them away. *Benedict* was gone to the King of *Quotans* Mother for payment of his Debt: his Residence was ten dayes Iourney thence, so that he spent a moneth therein before his returne. In this space the *Saracens* raised a report that he was dead, slaine by their Priests for refusing their holies. Now because he dyed intestate, they sought to seize on his goods, which was very troublesome to *Isaac* and *Demetrius*, both for defence of the goods, and losse of their Friend, which redoubled their joy at his returne with plentie of that Marble, and hee in thankfulness gaue much Almes.

On a day as he was eating with other *Saracens*, one came in armed, and setting his Sword to his breist, charged him to inuoke * *Mahomet*. He answered, that in his Law there was no such name inuoked, and therefore refused: and by the company that mad fellow was extruded. The like zeale oft endangered him on like termes of *Mahumetan* profession. On another day he was called by the King of *Cascar* in the presence of his *Cacises*, the Priests, & the *Mullas* or learned men, and asked what Law he professed, whether that of *Moses*, of *Dauid*, or *Mahumet*, and which way he turned himselfe in praying. Hee answered, that hee professed the Law of Iesus, whom they call *Isai*, and turned any way when he prayed, beleeuing that God was euery where: about which rose amongst them great controuersie, they vsing to turne to the * West: yet they concluded that our Law also might seeme good.

Meane-whiles one *Agias* of that Countrey was named Captaine of the future Carauan, who inuited our Brother to his House (hauing heard well of him) to a Feast, wherein they had Musicke after their manner. At the end, hee desired his company to *Catay*, which he much desired, but had learned by experience how to deale with the *Saracens*, and would be intreated, that he might seeme to doe, rather then receiue, a Fauour. The Captaine vseth the Kings mediation, who desired him to accompany the *Carnuan Bassa*, which he accepted vpon condition of his Letters Patents for all that way. His *Cabul* companions were herewith offended, as loth to lose his company, and much dissuaded him; but hee made shew as though hee were loth herein to displease the King, and for his sake had promised the *Caranan Bassa*, which now hee might not reuoke. They said that these people were perfidious, and would deuoure him and his: nor was their feare causelesse, for many of the Natiues had told them, that those three *Armenians* (so they called all these three Christians) as soone as they were out of the walles would bee slaine. This terrified *Demetrius* from going further, who also dissuaded *Goez* but in vaine, saying, he would not disappoint the hopes of so many, the Archbishop of *Goa*, and the Vice-roy to lose his expences, but would aduenture his life in the Designe.

Hee prouided ten Horses for his Carriages, and for his fellow, hauing another at home. The *Bassa* was gone to his house five dayes Iourney thence to make all readie, and thence sent to *Goez* to halten.

Anno 1604. about the midst of Nouember, they came to a place called *Iolci*, where they vse to pay Customes, and their Commissions are examined. Hence they went to *Hancialix Alceghet*, to *Hagabateh*, to *Egriar*, to *Mesetelec*, to *Thalec*, to *Horma*, to *Thoantac*, to *Mingieda*, to *Capetalcol Zilan*, to *Sare Guebedal*, to *Canbasai*, to *Aconsersec*, to *Ciacor*, to *Actu*: in this way they spent five, and twentie dayes, the way troublesome, both with store of Stones or Rockes, and with Sands. *Actu* is a Towne of the Kingdome of *Cascar*, the Gouernour whereof was Nephew to the King, then twelue yeares old. Hee would needs see *Goez*, who went and gaue him childish Presents, Sugar and the like, and was gently entertayned of him. There being then a solemn dancing before him, he requested our Brother to dance, which to satisfie him, he did.

Mahamet Can King of Cascar. Cialis.

* To vse (as it seemes) those words *La illah illalah, Mehu-med resullalah*, the Characteristical note of *Mahumetan* profession. * To Mecca ward.

Caruan Bassa. See before in *Chaggi Memet* the like Iourney and the same places.

Voyage to *Catay* from *Hianchan*. Places in the way.

Goez danceth.

He visited also his Mother and shewed her his Patent, which was with great reuerence admitted: to her he gaue a Chrystall glasse, a Calico cloth of *India*, and the like. The Childs Gouvernour also, or Protector, which swayd the publike Affaires, sent for him. In this way one of *Goez* his Horses fell into a swift Riuer, and escaped to the other side; and came againe of himselfe, the Name of *Iesus* being inuoked.

Caracathai, the first place of the *Tartars* Conquest. See before in *F. Bacon*, *Rubr.* *Cas* *Ac* *Cialis*.

In this way the Desert is passed called *Caracathai*, that is, *The blacke Land of the Cathayans*, in which they say the *Cathayans* stayed long. In this Towne they stayed fiftene dayes for other Merchants, and then departing went to *Onograch Gazo*, to *Casciani*, to *Dellai*, to *Saregabedall*, to *Vgan*, and after to *Cucia*, a small Towne where they stayed a whole moneth to refresh their bealts, which by the irksomnesse of the wayes, and weight of the Marble, and want of Barley were almost spent. Here the Priests demanded of *Goez*, why in their Solemne Fast (*Lent*) he fasted not, and almost forced him in hope of some Largesse or Fine. After they were gone hence in five and twentie dayes they came to the Citie *Cialis*, which was little, but well fortified. This Countrey was gouerned by a base Sonne of the King of *Cascar*, who hearing that *Goez* professed another Religion, began to terrifie him, saying, it was a bold part for a man of another profession to enter those parts: for he might lawfully take from him his life and goods. But when he read his Letters Patents he was pacified, and with a Present was made also a friend. One night disputing about their Law, with the Priests and Learned men, he sent for *Benedict* into the Palace (whereupon suspicion arose of some ill intent being at so vnseasonable a time) hee went and being commanded to dispute, with force of Arguments silenced the Aduersaries. The Vice-roy alway protected him, approving his Sayings, and concluding that the *Christians* were the true *Misfermans*, saying, that his Progenitors had professed the same Law. After the Disputation hee made him a Banquet, and caused him to lye that night in the Palace, so that *Isaac* was weeping at his returne, and almost in despaire to see him. In this Citie they stayed three moneths. For the *Carauan Bassa* would not depart without a great company (it being so much more gaine to him) nor suffer any man to goe before. *Goez* wearied with this tedious stay and chargeable expence, with a Gift obtayned leaue of the Viceroy, the *Carauan* and Captaine being against it.

Musulmans, that is, right belceuers.

Newes of *F. M. Ricinus* and the *Iesuits*. * In *Pantoia* and *Ricinus*.

Names changed by the *Iesuits*.

Cambalu.

Pucian. *Turphan*. *Aramuth*. *Camul*.

The wals of *China*. *Chiaicuon*.

Socien in *China*.

Borderers theeuish.

Tartars customs in the borders.

He then intended to proceed from *Cialis*, when the Merchants of the former *Carauan* returned from *Catay*. These faining an Embassage (after their wont) had pierced into the Royall Seat of *Catay*, and hauing conuersed in the same Palace of Strangers with our (*Iesuits*) reported strange and certaine newes of Father *Matthew* and the *Companie*, to *Goez*, who wondred that *Catay* was become *China*. These *Saracens* were the same hereafter reported * of, which liued three moneths with ours, and told him that the Fathers had presented to the King, Watches, Pictures and other *European* Presents, and were much respected in the Palace, of the greatest, and (adding some lies) said that they had often spoken with the King. They reasonable well painted their faces, but knew not their names: by reason that after the *China* manner they had taken other names. And for further Argument they shewed a Paper written in *Portugall*, which they had taken out of the dust, when the Seruant swept the Chamber, to shew in their owne Countrey. This cheared *Goez* hearing that *Catay* was *China*, and that *Pequin* the Royall Citie was *Cambalu*.

The Vice-roy gaue him his Letters for securitie, and demanding whether he would be inscribed a Christian, he answered yea; for all this way he had comne, called by the Name of *Isai*, and so would hold out to the end. An old *Saracen* Priest hearing this, cast his Cap on the ground, applauding his resolute Zeale, saying, that theirs are reported to dissemble and alter their Religion with the Region. *Goez* went on with his companion, and a few others, and in twentie dayes came to *Pucian* a Towne of the same Kingdome, where the Gouvernour vsed him kindly and amply prouided him out of his owne House. Thence they proceeded to *Turphan*, and staid a whole moneth in that fortified Citie. Thence they passed to *Aramuth*, and after to *Camul*, a fortified place where they refreshed themselves another moneth, because they were well vsed in all the Kingdome of *Cialis*, which ends at this Towne. From *Camul* in nine dayes they came to the Northerne wals of *China*, to a place called *Chiaicuon*, where they staid five and twentie dayes for the Answer of the Vice-roy of that Prouince.

After this they were admitted entrance within the walles, and in one day came to *Socien* a Citie, where they heard much of *Pequin*, and other names knowne; so that now hee was out of all doubt that *Catay* and *China* differed only in name. All the way from *Cialis* to the borders of *China*, is infamous with incursions of the *Tartars*: and therefore Merchants passe these places with great feare, searching by day from the Neighbour Hills whether there bee any out-rode of *Tartars*, and if they judge the wayes secure they trauell by night with silence. In the way they found many *Saracens* miserably slaine, hauing aduentured to goe alone: although the *Tartars* seldome kill the Natiues, saying, they are their Slaues and Herdmen, from whom they take away their flocks of Sheepe, and Herds of Bullocks. They eat no Wheate, Barley, nor Pulle, saying, it is food for bealts, not men. They feed only on flesh, not sparing Horses, Mules, Camels, and yet are said to liue one hundred yeares.

The

The *Saracen* Nations bordering on these parts of *China*, might easily by the *Chinois* bee subdued, as being not warlike men, if the *Chinois* cared to enlarge their Dominions. In this way one night *Benedict* fell from his Horse, his company going on and not missing him till they came to their Lodging, and then *Isaac* went backe to seeke him and found him by the sound of the Name *Iesus*, almost despairing to see his company any more.

These walls were built on the West of *China*, as it trends North-wards, about the space of two hundred miles, where the *Tartarian* out-roads are now lesse dangerous. Against them are builded two fortified Cities with choise Garrisons. They haue a peculiar Vice-roy and other Magistrates ouer them, which are commanded only from *Pequin*. In one of these (*Cancen* in the Prouince of *Scensi*) the Vice-roy resideth with other chiefe Magistrates. The other (named *Socen*) hath a speciall Gouvernour, and is distributed into two parts; in one of which the *Chinois* (whom the *Saracens* here call *Carayans*) in the other the *Saracens*, haue their Habitation, which come from *Cascar*, and the like Westerne Kingdomes for Merchandizing Affaires. Some of them, as the *Portugals* at *Amacao*, in the Prouince of *Canton*, settle their abodes and haue wites and children, accounted as Native subjects. But those *Portugals* liue according to their owne Lawes, and haue Magistrates of their owne; whereas these *Saracens* are gouerned by the *Chinois*, and euery night are shut vp by them within their owne Citie, inclosed with peculiar walls. The Law is, that he which hath stayed there nine yeares, may not returne to his Countrey. The Merchants come vsually from the West to this Citie, which with fayned Embassage, by ancient leagues of tenen or eight Kingdomes with that of *China*, haue obtayned, that euery sixth yeare seuentie two in name of Legats should pay Tribute to the King, that shining Marble, pieces of Diamonds, blue colour and other things; thence they goe to the Court at publike charge, and likewise returne. Their Tribute is rather by way of honour or homage then any way profitable; for no man payes dearer for this Marble then the King himselfe, who esteemes it a dishonour to take any thing of Strangers for nothing. And they are so entertayned at the Kings cost, that all things reckoned, they get euery day about their necessarie charges a Duckett a man. Hence are many ambitious of this Embassage and purchase it of the *Caranan Bassa* (who hath the nomination) at great price: at that time counterfeiting their Kings Letters, acknowledging vassallage to the King of *China*. The like Embassages the *Chinois* admit from diuers Kingdomes, from *Canchin-china*, *Siam*, *Leuchien*, *Corea*, and some of the *Tartars* Kingdomes, not without incredible expenses of the publike treasure: of which fraud the *Chinois* are not ignorant, but flatter with their King, as if all the World paid Tribute ynto him, when as rather the *Chinois* in this manner pay Tributes to them.

At the end of the yeere 1605. Our *Benedict* came to *Socen*, growne wealthy by his long Journey; hauing thirteene Horses, five hired Seruants, two Boyes which hee bought, and the most precious Marble of the rest, all valued at 2500. Duckets. Hee also and *Isaac* were well in health. In this Citie he lighted vpon other *Saracens* returned from *Pequin*, which confirmed the former Reports of the Fathers, with other things beyond all measure of Faith, that the King of *China* paid them money daily by a certaine measure and not by weight. Hee writ presently to Father *Matthew* to *Pequin*, to acquaint him with his coming, and gaue the Letters to certaine *Chinois*: but because he knew not the *China* name wherewith Ours were called, and the Region where they resided, and writ in *European* Characters, those *Chinois* could not deliuer them. The next yeare at Easter, he sent againe by a *Saracen* Fugitiue (for they may neither goe in nor out without the Magistrates leaue) and writ to them of his Voyage and state, desiring them to take some course to free him from that Prison, that he might returne by Sea into *India*, the *Portugall* way. The Father had long before learned by Letters from *India*, of this intended Journey, and yeerely expected him, and made much enquire of those counterfeit Embassadors, but could not till now heare of him. They were now therefore much joyed to read his Letters, which in Nouember following came to their hands, and one was presently sent, to bring him by some meanes to *Pequin*, not one of the Societie lest one stranger should hinder another, but a Pupill which lately admitted, had not yet entred his probation, named *John Fernandes* a wise young man, with a companion, a new Conuert, skilled in those parts. And if hee could not bring him thence by the Magistrates leaue or by other Arts, he should stay there with him, and write to the Company, who by their friends would procure him passage.

This Journey was vnreasonable in the hardest of Winter, being almost foure moneths Journey from *Pequin*. Yet would not Father *Matthew* deferre any longer, which if he had done, *Goez* would haue beene dead before his coming. Hee and two others of the Societie writ to him. Meane-while *Goez* suffers more wrongs of the *Saracens* in this place then hee had done in the way, and was faine to sell his Marble halfe vnder the price for prouisions, whence he made 1200. Duckets and paid his Debts, and sustained his Family a yeere. Meane-while, the *Caravan* came with their Captaine, and he with entertainments was againe forced to borrow, and because hee was chosen into the number of the seuentie two, he prouided him of some Marble pieces, without which had beene no going to *Pequin*. Hee hid one hundred pounds in the ground, that the *Saracens* should not know thereof. *Ferdinandus* went from *Pequin* the eleuenth of December,

* This 200. is to bee vnderstood of the Westerne parts or perhaps all but so much is naturall of rockes or hills or Trigantius a Dutchman might meane Dutch miles. The Map expresseth about 1000. miles. The reports are diuers as from reports: for who could see it all? and what good would 200. miles doe, which horsemen in few dayes might passe. Diuers Embassages counterfeited.

Reports of travellers to bee weighed.

Nouem. 1606

Caravan cometh.

Singhan.

and his Seruant ranne from him at *Singhan*, the Mother Citie of the Prouince of *Scianfi*, carrying away halfe their prouision. At the end of March, 1607. he yet made shift to get to *Socen*, and found *Goez* lying on his Death-bed, who had dreamed that one of our company would come thither the next day, and sent *Isaac* into the Market who brought *Ferdinandus* to him. Having received the Letters, he brak into a *Nunc dimittis*, as seeming to haue ended his Pilgrimage. Eleuen dayes after *Goez* dyeth, not without suspicion of Poyson from the *Saracens*. They had perpetuall Spies to watch and catch what he left, which they did most barbarously execute, and amongst the rest his Iournall was lost which he had written in very small Letters. They sought for it to prevent payment of Debts there entred. They would haue buried him like a *Saracen*; but *Isaac* and *Ferdinand* excluded them and buried him, with a recitall of the *Rosarie*, in defect of other Bookes. Thus died *Benedict Goez*, a man of great parts, which had after his admission done great seruice to the Societie (howsoever he was not a Priest) much esteemed by the Great *Mogoll*, whom he auerted from the Warre of *India*. He dissuaded before his death that Ours should not trust the *Saracens*, nor aduenture this way, as vnprofitable and dangerous. And although he dyed without Confession in so many yeeres, yet he was cheerefull in the mercie of God, and professed that his conscience did not accuse him of matters of any moment.

Goez dyeth.

Tartarian Tartars.

By a *Tartarian* custome they diuide the goods of the deceased amongst them all, and therefore bound *Isaac* threatening to kill him if he turned not *Mahometan*; but *Ferdinand* put vp a Supplication to the Vice-roy at *Cancun*, who subscribed that the Gouverneur of *Socen* should examine the businesse. He first was fauourable, but corrupted by bribes threatned to whip him, and held him in Prison three dayes. But he sold his Garments for want of Money, and continued the Suit six moneths, not being able at first to conferre with *Isaac* for want of Language. *Isaac* only vttered a few *Portugall* words, and the Iudge had thought they had spoken in the *Canton* Tongue. At last, *Ferdinand* learned to speake *Persian*, and was able to conferre with him. The *Saracens* pleaded that *Ferdinand* was a *Chinese* by his countenance, the other a *Saracen*: he answered that his Mother was a *Chinese*, whom he resembled. But nothing moued the Iudge more then that he was an enemy to their Religion, and pulling a peece of Porke out of his sleue, they both did eate it; whereupon with laughter of the Assembly, the *Saracens* abominated both, spitting at the *Armenian*, and leauing the Suit, saying, that the *Armenian* was deluded by the *China-coozener*. For in all the way to prevent offence, *Benedict* and *Isaac* had abstained from Porke. And thus all was by the Iudges sentence restored to *Ferdinand* which had bene *Benedict's*: but nothing was found, saue Marble pieces which had bene hidden in the ground, which was sold, and yeilded to pay their Debts and prouision for their Iourney to *Pekin*, whither both of them came. They brought a faire gilded Crosse Picture and the Charters of three Kings, *Cascar*, *Quoran* and *Cialis*, which are reuered at *Pekin* for a memoriall. *Isaac* related all this Storie to Father *Matthem* vpon credit of his memorie, and hauing staid a moneth, was sent the wonted way to *Amacao*; where being well enterctayned, hee in sayling thence to *India*, was taken by *Hollanders*, and lost both goods and libertie: But the *Portugals* of *Malacca* redeemed him, and he held on his course to *India*, and hearing of his Wifes death, went not to the *Mogoll* Countrey, but staid at *Chaul*, and is now at the writing hereof aliue.

Chaul.
1615.

CHAP. V.

A Generall Collection and Historiall representation of the Iesuites
entrance into Iapon and China, vntill their admission in
the Royall Citie of Nankin.

OF FRANCIS XAVIER, MELCHIOR NUNNES, VALIGNANVS,
RUGGERIVS and PASIVS.



Orasmuch as we haue sailed so lately from the *Philippinas* to *China*, and backe againe with our Friers, and haue given you a Iesuits Land Iourney, we thought it worthy our labour also to launch into the deepe of their Navigations, and to honour the Iesuits, (to whom in the following parts of this Historie we are so indebted) with obseruing their Obseruations of *Iapon*, and the intercourse thereof with *China*; and from it (as the greatest and most glorious Easterne Iesuiticall Conquest) to ship our selues in their Barge to *China*. How *Francis Xanier* (now Sainted at *Rome*, together with *Ignatius Loiola*, first Founder of that Order) laboured the Conversions of

Ignatius and
Francis cano-
nized by Greg.
15. March 12.
1622.

Gentiles

Gentiles and Pagans to Chriſtianitie, as in other parts of the Indies, ſo heere in Iapan I willingly acknowledge; yea, ſo farre am I from enuying either him or his Order, or any other Order titled Religious, their Trophees of Conuerſions, that I could wiſh the Pope ſeated in *Miaco*, and all the Ieſuits, & Friars, yea, all his Ieſuited Clergie fully poſſeſſed of the *Bonzian* Colledges & Temples in Iapon; whence a double good might iſſue; to the *Ethnikes* ſome light in ſtead of a totall darkneſſe, a diſeaſed life being better then death; and to *Europe*, to be lightned of their burthen, where profeſſing themſelues Lights, they proue Lightnings, and raiſe ſo manifold combuſtions. And moſteſpecially could I wiſh this honour to my Countrey-men the *Engliſh* Ieſuites, and Priests, Populi Emiſſaries of whatſoeuer Order, that they were there ordered, or (which firſt their ambition better) ordering that Eaſterne World, rather then here diſordered and diſordering, playing the *Lords of Miſ-rule* in the Weſt. The very Name of Chriſt is ſweet to mee, euen in Iapan, yea, from a Ieſuites mouth, or a Ieſuites Conuert; and would God they taught them Ieſus more, and leſſe Ieſuitiſh fancies of exchanged worſhip of Creatures, howſoeuer gilded with Chriſtian Names, that the *Iaponians* might learne to acknowledge Ieſus and *Maria* truly, and not with Names and Images of *they know not what*, to worſhip *Venus* and her Sonne *Cupid*, in ſtead of the Bleſſed Virgin, and that incarnate Bleſſedneſſe her bleſſed Sonne, who is God ouer all bleſſed for euer.

This happened in Capt. *Saris* his ſhip. See to. 1. 4. c. 1. p. 367.

One told *Cortez* the *Mexican* Conqueror then ſpeaking great words, that there is much difference in conquering Neighbours at home, and naked *Americans*, I adde, that a man may be Chriſtened, and yet farre ſhort of Chriſtianitie, (euen by Ieſuites * teſtimonies) and that ſomewhat more is required to a Chriſtian then Chriſtian Names, giuen in Baptiſme to hundreds at once, as ſome haue done without further inſtruction. Deuotion is rather to be prized by weight and worth, then by tale and numbers, as happens in their Beades here, and too often in their Conuerſions there: which were they indeed ſo much to be magnified and gloried in, would aſwell preuaile in men of capaciti to ouerthrow ſtrong holds and high imaginations, as here to worke on our ſilly women laden with finnes, hoping for their Confeſſion-cure; and there, with ſillineſſe it ſelfe, or ſuch as Reason turnes Chriſtians becauſe they will not runne madde with their owne to ſuch Monſters as their *Bonzi* teach them. Themſelues confeſſe, that it is not much, they can preuaile with *Muſlimetans* any where; or here in *China*: and Ours haue found them to ſay more then they had done in that little.

* See ſup. l. 9. c. 12. §. 5. and the laſt Chapter of my Pilgrimage

2. Cor. 10. 4.

See Sir T. Roe and M. Terry, ſup. p. 1482. and 586.

This ſtorie ſhewes that with *Mogols* & *Chinois* gifts are beſt Conuerſers. * Adol. Schulgenius. Colon. Ad. 1622. l. 1. n. 26.

I ſhould much reioyce that their Reports were true, and that as an Orator * of theirs hath ſolemnized the Canonization of *Loiola*, their Patriarke, and *Xauier* the *Indian* Apoſtle (ſo hee ſtileth them) this *Saint Francis* had conuerted three hundred thouſand Soules, of innumerable Nations; yea, all Heretikes in neere ſixteene hundred yeeres, had not conuerted ſo many, nay, had not peruerſed ſo many not Chriſtians, to all their Hereties together, as he alone adioyned to Chriſt in eleuen yeeres. I am glad to heare it, and that which hee addeth, that all Heretickes whatſoeuer had not infected ſo many Languages and peoples, as thoſe of which hee had illuſtrated many with Chriſtian Truth and Pietie. Doth this man conſider how much of the World hath bene Chriſtian, and how much after that Hereticall? How many more Nations the *Neftorian* Heretic hath infected then *Xauier* ſaw, leaueing, in manner, all *Aſia* from *Conſtantinople* where it began, vnto *Tartaria*, *Cathay*, or *China*, and the *Indies*, and hath not the *Iacobite* Heretic preuailed ouer *Africa*? and before that the *Arrian*; ouer all the World, which as *Saint Hierome* ſaith, groned and wondred to ſee it ſelfe growne *Arrian*? But theſe perhaps rather peruerſed Chriſtians then any way conuerted *Ethnikes*! Yet the great Nations of the *Gothes* and *Vandales* were of *Ethnikes* made *Arrians*, the great Nations of the *Lithuanians*, *Muſcouites*, *Ruſſes*, &c. haue not many hundred yeeres ſince of *Ethnikes* bene conuerted to the *Greeke* Church, which they hold not Catholike (that I mention not the *Armenians*, *Georgians*, and others) one of which numbred many times three hundred thouſand.

See before in *Polo*, *Conti*, &c. the truth hereof.

And that one Impietie of *Mahumet* hath more Followers many, then all whatſoeuer profeſſions of Chriſtianitie in all Languages, Nations, Rites whatſoeuer (I greeue to tell it) and that from peruerſe *Ethnikes* and peruerſed Chriſtians. And although *Luther* and *Caluin* went not out of *Germanie* and *France* (which he objects) yet their ſound, the Goſpell which they preached hath gone ouer all the Earth; (as theſe our Relations ſhew in the Voyages of *Engliſh*, *Dutch*, *French*, yea, the Apoſtles themſelues) and they haue ſhaken the Towres of *Babylon* in *Europe*, where they were ſtrongeſt (where Antichriſt hath his Throne, a Conqueſt more then *Indian* or *Iaponian*) and when the Prophesie of *Babylons* vtter ruine is fulfilled, the ſame word ſhall conquer (I hope) both *Iewes* and *Gentiles*; yea, theſe Ieſuites and their Preachings, may, by Diuine Diſpenſation become Harbengers to the Goſpell hereafter, as the *Iewiſh* Diſperſions in the Tranſlations of the Scripture and profeſſion of the true God, were fore-runners of the Apoſtles preaching. Meane-while they find vs worke at home to watch ouer our Flockes, leſt ſuch grieuous Wolves enter, and make vs to leaue the *Phariſies* glorie of compaſſing Sea and Land to winne Proſelutes to theſe their Heires and Succeſſors in this, as in many other things. But I will leaue them glorying of their Conuerſions, grieuing that they are not herein better then their reports. I will follow them to theſe parts of *China*, and here for *Chinas* ſake to *Iapon*, and with that Rule of

Apo. 18.

Act. 10.

Cic. pro Milone. Caſſin

Cassius (*Cui bono*) obserue them, in things not gainefull to their Religion, approue and applaud their industrie, yea, accept and thankfully acknowledge their authoritie. In their Conuerfions to the Faith, I suspend my faith in the qualitie, if I admit their quantitie. For how could one man well instruct so many in so little time, except hee could haue giuen the Holy Ghost, as the Apostles in their conuerfions did.

How little in
comparifon
was Paul, from
Ierusalem to Il-
lyricum?

Francis Xauier, in the yeere 1541. sayled from *Lisbon*, wintred at *Mosambique*, whence hee passed into *India*, after that to *Malaca*, and to *Iaponia*, *Et Cunctas oras* (sayth the former Au-
thor) *quas Oceanus ab Indico mari vsque ad extremos Sinas, id est totius Orbis dimidinum, circum-*
fluit, Euangelica pradicatone illustrant & impleuit, (*Iapon* was first discovered and knowne to the
Portugals by *Mota*, carried out of his course to *China* thither by tempest, 1542.) Hee dyed, Anno 1552. the five and fiftieth of his Age, of his *Indian* peregrination the eleuenth, in the Ile
Sancian, on the Coast of *China*. This was the *Indian* Standrad-bearer to all of that Societie (be-
ginning his trauell to *Lisbon* the first yeere of their Confirmation 1540.) and now deified or
Canonized, and inuoked by Doctor *Schulchenius*, Chancellor of *Colen* his Orator, *Ignati & Fran-*
cisco vestris succurrite precibus, &c. A Letter of his written from *Iapon*, in Nouember, 1549.
thus relateth.

Letter of Xau-
ier.

Wee came by Gods grace in August to *Iapon*, on the Feast day of the Assumption of the Virgin Marie,
having set forth from *Malaca* on Midsummer day. The Master of the Ship was a *Chinefe*, which had
undertaken that office to the Captayne of *Malaca*, and sayled prosperously till the Master altered his
minde (as those Barbarians are usually inconstant) and lingred long amongst the Islands in the way. This
troubled vs in two respects principally, both for the losse of the season which God offered, and which
being past, wee were compelled to winter on the Coast of *China*; and againe, because in the same Ship
was carryed an Idoll of the Deuill, to which the Mariners in sight and spight of vs, sacrificed after the
manner of their Countrey. They also by lots demanded answers thereof, touching their Voyage; which (as
they sayd and belceued) were sometimes good, sometimes bad. A hundred leagues from *Malaca*, holding
our course to *China*, wee stayed at an Island, where after many Ceremonies the Deuill was consulted,
what fortune wee should haue, who answered, very prosperous: Whereupon with great alacritie wee set
sayle: they worshipped the Idoll placed in the poepe, with Candles burning and incense of sweet Wood;
wee trusted in God the Creator of Heauen and Earth, and in his Sonne our Lord Iesus Christ, desiring
to carrie his Religion into those parts. When wee were under sayle, they demanded of the Deuill, whether
this Ship should retorne from *Iapon* to *Malaca*: the answer was made by the lot-casters, that it should
goe to *Iapon*, but not retorne to *Malaca*; which made them alter their mindes, thinking it better to win-
ter in *China*, and to deferre the voyage to *Iapon* till the next yeere. You may well thinke how it grieved
vs, that the Deuill must bee consulted touching our course. After this we came to *Cauchinchina*, where
two aduerse things happened, *Emanuel Sina* our companion, by the rolling of the Ship in the troubled
Sea fell into the sinke, almost dead with the bruise and water, but in few dayes recovered: which before it
was ended, the Masters Daughter with the like rolling of the Ship fell into the Sea, and in all our sight
was drowned, and much lamentation followed. The Barbarians presently sought to pacifie the Deuill,
and without rest all the day and night, tooke paines to kill Birds to the Idoll, and to set dishes (of meate
before it,) and by lots consulted to know the cause of that misfortune. The answer was, that if *Emanuel*
which first fell in, had dyed, the Gire had not fallen into the Sea. You see in what danger the Deuill here-
by had cast vs, if our Lord had not restrayned his rage, &c.

Deuill wor-
shipped by the
Chinois.

Canton.

The tempest being asswaged, wee came in few dayes to the Port of *Canton* in *China*. And there
they purposed to Winter, notwithstanding all our intreaties and expostulations: but I know not how on a
sudden they would goe to *Chincheo*, on the same Coast. And when wee were almost there, the Master
was certified by some which sayled by, that there was store of Pirats at *Chincheo*; whereupon the winde
being faire for *Iapon*, and crosse for *Canton*, they brought vs to *Cangoxuma*, the Countrey of our
friend Paul, whose friends vsed vs unkindly. There wee spent some dayes in learning the Elements of
the *Iaponian* tongue with great labour, and began to publish the Decalogue, and other heads of Christian
learning, which Paul had accurately conueried into his owne Language; and wee purposed speedily to
Print them, whereby the knowledge of Christ is further and more easily founded, &c. The occasion of
his journey thither, hee sheweth in another Letter, that some Portugals being lodged in a House
possessed by Deuils, compassed the sayd house with Crosses, and that there was great hope of good to bee
done in those parts: whereupon, notwithstanding those Seas are very tempestuous, and much infested
with Pirats, hee resolved to goe thither.

Seas tempestu-
ous and Pira-
tical.

Ricinus and *Trigantius*, adde that the *Iaponian* Priests alledged in defence of their Idolatries, the
Chinois wisdome against him, whereupon hee returned to *India*, to aduise with the Vice-roy to
send an Ambassage into *China*, without which there was no entrance, and obtayned that *James*
Pereira was named Legate, with whom he had before conferred about the businesse at *Sancian*,
where the Portugals at that time vsed to trade with the *Chinois*, (*Amacao* not yet established) but
Aluarnus Taidius the Captayne of *Malaca* opposed. Xauier loath herein to bee crossed, vsed
the Popes Bull, which constituted him Apostolicall Nuncio, and grievously Cursed all that
should hinder his proceedings in promoting Religion. And when *Aluarnus* would not otherwise
relent, hee interdicted him and his followers. Soone after *Aluarnus* was possessed with a Lepro-
sic,

he, and further contemning the Vice-roy, was taken and cast in Irons, and dyed miserably: Xauier burning with zeale of his China expedition, sought to get some Chinois by fauour or reward, to conueigh him by stealth into China, and to expose him some-where on the Continent, although hee knew that imprisonment attended such strangers, as came into China without licence. Being admonished to take leaue of the Captayne, What, sayd hee, should I goe to salute an Excommunicate person? I shall neuer see him, nor see me, in his life, nor after, but when in the Vale of Iosaphat I shall accuse him before the Iudge, Christ. And praying for him, after with a countenance full of Maieftie, hee put off his shooes, and shooke off the dust, according to the Euangelicall precept. Thus he came to Sancian a Desert Island, where the Portugals vsed to make Bootches of boughes or straw, (for the time of their Trading with the Chinois) with whom hee consulted about some way to effect his desires, though with losse of libertie or life. At last he agreeth with a China Merchant, for as much Pepper (giuen him of the Portugall Merchants in almes) as was worth about two hundred Duckets, to set him and his Interpreter on shoare secretly. Hee undertooke it, but either secretly terrified by other Portugals, or with his owne danger, his Interpreter forsooke him: and after that, the Merchant also vanished. He stayed yet wayting for him, till a Feuer tooke him out of the world, in December, 1552. His corps was after translated to India.

The Portugals of those times, were very desirous of Trade with the Chinois, who on the other side were very suspitious of them, both by that which they saw of their Ships and Ordnance, and by that which the Moores at Canton reported of these Franks, (so the Mahumetans call Europeans) that they were warlike and victorious, as appeared in Malaca and all India, vnder colour of Merchandise subiected to the Portugals. The Chinois at Canton call them still Falanks: for they want the R, and pronounce not two consonants without a vowel interposed. By the same name they call also the Portugals Ordnance. Yet desire of gaine preuayled, that they were admitted to such a trade as ye haue heard, so as the Mart ended, they must away with their goods to India. That course continued diuers yeeres, till the Chinois growing lesse fearefull, granted them in the greater Island a little Peninsula to dwell in. In that place was an Idoll, which still remayneth to bee seene, called Ama, whence the Peninsula was called Amacao, that is, Amas Bay. This Rocke indeed rather then Peninsula, began to bee inhabited not onely of Portugals, but of the confluence of all neighbouring Nations, in regard of the commerce of Commodities of Europe, India, and the Moluccas, brought in Portugals Ships, and especially loue of the Silver Coynes, brought the Chinois thither to dwell. In continuance of time, a Citie began by degrees to bee built, and the Portugals made not onely contracts of Merchandise, but of Marriage, with the Chinois, and so the Peninsula was filled with priuate houses, and out of a barren Rocke arose a noble Mart. And as gayne brought Merchants thither, so the care to keepe and to get foules, brought thither Priests and Religious men, and the Portugall Kings priuiledged the place with the tittle of a Citie, and made it a Bishops See. There the Iesuites fixed a residence, and first erected a Church to our Ladie, and after that diuers others. For it seemed conuenient to their designs, the world of China lying to the North, the Moluccas to the South, Iapon, and the Philip-
40 pinas to the East, to the West Cochinchina, Camboia, Siam, and others.

From hence, many intended the China employment without successe, those fields not then white to the harvest. Melchior Nunnes, (Anno 1555.) from Canton, writes of his accidentall going a shoare on China, in his voyage to Iapan, occasioned by a terrible tempest whereto those Seas are much subiect. They came in Iuly to Sancian an Island, thirtie leagues from Canton, being much endangered by the Rockes in the way, and there hee sayd Masse ouer the place where Xauier had bene buryed; and easily obtayned admission into Canton. This is reported to bee the least of all the Mother Cities of the Provinces, yet seeming to exceed Lisbon, in frequencie. The buildings are good, the walls strong: a thousand Arches with inscriptions are seene therein, which the Magistrates vsually leaue as Memorials at their departures. The people are giuen to their bellies, and to
50 pleasure. The Government is admirable. The Chiefe Iustice they call Hexah, the Treasurer Ponchali, the Admirall and Gouernour of Strangers, Aitan. The Chaens Ensignes, are a Hand and an Eye; his office is to see the Execution of the Kings Sentences, to order or deprive Magistrates. The Tutan is Vice-roy, conspicuous by his Cap and his Garments, wrought with a gilded Lion, which is the Kings Armes: in State hee excelleth European Kings. The Portugall Captaynes and wee speake not to him, but aloofe on our knees. If any will speake with him, at enery Gate of his sumptuous Palace, hee must aloud utter his businesse, before the Porter admits him. Hee hath many for his Guard. And one hundred thousand men are sayd to bee maintayned at the Kings cost, for the keeping of this Province. His Officers goe two and two and make way with great cries. Their Cane-whippings are terrible, the Canes burned at the end, a cubite long, foure fingers broad, &c. The Chinois are wittie and indiciou,
60 in matters of the world: but haue little care of the soule, ignorant of its immortalitie, of one God, and of eternall rewards and punishments. Their Priests haue a kinde of Myter on the head, are shauen head and beard, otherwise contemptible. I could not with great diligence finde any that could shew mee their Ceremonies, and the lawes of their Holies. The Inhabitants all haue Idols, which they incense, and diuine by lots, beating the Idols if the Lots prove unluckie. I was twice at Canton, and spent two

Xauiers zeale.

Sancian thirtie leagues from the China shoares.

Xauiers death: See Vita Xauierij. & F. Pinto. & Eman. Acosta. Masserius Ricci.

* Since the Expedition of the Westerne Christians (the chiefe of which were Franks) to the conquest of Ierusalem.

A Peninsula is compased with water except on one part. Beginnings of Amacao.

Melchior Nunnes.

Canton least Metropolitan Citie. I take but a litle of his relation, because you haue so much before. Aitan, Aitao, or Haitao. * So Pinto also, but this is the Provinces Armes not the Kings.

* Some Sects acknowledge more, others lesse.

moneths

moneths there to redeeme Portugall prisoners. The Chinois kill or captivate the Portugals, which are wracked on that Coast, which yet they cease to doe, since they pay their Customes. I went thence in May to Japon.

Valignanus.

Admiranda regi-
ni Sinenfis ex-
tant with the
Iesuites Epistles
published by
Io. Hayus.
Plaut.

Alexander Valignanus, was sent by the Iesuiticall Generall into India as Visitor, and having visited other parts, came to Amacao, in his way to Japon, forced to stay there ten moneths with the Iesuites. There hee more fully informed himselfe of the state of China, and raised the embers of the almost extinguished zeale of that expedition. Hee is thought to bee the Author of that treatise called *Admiranda Regni Sinenfis*, contayning a summarie of the wonders in China, worthy heere to have beene inserted, but that wee rather rayme at things seene then heard, as having better certaintie. *Oculus testis unus prestat auritis decem.* Vpon the consideration of their wits, Peace, Pollicie, studies of Learning, hee conceived that if any were skilfull of their Language and Letters, he might doe some good for their Conversion. Hereupon hee resolved to imploy some that way, although many others of the companie which had experience of the China affayres, held it labour in vayne. Yet hee went on and because of the paucitie of ours at Amacao, and none so fit for that designe, hee sent into India to the Prouinciall, to send thither at least one Priest for that purpose. And he going to Japon, left order what hee which was sent should doe.

Mich. Ruggeri-
us.

Mich. Ruggeri-
us.

Michael Ruggerius, an Italian of the Kingdome of Naples, was sent, and came to Amacao, in July, Anno 1579. and applyed himselfe to learne the language which the Courtiers in China vse, and is common thorow all China, (the Prouinces having otherwise peculiar languages) also to learne to reade and write their Characters, which are as many as words. That language was verie hard both in it selfe, and for the want of teachers. For those Christian Chinois which liued at Amacao, in habit of Europeans, & those which came thither in Merchandise, were almost as ignorant of the Court tongue, as of the Portugall: and though they vnderstood it, yet they could not well pronounce it. And for the Characters, they know those which belonged to their Merchandising and common vse. *Labon improbus omnia vincit.* With pictures his teacher was often forced to supply characters. And whereas the Portugals twice a yeere in the Mart season haue access to Canton, about Ianuarie and Iune, he went with them thither. For in time they obtayned this libertie, that not in a desert Island, as first, nor in the Amacao Haue, but in the Metropolitan Citie two dayes vpon the Riuer, they might haue trading by day, but lye aboard at night, with so many eyes and watches on them, as it is manifest they are not altogether free of their former feares.

Portugall trade
at Canton by a
day, and exten-
sion at night.

Portugall trade
at Canton by a
day, and exten-
sion at night.

Rugg. first en-
trance.

These Marts continue two moneths each of them, or longer, and haue beene the onely meane of admitting the Iesuites into China by the industrie and pietie of other Portugals. Ruggerius therefore with his merchandise also ventured with them, and found an impediment a first. Another Iesuite which before had gone thither had converted a youth, Disciple to a Priest, and closely conueyed him to Amacao. His Master made complaint and procured the Magistrate to fetch him backe by force, to the great trouble of Ours, and seeming discredit as it by ill arts they had seduced Children from their Parents, which is a thing at Canton, both vsuall and Capitall. Ruggerius enterposed himselfe with great care and discretion, and appeased the Admirall or

Ruggerius freed
by the Hai-tao.

Ruggerius freed
by the Hai-tao.

Ambassage of
Siam.

Ambassage of
Siam.

Zumpim of
Chinabim.

Zumpim of
Chinabim.

Zumpim of
Chinabim.

Zumpim of
Chinabim.

Zumpim of
Chinabim.

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Zumpim of
Chinabim.

Zumpim of
Chinabim.

Zumpim of
Chinabim.

Zumpim of
Chinabim.

Hai-tao which hath the command of Strangers, who hereby had an opinion of his vercue, and delighted to see him studious of the China bookes. He therefore permitted him to stand at his side when others kneeled, and freed him also from the going aboard at night, and allowed him a place in the Palace, where the Ambassadors of the King of Siam were vsuallly entertayned, bringing their present or tribute (such as you haue heard in Goex) to the King. There hee studied night and day the China bookes, and on Sundayes and Holy dayes, the Portugals came thither to him to Masse and to receiue the Sacraments. This continued while they continued, for when the Mart ended, hee was commanded to returne with them. The Father procured acquaintance also with the chiefe Caprayne of the Souldiers of that Prouince (the Chinois call him Zumpim) to whom hee gaue a watch. By this meanes many of those which came to Amacao, began to shake off their Ethnike darknesse, and the deuout Portugals erected a House for the *Catechumens* (new Conuersts to bee instructed in Christian mysteries before Baptisme) where hee instructed them, and more freely followed his China studies, by helpe of Interpreters. One business hindered another, and his Marts absence (which tooke vp neere halfe the yeere) this Catechising, and a tongue is hardly learned by studie without vse; and therefore the Visitor sent for Martho Ricinus out of India, (which had come out of Europe with Ruggerius, and now had finished his Diuinitie course at Goa) to bee his yoke fellow, one to whom the China expedition is most indebted.

Mat. Ricinus.

Mat. Ricinus.

Mat. Ricinus.

Mat. Ricinus.

Mat. Ricinus.

Mat. Ricinus.

Mat. Ricinus.

Mat. Ricinus.

Mat. Ricinus.

Anno 1582 Valignanus the Visitor, carryed certayne Japonian Princes sent to Rome to yeeld subiection to the Pope, in the name of those Kings which sent them, as you shall heare. He stay-
ing for the Monson at the Colledge of Amacao, tooke great paines to aduance the China busi-
nesse. And to that purpose hee instituted the *Fraternitie* or fellowship of Iesus in our House, with
lawes fitting to New Conuersts; forbidding any Portugals to bee therein admitted, but onely
Chinois, and Japonians, and those which were newly conuerted of other Nations: alway to bee
gouerned

Fraternitie of
Iesus.

Fraternitie of
Iesus.

Fraternitie of
Iesus.

Fraternitie of
Iesus.

Fraternitie of
Iesus.

Fraternitie of
Iesus.

Fraternitie of
Iesus.

Fraternitie of
Iesus.

governed by one of those Fathers which should bee assigned to the *China* Expedition, called, *The Father of the new Conuerts*, taking care not onely of their saluation, but their other affaires and pouerty.

The Vice-roy of *Canton* Prouince is one of the chiefe Vice-royes, because his Prouince is farre from *Pequin*, and coasting on the Sea; infested therefore with often Piracies, especially *Iaponian*. Hereupon the *Canton* Vice-roy exerciseth iurisdiction also in the adioyning Prouince *Quamsi*, if occasion require to leuie more Souldiers, although *Quamsi* hath also a Vice-roy of her owne. For this cause the *Canton* Vice-roy resideth not at *Canton*, but at *Scianguin*, a Citie bordering on both Prouinces. At this time *Cinsui* borne in the Prouince of *Fuquien*, was Vice-roy, a courteous man, who to get money of the *Amacans* sent thither his Writ for the Bishop and Captaine to come to his Court, vnderstanding that they commanded all there. They thought it not agreeing to the *Portugall* honour to goe, nor to their safety to neglect his summons, and therefore by *Valignanus* his aduise, *Ruggerius* was sent in the name of the Bishop, to see if hee could get a perpetuall Station in that Kingdome, and *Penella* the Auditor, in place of the Captaine. And to obtaine his fauour, that he should not disturbe their merchandising, a Present was sent him at publike charge, of such things as the *Chinois* most regard, as waued garments of silke *Damaske* (which the *Chinois* then knew not how to make) *Crystall* Glasses, and other things valued at 1000. Duckets. The Vice-roy receiued them in great pompe, more to terrifie then honour them; but at the sight of the Presents (the scope of his purpose) hee became gentle and courteous, and decreed that they might lye in his Port in manner as hitherto they had done, obeying the Lawes of the *China* Magistrates: which words seeme formall, the *Portugals* living there after their owne Lawes; and other Nations, yea the *Chinois* themselues which are *Christians* in habite and religion, being subiect to them. The other *Chinois* are subiect to common Officers sent thither from *Canton*. The Vice-roy would haue nothing, but hee would pay for it, which hee did because bribes and gifts are there seuerely punished: but priuily hee sent to them, that money was giuen them to procure him as many other like.

Ruggerius desired that which he came for, saying, he learned the *China* Tongue and read their Bookes, which he seemed much to like, and gaue him hopes at his next returne to obtayne it. And hauing giuen them weight of Siluer; with promise, great attendance of Magistrates and Souldiers, much Musicke of Hoybuckes and other Instruments, hee sent them pompously thorow the publike streets of the Citie to their shipping. So weighty is hope of gaine. In August had come (as they vse) *Portugall* ships to *Amacao*, in them of our Society not a few, and amongst others, Father *Matthew Ricius*, who brought with him an artificiall Watch from the Prouinciall for the aduancing this *China* businesse. About that time the Captaine of *Amacao* hauing made readie those things which the Vice-roy prescribed, sent backe the Auditor to *Scianguin*, but *Ruggerius* vnseasonably (or seasonably rather as the euent manifested) fell sicke; yet sent word to the Vice-roy that he could not come to him as he had promised: and withall, that he had a Clocke-watch which did without any striker sound the houres, a thing euen still of much wonder to the *Chinois*. Hearing of his sicknesse, hee seemed sorrowfull, but this Watch awaked him, and caused him to make his Secretarie presently write a Licence for the Father to come to him with that admirable worke, as soone as he should bee able. When this Charter was read at *Amacao*, it contayned more; for the Fathers were inuited by publike Authoritie to erect a publike and priuate house in that Citie, which caused great ioy. But the Visitor was afraid as yet to send *Ruggerius*, as not furnished fully for that deligne; the beginning of a thing being the greatest part. The other *Iesuites* perswaded, and Father *Francis Pasius* bound for *Iapon*, a man well qualified for governing was sent, and *Ruggerius* adioyning his Colleague. *Ricius* was made Gouvernour of the Colledge of the *Catechumens*, and appointed to follow the other two, if occasion serued. And if the businesse proceeded not, *Pasius* was to proceed to *Iapon*, and the other two to attend better opportunitie in their *China* businesse.

Those two *Iesuites* went to *Scianguin*, and offered their Watch with a triangle Glasse presenting variety of colours, a thing admired of the *Chinois* as a precious Iewell: both which were exceeding welcome to the Vice-roy, who assigned them a conuenient station in a Suburban Temple, called *Thien-min-zu*, whither he often sent them diuers viands, and often admitted them in Visitation to his Palace. There they abode foure or fve moneths, often visited in that Temple by principall men and Magistrates of the Citie, and were in hope of their perpetuall continuance, hauing obtayned licence of the Secretarie also for *Ricius* to come, who was preparing for the Voyage, when all was disturbed on a sudden, the Vice-roy being I know not for what fault, deprived of his place. He fearing least in the chiefe Citie the presence of Strangers might further hurt him, dismissed the *Iesuites* so, as hee permitted them to stay at *Canton*, commanding the Magistrate there to prouide them a house and ground. The *Chinois* call that Citie *Quam-chen* which the *Portugals* (by the name of the Prouince deluded) call *Canton*. They well knew that his commission was of no force, yet they went, and the *Haitan*, to whom the Charter was directed was absent, and no regard being had thereof, they were not permitted to ascend the bankes, and therefore with griefe returned to *Amacao*. *Pasius* presently sayled according

Vice-roy of Canton.

Quamsi.

Scianguin.

Bribe trickes.

Mat. Ricius.

Clocke-watch.

Iesuites first China Station. Three cornered Glasse.

Quam-chen the true name of Canton.

Pasius dieth
long after,

according to the Visitors appointment to Iapon, and after divers yeeres labour there, was Vnder-
provinciall of the China and Iaponian Missions: and when both of those expeditions were by
the Generals order made a Prouince, he was declared Visiteur thereof, and came to Amacao, to
take order for China, where within few moneths he died.

Amacao

Amacao

¶ I I:
Iaponian Embassage to the Pope; Of Nabunanga and Quabacondono their
gouernment; Corai inuaded, Embassage from China, TAICOSAMAS
Temple, and OGOSHAMAS succession.



Asing mentioned that Embassage of Iaponian Kings sent to the Pope by procurement
of the Iesuites, out of their writings I haue heere added for further illustration, the
acts of the publike Consistorie in this forme of words.

Iaponian Em-
bassage to the
Pope.
Edit Hen.
Cuiusius

Pope Gregorie the thirteenth, sitting in the Hall designed for entertaynement of
Kings, and their Embassages on the three and twentieth of March, 1585. in the morning, in a
most ample Session of the Cardinals of the Holy Romane Church, and in a great assembly of
Princes and Prelates with greatest industry, and most frequent attendance of all Orders: Man-
tius and Michael (who was also of the Prince of Omur) two Legates of Iaponian Kings, were
brought in, and one of the two Iaponian companions of the same Embassage, of principall Nobil-
itie, to wit, Martine, for Iulian the other of them was withholden by sicknesse. After solemne
adoration of the Pope, and the kisses of his blessed feet, receiued of him with great demonstra-
tion of beneuolence and charitie, they went aside into a place appointed them with great mo-
destie. Afterwards, the Letters of the Kings which they had brought are publicly read, being
translated out of the Iaponian Tongue into the Italian, and thence into the Latine. First, that
of Francis King of Bungo, who therein professeth the Diuine bountie in sending the Iesuites foure
and thirte yeeres before into those parts, whose seed had taken some rooting in his breast, which hee a-
scribes to the Popes prayers and merits. And had it not bene for his age, warres, and sicknesse, hee
would haue visited those holy places, and haue kissed his holy feet, and set them on his head, and receiued
his blessing, his breast crossed by his most holy hand: but so detayned, had thought to haue sent his sisters
sonne, the Lord Ierome, Sonne of the King of Fiunga his Embassadour, whose Cousin-german Man-
tius in his absence he now sent; thanks him for the Reliques sent him, &c. Ian. II. 1582. Inscribed,
To the great and most holy Pope to be adored, and holding on Earth the place of the King of Heaven.
Subscribed, Francis King of Bungo, prostrate at your Blessednesse most holy feet. Not much vnlike
was the tenour of the second Letter, sent from Protasius King of Arima, who detayned by di-
uers lets, had sent his Cousin-german in his roome, to his Holinesse, which with sincere and humble
munde hee adoreth. Inscribed, To the great and holy Lord whom I adore, holding the roome of God.
The Prince of Omur sent also the said Michael his Brothers Sonne with a Letter of like import,
inscribed, With lifted up hands adoring I offer these to the most holy Lord the Pope, Vicar of the
great God. Subscribed in substance as the first.

King of Bungo
Letter.

* But that Hor-
tus deliciarum
Anglia was
more worth
then both In-
dies to the
Pope. See sup.
lib. 8. c. 6. & c.

This the most
acceptable
mysterie of
Papall Faith.

After this, silence was commanded; and in the name of the said Kings and Legates, Gaspar
Gonsaluas a Portugall Iesuite made an Oration vnto the Pope, comparing and preferring this
Embassage with that of certaine Indians to Augustus, and the conuersion of Britaine by the first
Gregorie with this of Iapon, and other Ilands by the Thirteenth, succeeding * and exceeding that,
now fallen from the Pope; applying Esays Prophecies of the Churches encrease to this Iesuits-
call Haruest, and magnifying the great glories of that Pope, founder of Seminaries, and magni-
fied extra anni Solisq. vias. Antonio Buccapadulo answered in the name of the Pope, That Francis
King of Bungo, Protasius King of the Arimans, and Bartholmew his Uncle, Prince of Omur,
hath sent you their kinsmen to him from the remote Iaponian Ilands to the veneration of that power in
presence, which by Gods bounty he holdeth, they haue done godly and wisely. For there is one Faith, one
Catholike Church, one made Gouvernour over the said Church, and Pastor of Christs Flocke, that is,
of all Catholikes thorow the World, in the succession of Peter, the Roman Bishop. That they acknow-
ledge and professe this, together with the mysteries of the orthodoxe Faith, our most holy Lord reioyceth,
and giueth immortall thanks to the Diuine bounty, and iudges this to be the most true ioy which procee-
deth from the studie of Gods glorie, and the saluation of Soules. Therefore most willingly, together
with these his venerable Brethren, Cardinals of the Roman Church, hee embraceth the testification of
their Faith, Obedience, Denotion. He wisheth and prayeth that by their example other Kings and Prin-
ces also of those Iles, and of the whole World, reiecting the worship and error of Idols, may know the
true God, and whom he hath sent Iesus Christ; for this is life eternall.

This done, the Consistorie was dismissed. The Legates when they had attended the Pope,
after the custome, into the inner roomes, were first entertayned of the Popes brothers sonne,
the Cardinall of Saint Sixtus, with a Banket; after that admitted to the Popes priuate and fa-
miliar

miliar conference, they discoursed by Interpreters with him of many things, touching the Iourney and Religion: then went to Saint Peters Church, and the holy Thresholds of the Apostles piously saluted, at night were honourably brought to their lodging.

This was prepared and furnished in the *Iesuites* Colledge by the Popes appointment at their first coming to Rome, the two and twentieth of March, who also sent two troops of Horse to guard them. They went from their Charet to the Temple, and whiles they praised God, and worshipped at the greatest Altar, the Students of the *German* Colledge in a double Quire sang, *Te Deum laudamus*. The Legates next day had audience as yee haue heard; their Vestment was parti-coloured and embroidered, a short Sword on the left hand, an Arab Dagger on the right, the other part of their habite *Iaponian*. The pompe of all sorts, and the Ordnance attended them to the *Vatican*, & there the *Italian* Garrison, and *Heluetian* Guard with their Peees and military Musicke receiued them. Then were they lead into the Hall, and after all things there finished, the Legates carried the Popes traine at his departure. And on the five and twentieth day, festiuall for the Annuntiation, the Pope going on solempne Procession, these Legates rode in the last place. What should I say more? (sayth our Authour) it cannot be told, how all magnifie the mercy of God which brings farre more at this time from the East and West to the Catholike Church, then the Deuill hath seduced in the North.

Extract, & listeria
Roma missis.

These *Iaponian* Lords returned into India, 1586. as *Valignanus* writeth, and were much endangered by a tempest. Their returne into *Iapon* is signified by the Letters of *Michael* to the Archbishop of *Ebora*, testifying their arriual the one and twentieth of Iuly, 1590. at *Nangasack* with the said *Valignanus*; and by the Letter of *Don Sancius*, Sonne and Successour to *Bartholmew* Prince of *Omur* to Pope *Xistus* the fifth, with thanks for the wood of the Crosse, and the Sword sent his Father which should be kept amongst his principall Iewels. *Protasius* also the King of *Arima* wrote to the Great and most holy Pope *Xistus* or *Sixtus* in this manner.

See the last
chap. of my
Pilg. l. 9.

On the sixteenth of the sixth Moone, which was the one and twentieth of Iuly, 1690. heere arriued the Father *Vistour* of the Societie of Iesus, with Cingua Don *Michael* my kins-man, Don *Mancius*, and other companions which I had sent to Rome to put their heads vnder your Holinesse feet. Whose coming did as much reioyce me, as if a thousand Autumnes had come to me, and ten thousand yeeres had bene added to my life. Don *Michael* related with what honour and fauour hee was entertayned of your Holinesse, of King *Philip*, and other Catholike Princes, for which I render those thanks which Pen and Paper cannot expresse. He deliuered me Letters also which your Holinesse vouchsafed mee, fauourably reckoning mee amongst the Christian Kings. Hee brought me also part of the holy Wood of the true Crosse, a Hat, and a Sword, which your Holinesse is wont to send to Christian Kings and Princes. Which fauour and studies are such, and so esteemed of mee, that I haue determined to consecrate them to eternall memory, and to place them amongst my chiefe Treasures, and the Ornaments and Monuments of my posteritie. And this honour conferred on mee is such, that greater cannot be in this life, and it redounds vnto a future good life. I had determined (according to the order prescribed of your H. in his Letters, and as the fauour, and so great benefits bestowed on mee deserved) to haue receined the said Presents with all the celebritie and pompe that might be in my Kingdome: but the Father *Vistour* shewed mee that respect was to be had of the tyrannie and great hatred wherewith *Quabacondono* the Lord of all *Iapon*, persecuteth the Fathers and Christians these three yeeres together; and this feast to be deferred till he returneth from *Meaco*, whither hee is going in Embassage from the Vice-roy of India to *Quabacondono*, &c. The ninth yeere of the Era called *Tenscio*, the tenth of the eighth Moone, which is the two and twentieth of September, An. 1590.

Popes presents

Papall fauours,
with little cost
buying much
esteeme.

Pompe pre-
scribed.

At your Highnesse feet,

Arimano, *Sciurino*, *Daibu* Don *Protasius*.

This *Quabacondono* (as *L. Froes* writeth) was now growne the greatest Monarch that euer *Iapon* had, hauing ascended thereunto from a base estate, which was (as hee hath diuers times with his owne mouth confessed) to cut wood, and to carrie it to the Market to sell for his daily food. *Nobunanga* his Predecessor had growne to great height, such as many ages had not there scene. In *Frenoiama* eight hundred yeeres before, a King of *Iapon* had builded 3800. Temples, with houses adioyned for the *Bonzis*, which employed themselues in the studie of the Lawes and Sects: for whose quietnesse he remoued the Husbandmen, and builded them two streets, allowing to their maintenance about the third part of the Customes (or Rents) of the *Vomen* Kingdome. Thus became it a fountaine of their superstitions. In time those Temples dispersed in sixteene Vallies were lessened to 800. and the *Bonzian* discipline, and studies melted into pleasures, hardned into Armes, and ranged into robberies, so that they fired *Meaco* with great slaughter, and opposed *Nobunanga*: who hauing destroyed the Militarie *Bonzi* (called *Icoxos*) and taken away their Castles, invaded *Frenoiama*, professing he feared not their Gods. On the top of a Hill was the Temple of *Quanon*, to whom prayers and pilgrimages were made for health, wealth, and long life; and yeerely solemnities and Playes with huge pompe and cost were made in his honour (to which the *Gibon* feast at *Meaco* succeeded) with frequency of men, deuices

See of these
Iaponian Kings
and Rites my
Pilg. l. 5. c. 15.
Nabunanga.

Frenoiama

The Bonzian
Quanon and
Popish Corpus
Christi Playes
like by Iesuites
testimonie.
Shauclings.

Faxiba made
Quabacondono.
Quabacu signi-
fies, the Christ
of treasure.
Cof. Turrianus.

The 3. chiefe
men in Iapon.
The Vo, High
Priest and
Quingue.
A greater then
they.
Meaco the
chiefe Citie of
Iapon.

Corai.

Organtinus
Brixienfis.

Quis tulcrit
Gracchos &c.

* The Dai-ri,
the titular
King.

China inuasion.
Reckoning
without his
Host.
Iaponian Theo-
logie.
* The Iesuits.

deuices of work-men, and such order, that it may appeare that Satan there imitates the anniuersary solemnitie of *Corpus Christi* amongst vs. Thither the *Bonzi* had gotten, but it, and they, and their streets were destroyed, and foure hundred Temples with their furniture burned. At *Facusangin* also were a thousand houses of the *Bonzi* by themselves, besides Monasteries, which he destroyed. *Xingnea* the King of *Cainochum* had forced his Father to exile, and imprisoned his elder Brother, and then seized on the Kingdome: after which he shaued his beard and haire, and became a *Bonzo*, and would needs repaire *Frenoiama*, and stiling himselfe, *Chiefe in the house of the Kings and of Religions*, gathered an Armie. *Nabunanga* wrote to him, calling himselfe, *Tamer of Devils, and enemy of Sects*. Hee proceeded first against the *Bonzi* with these terrours; and after would needs himselfe be worshipped, but eightene dayes after in a conspiracy of his owne against him, he was slaine, and his dispersed. *Quabacondono* succeeded, and in greatnesse of attempts and ambition exceeded.

This *Quabacondono* is a title which *Faxiba* assumed, and is as much, as *Treasurer*. These titles are giuen by the *Vo*, or *Dairi*, descended of the ancient Kings, and now enioying a strange Empire, which is to giue titles of honour, (for which all great men haue their Factors with him) and is esteemed as a God, not suffered to tread on the ground (that were deposition) nor often seene, and gets much treasure out of those *Tules*, which he so often changeth, that the King of *Bungo* was by the *Iesuites* obserued foure and thirty times to haue altered his appellations. There is a high Priest, who with Papall power authorizeth Sects, confirmeth and consecrateth the *Tundi* or Bishops which are nominated by the Kings, and enioyeth Royall reuenues. The *Quin-2* gue is the third person, and hath power ouer Iudgements and Warres. But the *Lords of Tensa*, that is, such as haue power to get into their hands *Meaco*, and the Region adioyning, are really chiefe Lords, and command the State, though in seeming ceremonie (as the *Turkes* to their *Musli*, and more manifestly the *Soldans* of *Egypt* to their *Califas*) they yeeld a seeming subiection; the *Dairi* not daring to crosse them.

Faxiba Cingendono obtayned that title of *Quabacondono* (*Dono* is a generall title of honour) the next to the *Dairi*, and hauing subiected *Iapon*, minded to conquer *China*, by the way of *Corai*. The King of *Corai* sent his Embassadour to him with three hundred attendants in vaine, he minding to send and place in those new Conquests all the suspected Princes of *Iapon*, and to eternize his owne name, being exceeding vain-glorious. He tooke from the *Bonzi* their Lands: and after that, making ditches round about *Meaco*, hee forced them all to dwell together neere the said ditches: which reducing their discrepant Sects to an vnformed *Chaos* together, made many of them forsake their profession. Hee enioyed euery foot of Land in *Iapon*, gaue, or removed, or depriued Kings at pleasure, tooke away all Armes from the Rustikes; forbad all contentions and fights vpon paine of death, if any guilty hereof fled, punishing the kindred, or seruants, or neighbours, crucifying them. Hee administrd iustice very severely without partiality, or pardoning any man: and had almost put to death the *Meacon Bonzi* for their Concubines if the *Gouernour* of *Meaco* had not interposed and vnderaken their amendment. Hee neuer suffered the Souldiers to be idle, but vsed them in warres or buildings. The Vice-roy sent him an Embassage and Presents; the foure *Iaponian* Lords which had beene in Europe attending *Valignu-4* nus the Embassadour. *Quabacondono* would needs heare these *Iaponians* play *European* Musicke, which they had there learned: and made great shewes of kindnesse to them all, and sent this Letter with Presents to the Vice-roy.

Sir, I haue receiued Letters which your Lordship from so remote Regions sent mee, in opening and reading whereof I seemed to see the length of the leagues by land and sea. This Kingdome of *Iapon* as you wrote, containeth aboue sixtie States or Iurisdictions, in which before haue beene great disorders and warres, no peace nor quiet. For many wicked men, Traitors to their Countrey conspired to denye obedience to their * King, a thing which from my youth hath vexed me. And long since I bethought mee of a course to subiect this People, and to pacifie the whole Kingdome: and layed for a foundation three vertues, to wit, Gentlenesse and affabilitie of speech in conuersing with men; Prudence in considerate iudging of things, and egreious fortitude and courage of minde: by the aide whereof I haue subdued all this Nation, and haue brought all the Kingdomes into this forme of one Empire, wicked men being extinct, and worke-men which labour in the fields promoted. And I haue so restored peace and quietnesse to these Kingdomes, and in few yeeres haue so settled and stablished the Monarchie of *Iapon*, that it is now like a great Rocke which cannot be removed. Whence it is come to passe that in all foure parts of the Kingdome they haue a King eminent in much wisdom; and the King likewise hath all of them obedient. And in this order I haue declared and exercised the power of a good Captaine, to whom these Kingdomes are subiect; by taking away the wicked, and rooting out all Robbers by sea and land. So the people, families, and all places of the Kingdome enioy marvellous quiet. I haue also determined to inuade the Kingdome of *China*, and in few dayes I will take ship and doubt not of victorie. When I shall possesse it, your Lordship may more easily communicate with mee in all things.

Now concerning the Fathers, * *Iapon* is the Kingdome of *Chamis*, whom wee hold to be the same with *Scin*, which is the beginning of all things. This *Scin* is the substance and the very being of all things; and all things are one and the same with *Scin*, and into *Scin* are resolved. Who in *Scina* is called

called Iutto, and in Tescincu Buppo. Further, in the obseruation of the Lawes of this Chamis consisteth all the Politicall gouernment of Iapon, which being neglected, there is no difference betwixt Lords and Subjects: if it be kept, the vnion and concord is perfected which ought to bee twixt the Father and Sonne, the Husband and wife. Therefore the whole, both internall and externall gouernment of Men and Kingdomes is placed in the conseruation of this vnion and policie. Now the Fathers formerly haue entred these Kingdomes to preach another Law for the sauing of men: but because wee are instructed and settled in the Lawes of Chamis, we desire no other Law: for the diuersities of Lawes and opinions are hurtfull and preiudiciall to the Kingdomes. Wherefore I commanded the Fathers to depart out of Iapon; and haue forbidden them to preach their Law, nor will I that hereafter they preach any new Law in this Kingdome. Although these things be so, yet I greatly desire that a stable communication may remayne betwixt vs: for so this Kingdome shall bee free from Theeues, by Land and Sea. And I giue leaue to all Merchants which bring merchandise, to sell them all without lee. I desire your Lordship to approue the same. I receiued all the gifts which you sent out of those Southerne parts, as it is written in your Letters. I likewise send some others out of these Kingdomes, with a memoriall of the gifts, and the names of them which haue giuen. The Legate will declare the rest, wherefore I will bee no longer. Dated 20. yeere of Tenscy, 25. of the seventh Moone.

In the end was the Seale and Subscription. It was written in a leafe eight palmes long, foure broad, painted with golden Flowers, and put in a red silke bagge wrought with Gold and siluer; and that inclosed after the Iapon manner in a Boxe, which for the price and workmanship was so admirable, that the subtiltie and excellence of the worke might amaze all Europeans. Within it was couered and without, with Vrosci (made of Gold beaten into powder) distinguished with Flowers of Gold and Siluer, so inserted in the Vrosci that none could discern the conjunction, but he which knew the making of the Boxe. It had also Roses, and gold Chaires to tie the Boxe; which Boxe was put into another Bag, and that into another Boxe very artificiall. The gifts were Armour, Armes, and other things very precious.

He assembled his Lords about this China Warre, which durst not expresse any other opinion, hee hauing protested, that hee would not heare his Sonne disswade him, if he were alieue againe, and if any should hinder him, it should cost him his life. Thus for some moneths space nothing might be scene else, but prouision for Ships, Armes, Munitions, and necessaries for the Warre. Hee made a Catalogue of all his Lords, exempting none from the expedition, and setting euery one his number of followers. To Augustine a Christian Lord hee gaue the fauour of first impression into Corai, other Lords staying still at Susima eigheteene leagues distant. Corai is adioyning to the Continent of China at one end, diuided by a great Riuer from China, and tributarie to the King of China; it is in length about an hundred leagues, and sixtie broad: the people vnlike the Chinois in language and bodily strength, but following their lawes, customes, and gouernement. They are better Archers then at any other weapons: and not comparable to the Iaponians, except in shipping, wherein they and the Chinois exceed. Yet at this time they were destitute of that defence, and Augustine gaue them a great ouerthrow. Before Quabacondono would goe, he made his Brothers Sonne by the Dairi to be entituled Quabacondono, as his Heire and Successour, contenting himselfe with the title of Taicosama, that is, Great Lord. All the Iaponian Princes were commanded to be present at the translation, to giue him obedience; to whom the Dairi gaue the Fortresse of Meaco, and the Palaces of Quabacondono, making him Lord of Tensa. But his Vncle held the sway of all in his owne hands, and after hauing a Sonne of his own, caused this his Nephew with some others to crosse himselfe (that is, to cut his breast

acrosse, his bowels falling out, and some one of those which died with him, cutting off his head. Augustine with a Fleet of eight hundred sayles entred Corai, and tooke two Fortresses, the Coraians being driuen from the walls by the Iaponders Gunnes, vnkowne to the other, and five thousand of them slayne. This wanne him great credite with Taicosama, who promised him much, yet performed little. Hee defeated also an Armie of twenty thousand, and after another of fourescore thousand, and the King fleeing into China tooke the Meaco, or Royall Citie of Corai. Taicosama sent him a Horse, and a Sword, the honour that Nabunanga was wont after any great Victorie to doe to him. The Coraians seeing their King with his troops in safety, fled with their prouisions into Woods and Hills, and would not thence bee brought by any promises. The Iaponian possessed of the Fortresses wanted men to till the ground, and therefore must needs want necessaries: the wayes also were by the Coraians vpon all occasions assaulted. There are two hundred thousand Iaponians at this present in Corai, and Augustine is in the extreme borders adioyning to China, separated notwithstanding by a Riuer three leagues broad, abounding in ships, and the shores fortified with multitudes of men, so that the successe is doubtfull.

Froes in his Epistle, 1595. writeth that there were then an hundred and ninety Iesuites in Iapon and China: that Taicosama not succeeding in his Coraian expedition, returned to Meaco, and quarrelled the new Quabacondono out of his life, who with five others at Taicos command executed themselves after the Iaponian manner. Augustine meane while endeauoured an Embassage to bee sent from the King of China, who thinking himselfe Lord of the World, sent to

Ff

Taicosama,

Christian Religion alway by the Deuill and his, accused for a State-disturber. Iesuites banished.

Iaponian workmanship.

Preparation for inuasion of Corai.

Corai described: see my China Map.

* This is that Firefama of whom you read in Capr. Saris, and Master Cocke, described by Ogo.

1592. Wide Riuer betwixt China and Corai.

China Embas-
sage.

Huge Palace,
and prepara-
tion for enter-
tainment of
the Chinois.

Noximandono a
Iaponian Pirat.

Prodigious
raines:

Earth-quakes.

* Iaponian poli-
cy to keepe all
the Lords a-
bout the Court
for securitie;
seldome suffe-
red to visite
their King-
domes.
China Presents
and Letters.

* Chia an herb
vsed in warme
water in all
entertayn-
ments in Iapon
and China.

Taicofama, that it was an vnmeet thing that He, whose industrie and valour had subdued three-score and sixe Kingdomes of *Iapon* to his Empire, should permit the *Dairi* a priuate man, and Subiect to the King of *Iapon* to hold his former place of dignitie. And if hee would depriue him thereof, hee promised to send him a Crowne, and the title of King, and by the same Legates to treat further about the *Iaponians* forsaking *Corai*. Two Embassadors were sent from *Pequin* to *Augustine* to *Corai*: who presently sent word to *Taico*, the Embassadors abiding with him, because of the solemne entertaynement which *Taico* intended for the renoume of his name to all posteritie. The Nobles exhaust in the former expedition were yet now enforced to new braueries and expences. Hee caused at *Ozaca* a Hall to bee erected, with a thousand *Tatami* (very elegant Mats) the timber costly, and gilding incredible. Yet by store of raynes a great part thereof fell downe, which hee intended soone to repaire, hauing an hundred thousand men at worke there both night and day in great miserie, standing with their feet in the water. If any runne away they are killed. Before this Hall hee erected a Theatre for Comedies, exceeding stately and costly with artificiall paintings of *Vrusci*. Hee repaired the Tower of *Ozaca* seuen stories high. The gilded Plates or Tiles, the Bridge called, *The Bridge of Paradise*, the new Citie of *Fuscimo* which he builded, and other his immane expences (the Offerings to his Idoll of Fame,) I omit. Hee caused his little Sonne to goe with great State to *Sandai* to the *Dairi*, that is, to bow his head thrice before him downe to the Mats, who entertayned him with a solemne feast, with great Iubilee in alteration of names and titles of honour to the Nobles.

Taico had settled peace thorow all *Iapon* from Warres, from Robbers by land, and from Routers by sea, which before continually infested all with Piracies (one of which *Noximandono* is mentioned by the *Iesuites* in this time to haue had a great Fleet of ships, and to haue forced a great part of the Coast to yeerely tribute vnto him, to bee freed from his Robberies) onely the *Dairi* had higher title: and a Crowne and Scepter seemed wanting to his realitie of Regalitie and Soueraigntie already possessed. And now whiles hee intended to exceed himselfe in his entertaynement of the Embassadors, one of them hating this long detention or imprisonment in *Corai*, fled; which newes *Augustine* sent to both Courts. From *China* the Legacy was renewed, the Delinquents kindred punished. Meane while the two and twentieth of Iuly, 1596. at *Meaco* it rayned ashes, wherewith the houses, hills, and trees were couered as with snow, and a great myst accompanied it. At the same time at *Ozaca* and *Sacai* it rayned sands. At *Meaco* after the showre of ashes came another of haire, long and white like the hoary haire of an old womans head, but softer, and not so smelling when cast into the fire. In the Northerne Kingdomes of *Iechu*, *Iechingo*, *Scimano*, and *Nota*, the land and houses were couered with them. A Comet appeared in August: on the thirtieth whereof followed an Earthquake as a warning to a greater on the fourth of September, which threw downe *Taicos* magnificent Hall with a thousand *Tatamos*, in which hee had purposed to entertayne the *China* Legates; and the Tower of seuen lofts, and another Tower, and almost all the buildings of the Fortresse, and the Store-houses, which were very large, and stored with Corne, and halfe the houses of *Ozaca*, all in halfe an houre, sixe hundred people being buried in the ruines. It made a noise like Thunder, and like the waues beating on the shoare. The Earth opened in many places. A great new Temple and a Monastery fell downe, and the same day in which the *Iesuite* had heard a *Bonzi* in the same Temple inuiting to call vpon *Amida*, and much depredicating his mercies. The next day at *Meaco* was a noise greater then of the greatest Cannons that ever were heard, dreadfull to man and beast, and wee said the Letanies on our knees, but scarcely could keepe on our knees for the Earth-quake. Others forsooke their houses, lamented their dead (five hundred being ouerwhelmed; and fifteene or twenty Temples) called on their *Amida*: and some ranne to *Fuscimo* (*Taicos* new Citie for him and his Nobles) whereof the best part was ruined, and much harme happened in many other places. *Taicos* Palace at *Fuscimo* fell downe, and oppressed seuentie women, himselfe escaped into the Kitchen vtouched: and the relations of that Earth-quake would yeeld a booke alone. *Taico* yet would seeme to dominere ouer Nature, and leuell a very huge Hill with the Valley, to erect new Palaces. And because hee could not entertayne at *Fuscimo* the *China* Embassadors, hee receiued them at *Ozaca*. The solemne state and pompe I omit. They had audience the twentieth of October.

The Kings Letter was written in a plate of Gold very great and ponderous, inclosed in a golden Coffer, wherein also was the Vest, and royall Crowne for *Taico*, and in another was a Crown for *Mandocorasama* his Wife with title of *Queene*. Hee sent also twenty Vests of *Quingui* with title and dignity of *China* for twenty Lords (the first of which was *Augustine*) by him named, and as many for those whom *Taico* should name. In the Epistle of the King were these words, *Futatabi cioscen vocasu cotonacare*, that is, *Thou shalt not returne againe into Corai, and if thou returnest, thy dignitie shall no longer aduantage thee*, words importing their vassallage to the *Chinois*. The Embassador and *Taico* were equall in sitting on the *Tatamis*; the chiete Lords of *Iapon* were present; and after the taste of their *Chia*, *Taico* receiued the Epistle or golden plate, and layd it on his head, and the Vests, going in to put them on. At his returne the *Chinois* adored him,

him, and a feast followed with pompous plenty: which was continued other dayes. But when the Legates moued him to pull downe his Forts in *Corai*, and to pardon the *Coraians*; hee brake into exceeding furie, and commanded them backe to *Corai*, and extruded them in great haste out of the Countrey with inhumane vsage.

About this time *Peter Martines* first Bishop of *Iapon* came thither. *Taico* died Sept. 16. 1598. hauing taken politike order for the State, and as foolish for himselfe to be made a God, prescribing the forme of his Temple: One was crucified for speaking of his death. Word was sent by the Gouvernours which *Taico* had appointed as protectors for his Sonne, to the *Iaponian* Lords in *Corai*, to returne, and so after seuen yeeres that warre had end. What euents followed after in *Iapon*, you may see in my *Pilgrimage*, and somewhat also before in *Captayne Saris*, and Master *Cocks* relations: *Taicofamas* posteritie rooted out, and *Ogasba Sama* seizing the Soueraigntie to himselfe. So much harder is it to be a Man then a God, and easier to bequeath a Temple and tytle of *Camus*, and diuine worship as to a new *Faciman* or *Mars* (all which his Executors performed and caused to be effected; his body not burned after the wont, but as he had prescribed, put in a Chest and translated to that sumptuous Temple, where he is worshipped as the principall of all the *Camis*) with an Image erected to him, (seene by *Cap. Saris*) then to bequeath long life to himselfe, accomplishment to his *Coraians* desires, or sure succession to his posteritie, in all which hee fayled. But we will with our persecuted *Iesuites* leaue *Iapon*, and ship our selues for *China*.

Bish. of Iapon.

Fran. Pasius.

Alex. Valignanus.

P. Pilg. lib. 5.

6. 15. S. 4.

See of his

death tom. I.

p. 407. od. 1.

Temple of

Scinfaciman.

Capt. Saris

told mee hee

saw it.

§. III.

RUGGERIVS enters againe into China with *Ricivs*, and is forced backe to *Amacao*; thence sent for againe by the Vice-roy. *Sande* and *Almeida* are sent to them, and enter the Countrey as farre as *Cequion*, and returne to *Scauchin*.

Tis a custome in *China*, that of all Charters granted by the Magistrates a copie is kept in the Registrie, and the execution, or what hath therein beene done, subscribed at the end. The succeeding Vice-roy finding the copie of that Charter granted to the *Iesuites* at their departure, without such subscription (because nothing had beene done therein) wrote to *Canton*, to the *Aitao*; he (which then was absent) to the *Ansam* or *Hiam-xan*, the Gouvernour of the Citie, and he being ignorant thereof, to the Port-gouvernours at *Amacao*. They went to the Bishop, and by him were sent to our Colledge where they were shewed the sealed Charter: but there being then *Melchior Carnerus* Patriarch of *Ethiopia* (which expedition was dissolued) *Capralis*, *Gomez*, *Pasius*, and other principall *Iesuites*; it was thought fit, that it should not be deliuered to the Souldiers, but carried by two *Iesuites* to the *Aitao*: and *Ruggerius* with *Ricivs* were therein employed, the *China* Captaines also consenting that they should goe to *Ansam*, thence by the *Ci-hien* or Gouvernour, to be sent to *Canton*. This *Ci-hien* when they came thither would haue sent it and not them, which they refused; whereupon he grew angry, cast it on the ground, and commanded them to returne backe; saying, that a deposed Vice-royes grant could no way benefit them. They went to their Inne, and there consulted to goe without his leaue, deceiuing a Ship-master with sight of the said Charter, who tooke them into his ship; but terrified by others, cast them out againe with their goods. At this time came a message to the *Ci-hien* of his Fathers death, whereupon (according to the *China* Custome) he lost his office and returned home during his three yeeres mourning. They by this occasion, and a weightier cause, (money giuen to the Successour) and the Notaries subtiltie in a seeming seruice to the Common-wealth, were sent in manner as prisoners to *Canton*, as strangers found there.

The *Aitao* notwithstanding gaue them kinde entertaynement. They petitioned, shewing, that they were Religious men which had passed so many Seas allured by the fame of *China*, there to spend their dayes: and desired nothing but a small piece of ground to raise thereon a little house to the Lord of Heauen, and they would be further burthensome to none, but procure livelihood of their owne mens beneuolence. They mentioned nothing of *Christian* Religion, lest it might cause suspicion, and bee a let to them; the *Chinois* thinking too well of themselves, that strangers should teach them any thing, which they haue not already more complete in their owne Bookes. Rebellions haue also begunne vnder colour of new Sects. The *Aitao* or high Admirall commended their desires, but said, it belonged to higher Magistrates, and could onely bee granted by the *Cia-yuen* (the Visiteur of the Prouince) or the Vice-roy. They desired that hee would at least let them stay there in the Palace of the King of *Siams* Legates, till the *Portugals* Mart. came, and in meane time they would trye what they could doe with the Visiteur or Vice-roy. This hee granted, but the same day repeated, professing that he feared the Visiteur (if out of Mart-time he should finde strangers there) whose censure is dreadfull to euery Magistrate. He therefore commanded them presently to packe for *Amacao*. They were come backe to *Ansam*, and found things in worse case then before. For at the gates of the Citie they found an Ediēt set vp by Co the

Sup. 17. in fine.

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Money brings
the Iesuites to
China, and pro-
cures them re-
sidence.

Liuqueco, 1265
Viegas bountie.

Friars in China,
see cap. 3.

Anno 1583.

Scianguin tow-
er.

Temple and
statue to Go-
uernours.

Ignote Des.
Wilde Christi-
anitie.

Iesuites build a
house, at first
meane, after
greater.

D. wanting to
Chinois.

Images wor-
shipped.

new Vice-roy, blaming the *China* Interpreters which had put into the heads of Stranger-priests to learne the *China* language and Characters, and to desire some place for to erect a sacred and priuate house, threatening those interpreters if they persisted. In this dispayre of proceeding, they had not beene a weeke gone, when from *Scianguin*, the seate of the Vice-roy, one of his guard came to *Amacao* and brought the *Ci-fu*, (so they call the Gouvernour of that Prouince) his Letters Patents by the Vice-royes authoritie, inuiting the Fathers to *Scianguin*, there to receiue a piece of ground for a Church and dwelling house. The cause hereof was an offer made by the Fathers (when they were sent away from *Scianguin*, by the deposed Vice-roy to *Canton*) of a summe of money to any which should procure of the New Vice-roy license for their returne. One of the meaneft Souldiers in name of Interpreter to the Societie had put vp a Petition to the Vice-roy, who sent it to the Gouvernour of the Region called *Guan-puon*, of *Cequion* Prouince) to bee dispatched, who gaue the former Letters Patents to the Souldier, which brought them himsele to *Macao*. They with great ioy, as seeing the Diuine hand herein, made ready for the journey, which the former expenses and late Ship-wracks (especially of the *Japon* Ship in the *Ile Leuqueco*, which alone hath most of the wealth of the Citie in it) made difficult; but *Gaspar Viegas* charitably bestowed the expense, seconded also by others.

Thus full of hope they set sayle, and in *Canton*, both now and when before they were dismissed from *Scianguin*, they found Spaniards. Then, a Ship which from the *Philippinas* was bound for New Spaine, was wracked at the *Ile Nan-tan*, on the *Canton* coast; the men which escaped were kept in durance: And now, seuen or eight *Franciscan* Friars, which had gone from the same *Philippinas* for *Cauchinchina*, hearing the King was become a *Christian*, and in their returne were wracked on the *Ile Hainan*, and taken and spoyled, and presented to the Magistrates for Pirates, whose libertie these *Iesuites* procured, promising all recompence at *Amacao*. Hence they had set forth in the beginning of September, 1583. and in the same moneth came to *Scianguin*, in that Souldiers companie, by whom they were conveyed to the Gouvernours Palace, and kneeling before him made request as in the Souldiers mentioned Petition had beene containd, and were kindly answered, that they should goe about the Citie and spye out some conuenient place for their purpose, which hee doubted not to procure of the Vice-roy for them.

At the same time at *Scianguin*, they were erecting by the common charge of the Eleuen Cities of that Iurisdiction, a Tower (whereof one floore was now rayfed, to which they intended to adde nine others aboue it) in a pleasant place by the Riuer side, a myle and more from the Citie, the Suburbs continuing further then it. In the same place they set forth a Temple, and therein erected a Statue to the Gouvernour, whose sixe yeeres gouernment had well deserued of the learned, and of the vulgar. A piece of that field in which the flourishing Tower (so they called it) was building, they desired, which hee liked well, and promised to further them with the Vice-roy. The *Iesuites* at their former departure, had left an Altar with one *Ciu Nico*, who had placed the same in a conuenient place, for want of Images inscribing aboue, it *Thien Chu* in Cubicall letters, that is, *To the Lord of Heauen*. Hee made also thereunto diuers Incenses, and at set times yeelded diuine honors before it; which much reioyced the Fathers, seeing that there was one found which inuoked the true God. And this man gaue them entertaynement, till they had receiued the Vice-royes answer, approving their request; and the next day the Gouvernour set forth a plot of ground for them with straight caution to obserue the Lawes of *China*, and to admit no Strangers companions to dwell with them; which they promised. Much was the concourse and admiration of people, much the wonder at their triangle Glasse, the Image of our Ladie, a wrought Handkerchiffe, with which they presented the Gouvernour; but hee returned all afterward, fearefull of Bribe-imputation. Much trouble arose about that place, and another was assigned them, where they began to build and were forced to pawne their precious triangle Glasse, to fit it for their vse; they obtayned also an ample Charter from the Vice-roy, and two Patents from the Gouvernour which protected them from wrongs.

In these beginnings they made little mention of the Gospell, but imployed their spare time in learning the Language and Characters, by a Holy life seeking to insinuate themselues into the peoples good liking. Their habite was like the modestest of the *Chinois*, a long Gowne with large sleeues: Their house had two Cells, and betwixt them a Hall with an Altar in the midst, on which they set the Image of the Blessed Virgin, carrying her Sonne. They called their God, *Thien-cui*, Lord of Heauen; for the *Chinois* want the *D.* which caused that they could not give any name more fit: and this name continueth to this day, although they vse others also, as *Highest Ruler of all*, *First beginning of all*, and the like. The blessed Virgin is called the *Great Mother of God*. This Image on the Altar, all which visited them both Magistrates, Students, Priests, and common people, did religiously worship, kneeling and (after their rite) knocking lightly the ground with their fore-heads. They admired the excellencie of the Picture and colours without ceasing. But when it began to bee rumoured, that they worshipped a Woman for God, they tooke away that Picture and substituted the Image of *Christ*. After this, they painted the ten Commandements in the *China* language, which many approued. Some brought them Incense for holy vses, and some bestowed their Almes; others also Oyle for the Lampe which burn-

ned before the Altar; and the Fathers commended their Law, as agreeing to the light of Nature.

The first which was Baptised, was a poore diseased man cast forth by his parents, whom they instructed, and a little before his death baptised. The reliefe which they bestowed on him before, caused a rumour amongst the vulgar, that those Strangers knew by the mans complexion, that hee had a precious stone in his head, the cause of all that beneficence. The *Chinois* much admired the Bookes, of which the Fathers had store, the artificiall binding, gilding, cost; goodliness of the Print, and their studiousness in the *China* bookes; and received with great applause a Booke of *Christian* learning which they printed. Yea, the Gouvernour after the *China* rite would needs doe them publike honour, which is done by sending a goodly Table with Cubitall letters in praise of them, with the Magistrates name, and the date inscribed in lesse letters. Two of these with great pompe hee sent vnto them, the one to bee set ouer the entrance with inscription, *The house of the flowre of Divine men*; the other to bee placed in the Hall, inscribed, *The holy Nation of the West*: which wanne them great reputation, this Magistrate being much reputed for learning and vertue.

Our wants caused *Ruggerius* to intreat leave to goe to *Amacao* for supply, which hee obtained with a faire Ship and thirtie Rowers. The Gouvernour requested also, that a Clocke might bee made for him. But the pouertie of the *Amacaons*, their Ship not being come from *Iapon*, and the Colledge enjoying no Rents, caused him to send the workman to *Scianguin*, to make it there; which hee tooke in good part. Now the *Chinois* are a people suspicious of Strangers, especially those ruder parts of the Prouince of *Canton*, and much muttered at the *Portugals* Commerce, saying, they made all things dearer, and the profit came but to few. They gaue an odious appellation to the *Portugals*, calling them *Deuils*. To this, Fame had added a spur, reporting that their famous Tower was the worke of Strangers (which had no ground but that their house was building at the same time) and the *Flourishing Tower*, was stiled the *Strangers Tower*. They therefore in *Ruggerius* absence offered great abuses by throwing stones, being angrie that they kept their house shut, which they would haue had made an *Idoll Temple*, alway open to all. One boy in throwing stones, was taken by the seruant and brought in, but at others request soone dismissed. Hereupon two neighbours conspired, to set a fellow on worke to accuse these strangers for seducing Children, as they had done this youth his brother, (so they agreed) and kept him three dayes, with intent to sell him for a Slaue at *Amacao*. The two neighbours offered to bee witnesses hereof. The accusation was put vp in pittifull manner, and the Gouvernour much moued, the Father fetched into Court by an Officer, before hee could haue leasure to write his answer. The Interpreter had filled his sleeves with stones, which hee powred out in Court as witnesses of their abuses. The Iudge smelt the businesse, and by examination of the Tower workman which had seene it, found out the knauerie, and rewarded it with terrible whipping; and forbad all abuses to bee offered to them.

Ricinus his skill in the Mathematickes which hee had learned, being an Auditor of *Claninus* at *Rome*, was no small helpe to them. They had a Cosmographickall Map in *European* Characters, hanging in their Hall, which the learned beheld with great pleasure, much desiring to see it in *China* characters, little knowing, as little hauing to doe with the rest of the world. They had Maps pretending a Description of the world, but presented onely their fifteene Prouinces, with the Sea and a few Islands, and the names of such Kingdomes as they had heard of, all which Kingdomes scarcely equalled one Prouince of *China*. They now wondred much to see themselves straightned in an Easterne corner of the world, and *Ricinus* at the Gouvernours request, published it in *China* characters: and inserted, as hee saw cause, the rites of the world and the *Christian* holies. They haue a conceit, that the Heauens are round, the Earth square, and their Empire to bee seated in the midst thereof; hee therefore so projected his Description, that he presented *China* in the midst. They that before thought basely of all other men, as if else-where were no King, nor Republike, began to be better conceited of *Europeans*, and to bee better prepared for the seed of the Gospell: and might hereby also lesse feare *European* forces so remote from them. This worke hee often reuised and corrected, till it came at last both to the two Royall Cities, and to the Kings house. The workman at the same time finished the Clocke, and both were together presented to the Gouvernour, who at his owne cost published the Map, and soone after restored the Clocke, because hee had none which knew how to order it.

The Ship comming from *Iapon*, *Ruggerius* well releued returned, whereby the house was finished, their debts payed, and the building with stories, the disposition of the windowes, furniture, faire situation on the Riuer with goodly prospect, and *European* rarities, brought many, euen great Magistrates, to behold it. *Ricinus* proceeded to make Spheares of Brasse and Iron; hee Printed also Globes, and made Sunne-dyals, which hee gaue to the Magistrates. And by his lectures on these subiects, he got reputation of the best Astrologer in the world, they esteeming others by themselves. The Gouvernour was about this time aduanced to a higher Dignitie, called *Lin-si-tau*, hauing the rule of two or three Regions and all the Townes therein, not remoouing from *Scianguin*: and as the *Chinois* are superstitious obseruers of Auguries, he conceived that he

First Baptisme
Fancies of the
vulgar.

Tables of honour

Chinois in Hospital.
Portugals called *Deuils*.

Tender denie-
ple.

Conspiracie

False accused
truly rewarded.

Mathematicks
and Map of
the world, introduction to
the Gospell.

Chinois ignorant of the
world.

Ricinus his Map

The world v-
shers the *Iesuits*
Gospell.

Ruggerius return.

Spheares and
Globes.

Lin-si-tau Ruler
of two or three
Diuisions of
Hundreds.

prooued the luckier man by this familiaritie with our men, which hee signified when they came to him, with a present to gratulate these honours.

See that Bull.
supl. 2. c. 1.
Gaine sepa-
rates the lub-
jects of one
Crown, with-
out separation
of state. Apply
this to the
quarrell twixt
the English and
Dutch in the
Indies. And
hereby you see
the Iesuites in-
struments of
secular affaires
Edw. Menese,
whole Booke
you haue in
the 9. booke.
tom. 1.

In the *Philippinas* the newes of the *Iesuites* successe caused the *Gouernour* to send the *Treasurer* *John Baptista Romanus* to *Amacao*, with *Father Alfonso Sancius* a *Spanish Iesuite*, with a *Watch* and other presents and letters to the *Iesuites*, to procure an *Ambassage* from the *King of Spaine* to *China*. The *Iesuites* had with petitioning brought the businesse to good forwardnesse, when they receiued contrary mandates from *Amacao*, it being likely to prooue the destruction of that *Citie*, if the *Spaniards* with their plentie of *Siluer* from *Peru* and *New Spaine*, should haue trade in *China*; neither did this belong to the *Spaniards*, but to the *Portugals*, according to the *Com- position* betwixt the two *Kings* made by *Alexander* the sixth: and although they are both sub- iect now to one *Crown*, yet their priuiledges remayne distinct without confusion. Thus both the *Magistrate* aduised, and their superiour the *Rector* prohibited them to proceed. Yet the for- mer working was not ceased by Silence, till the *Amacaon* *Magistrates* laboured with diuers reasons to diuert the *Ambassage*. *Capralis* the *Rector* was desirous to see their house, and they procured the *Linsitans* leave, so that hee came thither, viewed all, and Baptised both the young- man before mentioned which kept the *Altar*, and a learned man which read the *China* *Bookes* to the *Fathers*, this called *Paul*, the other *John*, the first *China* *Conuerts*. *Valignanus* made *Pro- uinciall* of *India*, hearing of this successe, sent thither *Father Edward Sande*, and *Father Antonie Almeida*: and obtained of the *Vice-roy Edward Menese*, an annuall stipend for this mission. They came to *Amacao* in *July*, 1585.

F. Edw: Sande.

At the same time it seasonably hapned, that *Linsitan* was commanded from the *Court*, to pro- cure of the *Strangers* at *Amacao*, certaine goodly feathers for the *King*. He furnished a faire ship and sent *Ruggerius* thither, and brought with him *Father Edward Sande*, who went to salute *Linsitan*, and gaue him no meane gift of our *Commodities* to procure abode, whereof nothing so pleased him as a triangle *Glasse*. Hee giues him leave to stay, on condition that they admit no other companion. In *Linsitans* place had succeeded another of *Cequian* *Prouince*, a great friend of the *Fathers*, who being to goe to *Pequin* about some affayres of his *Office* every third yeere, was feasted at our house (where the *Magistrates* were often solemnly entertayned) and then of- fered to carrie one of ours with him in his iourney, at least as farre as *Cequian* his owne *Coun- trey*. They willing to erect some new seat, least some disafter might in a moment strip them easily of one and all, agreed that *Ruggerius* and *Sande* should goe, and receiued licence for entring the *Prouinces* of *Cequian* and *Huguan*, and places adioyning. This was the Mart time whither *Ruggerius* went, and found *Almeida* come thither with the *Portugals*. Thither also a *Brother* of *Linsitan* was gone with much *Merchandise* of *Silke*, (the most whereof is made in the *Cequian* *Prouince*) which the *Portugals* bought at his price by the *Fathers* intreatie, who therefore tooke the *Fathers*, his brothers friends, to his *Citie* in *Cequian*, called *Sciabin*, (a name some- what neere the other, but in *China* a little difference prooueth great) the native place of both the *Gouernours*.

Antonie Almei-
da, License for
Cequian.

Strange course
for names.
Iesuites change
their names.

The *Chinois* haue a custome to be called by many names, and no man calls them by their pro- per name, (but themselves in naming or writing themselves, or sometimes their superiours) with- out iniurie: they taking a greater name, which others giue them for more honour. Now the *Fa- thers* had yet assumed no other name, but their seruants called them by their proper name, a thing amongst the *Chinois* reputed barbarous. They therefore (to become all things to all, to winne all to *Christ*) then followed that fashion, and euer since at their first entrance assume a new Name. Their *Journey* is thus written by *Almeida*.

Almeidas Let-
ter to Ed. Sande.
Rector at Xau-
abin or Sciabu-
chin, contra-
cted.

On the eleventh of the *Kalends* of *December*, 1585. wee departed from *Canton*. The third day the *Ship* happened to bee on fire, some imputing that unluckinesse to vs: but without much harme it was quenched. Whiles wee sayled through the *Canton* *Prouince*, wee seldome came in sight and neuer went out of the *Ship* till wee came to *Moylimpor*. I can therefore relate nothing of that *Prouince*, but that there were very many *Cities*, and *Townes* very frequent, and steepe high *Mountaines*, betwixt which that *Riuer* slideth to diuers tracts of the *Prouince* stored with waters, *Wares* and *Shipping*. Euery where wee beheld sumptuous *Edifices* dedicated to the worship of *Deuils*, and of *Ships* almost infinite multitude, and of water-Fowle innumerable store, and herds of *Goats* feeding by the *Woods*, to the seventh of the *Ides* of *December*. Then wee arrived at *Moilim* a *Citie*, neere which is the beginning of that *Riuer*, whose course being swift, wee were drawne by ropes and rowed with *Oares* against it. Into this *Citie* wee should hardly haue found admission, the passage being by a *Bridge* with two *Iron chaynes*, opened onely and shut at the will of the *Gouernour*. But our *Conduktor* hauing acquaintance with the *Linsitan*, wee had present entrance, hardly able to passe for the multitude of *Ships*, there waiting. Wee were there well enter- tayned, and on *Sunday* and *Munday* sayd Masse. On *Tuesday* wee went to a *Citie* eight miles distant, there regaining the commoditie of another *Riuer*. All that way was paved with stones; in which we passe 60 a *Mountaine*, on the top whereof was an arch with an inscription of his name, who had facilitated that way, otherwise difficult. The weather was vnseasonable, rainie and cold, perhaps because the whole way in manner was *Mountainous*. I doe not remember that euer I saw way so frequented, not then when *Mer- chants* resort to publike *Faires*: for all the *Merchandise* from *Nanquin*, and the places adioyning are brought

Moilim.

The Linsitan
brother afore-
sayd.
Another riuer.

Way paved
and populous.

brought hither. Also the Merchants which inhabit the remotest Cities in that way, on both sides had Partners for the conveying of their Wares, very sily; for our Conductor had nothing to doe but to deliver one hundred and fiftie Packes of Wares with other provisions for the way, to his Hoast, which all hee should find in his Inne in the next Towne. These Partners also provide Horses for the Servants and Seats for the Masters to be carried in by two Porters defended from the Raine by Sumbremos, or Shadowes which they carrie in their hands. When hee had passed halfe the way, wee changed our Seats and Porters, and had others to the Inne; to these nothing is due but some small gratuitie, the Hoast being paid for all: and a Seat is at as easie a rate here, as a Horse in our Countrey, with great commoditie and frequency of Innes. In the Evening we came to the Towne Faquen, and staid there two dayes, such concourse of Citizens comming to see us, that we were almost over-whelmed, and were glad to get a ship-board on Friday. On Saturday we sailed downe the streame, fiftene dayes continuing our course, in which wee hired three Barkes, in one of which we only were carried. On both Bankes many and faire Townes walled about, present themselves to the view of Passengers, seeming as bigge as Canton, which made mee meditate of the facilitie of conveying the Gospel in these parts, we making all this way with as great tranquillitie of bodie and minde, that wee might in the ship pray or studie and doe other things as commodiously, as at home.

Seats and Porters in the high-ways.

Faquen.

Great Cities thicke.

On the sixteenth of the Kalends of Ianuary, we came to a most frequent Citie far greater then Canton, where the Tutan or Vice-roy of the Prouince Chianli resideth. It is high walled divided into three parts, a River flowing thorow with a Bridge of Barkes, ioyning two parts of the Citie. On this Bridge customes are paid, but our Conductor being the Lancitans Brother passed without search. And although we feared to be examined by the Magistrate, yet no man troubled us, they being not so inquisitive in other parts as in Canton Prouince, about strangers: yea, they entertayne them more honourably every where then your Worship at Xauchin. About halfe a mile from this Bridge another River ioyneith with this, which runneth by the other side of the Citie, and makes the third part of the Citie. I wished the Fathers a Colledge in this place both for the fertilitie of the soyle and holsonnesse of the Aire. Having provided necessaries for the rest of our Iourney in this Citie, wee went aboard and in the space of fixe or seven dayes going downe the streame, we beheld on both sides very goodly Woods, and many Poles of wood on the Bankes necessary for those cold Regions, and holding on our course passed by seven Cities, or more, famous for greatnesse and Merchandise: and on Christmas Euen came to the greatest Citie of all Chianli, where wee staid that night for that Solemnitie. But hee which then was borne exercised our patience with a grienous North-wind, whereby the River water (otherwise cleere) was so troubled that on Christmas day wee could not drinke it. For the Rivers course is North-ward, which therefore by a North-wind is so moved.

Metropolitan Citie of Chianli.

All this way is apparent in the new Map.

The next day sailing by a Citie which by the sight we iudged greater then Lisbon, in one dayes passage further, we came to the way which leads to Nanquin, where diuers Rivers ioyning together make a kind of Crosse with great commoditie for Trade and passage. For a Barke well defended against wind and weather, convenient for two Gentlemen with their Servants and baggage, may here be hired for twenty or thirtie dayes, at an easier rate then a man shall pay for Horses from Coimbra to Lisbon. For from Canton to Moilin fiftene dayes Iourney, for a ship which carried two hundred Packes of Merchandise of diuers kinds, we paid but nine laes, and seven for those three which wee hired for twenty dayes more. After that, leaving the Northerne way which goeth to Nanquin or Lanquin, wee turned West-ward against the streame, yet with benefit of the wind favoring us, we went fiftene and sometimes twenty * miles a day: in which space sailing by very large fields we arrived at a Citie where faire Porcelane is made, thence carried into India and Europe. Wee passed by many Woods also and some Cities. The cold meane-while was so great, that one day all was covered with Snow. The River decreased, and on the third of the Nones of Ianuarie, they unladed the Merchandise into ten lesse Boates, and sailed two dayes, wee came to a large Citie, to which wee had entry by a Bridge borne up with fiftie painted Barkes.

New Rivers.

Nine Tacis.

* These miles seeme to be intended Spanish leagues. Cold Region.

On the Nones of Ianuary wee came to Gouli, a Citie at the end of our Navigation by that River. Here in celebrating Masse, wee were thronged by the multitude. And a Priest of the Idols invited us, which then performed to his Idols Ceremonies at his House, Altars there erected, & Priests invited, & Hymnes used, where he and those Bonzi used us kindly. Here wee observed that the Denill counterfeit the Ceremonies of the Catholike Church. We went thence by the foot way carried in portable seats as before fixe or seven miles: and then entred the Prouince of Ciquion, at the Sun-set entring the Citie Cuixion. On the Ides of Ianuarie we againe went a ship-board holding our course by another River which in that Citie first beginneth to be Navigable, the slow streame lingring with us three dayes, in which yet we saw eight Cities, about which we found unmeasurable quantitie of Oranges, very high Hills abounding with Trees and under-woods, betwixt which that pleasant River sweetly slides, receiving from every place new Tributes of waters that it prooueth now as large as that of Canton Prouince. And although China haue name of fertilitie, yet here appeared some prints of Iaponian sterilitie. For in five dayes space we could get nothing but Rapes and Rice, and a little fish. On the eleuenth of the Kalends of February, we passed by a large Citie twice as great as Canton, as those which knew the Region affirmed: for we by reason of Snowes and Mists could see nothing but some high Towres. At Sunne going downe wee came to a Towne, against which a Bow-shot distant on the other side of the River, wee

Papists and Paynims Ceremonies alike.

Ciquion.

Cuixion.

New Rivers.

Sterilitie.

wer e

Sciaubin or
Ciquion like
Venice.

were forced to take a new ship, and causing our ship to bee drawne (a light hanged out at the Mast) the next morning we came to the Citie Ciquion, the end of our journey. In this Citie, which as Father Rogers (or Ruggerius) is wont to say, is a type and representation of Venice, God hath provided vs of a good House, on one side hauing the Citie, on the other the Riuer for prospect, with conuenient Roomes and a Garden, and a fit place for a Chappell. On both sides of vs dwell Idolatrous Priests, which yet vse vs kindly, and daily come to heare our Doctrines, as doe others in great multitudes, that we cannot yet auoide their frequent concourse to heare and see vs. To the chiefe of them we shewed our Altar erected to the Immortall God, which they beheld with great reuerence, worshipping the Image of our Saviour. And the greatest Magistrates were so affected with our Christian Ceremonies, that they said they would not suffer vs to depart. Some of them inuited and entertayned Father Rogers : one of them of farre greater ranke then the Gouvernour of the Citie, who then mourned for his Mother, and inuited vs by his Steward to her Funerall Solemnitie; whom we answered that our Prayers auayled not but to the worshippers of the true God. He used the Father with very great respect, giuing him the higher place at table, and accompanying him at the parting to the utmost gate of his Palace, seeming much delighted with the Mysteries of our Faith. Three others greater then the Gouvernour haue come to visit vs, and others come so frequent that it is troublesome. The Priests also giue vs good looks, whatsoeuer they thinke. The Edifices both publike and priuate, the streets and Lanes of the Citie are larger and fairer then in the Citie of Canton. The Citizens also in granitie of manners, and ciuilitie of Habit, differ not a little from the Inhabitants of Canton and Sciauchin. There is no Citie in Portugall, Lisbone except, that is any way for greatnesse comparable, The singularities I shall write at another time. Ciquion the fourth of the Ides of Februarie, 1586.

Prouincials
Letter. Fortie
Chinois compa-
red to 40000.
Iaponian Con-
uerts.

The Prouinciall of India writ to the Generall that at their returne to Xauchin they found fortie Christians added to the Church, which number in those beginnings in the ample and barbarous Kingdome of China, may be equalled to fortie thousand Christians in the Iaponian Prouinces : from Goa 14. Kal. Ian. 1587.

Q. IIII.

False Brethren and others accusations detected, they are expelled Sciauchin : erect a Seat at Xauceum. Monasterie of Nanhoa and other things of note in those parts. They alter their habit ; Voyage to Nanquin ; the Lake, Rivers, Idols and other Rarities.

Coelius first
teacher to
paint.

Vutan a holy
place haunted
by Pilgrimes.

New Conuert,
a false Knaue.

Relcius calls that Citie where they resided Sciaubin, and saith, it is a principall Citie, though not the Metropolitan of the Prouince, noble in commerce, in situation (in the midst of a fresh water Lake) in wits and learned men. They baptized there *Linsitans* Father and two or three Infants, which then dying they thrust into Heauen at vnwares. *Sixtus* the Pope granted a great Indulgence to the Societie, to further the Iaponian and Chinese business : and *Aquaviva* the Generall sent them three Watches and an artificiall Clock, which was great, yet moued by wheelles without waights, and stricke also the quarters to the great admiration of the Chinois. Others sent Pictures, one the worke of *Gaspar Coelius* who first taught the Iaponians and Chinois the European Painting to the great good of both Churches. But the Kinsmen of *Linsitan* seeing such flocking to the Fathers grew suspicious of danger, and caused them to bee recalled, and *Linsitan* also to be estranged from them. Also one *Tansiao-hu* a great acquaintance of *Linsitan*, with purpose to get somewhat from the Fathers, questioned *Ruggerius* why hee had not seene Mount *Vu-tan* in the Prouince of *Hu-quam*, a famous resort of Pilgrimes; who answered that hee durst not without the Magistrates leaue : I will procure it, saith hee, and did so. In the way *Ruggerius* went to the Mother Citie of *Quam-si*, where hee visited one of the Royall bloud, not knowing that such haue nothing to doe with the State, and was not admitted, but bidden first to goe to the Vice-roy, to whom he went and had no injury, nor yet wonted humanitie, but was bidden to prosecute his Pilgrimage and not to stay there. *Linsitan* hearing of this, sought to shift his hands of them, and with much adoe they obtayned that two might bee permitted to stay in their house.

Another danger happened by one *Martin* a new Conuert which had made two other Conuerts beleue that the Fathers could by a certaine herbe turne Quick-siluer into siluer, and by that meanes maintayned themselues. Now the Chinois being exceedingly affected to that Alchymisticall vanitie, these gaue money to buy a Wife, and other costs to that false brother who vnderooke to learne of Father *Ruggerius* and to teach the other two that Science. And hauing gotten what he could of them, he also borrowed the Triangle Glasse of the Fathers, with which hee ranne away. The Gouvernour one day desiring to see it, they told him who had stolne it, and he sent an Officer which found him out and brought him bound. Hee, to bee reuenged of the Fathers, accused one of them of Adultery; and the Husband of the pretended Adulteresse (partner in

in the Conspiracie) put vp a Petition against *Ruggerius*, who vpon inquisition was found at the time named to haue bene in *Quam-si*, two moneths journey thence. The Accuser hoped to get some-what, being poore, to stop his mouth, which they refused vterly, and hee for feare fled, together with his Wife. The Father was iudicially cleered, and *Martin* in his presence receiued twentie cruell stripes, and condemned to the Gallies, was sent to *Linsitan* who had first committed him to confirme the sentence; who added sixtie stripes more, and being beggered and cast in bonds he was forsaken of all his Friends, and (the Fathers meane-while releeuing him) dyed within few dayes of the wounds. He which had gotten the Glasse from *Martin*, another Conuert, came and restored it to them, lest it might breed him danger being found with him.

Martin whip-
ped to death.

Linsitan was preferred to a higher dignitie in the Prouince of *Hu-quam*. To him the Citie had erected a Temple, and on the Altar had set his Statue; before the Altar a great Harth for burning incense: Candlestickes were also magnificently placed; and at his departure the whole Citie there visited him, and after their rite, pulled off his old Boots (Bootes are the ensignes of Magistracy) and put on new, putting the old in a Chist, and locking them vp to bee reserved for a monument of his worth. *Ruggerius* went to *Amacao*, and *Matthew* got leaue for Father *Edward* the Superiour to returne to *Sciauguin*. The new Conuerts which had lost their moneys by *Martin*'s death, deuised new tumults against the Fathers; the Riuer (which is a mile broad) ouerflowing, dammed the houses of the Citie, whence grew occasions of new abuses to Ours. The Visiour endeauoured to procure Legation from the Pope to *China*, and *Ruggerius* was sent to *Europe* on that businesse, which tooke little effect by the death of diuers Popes; hee spending the rest of his life at *Salerno* in the Kingdome of Naples.

Manner of ho-
nouring good
Magistrates.

R. goeth into
Europe.

Ricini was alone a good while, till *Almeida* came to him. His Clocke, by the Diall to the eyes, and by selfe-striking to the eares, caused no little wonder. But a new calumnie much endan- gered them made to the *Ciai-men*. For certaine old men of *Canton*, which are honoured for that in their whole liues they neuer haue accused any, nor bene accused of any, enioying therefore a yeerely feast out of the publike treasure, a peculiar Vest, and diuers other immunities, put vp a Petition, admonishing of the danger of the *Amacaons*, and especially those Spies which had builded houses of diuers stories, and euery day proceed with new arts, giuing money toward the building of *Sciauguin* Tower to get entrance into that Citie, sayling to and fro without im- pediment, dangerous to the State. This is that which our Bookes fore-tell, *See haue sowne thornes and nettles in a gentle soyle, yee haue brought in Serpents and Dragons into your houses. That of Ama-cao is like a sore on the hands or feet easily cured at leasure, but this of Sciauguin, an vlcere seizing on the breast and heart timely to be remedied, &c.* The Visiour reputed a seuerer man committed it to the *Haitu*, and at last it came to the Gouvernour of *Sciauchin*, who then being at *Pequin* to per- forme the customary trienniall visitation to the King, *Phan* his colleague (our friend, then Lieute- nant) assisted vs with his Counsell, and they gaue their Glasse to the new *Linsitan*, who ended the quarrell with the Visiour, as being a false calumnie.

Priuledged
old men.
Their elegant
Petition is
whole in *Ricini*,
too long for
this place.

The two Marts prouided them of exhibitions and *European* Presents from *Canton*, and their Clocke, Mathematicke Instruments, Geographical Maps, Pictures, and Bookes, with Muscull Instruments, had procured them much visitation, and much estimation of *Europe*, and some fruit thereof in Conversions. Neither was this Station vnprofitable to *Amacao*, helping their af- faires with the Magistrates, in busineses with the Vice-roy, in cases of shipwrackes, in redu- cing fugitiue slaues. It happened at that time the Vice-roy dying, his Successour would not through superstition enter his Palace till hee had pulled it quite downe and built it anew at the Kings charge. Meanewhile spending his time in *Canton* Prouince, he was made against vs and banished vs. But the Magistrates being our friends, and order comne then from *Pequin* to buy Scarlets of the *Portugals*, F. Mat. *Ricini* was employed, and got their good liking, but not leaue by any meanes of the Vice-roy to stay at *Sciauchin*. Yea, hee forced vpon the Gouvernour the execution of his Mandate to packe them away, offering money for the house, which they refused to take, saying, a house built for Gods seruice might not be sold, and it were ill merchan- dise to take sixtie pieces of Gold for fixe hundred which it had cost them.

Iesuites merie
their exhibi-
tion by seruice
to the state.

Iesuites banis-
shed.

Iesuites house
cost 600. pieces
of Gold, which
in *China* is a
great summe.
Nanbium.
Xauceum.

1589.

When they came at *Canton* the Admirall was absent, and whiles they waited for him the Vice-roy sent a Barke for them to returne, and then permitted them to chuse any other place of residence. *Ricini* chose *Nanbium* in the Prouince of *Quiansi* (or *Quamsi*, or *Chiansi*) which hee refused not, but wished them first to trye at *Nanboa*, or at *Xauceum*, commending them to the Assistant of the Gouvernour thereof, then present, and gaue *Ricini* a bundle of bookes of his owne acts in token of good will, who thanked him with his fore-head to the ground, after their fashion. They departed from *Sciauchin* on the Assumption day, 1589. They came to the place called *Sanceni*, or Three-waters, where the Riuer of *Xauceum* from the North falls into a great Riuer: there they vse to change ships, to haue others fitted in other fashion to sayle against the streame. In eight dayes sayling to the North, they came to the place where the Gouvernours seruant stayed for them to bring them to the Temple or Monasterie of *Nanboa*, part of which the Vice-roy had given them if they liked it. This Monasterie they found in a goodly Plaine, enuironed with pleasant Hills, enriched with hand-set fruit-bearing trees, watered with a

Nanboa Mon-
sterie of 1000.
Monkes.

Riueret

Riuer in the midst: the goodliest Hill, graced with a plentifull Fountaine, was the Seat of the Temple, a great pile; nigh which was the Monasterie wherein a thousand Priests (by the impious piety of the Ancestrie, Lords of that ground) had their abode.

Lusus Legend.

The originall thereof was a man which liued about eight hundred yeeres since, called *Lusu*, who is reported to haue flourished in great reputation of holinesse, by reason of his austere course of life; with a chaine girded to his bare flesh, wonted to lift Rice, and to beate it lightly after their manner, as much as serued for the daily food of a thousand Monasteries. With that chaine his flesh putrified, so that wormes bred therein: of which if any happened to fall to the ground, he placed it there againe, saying, *Hast thou nothing to eate? why dost thou runne away?* There is his carkasse preserved and that famous Temple built to his worship, to which is concourse of Pilgrimes out of all the Kingdome, euery-where he and all his being much reputed. These Ministers of the Deuill are diuided into twelue Stations, each hauing his Superiours, and ouer all an Abbot. When the Father came thither sent by the Vice-roy, they supposed hee had come to be their Abbot and to reforme their abuses; for they not only had their Concubines and Bastards, but robbed by the high-ways. Now all the Idoll Priests are as subject to the Magistrates as other men; perhaps because their Learned esteeme not Idols, nor account these their Priests. Yet with *China* dissimulation they gaue the Fathers faire entertainment with much pretended joy, and officiously offered all at their Seruice, making them also a Solemne Feast, and then shewing them the chiefe places of their Monastery. They were full of great Idols of Brasse and other Metals, and of wood gilded. In one Station were told five hundred. There were also many Steeples and Bels of Metall cast, one such as they had neuer seene in *Europe* to their remembrance.

China hypocrisie.

Monstrous Idolatry. Bels.

Lusus Shrine.

The bodie also of their Saint, *Lusu*, was shewed, all shining with that their *China* bituminous Vernish (so vulgarly thought, and preserved with incredible veneration, though many deny it to be his bodie.) In the midst of the Temple is an eminent place to which they ascend by neate steps, in which hang about fifty Lampes, but not all burning except on set dayes. The *Chinois* marvelled at the Fathers doing no worship, a thing vsually performed by those *Chinois*, which otherwise repose no confidence in those Idols. They both agreed; the *Chinois* Monkes to bee rid of their feare, and the Fathers to goe to the Citie.

Folly of Self-pleasing.

At their departure, Father *Almeida* went by water, and *F. Matthew* by Land with the Gouvernours Seruant, the Abbot bearing him companie. He there told the Magistrate that he liked not of the Temple, because the men had an ill report as vn safe Neighbours, and hee worshipped one God, and not Idols. This amazed the Gouvernour perswaded before, that there was in the World no other Law nor Characters then theirs, till Father *Matthew* pulled forth his Prayer-booke. The Abbot also testified that hee had worshipped none of the Idols, no not *Lusu* selfe. At last, the Gouvernour was perswaded by him, that that of Idol-worship was a later Sect amongst them; yea, the Abbot affirmed, that they deserued no worship, but that former Magistrates had obserued that without Idols the vulgar would not keepe Religion, and therefore set vp these to be worshipped. They visited all the Citie Magistrates which vsed them with more courtesie then those of *Sciachin*. They went also to another Temple or Monasterie called *Quambiao*, on the other Westerne side of the Riuer, and carried their goods thither till they were provided of a House.

Apply to Images. Originall of Idols. Confesse and be hanged. Xaucum described. Naphium.

The Citie *Xaucum* is seated betwixt two Nauigable Riuer which here met: the one which passeth by *Naphium* on the East, the other running out of the Prouince of *Vquam* on the West. But the Citie wals and Houses are builded in the midst of the field, but they are forced by the straitnesse to build also on the other-side the Riuer, joyned with a Bridge on Barkes. It containeth five thousand Households is fertile but vnholysome, the third or fourth part of the Inhabitants being sicke of a Tertian from October to December, which takes away many, and leaues a pale Impression on the rest. Strangers also are no lesse arrested by it, when they come thither on businesse. And the Iesuites had almost lost themselves in this new purchase, where being recovered they had a Charter from the Vice-roy to build their House in ground belonging to the Monasterie. Thither the Visitor sent them *Sebastian Fernandez* and *Francis Martinez* which had beene joyned vp in the Schoole of *Amacao*, the first Probationers in *China*. They to auoid expence, built this House of one Storie after the *China* manner: and soone liked better of this then their former Residence.

Iesuits new Seat.

Chintaiso Scholer of Ricinus.

Chintaiso (the sonne of one of the second ranke of Magistrates called *Sciainsin*, a man famous, as being the first named of the three hundred Doctors made euery third yeare, and Author of Learned Workes) had spent his Patrimony after his Fathers death with Prodigalitie and experiments of Alchymie: and now was forced to shift, with his Wife and Seruants wandering thorow the Kingdome to his Fathers Friends, and becoming a Sollicitor for other men to the Magistrates of his acquaintance. Hee hauing obtayned of the Vice-roy a Roome in that Monasterie became Neighbour to the Fathers; and one day with set Pompe (after the *China* custome) and precious Gifts came to Father *Matthew*, and chose him for his Master. It was not safe for the Father to refuse (though he requited his gifts, lest he should seeme to haue beene brought thither

ther by couetousnesse) and first taught him Arithmeticke. For that which the *Chinois* haue is with a Linnen Instrument whereon Beads are put by wires, and shifted hither and thither to reckon their numbers: certayne, but subiect to Error, and vnprofitable to high Sciences. He read to him also the *Sphere of Clavius*, and the first Booke of *Euclides Elements*, and taught him to make Sun-dials of many sorts, and Geometricall Rules to measure Altitudes. He being of subtile wit, committed these things to writing in elegant stile, and shewed them to Magistrates of his Acquaintance, so procuring great opinion and admiration to the Iesuits. His wit and exceeding industry brought him to great skill, that hee made Spheres, Astrolabes, Quadrants, Compasses, Dials and other like, very artificially, and some of siluer: withall so setting forth his Matter and the *European Learning*, that it proued of no small consequence. By his meanes the Fathers had acquaintance with *Pimpithan* a Military Commander, with the *Gouernours* of the Citie and diuers other Magistrates. *Almeida* fell sicke and was sent to *Macao*, to see if Physicke might recouer him, and there dyed.

Ricinus set forth a goodly Image hitherto vnseene, on the Altar adorned with Waxe Lights, which brought such concourse to see it, that their enuious Neighbours stoned the House and Seruants by night: whereat *Chiutaiso* offended acquainted the *Gouernour*, which had before set his Decree ouer their doore prohibiting all wrongs. He called the Street *Gouernours* (as Constables with vs) and was likely there to haue scourged them, pretending their ignorance, and putting chaines about their neckes after the fashion, sent them to seeke out the wrong doers, and bring them to his Tribunall. They fearing to anger their Parents, durst not name them, till he commanded to whip the one and send the other to Prison, whereupon they named two, whose punishment with much intreatie of the Father was pardoned. Father *Francis de Petris*, was sent (by the Magistrates License obtayned) to succeed in *Almeidas* place. The Vice-roy was then preferred by his Friends procurement and Bribes to a higher place, but the Prouinciall *Vistor* had so complained of his wrongs, that by the way hee was acquainted that hee was deprived of all Office, and fined at forty thousand pieces of Gold to the King. Besides, a filthy Vicer brake out of him, and soone after he miserably dyed. Thus did God punish his pride, which to erect a Temple to himselfe at *Sciachin*, had deprived the Iesuits of their House. The same at *Sciachin* was that the Iesuits were expelled for refusing to teach the Vice-roy the Arte of Alchymie.

One *Cosunbon* a Merchant of the Citie *Taicho* in *Chiansi*, abode in *Nanhiun*, and had some fortie persons in his Family, a very Superstitious Idol-worshipper, in whose seruice hee macerated his whole life in that *China* abstinence from Flesh, Fish, Egges, and Milke, liuing only of Pulse, Rice, Herbs, and certaine Cakes, industrious for his saluation in another life, but not satisfied with any of the *China* Sects. He had learned by *Chiutaiso* of the Iesuits, and came to *Xauccum* and acquainting Father *Ricinus* with his purpose, he was instructed and baptized *Ioseph*. He stayed with them a moneth, and after *Ricinus* went to *Nanhiun* to him, and preached and baptized ten others. Theeues by night assailing their House, the *Gouernour* was made acquainted, who would haue them indited by the Fathers (which they did very sparingly, whereas the *China* manner is to adde excessively) and he put them to torture; and forced them to confesse: one whose Hat or head covering falling off had bewrayed him, he condemned in Capital sentence; the other to be sent to the Gallies, or amongst the Kings Slaues: which sentence was to passe to Superiour *Gouernours*, and so to *Sciachin*, and Father *Ricinus* must goe thither about it, which happened well for the new Conuerts which had for the most part growne wild. From thence he went to *Amacao* to speake with the Visitor, and returned to *Sciachin*, where the Parents of the theeues procured him their Aduocate which should haue beene the Plaintiffe. Amongst the *China* Magistrates is one which hath his name of *Pardoning punishments*: Hee is sent in the Name of the *Queene Mother*, into each Prouince one. Their Office is to visit Prisons, to exempt the smaller offenders and to mitigate Sentences; for which the Magistrates hold them in great esteem. But hee would not succour these men, though the Father intreated. The Prouinciall *Vistor* only remayned, who alone doth last of all reuise the Sentences, and they despaired that hee would reuoke the judgement of seuen or eight Magistrates. Hereupon they conspired ffitie of them conioyning in an impious Sacrifice in a certayne Temple to expell ours from *Xauccum*. But none of the Magistrates of the Citie subscribing (except one, who did it, to offend the Fathers greatest friend) they better bethought themselves, and intreated *Ricinus* to be their Intercessor; where-by the Visitor was perswaded to pronounce them Dicers and not Theeues, and to exchange their sentence into twentie stripes apiece. For the name of Theeues would haue beene an ignominious brand to them and to their Kindred for euer. Yet would they haue renewed their accusation to the Visitor, but he would not heare them. About that time the *President of the Court of Ritos* at *Pequin*, passed that way towards *Haman* his Native Countrey, who hearing of Ours (which he did not to the Visitors) visited them with gifts, and spent a whole day with them, promising at his returne to carry Father *Matthew* to *Pequin* with him to correct their Kalendars.

In November 1594. Father *Francis de Petris* dyed, and Father *Lazarus Cataneus* succeeded, *Ricinus* bethought him of another course: for howsoeuer they had shaken off the name of *Bonzi*, yet

China Arithmetick.

An Image sent from New Spain.

Seuere Iustice.

Fran. de Petris Vice-roy depriued.

Taichai

China abstinence.

Nanhiun.

Theeues.

Their sentence

Queenes pardoners.

Ritos, Theft, ignominious.

Pequin President.

Bonzi infamous. A kind of Popish and Ethnike priests like in shewing and habite.

Iesuites alter their habite.

Scilan. A kind of Vice-roy and Great President.

Mount Mulin or Moilin: See sup. p. 335.

Naughan.

Cancu. Great Vice-roy and Greater President.

Stately entertainment.

Boat-bridge.

Sciepathau, that is 18. streames. It seemes so many in that space flow into it. Lying vanities.

yet because they shaued their beards like the *Portugall* Priests, and cut their hayre, and liued single, had their Temple and set prayers, they could not free themselves of that infamous title which made them vnfit for greater Designs. Hee aduised the Visitor, that by this meanes they were accounted as the *Idoll* Priests, and that it were fitter to let their hayre and beards grow, and to weare the habite of the Learned men, each of them hauing a garment of Silke to visit the Magistrates, without which they might on equall tearmes amongst the *Chinois*, conferre with them: also that it was fit to remoue their residence from this vnwholsome ayre of *Xanccum*, or to diuide it. To all these the Visitor yeelded, vndertaking to acquaint the Generall of the Order and the Pope. For howsoeuer for vertue and learning (wanting to their *Bonzi*) the Magistrates had alway shewed countenance to Ours, yet the vulgar held them in that vulgar respect; neither might the Magistrates breake their custome, to giue them equall entertaynement. Nor did they now beare themselves for Learned men of *China*, but for *Europæan Learned*, imitating the habite of that Countrey.

The next yeere, 1595. the Chiefe Iudge of the *Councell of Warre*, by the *Chinois* called *Scilan*, which is farre aboue the dignitie of Vice-roy, (who before had after diuers Dignities betaken himselfe to a priuate life) vpon occasion of the inuasion of *Corai*, was by the King of *China* (which sent in defence thereof an Armie of eightie thousand) called backe to the Royall Citie. Hee had a Sonne of twentie yeeres old, who for griefe that he had lost the first degree of their Students, lost his wits. Hee sent a Captayne for the Fathers, thinking they could recouer his Sonne which he had with him, and gaue them such entertaynement, that the Magistrates were amazed. Hee caused a Charter to bee giuen to *Ricini* for going to *Nanguan*, chiefe Citie in *Chiansi*, where hee hoped to doe good on his Sonne. He passed Mount *Molin*, which lyeth betwixt the two Prouinces and the two Riuer, a dayes iourney, and the most notable thorow-fare in the whole Kingdome. For at the foot thereof to the South, the Riuer of *Nanchin* becomes nauigable, which runneth into *Canton* and the South Sea. On the other side of the Hill at the Citie *Nanguan*, ariseth another great Riuer, which visiteth the Prouinces of *Chiansi* and *Nanquin*, and many Citie before hee enters the Sea Eastward. Thus what comes from forraigne Kingdomes to *Canton*, is this way conueyed to the in-land Kingdomes, as also from those hither: Horses and seates, or Chayres for carriage on mens shoulders, Beasts for carriage and Porters, being almost innumerable euery day, yet all in good order. The Mountayne is common to both Prouinces, which are distinguished by a Gate erected among the stonie precipices. All the way is set with Trees, paved with stones, frequent with Hostries, as secure by night as by day, both by the guards of Souldiers, and frequencie of Trauellers: neither are their ouer-flowings by raynes. On the Hill top is a neate Temple, and therein a Garrison, both Prouinces thence offered to the view. *Naughan* signifieth the *Southerne Inne*. Hee went in one of the Presidents Ships, till hee came to the Citie *Cancu*; by the way often entring into his owne Ship and discoursing with him of *Europæan* affayres, Sciences, and Religion. But so many visitations for Magistrates hindred all dealing with his Sonne in this iourney, so that by his Father it was deferred.

In this Citie *Cancu*, resideth a Vice-roy greater then the Vice-roy of that Prouince, they call him the Vice-roy of foure Prouinces, *Chiansi*, *Fuchien*, *Canton* and *Yquian*: not that all those Prouinces are subiect to him, but because hee gouerneth two adioyning Regions, or lesse Prouinces out of each of them. The cause of appointing this Vice-roy extraordinarie was, the multitude of Theeues in those parts, which bordering on so many Prouinces, could not easily by ordinarie course of Iustice bee apprehended; whence two Regions out of each were committed to one, who by Militarie forces repressed those insolences. And because the militarie Magistrates are subiect to that Councell of Warre at *Pequin*, the President was heere receiued with greater State: aboue three thousand men were sent to meete him a league off, with their Captaines, Colours and Armes, many with Hand-gunnies mixed, shooting off as he passed, making a faire show on both sides the Riuer, which there is not very large. When hee was come into the Citie, the Vice-roy with other Magistrates visited him with Gifts, Prouisions, Banquets; and some companies were set to guard the Ships: which was also done euery where, such is the *China* veneration of such Magistrates by their inferiours. Heere was a Bridge of Boates, opened but once a day for Ships passage which haue payd their customes.

After they were past this Citie, another Riuer addes it selfe to this, whence they come into a place called *Sciepathau*, about chirtie miles long, in which are many Rockes dispersed, on which the impetuous force of the water causeth many ship-wracks, goods lost, and men drowned; and requireth expert Ship-men; a strange thing to see a Riuer full of shelues and sharpe rockes, in the midst of the continent. In the entrance of this dangerous passage is an *Idoll* Temple, wherein the passengers deuoutly commend the safetie of their fortunes to these vanities, which *Scilan* also heere did in vaine: for although with multitude and industrie of Saylers his Ship auoyded the Rockes, yet was that broken in which his Wife and Children were carryed, though they escaped drowning, by reason of her high building, euery one getting vp into the highest decke, which lifted vp it selfe aboue those shallower waters. They cryed pittifully, and Father *Mas-*

thew

threw having then gotten a Boate for himselfe came first and received them, going himselfe into another lesse, which went before to conduct the way. Scilan sent for another Ship presently to Cancen. Father Matthew was taken into another Ship of burthen, which was in a gust overthrowne, John Barradas his boy was drowned, and hee hardly recovered: the Commodities by dying were gotten againe, though much hurt by the water. They came to a noble and populous Citie called *Chiengan*, where the winde by night was so violent, that it dispersed all the Fleet, which hardly escaped wracke.

Scilan terrified with this disastrous passage by water, purposed to goe by land to *Pequin*, which is done at the Kings cost; in certayn places there being Horses, Lighters, Porters, provisions ready provided. Now thinking to send backe *Ricinus* to *Xanccum*, least some might accuse him in a time of warre for bringing Strangers to the Court; hee shewed some the wonders of his triangle Glasse, which hee was willing to giue the President if hee knew he should hold on with him in the Iourney. They acquainted their Lord, and hee gaue him license to goe to *Nanquin*, and to enter those two Prouinces of *Cequion* or *Cechien*, and *Nanchin* or *Nanquin*. Hee was carryed thither with two of *Scilans* seruants, still hauing Souldiers from all places to guard him, they thinking that some of his Sonnes were there carryed. When hee came to that Mother Citie (for before hee seldome went forth, to prevent all lets) which is in twentie nine degrees, to the Northermost part of the Prouince, hee made shew of himselfe as one of *Scilans* household seruants: and not knowing whither to goe to deliuer his Lettters, hee first went into a Temple of note, which beares name of the *Iron Pillar*. For they fable that one *Huiunfin*, had some hundreds of yeeres agoe, brought perfect Siluer out of Quick-siluer, and had deliuered this Citie from a huge Dragon, whom hee ouerwhelmed in the ground, and tyed to that Iron Pillar, and then flew with his whole house, Mice and all, into Heauen. The building of this Temple is worthy the view, against which are perpetuall Faires, in which nothing is lacking to bee sold. The Priests are those which they call *Thausu*, which let their hayre and beards grow. When hee entred that Temple, much concourse of people came about him to see a Stranger, a strange sight there, yea, reputed holy, for they had thought that the fame of that Idoll, had brought him thither from farre Countries. But when hee did no worship thereto, hee was admonished to doe that which the greatest Magistrates refused not; then threatned, after they would force him, till one of the Ship sayd, hee worshipped no Idols. But seeing the multitude still flocking about him, he returned to the Ship, and signified that hee came with the President, whom euery man knew. The seruants visited their Masters friends, and receiued gifts of some, especially of the Vice-royes Physician.

Scarcely had they sayled out of the chiefe Citie, when they meete with a Lake admirable for the greatnesse and other things: on all the bankes as farre as a man can see, are innumerable Townes, Castles, Villages, great Houses; thence they may passe into *Fuchien*, and thence to the Sea Eastward. Amongst other Townes there is one Citie called *Nancan*, at the foot of a Hill called *Liu*, in which Hill are diuers Anchorites, each in his owne Cell, macerating himselfe with afflicting his bodie. Those Houses are sayd to bee as many, as are dayes in the yeere: and they tell as a miracle, that the Sunne shining cleere round about, that Hill is all Lake. The course of the Riuer is to *Nanquin*, but in that breadth the streame hath small force, and easily may with the winde bee sayled any way. After you are out of the Lake, a great Riuer out of *Vquam* Prouince, runneth thither and therein loseth his name and waters. For the greatnesse, it is thence-forward called *Tamsu*, which signifieth, the *Son of the Sea*, being in many places two or three myles broad, dangerous also for tempests like his Father, and they say the waters are so whirled therein, that swimming can little profit those which fall thereinto. The *Chinois* sayle it with great feare, and are there often wracked. Great Ships sayle therein, and happely our Ships (not the greatest of all) and our Galleyes might sayle hitherto from the Sea. Many other Riuer pay their tributes to it. They sayle it not by night, but betake themselues to some Port, which they may readily doe also in a storme. To this Lake the Spring-tydes at Change and Full come, at other times not obseruable: at *Nanquin* euery day, but it is fresh water. When hee was come to *Nanquin* the Presidents seruants left him,

Chiengan.

Kings Posts,

The Glasse seemed a great lewell, giuen to Scilan, Nancian Metropolis of *Chiansi*.

This seemes to agree with *Pintos Muchipayom*. sup. page 274.

Admirable Lake: see the new Map.

Mount *Liu*: this perhaps is that *Calemplui* in *Pinto* 262. or some like place

Riuer *Tamsu* or *Seas Sonne*, beyond the Lake.

p. V.

Nanquin described; *Ricivs* expelled thence, hee setteth at Nancian, thence goeth to Nanquin againe, and to Pequín; description of it, the way thither, the Kings Palace, and of Succu, and Hamceu.

Nanquin.
(which Polo calls *Quinsay*) described. It was then greater, as being the Royall residence, which remoued and warres together haue diminished it: perhaps also that Lake decaying and drying vp; or not rebuilt after the *Tartars* expelled.

Second Wall
twelue Gates.
Third Wall.

Citie wall two
dayes iourney
on horsebacke.

Garrison
40000. men
In 32. or 32. de-
grees, 15. min.

Large Suburbs

Miserable
Churle.

Nancian.

Fast from flesh,
fish egges, and
milk.



Nanquin or *Nanchin* by the *Portugals* is called *Lanchin*: for they heard of it by the Inhabitants of the Prouince *Fuchian* or *Fuquian*, which vse *L* for *N*. It is called also *Intiensu*, because the *Gouernour* of the Region there resideth. This is that Citie, which in the *Chinois* opinion excelleth all Cities of the world, both in greatnesse and goodnesse: neither may many be compared to it. For it is full of very great Palaces, Temples, Towers, Bridges, which all yet are exceeded by those of the same kinde in *Europe*. It excelleth also in temperature of the ayre, fertilenesse of the soyle, goodnesse of wits, gentlenesse of manners, elegance of speech, multitude of inhabitants of euery ranke, of People, and Learned, and Magistrates: these also holding equall ranke with those of *Pequin*, in number and dignitie, howbeit by the absence of the King, that equalitie is made vn-equall. And so in all the Kingdome of *China*, and the bordering Kingdomes, it is commonly (all things considered) iudged the first or chiefe Citie. It is compassed with three Walls; the first, that of the Kings Palace exceeding stately. That is also compassed with a three-fold wall, in manner of a Tower, with ditches filled with water. It hath foure or fve *Italian* myles in circuit. And I dare boldly say, that no King any where hath a more excellent Palace (not if you weigh particulars together, but) comparing all things. The second wall encompasseth the Palace, and the principall part of the Citie, opened with twelue Gates, which are fortified with Iron plates, and Ordnance planted ouer against them within the Citie. This second Wall comprehendeth eightene *Italian* myles compasse. The third Wall and vttermoost is not euery where continued, but where need is, Art hath added supplyment to Natures fortification.

The circuit thereof can hardly bee knowne. The Inhabitants say, that two Horse-men in a whole dayes riding, hauing gone out of the same Gate, met together at night: whence the prodigious quantitie may bee obserued, especially the forme of the Citie being Circular, and therefore most capable. Although within the walls are great spaces of Mountaynes, Lakes, Groues, Gardens, yet the greatest part is very frequently inhabited. The garrison Souldiers (which one would not beleue, had not eye-witnesses confirmed it) which keepe the Citie alone, are fortie thousand. The Pole is eleuated 32. degrees, and so it is seated in manner in the midst of the Kingdome, from North to South. The Riuer runneth by it at the West, exceedingly both enriching and beautifying it. Nor doth it onely passe by, but is in many places brought into the Citie by Channels (whereby greater vessels may enter the Citie) being enlarged by Art. In times past it was called the chiefe Citie of the Kingdome, and may seeme to haue bene anciently more glorious.

Ricivs went a-land in the Suburbe, which is without the three Walls, and is so large and frequently inhabited, that it may seeme another great Citie. There a Physician of the Vice-roy of *Schiauchin* knew him, and hee visited the Vice-royes sonne, and by his meanes grew acquainted with others. When he went into the Citie, hee vsed to bee carryed in a close Chayre, to preuent noueltie, and for more authoritie, and because the length of the way to friends houses often required it. There hee thinking to fixe a residence, learned of one *Scintagin* a Magistrate of his former acquaintance, to whom hee had before giuen a Globe and an Houre-glasse, receiuing promises of much kindnesse. To him he went full of hope and not emptie handed: but hee being both miserably couetous, and ambitiously hunting after new places, was offended with his presence (hee pretending that he came to see him) sent for his Host, and threatened him terribly, causing him to ship away his new Ghest; hauing also agreed with the Notarie of his Court to giue euidence against him, as a troublesome and dangerous man formerly expelled from *Schiauchin*. Thus against the streame both of his affection and the Riuer, is *Ricivs* forced (loath to displease Magistrates) to returne to *Chiansi* Prouince. In the way full of thoughts, hee had a vision (as the Storie sayth) in which God appeared to him, and promised to bee propitious in both the Cities Royall to him.

In *Nancian* the chiefe Citie of *Chiansi* hee abode. This is as great in circuit, but not in Merchandise as *Canton*, and though none of those portentuous great Cities, yet is it famous for the number of Learned men, which thence are aduanced to diuers parts: the people are thriftie and contented with little, and many of them obserue that first aforesayd. Of the Learned men there is also a Societie, in which on set dayes the more learned doe Lecture or discourse touching vertues in very modest manner. The Physician aforesayd, famous for his Art and well respected by the

the Vice-roy, was visited by him: Hee now vsed his Silken vest and Cap vsed by the Learned, somewhat like but higher, then that which Priests in *Spain* weare, (for he had learned to keepe state and not to deiect himselfe too much) and carryed two seruants with him in long garments made of Callico, and his gestatorie Chayre: without which pompe a man cannot bee taken for a Learned man, the poorest Student vsing them, and otherwise contemned. The Physician entertained him kindly, and after inuited him to a Feast, where were many Students, and some of the Royall bloud (of which that Citie hath very great store) which were glad of his acquaintance; and when he had once mentioned his staying there, the Physician was so eager in desire thereof, that he feyned that the President *Scilian* had written to him, to procure him residence there, because in the former abode he had not his health. The *Chinois* esteeme such lyes to bee wisdom. Hee sone got credit amongst them by Mathematicall lectures and instruments, and by his artificiall memorie especially. For the *Chinois* aboue all others commit whole bookes to memorie with vnwearyed paynes, and in the first yeeres of their studies doe nothing else. He repeated the most confused and independant Characters in order, yea, backwards as well as forward. Many desired to learne it, and some hee entertained. Physicians being of no great authoritie, he sought to insinuate into fauour of the Magistrates; but a certayne Student had counselled him to neglect their license, and thereupon enquire being made by the Vice-roy, this his friend and landlord very friend-like, would needs throw him suddenly out of doores, and hee was forced by force to defend himselfe. But the Vice-roy hauing receiued a Libell from him, testifying who he was, greatly reioyced (hauing heard of him) and when hee came to his Court, arose from the Tribunal to meete him, would not suffer him to kneele, and gaue him good vsage and magnificent Titles, inuited him also to reside there. Whose affections were after kindled into a greater flame by his Physicians, magnifying his Mathematickes, Memoratiue, Bookes, three square Glasse and other nouelties. The Vice-roy would haue him make him a Dyall, and teach his Sonnes, but for that admirable Glasse, hee would by no kinde force accept the gift.

And whereas time out of minde many of the Royall bloud are there, two of them hauing the tytle of Kings, *Chiengan*, and *Longan*, sent their principall Seruants or Courtiers, to inuite Father *Matthew* to the Palace, which is fitting to Royall Maiestie, both for Greatnesse, magnificence of Building, pleasure of Gardens, and other furniture of household and attendance. *Chiengan* first inuited and entertained him, attyred with a Royall vesture and Diadem. Father *Matthew* gaue him a Dyall with the Signes of the Zodiacke, and a Globe with *China* characters, and other *European* commodities; which hee recompensed with Silkes, weight of Silver, and diuers viands. Nothing gaue him such content as two Bookes of *Iapon* paper, smooth and hard bound in *European* manner: one contayning Maps and other Mathematicall representations, with an explication in their Language; the other was a tractate of Friendship, wherein Dialogue-wise (as *Cicero* in his *Lelins*) hee bringeth in the King, questioning what the men of *Europe* thought of Friendship, and set downe the sentences of Philosophers, Doctors, and other Authors; a worke to this day read there with great applause and admiration. Printed in diuers Prouinces. *Chiengan* continued his friendship and left it as a legacie to his Sonne, who vsed when the Father visited him, to pay the Porters, and to giue money to his seruants, a token with them of great welcome. The Societie also of Learned men grew acquainted with him, and the chiefe of them, hearing him complayne of multitude of visitors, wished him to command his Seruants to say hee was not at home: which officious lye he affirming to bee by our Law vnlawfull, bred in him and the rest much wonder.

In the meane while at *Xauceo* they sustayned abuses, and *Sebastian Fernandes* was vsed ignominiously by the calumnies of their quarrelsome neighbours, and sentence of a partiall Iudge, which caused two Seruants to bee whipped vnheard, and *Fernandus* to stand as in a Pillorie, with his head in a board an ell and halfe square, therein a hole fitted for the necke, to bee opened and shut; so that a man cannot put his hand to his mouth: and this forsooth for beating the Bachelors. This was written as the cause of his punishment. Hee afterwards sought the *Iesuites* fauour, ashamed of his fact, inuited them, and set vp an Edict for their safetie. *Fernandus* was sent hereupon to *Ricim*, and *Catanen* continued alone without any Father, till the yeere 1597. and fell sicke: then going to *Amacao* (Father *Iohn Aroccia* was sent in his place) hee returned with Father *Nicholas Longobard* a *Sicilian*. Father *Matthew* was appointed superiour of the *China* mission by the Visitor *Valignanus*, without subjection to the Rector of *Amacao*. To him precious watches were sent, and Images with other things, which might further their *China* proceedings, the *Portugals* of *Amacao* continuing their liberalitie herein.

Father *Matthew* minding to trie all meanes to peece to the Court, assayed *Chiengan* in vaine, who feared to raise any suspicion of himselfe. Hearing therefore that *Guan* (which had as you heard) visited the house of *Xauceo*, in his way to *Hainan*, was thence called by the King to *Nanquin* to bee President of the first Councell, called *Li Pu*, that is, the Councell of Magistrates: in his way at *Nancian* they visited him with a present, (in which nothing so pleased him as the trigone Glasse) and tooke opportunitie to signifie to him, their desire of presenting the King with some *European* rarities. Hee approued thereof and sayd, they should not onely goe with him to

Many of the Royall bloud at *Nancian*.*China* lying in prudence.*Ricius* his artificiall memorie

Fortune friend

Chiengan and *Longan*, Kinga ticular.*Ricius* his *China* Booke of friendship.

Token of welcome.

Caulls.

Pillorie board;

Aroccia and *Longobardus*.The Councill *Li Pu* so called of creating Magistrates.

Customs of
Converts
names in Bap-
tisme.
Anno 1598.

Writing well
in China brings
credit and
gaine.

Vice-roy of
Nanquin, also
uer of Geo-
graphie.

Honour to an
Image.

Chappell.

Chian or Quian
See Polo sup. 90
River of Nan-
quin: one cut
from it for Pe-
quin.
Yellow River
see the Map.

* Such con-
jectures as this
and those in
Pinto of this
Lake seeme ill
grounded.
Lake of Constel-
lations.

Magistrates sa-
crifice to the
River.

10000 Ships of
the Kings for
five Prouinces

Nanquin, but to Pegum also; whither within one moneth of his coming hee was to goe. Ricinus with Cataneus attend him (leaving two of the company at Nanchin) with two brethren of the company, Seb. Fernandes, and Emanuel Pererius, of China parentage in Amacao: who of their God-fathers take usually both Christian name and Sir-name, vsing also their Chinese names in dealing with Chinois. They set forth from Nanchin on Midsummer day, 1598. and when they were come to Nanquin they found all full of feare, by reason of the Japonian warre in Co-rai, so that none durst giue vs entertayment, grievous Proclamations having lately forbidden to receiue men any way suspicious, by occasion of Japonian Spyes taken. Even the President himselfe, feared to bee author in so troublesome time of bringing Strangers: and Ricinus when he visited him, vsed his Gestatorie seate. They gaue eight pieces of Gold to a cunning Clerke to write their Petition (so deare doe Learned men there prize their labour) which when they gaue the Chancellour (which sends Petitions from Nanquin to the King) hee would not meddle with it, but put it off to the President, that hee should carrie them with him to Pegum. He being to bee there to gratulate the King at his Birth day, in name of the fixe Tribunals or Counsels, sent his goods by water and the Iesuites with them, but went himselfe by land.

When this President came to Nanquin, other Magistrates visited him with presents after the manner, and one the Vice-roy of that Prouince with a Map of Ricinus his inuention, concealing the name of the Author in a new impression; which hee shewed to Ricinus, who soone knew and challenged his owne. This the President intimated, that the Author was going with him to Pegum. Hee presently sends the Captayne of the Souldiers, to desire the President that he might haue sight of a man whom hee so much admired; sending withall a Chayre, and Porters with Horses also. For the Vice-roy of Nanquin resideth not in Nanquin, because in that High Court are higher Magistrates, which would seeme to eclipse his Greatnesse. So Cataneus went with the Ship, Ricinus to the Vice-roy, whom hee saluted with European gifts. He staid with him ten dayes, so great desire he had to conferre with him. And when hee shewed him the Image of Christ, he would not take view of it there, but would first ascend to a neate Chappell which he had on the top of his House, therein after the rites of their Learned, to worship Heauen; with three doores to it, from the South, East, and West: about it round was a Gallerie distinguished and cancelled. There he caused an Altar to bee erected, and thereon Wax-lights and Incense to be fired; and then the Image being set thereon, hee came in his most sumptuous attire and did worship foure times, after their accustomed rites: after which hee would not stand before it but besides it, to take view, which hee did a good space. After him, his familie did likewise: and euery day they reiterated the same, one also being appointed to keepe perpetuall Odours burning before it. Hee brought other Magistrates also to see the same: and when he might not detain the Father longer, he sent him away with great weight of Siluer, which came fitting to their necessitie. Hee gaue aduise also touching their designe, and told them of that frustrate successe which followed. He went with him to the River, and sent one with him till he had overtaken his companion. The Chinois call that River Iansu-chian, Chian signifying the greatest River; other Rivers they call Cho.

That River of Nanquin which I called (Yansu or) Iansu, the sonne of the Sea, goeth Northward to Nanquin, and then returning somewhat Southward, runneth into the Sea with great force; fortie myles from which it passeth by Nanquin. And that from hence to Pegum there might bee passage by Rivers, the Kings of China haue deriued a large Channell from this to another River, called the Yellow River, such being the colour of that troubled water. This is the other famous River of that Kingdome, in greatnesse and note, which ariseth without the Kingdome to the West, out of the Hill Cunlun, conjectured to bee the same whence Ganges ariseth, or one neere to it. Where it first breakes forth, it maketh a Lake which they call of the Constellations: thence it pierceth into the borders of China in Sciensi, the most Westerly Prouince, and goeth out againe out of the Northerne walls into the Tartars Countries: after which it returneth to the South, and that Prouince whence it had come, and washeth another Prouince named Sciensi, and another named Honan: then turneth into the East and entreth the Easterne Ocean, not faire from the Sonne of the Sea. This River against their lawes for Strangers, entreth China from Barbarous Regions, and as in reuenge of their malice to Strangers, often over-floweth great part of the Kingdome, and shifteth his Channell being full of Sands which it moueth. Certayne Officers or Magistrates designed doe sacrifice thereto, or to the Spirit of it (for they set Spirits ouer diuers things) with many rites: and they sayne that it cleeres the troubled waters, but once in one thousand yeeres, whence it is prouerbiall of a fild-seene thing, When the yellow River shall bee cleered. They that sayle therein, must therefore keepe the water many dayes till it setleth, the third part prouing myre and sand. Before the ingresse and egress of this River, are Channells which giue passage to Ships that carry prouision to Pegum. Those Ships are sayd to bee ten thousand, sent onely out of five Prouinces, Chiansi, Ceshian, Nanchin, Uquam, and Sciantium. For these Prouinces pay their yearly tribute in Rice and Corne, the other ten in Siluer. Besides these, there passe innumerable Ships of Magistrates and of private Merchants: but private men are forbidden to goe out of the Hiansu into those lesse Rivers (those onely passe which dwell

dwelt within such Rivers to the North) lest the multitude of Ships should hinder the passage, or bee able to doe harme to *Pequin*. Yet is there such store of Ships notwithstanding, that they are forced to stay sometimes diuers dayes, one hindring another, especially at some seasons when water is scarce, for remedie whereof, they haue lockes and flood-gates, which opened make way from one to another of them, with great labour and tedious lingring. The crosseesse of windes and labours of drawing with ropes, I need not mention. Some ships are ouerwhelmed at the opening of those lockes. They haue wooden Engines on the bankes to draw the ships of Magistrates, at the Kings cost, against the streame all the way. And in fitting this River to Navigation, a million is spent yeerely; the feare of the Sea and Pyrats, haue made them take this course rather then that by Sea.

In all this way, many Cities most worthy note appeare, of the Prouinces *Nanquin*, *Sciantium*, *Pequin*, and besides the Cities there are so many Townes, Villages, Houses on the bankes, that all the way may be sayd to bee inhabited; so that the Saylers no where want to furnish themselves with Corne, Rice, Fish, Flesh, Fruits, Hearbs, Wine, and the like, at a very cheape rate. By the same River, Wood, Timber, Boards, Pillars (for the *Chinois* make reckoning onely of those of wood) are carryed for the Kings workes: especially, then when the Kings Palace had bene on fire, which consumed two parts of three thereof. In all the Iourney, ours found great rankes of Timber-trees tyed together, and of other wood, which many thousands of men drew with huge toyle, and scarcely could get forwards five or sixe myles in a day, and from the Prouince *Susuen*, which is furthest from the Court, such Timber-trees were in going vp, two or sometimes three yeeres space: whence euery pillar made of them prodigiously arose each to three thousand pieces of Gold: and of those Timber-rankes they encountred one, seeming longer then the rest, which was esteemed to reach two myles in length. The Bricks also (which the *Chinois* preferre before Stone) for the Kings Palace, were carryed this way fifteen hundred myles, and many Ships had no other vse, so many as might seeme sufficient, not for a Palace but a great Citie. Out of the Southerne Prouinces, are yearely sent those things which in the more barren Prouinces of *Pequin* are wanting; as Fruits, Fish, Rice, Silkes, Cloathes and other things: and a day is set them, at which if they bee not there, they incurre grievous penalties. Of the Ships called *Horses*, the Kings Eunuches haue command. By this River they layle almost onely when the Rivers swell ouer their bankes, peraduenture by the melting of the Snowes from the Hills whence they spring. By the heate in that Iourney of a moneth, and sometimes two moneths, the viands which they carrie, are often corrupted before they come to *Pequin*, for which cause they coole them with Ice, and in all those wayes much Ice is preferred for that purpose, and distributed to the passengers, and so all things are carryed fresh to the Court.

The Eunuches of those Ships, sell emptie roomes to the Passengers for their gayne: for the *Chinois* thinke it a glory to send that which goeth to the King in many ships, & not to giue them their full lading, which is also profitable for that sterilitie of *Pequin*, Merchants by these conuenient freights making nothing to want there where nothing growes. Ours hyred a roomie in like manner for their ease. By reason of the great heat they all fell sicke, yet by Gods helpe recovered. When they were to passe out of the River, in the Prouince of *Sciantium*, they met with a hand-made River, which runnes out neere *Pequin*, to the Tower *Tienfin*. Another River from *Pequin* or rather from *Tartaria*, meetes it, and runnes together with it into the Sea, or into that Bay, betwixt *Corai* and *China*, after they haue runne together one day. In this Tower there was a new Vice-roy extraordinary, by reason of that inuasion of *Corai* from *Iapon*. Hee prouided a huge Fleet for defence of *Corai*, by which meanes that whole River was full of Ships of warre and militarie tumult. Ours went thorow the thickest of them without let, and at length came to the Port or Banke rather of *Pequin*, which banke is a dayes Iourney from the walls of *Pequin*. And although by Art they haue made a huge Channell to the walls, yet lest it should bee filled with multitude of Ships, they suffer none but the Kings burthens to goe that way, the others being carryed by Carts, Beasts, and Porters. They came to *Pequin* on a festiuall day, the Euen of the Virgins Natiuitie.

The chiefe Mart Townes in this way were *Iamcheu* in *Nanquin* Prouince, in thirtie two degrees thirtie minutes. *Hoaingan* in thirtie foure not all so much; *Sincen* in thirtie foure degrees thirtie minutes. In *Sciantium* Prouince *Zinim* in thirtie five degrees fortie minutes. *Lincin* in thirtie seuen degrees fortie minutes. In *Pequin* Prouince *Tiencin* in thirtie nine degrees thirtie minutes. *Pequin* in fortie large. They are deceiued which eleuate it to fiftie. Now from *Canton* (which is two dayes from *Amacao*) are of *China* furlongs (five of which make a mile, and fiftene a league) by River to *Nanbin*, one thousand one hundred and seuentie. Thence to *Nan-* Length of the way.
cin eleuen hundred and twentie. From that to *Nanquin*, one thousand foure hundred and fortie. And thence to *Pequin* three thousand three hundred thirtie five, in all seuen thousand sixtie five: which makes of miles, one thousand foure hundred and thirteene.

Cranes to draw ships. Tempestuous seas and Pyrats on that coast. See *Pinio*.

Timbers for the Kings buildings. Two thirds of the Kings house burnt by Lightning.

Bricks preferred to stone.

Swifter ships called *Horses*.

Heat and cold.

Hand-made River. *Tienfin*.

They come to *Pequin*.

Iamcheu. *Hoaingan*. *Sincen*. *Zinim*. *Lincin*.

Pequin de-cri-
bed, compared
with Nanquin.

The walls.

Watch and
Ward.

Palace.

Streets.

All goe and
ride veiled.

Commoditie
of Mules and
Mullesters.

Booke of Pe-
quin.

See Polo sup. 88.

China, Cathay.
See Partoia.

Cambalu the
great Tartar of
the North.

See Polo sup. 4.

Alchymie and
base couetise.

Coozening
Merchant.

China Lan-
guage and Ac-
cents.

Pequin is situated in the Northerne border about one hundred miles from the wall against the Tartars. Nanquin exceeds it in greatnesse, composition of the Streets, hugeness of Buildings, and Munitions: but Pequín exceedeth it in multitude of Inhabitants, and of Magistrates. To the South it is compassed with two walls high and strong, so broad that twelue Horses may easily runne abreast oin the breadth without hindering one the other. They are made of Bricks, saue that on the foot it stands all on huge stones, the middle of the wall is filled with Earth: the height farre exceeds thole in Europe. To the North is but one wall. On these walls by night is kept as vigilant watch as if it were time of warre: in the day Eunuches guard the gates, or rather exact Tributes, which is not done in other Cities.

The Kings Palace riseth within the inner Southerne wall, neere the City gates and extends to the Northerne walls, seeming to take vp the whole Citie: the rest of the Citie running forth on both sides: It is some-what narrower then the Palace of Nanquin, but more goodly and glorious; that seeming by the Kings absence, as a carkasse without soule. Few of the Streets are paved with Bricke or Stone, so that in Winter dirt, and dust in Summer, are very offensive: and because it raineth there seldome, the ground is all crumbled into dust, and if any wind blow, it enters euery Roome. To preuent which they haue brought in a custome, that no man of whatsoever ranke goeth on foot or rideth without a Veile or Bonnet hanging to his brest, of that subtiltie that he may see, and yet the dust not annoy him: which also hath another commoditie that he may goe any whither vnseene, so freed from innumerable tedious salutations, and also he spares attendance and cost. For to ride is not magnificent enough with the Chinois, and to bee carried in their Seats is costly, with Attendants especially; and in that time of Warre it fitted with ours to passe vnknowne, being Strangers.

Mullesters stood at the Palace, and City gates, and in euery Street to let Mules, themselves also attending the Hirers whether they would in the City; which leading the beasts by the bridle, in that frequencie made way, being also skilfull of the wayes, knowing most of the great mens Houses: all at a reasonable rate. There is a Booke also which truly relateth all the Streets, Lanes, Regions of the City: Porters also with Seats to carrie Men, and Horses are euery-where found, but dearer then at Nanquin, or other places.

All things are to bee had in abundaace, but brought thither and therefore dearer. Wood is scarce, but supplied with Mine-coles (we call them Sea-cole) necessary to that Region, cold beyond what the Climate usually exacteth: their Beds are so made with Brick-workes, that they by a new kind of Stoues admit the heate of those Coles: a thing vsuall in all those Northerne Regions. These Northerne Chinois are some-what more dull, but better Souldiers then the other. Here they learned that this Kingdome is *Cataio*, and the King of China the great *Can*, and *Pequin Cambalu*.

For the nine Kingdomes (of *Mangi*) are those Southerly Prouinces which are vnder the great Riuer *Ianfuchian*, and lixe vpon it make vp the fifteene, so great that some one of them is as great as all Italy. Anno 1608. whiles we write, it is fortie yeares since two *Turkes* or *Moorers* out of Arabia brought to China a Lion (a beast seldome here seene) by Land, which had an Office given by the King to them and theirs, to keepe the Lion, and that they should carry no Tales thence. They in conference called this Kingdome great *Catay*, and this City *Cambala* the like we heard of others which had come from Persia. The Chinois also haue heard of that name, and still call the Tartars *Lu*, and the North parts *Pa* and *Pe*: to which *Can* the Tartarian Title added easily makes *Campalu* or *Cambalu* with others; for the Chinois seldome vse B. and *Marco Polo* comming in with the Tartars called it by their name. And at this time without the walls of China is found no *Catay*. The Portugals called it *China*, borrowing the name as may be supposed from the *Siamites*, and hence Cosmographers made them two Kingdomes. But *Gomez*, his Iourney by Land to *Catay* hath taken away all scruple.

To returne to ours now come to *Pequin*, the President gaue them entertainment, and procured an Eunuch to vndertake the businesse for the Presents, which were a Clocke, two Pictures, two Trigone-glasses and a Bell: all pleased the Eunuch, but his minde ranne more on making Siluer of Quick-siluer, which he had heard they could doe, and which would bee more gratefull to the King. And when he saw that would not be vndertaken, neither would he vndertake to acquaint the King, in this time of *Corayan* Warres; and ours also were taken for *Iaponians*, or neere vnto them, they not knowing how by true names to distinguish Nations. The President also began to be fearefull and purposed to carry them backe with him to Nanquin. Yet they staid a moneth after him (he being at a certaine day by Law to depart) and when they had tryed all wayes in vaine, none daring to acknowledge Strangers, they returned to Nanquin. They had a Bill of Exchange from *Amacao* to take vp money at *Pequin*, but the Merchant had plaid the Merchant and *Chineses* too, none such there to be found. They hired a ship at an easie rate for their returne (because they goe empty) but not easie in this respect that the Owners pouertie made the Iourney tedious for what of helpe. This benefit they made of this Iourney to learne the Language better, making a Dictionary, obseruing their Accents with Points deuised; (that speech consisting wholly of Monosyllables, the want of skill in those Accents had caused that they neither did

did, nor were vnderstood) *Cataneu* skill in Musicke helping to distinguish those sounds. What course *Riccius* and he instituted, that the Company still obserue in their Writing.

All the Rivers in *China* vse to be frozen in the beginning of Winter, that ships cannot passe by water, and Carts by Land are safer. They agreed that Father *Matthew* should goe by Land with two Seruants, to try if he could settle at *Nanquin*, the rest and the burthens to stay till the River were thawed. He purposed also to goe to *Suceu* whither *Chintaisu* had often invited him, being his Countrey. Passing thorow *Sciantum*, he visited *Suceu* and *Yamceu* famous Marts, and passing the River *Yamceu*, at *Chinchiamfu*, the chiefe City of that Province hee entred into a hand made River, by which is sailed to *Suceu* and to the chiefe Citie of *Cechian Hamceu*. This River being Southerly and neere frozen ouer, is so narrow that multitudes of shippes cloy it so sometimes that they cannot passe forward or backward. He was forced therefore to go by another way, which is a Coach or Wagon of one wheele, so builded that one sitting in the midst, and two on the sides, the Coach-man behind with wooden Leauers or Barres driues it forwards both surely and swiftly; that in short time he came to *Suceu*.

This Noble Mart is one of them whereof is the Prouerbe, *That which is in Heauen the Seat of the Blessed, that in Earth is named Suceu, and Hamceu*: in splendour, wealth, frequencie remarkable. It is built in a calme fresh-water River, and quite thorow one may goe, as in *Venice*, by Land or Water, but herein it excelleth *Venice* that the water is fresh. The streets and buildings stand vpon piles of Timber, the Wares from *Amacao* and other parts are most sold here. It hath one gate to the Land, the other are water-ways. The Bridges are innumerable, & Magnificent, Ancient, but of one Arch in those narrow Channells. Butter and White-meates are plencie, Rice, and the best Wine, which thence is carryed to *Pequin* and other parts. It is scarcely two dayes from the Sea. It is well fortified, the chiefe City of the Region, which hath eight Cities: One of the Princes held this, when the *Tartars* were expelled, against this Royall Race; whereupon it still payeth a great Tribute, to wit, the halfe of all things growing, (so that some two whole Provinces pay lesse then this one Region to the King, against whom it had stood out) it is still also awed with a frequent Garrison. *Chintaisu* was then absent at *Tanian* a Neighbour City, who receiued him with great humanitie. He abode in a Monasterie, and resigned his bed to his Master, who tired by trauell fell sicke, and was likely there to haue dyed. Recovered by his care, he gaue him a Triangle Glasse, which he put in a Siluer case with Gold Chaines at the ends, and adorned it further with a Writing that it was a fragment of that matter whereof the Heauens consist. One was said to offer him five hundred pieces of Gold soone after for it, which till Father *Matthew* had presented his to the King hee would not sell: after that hee set a higher price and sold it.

At the beginning of the *China* yeare, all are busied in sending Presents to their friends, feasts and salutations. They went to *Cinchian* to the publike Solemnitie where *Chintaisu* was well knowne, and by his speech Father *Matthew* and from thence they went to *Nanquin*, in February, 1599. Before wee come thither wee will looke backe to our *Canton* Iesuits:

§. VI.

Letters from Father LONGOBARD and TAISO. RICCIUS
his entertaynement at Nanquin and Residence there.
The Chinois vnlearned Learning.

Father *Nicolas Longobard* wrote vnto *Claudius Aquaviva* the Iesuiticall Generall, the eighteenth of October, 1598. that in the Kingdome of *China* there were then seuen Iesuits distributed into two Residences and one Mission: at *Nancian*, Father *Iohn Seerius* and *Iohannes à Roccia*; himselfe and *Francis Martines* a *Chinese* at *Scianteum* in *Canton* Province, *Ricci* and *Cataxeus*, and *Sebastian Fernandez* a *Chinese*, were then gone to *Pequin*: that *China* condition and conditions agreed so well with him, that hee seemed to bee in the midst of *Italy*: that much respect had accrewed to them in conceit of the *Chinois* together, with that Habit of their Learned, which they had taken, the *Bonzi* and their Habit esteemed base alike. He also much commends *Thaiso* or *Taiso*, (*Chintaiso* before mentioned) who much euery-where commended the Iesuits and their Learning, as much exceeding what euer had bene taught in *China*. And truly, saith he, the *Chinois* Learning exceedeth not the Science of the *Romanes* in the time of *Cicero*.

They are much exercised in a kind of writing and speaking brieue and pithie Sentences: their Bookes expresse well *Ethickes* and *Politickes*, but are rude in Naturall Philosophie. When I had being the best of Heathen *Rome*; *Varro*, and *Cicero*, and *Virgil*, as the *Romane* *Trium-viri* for Learning, besides, *Salustius*, &c.

lately

Rivers frozen.
Ric. goeth by Land.

Suceu and Yamceu.

Coach of one wheele.

Suceu described.

Another Venice.

Huge Tributes.

Tanian.

Glasse glazed.

New yeares day.

Letter of F. Nic. Lombard.

China Learning.

This comparison with that time of the *Romanes* seemeth perhaps not the best, that besides, *Salustius*.

* *Thaisos* Letter. To their superiours and equals they write not in the first person, but the name for the pronoun (I). This (as is fit at the feet, with the Iewes) signifieth to be a mans scholar: taken from their sitting at the side in Lectures. Succo. North of China the best. Scingin is the greatest title of honour amongst the Chinois, intimating a holy birth, greatest learning that he may be Master of all, as was their Confucius: such an one they think comes euery 500. yeere, and now Riccius. Probabilities for the Gospel.

China Monasteries.

Vniuersities in our sence with Professors and publik Schooles are not in China: but for taking degrees as in our Vniuersities, a mans priuate studies, and the Cities publike examinations haue some resemblance. Many things in which the Iesuites and Chinois con-
curre.

lately runne thorow two of their Bookes, which they esteeme as their Metaphysikes, or first Philosophie, one of their learned men gratulated my proficience; when as I found therein no more difficulty then in Tully, or Titus Linius. They say, none but the Chinois can vnderstand them, Father Ricci vseth to adde none better then the Europeans. A Letter of Taifo to Ricci hee addeth thus inscribed. *Thaiso* * younger Brother which stand at the * side to learne, doe submit my head to the ground, and exhibite honour and reuerence to the elder Brother, Master and Father Matthew Ricci, a famous Peere, and Master of the most choise flowers of the great Law, and cast downe my selfe at the feet of his Seat and Chaire. The Letter followeth.

After our departing (it being foure yeeres since sight of each other) there hath not beene a day in which I haue not set before mine eyes the excellent vertue of your Worship. I gave two yeeres since to Sciauchin, my Countreyman, a Merchant, Letters to your Worship, thereby to learne where and what it did. I know not whether they haue attayned that, to come to your magnificent hands, &c. When I went from your Worship I said it must goe into the North parts, if it would behold the splendour and magnificence of this Kingdome, that my Countrey had nothing singular, that Nanquin Court was troublesome, and mixed of all sorts: that Chiansi Prouince was fit onely for dwelling, because there were learned men in it of excellent vertue, and of a true and solid spirit to receiue the Law. This yeere gathering together those things which your Worship taught mee, I made a Booke, and exhibited it to the Society of learned men, of which there was none which did not admire and subscribe, saying, your Worship was Scingin, that is, a Saint of these times. Those things which I haue added haply may be erroneous, and I feare lest they contradict its sounder and higher learning: and therefore haue sent my seruant to bring it to your Worship to reade, which I most humbly entreat, and to correct, to approue the truth, to blot out the false, to illustrate the obscure, writing all in another Booke, and sending it by the same seruant in few dayes, because I would presently commit it to the Presse, that your Worships learning might be knowne thorow the World. In these places are of greatest reckoning the Bookes of Hothu, Cofcui, Pequaa, Queusciu, Thakuitu, and other like, which haue written of a Point, Line, Extremitie, and Thickness. All these learned make of a Line a Circle: but according to your Worships teaching, of a Line is made the termination of a Circle, and a Circle consists therein. From which principles the conclusions brought of Thakou, that is, of God, doe farre exceed the Commentaries of all our learned men. And they are enough to illustrate a thousand obscurities of antiquitie, which hitherto haue not beene pierced. This one thing afflicts mee, that my writing and stile is meane and abiect, and most vnfit to illustrate and enlarge the most excellent conceits of its mind. Aseane while I much long, and as it were on tiptoes looke about enery where, if haply I may see your face. From Succo the two and twentieth of the fourth Moone, and the foure and twentieth of the Raigne of Vanlia. Subscribed; *Thaiso* younger Brother againe bends his head to the ground, &c.

Lombard proceedeth in his Letter, and sheweth the commodiousnesse of one King which ruleth all, of one Mandarin Tongue, of the common industrie and cheapnesse of prouisions (not as in the pouertie of Iapon, where the worke-mens maintenance must come from other parts) all fitting to bring in the Gospell. There are, sayth he, almost infinite houses of Bonzi maintayned by the King, besides gifts which they receiue of others which yet repose no great confidence in Idols: what would these doe if they beleued to receiue a hundred for one, and eternall life? Their composition of bodie, complexion, condition, rites; no vse of weapons, not so much as a Knife carried (but by Souldiers in Garrison, not in the way or at home) their habite long, and anciently vsed, with their hands alway hidden in their long sleeues, except in vse of their fanne, which all, euen the meanest carrie with them, their quarrels, if any happen in the vulgar, ended in a few boxes or brawles; their seemely behaviour equall to the European; yea, in some things to the Religious there; their studiousnesse of learning the onely foundation of dignitie and greatnesse, as many Athens there as great Cities, each hauing a Schoole or Vniuersitie without mixture of other Regions) their politike and morall Rules and Lawes; all these might be furtherances to the Gospell. Their tenacitie also of their owne customes and ielousie of Strangers, might better secure them from Heresies. Hee commendeth also their workes of Piety, and Charity, Almes, Hospitals for poore, voluntary chastisements of the bodie to subdue the affections, as fastings (in which they abstaine from Flesh, Fish, Milke, and Egges, but eate other things as oft and as much as they will) liberties and gifts by Magistrates to Widowes which contayne themselves from second marriages; triall of a mans selfe in all his actions commended in their Bookes, especially of those things which other men cannot know; and hereupon the liking of a solitary and contemplatiue life in the Countrey, and restoring themselves to the first state, as they say, wherein the Heauen created them; for which purpose are congregations of learned men, together in Villages addicted to contemplation, and fleeing publike Offices (as the ancient Fathers had their conferences in woody and mountainous places) in which also their women are as forward as the men, many of them liuing in Nunneries, gouerned by an Abbess; and all China women liue so enclosed, as if their owne houses were Cloisters: These he commendeth in them, as also that of all vertues they giue the first place to Obedience to Parents as in which consists a mans perfection. And that no man may be ignorant of his duty, if they cannot reade (of which there are but few) they haue a short Summe (or Catechisme) for

for publishing whereof there is a man appointed at publike charge, every full and change, to publish the same in every street of the City, so that on the same day & houre, a little before Sun- rising the same doctrine is propounded in all the Cities of China, and thorow all their streets. This is five Articles or Principles, which are, *First*, Obey Father and Mother: *Secondly*, reverence Betters and Elders: *Thirdly*, make pence among Neighbors: *Fourthly*, teach Children and Nephews: *Fifthly*, let every man well discharge his office: *Sixthly*, commit no offence, that is, not to kill, steal, fornication, &c. which in manner comprehend the second Table of the Decalogue. As for the first Table, the Chinois, especially the learned are Atheists, little regarding Idols, whereof their Houses and Temples are full: little minding the rewards or punishments of the life to come, or the soules immortality, which yet are easily found in their bookes touching the punishments at least of *Holy Pao* (so they call God) in Hell. Of rewards of blessednesse there is not such evidence, as *Thaisa* affirmed. And although many difficulties happened to ours in the *Bonzi* habite, yet is it now farre otherwise. As for *Canton* Province, the *Mandarin*s which come this way, aske vs why we stay amongst these *Mangines*, that is, Rusticks and Barbarians: We must say they leave the Barke and pierce to the pith and marrow of the Kingdome, if we would see the China splendor and politie. He writes for Labourers, Bookes, Images, and Pictures, for consolation of new Conuerts: the Ethnicks worship that of the *Virgin*, and call her *Scin mu nian*, that is, holy Mother, and Queene of *Queenes*: and ends with imploring the patronage and intercession of all the heavenly Quire, specially of the blessed *Virgin*, the Apostles, the Angels guardians of China, to obtaine of the holy Trinitie happy successe to their endeouirs, &c. But wee will returne to our best acquainted in *China*, *Pekin*, whom we left newly arrived at *Nanquin*.

The case was now altered at *Nanquin*, they went on foot without impediment to their lodg- ing, which was in a huge Monastery, called *Cingensu*, in which is great resort of guests which there hire lodgings, being built in the centre of the City. The *Laponians* were now beaten from *Corai* and *Quabacandana* was dead, which had so terrified that vvarlike Nation. He heard that they had heard of his going to *Pekin*, and that the *Corai* warre was the frustrating of his de- signs in that vnseasonable time. The President was verie glad of his coming, and exhorted him to buy a house there, and sends two of his followers to looke out for one. Scarcly had he and *Chimaisa* gotten home to their lodging, when the President followeth to visit them, which hee did with the solemnest Rites. And when they were set in the Hall, the Abbot came to offer them the wonted potion, kneeling to all three (to the President hee was bound as supreme go- uernour of Temples) and the President invited the Father to spend two or three daies in his house, to see the Fire-workes, which that full Moone, the first of the yeere would bee to bee seene, which strange deuices of lights that and the following nights; which he did and beheld that which without wonder cannot be beholden, the *Nanquiners* herein exceeding as may be thought the whole world.

When it was reported that the President had visited him, all the Maiestie of Magistrates did the like, yea some whom he had not visited. The President of the Court of *Criminal Causes*, and the President of the *Treasury* (which is the second Tribunall) came with rites & gifts, as also did others; yea hee which a little after was the *High Colao* at *Pekin*, which all vrged him to buy a house; and he now went thorow all Streets and Palaces without gaine saying (which he knew from a vision hee before had had thereof); and procured a house which the President helped to furnish. So much admiration and respect had the opinion of *European* science acqui- red to him, these being to the *China* wits baits for the Gospels fishing. Now first did they heare that the Earth was round (for they conceited the Heauen round and the Earth square) that the Centre drew all heauie things to it, that the *Vniuers* was inhabited round, that there were *Antipodes*, that the Earths interposition caused the Moones eclipse (some saying that the Moon opposite to the Sunne was dazzled or amazed; others that there was a hole in the Sunne, against which the Moone opposed lost her light) that the Sunne was greater then the Earth; and that the *Starres* also, this was out of measure paradoxicall: the like was the soliditie of the Orbes, and their number; the fixed posture of the *Starres*, the Planets wandrings, the eleuation and depression of the Pole according to the various *Climates*; and likewise the inequality of the daies, without the *Tropikes* Geographicall Maps in *plano*, and Globes, Meridians, Parallels, Degrees, the Line, *Tropikes*, Poles, Zones, Spheres, *Sun-dials*, they had not at all vnderstood, with other points of *European* learning. A Doctor of theirs confessed himselfe ashamed; For, said hee, you may thinke of me as wee doe of the *Tartars* and barbarous out-lawes; for you begin where wee end (which hee spake of the studie of eloquence, which takes vp our childhood, their whole life.) They numbred five Elements, *Metal*, *Wood*, *Fire*, *Water*, *Earth*, one of which they said was procreated of the other; the Aire they did not acknowledge for one, because they see it not, placing a *vacuum* or emptinesse where wee place the aire: as incredible it was that the fierie Element was the highest, and that Comets and Exhalations were there with fired. Father *Matthew* writ a booke of the Elements in their language much applauded, and often by them reprinted. Diuers became his Schollars; one sent from his Master in *Hanlin* Colledge in

A fortnight Sabbath.

Sixe precepts of China.

Cantonians Mangines.

Blessed Virgin honoured.

Nanquin. Cingensu a great Abbey.

The President supreme go- uernour of Temples. Full Moone fire-workes.

Mathematicks bits to the Gosp: Hanlin Colledge.

Hanlin Col- ledge in Pekin.

Pekin

Wit of a Chinese. *Pequin* (the chiefe place for *China* learning, to be admitted into, which is a great dignitie.) Hee was very witty, and without any Master attained the first booke of *Euclide*, and exacted of Father *Matthew* Geometrical demonstrations. And when hee added some things of Christianitie, you need not, saith he, confute that Idolatrous Sect, it is enough to teach the Mathematicians. For these *Bonzi* would also be Philosophers and Mathematicians. They said the Sunne hid himselfe by night behinde a Hill called *Siumi*, rooted in the Sea foure and twentie miles deepe. And for the eclipses, they said that the God *Holochan* caused that of the Sun covering it with his right hand, and that of the Moone with his left.

Eclipses. Not at *Pequin* alone, but at *Nanquin* also is a Colledge of *China* Mathematicians of better building then Astrological Science. They do nothing but bring their Almanacks to the rules of the ancients, when they mis-reckoned, they ascribed it to irregularitie of nature, not theirs, deuising some prodigious euent to follow. These at first were affraide that Father *Matthew* would haue deprined them of their dignitie; and freed of that feare, they visited him friendly, and he them, where hee saw a strange sight. There is an high Mountaine, on the top whereof is an open Plaine or Floore fit to contemplate the Starres. In this open space one euery night is appointed to watch, and obserue if any Comets or other alterations be in the skie, thereof to giue the King notice, and what it portends. In this place, of cast mettall are Mathematicall Instruments, admirable for their greatnesse and neatnesse, the like whereof wee haue not seene in Europe. They haue continued there in all chance and change of weather neere two hundred and fiftie yeeres without damage. Of them were foure greater, the one a huge Globe distinguished by degrees with Meridians and Parallels, as great as three men can fadome: it stood on a huge Cube of brasle likewise, vpon his Axel-tree: in the Cube was a little doore, sufficient for it to passe when need was. On the vtter superficies was nothing grauen, neither Stars, nor Regions, whereby it appeares that it was either vnfinished, or purposely so left that it might serue both for a Celestiall and a Terrestriall Globe. The second was a huge Sphere, the Diameter whereof was a fadome; with Horizon and Poles, and in stead of Circles, certaine double chaines, the space betwixt them representing the Circles in our Spheres: all these were diuided into three hundred and sixtie degrees, and a few minutes. In the middest was a Globe of the Earth, but a certaine pipe hollowed like the barrell of a Peece, which might bee turned any way, and set in any degree and eleuation for triall of the Starres very artificially. The third was a Diall two fadoms high in a huge & long Marble set to the North, with a channell about the table to hold water, whereby to trie if it stood plaine or no: the stile placed perpendicular, both it and the stone distributed into degrees: it seemes, for exact triall of the shadowes of Solstices and Equinoxials. The fourth and greatest was an engine or instrument of three or foure huge Astrolabes set one by another, each containing a Geometrical pace in a Diameter, with their Fiduciall line, or *Halbilada*, and *Dioptra*: one of them represented the equator inclined to the South, another (which made a crosse with the former) to the North; another stood erected to the South, perhaps for knowledge of the Verticall Circle, but turned about to shew any Verticall: all had the degrees marked with iron knots standing forth, that they might bee knowne by feeling in the night. This Worke of *Astrolabes* was set in a plaine floore of Marble also, with channels about. In euery of these Instruments was expressed in *China* Characters what euery thing signified; the foure and twentie Constellations of the Zodiacke, answering in the number doubled to our twelue Signes. There was in them this one errour, that they were set in the fixe and thirtie degree of the Pole eleuated, whereas *Nanquin* stands without all doubt in two and thirtie and a quarter of a degree. They seeme to haue bene made to be placed somewhere else, and placed here by some vnskillfull Mathematician. Afterwards Father *Matthew* saw the like, or the same Instruments rather at *Pequin*, cast with the same hand, at that time when the *Tartars* ruled ouer the *Chinois*, by some expert of our sciences.

The like Instruments at *Pequin*. The greatest Magistrate desired Father *Matthew* to reuise the Vniuersall Map, which he had made in *Canton* Prouince, and make larger Commentaries, and hee would print it at publike cost, which he did, and with an elegant Proeme commended the Author of the worke. This was published and carried into all parts, and in other places reprinted. The Vice-Roy of *Cuicen* Prouince printed it with another methode, making to euery Kingdome a proper Commentarie in a booke, adorning the Author also with his praises. Besides, the Presidents of the fixe Tribunalls (equall except for the Kings presence, in the gouernement of their Prouince, to these of *Pequin*) hee had three other friends, yet vnmentioned. There is a certaine hereditarie dignitie deuied to the eldest sonnes, from those Captaines which expelled the *Tartars*: they are called *Quocum*; their posteritie are honoured by the King, most of all the eldest, which in processe of time haue growne into a numerous Family; and although they beare no publike office, except some militarie commands, yet haue they great dignitie and wealth: and these onely doe truly resemble the Nobilitie of Europe. One head of this Family is at *Nanquin*, liuing in great pompe, with Palace, Furniture, Gardens, all like a King. He one day invited Father *Matthew*, and entertained him in the best Garden in the Citie: in which, besides other pleasing rarities, he saw an artificiall Mount or Rocke of diuers vnpolished Marbles, hollowed into

into Caues; it contained Chambers, Halls, Staires, Fish-ponds, Trees, and other things, Art wantonising with Nature to engender pleasure; especially in time of heate to coole themselves in their studies or feasts with this Caue-retiring; which although it comprehended no great space of ground, yet would it aske the space of two or three houres time to visit all the parts, the egress being by another gate. This Nobleman was yong, and desired to see some things of Europe.

Another which became familiar with Father *Matthew*, was the Commander of all the *Nanquin* Souldiers, which had also another great Office, called *Hen*, who often visited him, and became his great friend, whose friendship gaue vs security, to whom the watch and ward, and security of the Citie belongeth. Besides, I will name the chiefe Eunuch, which hath great authority ouer the *Nanquin* Eunuchs, whereof are numbred some thousands, who is Ruler ouer the Kings Palace, and hath command of all the Citie gates, and ouer the military Musters together with the former Captaine, with other parts of authority, and expresseth the same with great pompe. He was almost decrepit, and after the Eunuchs fashion there, not so gentle; and when *Ricinus* came to him, his Courtiers commanded him to giue him a title which answereth to *Hightnesse* with vs. I explaine it thus; when they speake to the King, they wish to him *ten thousand thousand yeeres of life* in these three syllables, *Van van sin*, which is all one with the title of *Maiestie*: to others in the Palace, the Queenes, or Children of the King, they with inferiour title pray, *one thousand yeeres*. Now the Eunuchs are so arrogant that they expect this *thousand yeeres wish*, and to bee saluted on the knee. Father *Matthew* could not doe this safely, lest hee should doe more to him then to the chiefe Magistrates; but hee had learned not to neglect in *China* their rites; and he being deafe, one that hollowed in his eare made vp what the Father wanted. Hee gaue him a great gift, which he refused, and denyed him the trigone Glasse: yet this caused the other Eunuchs to honour him.

At that time liued in *Nanquin* one which had obtayned the first place in the declaration of Doctors (which is a very great dignity) who liued here in this Countrey priuate, but in great esteeme of all. Hee had degenerated to become a Preacher of the three *China* Sects, and professed great knowledge of them. Hee had at his house a famous Votarie, or *Bonzi*-Monke, who renouncing the publike Offices which he had borne, had shaued his head, and (which is not vsuall in *China*) of a *Learned Man*, had become a Minister of the Idols. And because hee was both learned in the *China* Sciences, and growne seuentie yeeres old, he had acquired much fame and many Disciples, professors of that new Sect which he deuised. These visited Father *Matthew*, to the wonder of all; that Literate-apostata confessed the truth of our Law, and presented the Father with a Fanne with two elegant Epigrams therein. Two other visited him, one of which counterfeited himselfe to haue liued three hundred yeeres, whom the *China* Grandes much followed, as doting on the studie of long life, the precepts whereof he read to his Scholers. Hee also boasted of *Geomancy*. The other was a Physician, and companion to the other, each blazing the others Science: and whiles both preferred the Father, some suspected that hee had liued some Ages (which they vse to affirme of Strangers differing in countenance from them) and would not let it be knowne.

The *Chinois* haue one day solemne to *Confutius* the Prince of the *Learned*, in which they make a kind of Sacrifice to him, not as to their God, but their Master. They call it a Sacrifice, but in larger extent of the word. Musike was prepared against that day, at the triall whereof Father *Ricinus* was present. The Priests of the *Learned*, called *Tansu*, ordered the Musike; and in the Kings Hall (or Temple rather) dedicated to the Lord of *Heauen*, this triall was made. The Priests came forth in precious vestures, as if they would sacrifice, who after their wonted rites to the President, fell to their Musike: in which were small brasle Bells, Basons, other as it were Tabors, others of stone, stringed Instruments, Pipes, Organs blowed with the mouth, not with Bellows; others resembled Beasts out of the hollow bellie yeelding a sound: all these sounded together with such discording discord as you may imagine; the *Chinois* themselves confessing the concord and harmoniacall consent to bee lost, onely the Instruments remaying from their Ancestors.

That Temple was great and magnificent, built neere the Citie in a Pine-groue, compassed with walls twelue miles about. The wall of the Temple was of bricke, the other parts of timber: it is diuided into fise Iles; the Pillars were round of huge timbers as great as two men could fathome, the heighth proportionable to that thickenesse; the rooffe is excellently carued, and all gilded; and although it be two hundred yeeres since it was built, and the King resides not at *Nanquin*, nor sacrificeth there, yet is it little decayed from the first splendour. In the midst of the Temple is a more eminent place of most precious marble, in which is a double Throne, both of marble; the one for the King when he sitteth to sacrifice, the other is left for him to sit by, to whom the sacrifice is made. The Cloisters without are beautified with most elegant windings, and lest the Birds should defile all, the windowes are all netted with Iron wyers (which is vsuall thorow all the Palace:) all the gates of the Temple are couered with Brasle plates gilded, and wrought with neat Visages of the same metall. Without the Temple were many Altars of red marble, which represented the Sunne, Moone, Starres, and Hills of *China*, Lakes

Captaine of the Citie Garrison.

Chiefe Eunuch. Thousands of Eunuchs at *Nanquin*.

Van, van, sin as to the Babylonian Monarchs, liue for ever. Dan. 5. 10.

A principall Doctor, a Preacher:

A Mandarin becomes a *Bonzi*.

Epigrams.

Confutius his holiday.

Musike of *China*.

Temple royall, and magnificent thereof.

Lakes and Seas, intimating that that God which is there worshipped made the rest, which are placed without, lest they might be worshipped for Deities. It is prohibited by grievous penalties, to cut the trees of that Grove, or any bough thereof, whence they are great and old. In the circuit of the Temple are many Cells, which are said to have been Baths for the Kings to wash in when they were to sacrifice.

Iesuits habit.

The Father used the Habit of the *Learned* (as is said) of those especially which professe themselves Preachers of the Law; the Habit modest, and the Cap not unlike ours in Crosse fashion also. He confuted both the Sects of Idolaters, and commended that of the *Learned*, praying *Confutius*, which was rather silent, then would deuse any thing touching the next life, and taught good Rules for the Life, Family, and Republike. A great man flourished at *Nanquin* then (which had some thousands of Disciples) in opinion of Vertue and Learning, and had set dayes in which to heare and to be heard every moneth. *Chintaiso* brought the Father, and this Father together, and in some reasoning *Riccus* wrung from him that some corruptions were in the Idoll Sects, which he followed not, holding that only (he sayd) which was good. It being a fashion

Societies of Learned.

that *Learned* men met in their Societies to conferre of Morall Vertues, in one of those meetings this man learnedly confuted *Confutius*, which another Magistrate tooke haynously, and cryed out, it was intolerable that the Sect of Idols brought out of other Countreyes should bee preferred before *Confutius*, whom the *Learned Riccus* also admireth, refelling the Idoll-follies. He answered, he had spoken with the man, but he was not yet well acquainted with *China* businesse, and he would instruct him better. Soone after he invited him to a Feast (for the *Chinois* usually

Conference or disputation twixt an Idol-Priest and Riccus.

in such meetings determine Controuersies) and there hee met *Sanhoi* a famous Idol-Priest, a Learned Philosopher, Orator, Poet, and well skilled in others Sects also. When they were set, this Priest and the Father together, the Priest began shewing his desire to conferre of Religion. *Riccus* first asked what he thought of the first beginning of Heauen and Earth, and the Creatour of things whom we call the *Lord of Heauen*. I deny not, sayd he, that there is such an one, but he hath no Majesty nor Deity, but I am equall to him, and so are all others. Canst thou (saith *Riccus*) make those things which he hath done? he granted. Make then such a Chafing-dish (one stood before him) this, sayd the other, was an vnworthy demand. Thou (sayth he) art an Astronomer, and makest new Sunnes in thy minde when thou reasonest thereof. That, sayth *Riccus*, is but an Image or likenesse which the minde from things seene conceiueth, as in reflexion of a Glasse whereon the Sunne shineth, yet doth not the Glasse create a Sunne. The Host for feare of further quarrell parted them. At Dinner the *Chinois* disputed of a Question of *humane nature*, how it came bad (they want Logicke and cannot well distinguish betwixt morall and naturall good, and neuer heard of originall sinne) they discoursed thereof a whole houre: after which *Riccus* repeating what had beene sayd, entred into dispute with *Sanhoi*, who laughed at his and their Reasons and answered all with a Tale of I know not what *Floud*, according to his Sect; but he straitned him with Arguments, so that he and this Disputation grew famous. They conceiue that God and the Creatures are all of one substance, and that God is as a great Soule of the Vniuerse; which opinion from the Idoll-sects hath infected the *Learned*. *Riccus* writ a summary of that point, which gaue men good satisfaction, and his Law seemed not so barbarous as they imagined.

Oppression. Mines of Gold and Silver stopped by ancient Kings & forbidden to be opened to prevent robberies.

The Kings Treasure was exhaust by the *Corayan* Warre, whereupon contrary to the Lawes he caused the ancient Mines which were sayd to be stopped, to bee sought, and opened, and imposed new Tributes, that in all Prouinces, Merchandizes should pay two of a hundredth: which had beene tolerable if gathered by Magistrates; but his Eunuches, sent to every Prouince, without shame or mercie exacted on the people, and rayled a worse combustion then that of *Coray*. So many Impostors, Counterfeits, Theeues were euery-where: if a man dwelt in a good House, they would digge it vp to search for a Myne, to force composition from the owner. Some whole Cities and Prouinces compounded with these Caterpillers to free themselves from their vexations; the money so gotten they gaue the King as taken out of their Mynes. This caused Dearth, and in some, Commotion. The Magistrates petitioned the King against these abuses, but sweetness of gaine had not only stopped that eare, but procured grievous penalties to those which withstood his Catch-poll-Eunuches, which by those punishments grew more insolent. Ours which wintered at *Lincin*, happily escaped these Harpy-clutches, who with their Presents arriving at *Nanquin* rejoyced to see a Residence so prepared there. These Presents intended for the King, bred such an amazement in the beholders that others were ready to offer force to see them. They still minding to present the King, (the weather now more cleare and peaceable) *Catanus* went to *Amacao*; where was much rejoycing for these hopes, but soone quenched with sorrow for losse of their ship which tradeth to *Iapon*, men and goods lost, on which ship all their Commerce dependeth. They found themselves therefore vnable to maintayne three Residences: the Iesuites Rector scraped all hee could for that purpose, and added a Watch and Image of the blessed Virgin, and Trigone Glasses, Houre-glasses and other Rarities to their Presents.

Didacus or Iacobus Pantoia.

Father *Diego Pantoia* a Spanish Priest also accompanied *Catanus* to *Nanquin*, and thence

went

went with *Ricius* to *Pequin*, with *Sebastian* and *Emanuel*. Father *John* was called from *Nancian* to reside with *Cataneus* at *Nanquin*. They went with an Eunuch then going to *Pequin* with six ships, who shewed them much kindnesse. In *Zimin* a City of the Prouince of *Sciantium* is a Vice-roy which is as High Admirall ouer all the ships, whether they carry prouision or other things, which gaue kind entertaynment to *Ricius*, telling him at parting, *Sithai* (that was *Ricius* his *China* name) I also desire to goe to *Paradise*, intimating that all his Heauen was not in earthly honours, but that he minded also what the other preached. Presently with great pompe and state hee followed him to his ship and there visited him with vsuall Rites of *Vrbanity* and a Present, and wondred much at the sight of those Presents they carryed for the King. He sent an Officer also to make him a readier way. One *Liciu* had made way to this Vice-royes friendship, who soone after killed himselfe, hearing that vpon some complaint of his Books, the King had commanded him to bee imprisoned and his Books to bee burned; preuenting so the study of his Aduersaries to put him to some shamefull death.

Zimin.

High Admirals

Liciu killeth himselfe.

Amongst those Eunuches which the King had sent to oppresse the people, was one *Mathan*, which dwelt at *Lincin*, whose exactions had rayfed the people and Souldiers into mutiny, which burnt his Palace and killed his Seruants, himselfe escaping disguised, but the Captiue and Slaue of Couetousnesse no lesse then before. Our Eunuch addressed himselfe to him, but could not till the third time be admitted, because his Gifts were not answerable to the others appetite. Hee to make way for himselfe betrayed Ours to this Harpy, they not knowing it, saying, that in one of his ships were strangers with precious Gifts for the King, which he shewed closely to his Officers: with these he might get the Kings fauour. The Gouvernour which in that and the Neighbour Cities had great command was his great friend, of whom *Ricius* asked counsell: he told him that now the Eunuches reigned, and they almost only were the Kings Counsellors, nor could the greatest Magistrates withstand their iniuries. Yet the countenance of this Magistrate was a great helpe to him, this being the man whom of all the Gouvernours he most feared; a man so well deseruing that his Citizens erected to him a Temple, Image, and Inscription; who now also both countenanced *Ricius* what he might, and gaue him the best aduice how to carry himselfe to this Eunuch, and perhaps but for him they had lost all and themselves to. This Capon had erected Palaces and Temples, and had built a huge ship in which the King himselfe might have layed; so many were the Cels, Chambers, Hals, and other commodious Buildings thereof; the Windowes, Galleries of yndecaying wood carryed with many Meanders, * all shining with Vernish and glittering with Gold. In this ship was hee carryed to ours, where *Ricius* met him. He viewed and liked all, and downe on his knees to the Virgins Picture, promised to procure her a place in the Palace. *Ricius* modestly refusing his seruice for them to the King, saying, many Magistrates of best ranke had vnderaken that kindnesse: he smiled, saying, none of them could doe so much as he with the King: the King answeres my Petitions the same day, to them or late, or nothing. The Eunuch which brought ours was sent away, and all the Presents put a-board his ship. Hee carryed the Iesuites with him to the Towre of *Thienfin*, whither hee went to send thence the six moneths Tribute to the King: he feasted them, Comedies, Rope-runners, Tumblers, Vaulters, and Mimicke Ape-men attending the cheare with such disports as they had neuer seene in *Europe*. One cast three great Knives into the Ayre one after another, and caught them againe in their sheathes: another lay on the ground, rayling his feete ouer his shoulders, with which hee tossed vp and tumbled too and fro an Earthen Pitcher in such sort, as hardly could bee done with the hands; the like hee did with a Drumme on a Table. A Comedie was acted only with gestures, of disguised Gyants in glorious habits; one from the Theatre pronouncing all their parts. A Boy danced admirably, and then as it were falling, layd his hands on the ground, and another Boy of Clay came forth, which vring his hands for feete, imitated all the pranks of the other, and fell to wrestle with the liuing Boy, as if both had beene aliue.

Mathan a great and base Eunuch.

Treacherie.

Great and glorious ship.

* Turnings.

Thienfin.

China Players, and Feat-workers.

We will leave you Spectators here, and now bring you forth another Actor, which hauing in little while travelled much, and learned more of his Fellowes; suddenly sent into *Europe* these Relations not unworthy your view: which I haue therefore examined with the Originall Spanish, and the Latine Translation, and cut off some superfluities to gine you more full content and to preuent Repetitions; the rather because hee descendeth to many particularities which *Ricius* looking higher and knowing more, hath omitted.

Hh

CHAP.

CHAP. VI.

* This Booke I
haue both in
Spanish printed
1606. in Va-
lencia: and in
Latine at
Mentz 1607.

A Letter of Father DIEGO DE PANTOIA, * one of the Company
of IESVS, to Father LVYS DE GVZMAN, Prouinciall in the
Prouince of Toledo; written in Paquin, which is the Court
of the King of China, the ninth of March,
the yeere 1602.

§. II. III.

Difficulties of entring China, their dwelling at Nanquin, going from
thence to Paquin, with Presents for the King, troubles
in the way by an Eunuch.



Ight Reuerend Father in Christ, the peace of Christ bee with you. I thinke I doe not
satisfie the dutie which I owe vnto your Worship, for the loue which you haue
alway shewed vnto mee, and the Obligation wherein I am bound to so many
most dearely beloued Fathers and Brethren of this Prouince, if being as I am in
this great Kingdome of China, procuring the good of these Pagans, (whereunto
it pleased our Lord to choose mee) I should not giue you some brieffe Relation of
the things that concerne this our new Mission, and of some things also concerning the greatnesse
of this Kindome, the Customes, Gouernment and Policy thereof.

Colledge of
Iesuits.

Being come, as heretofore I wrote to your Worship, to Macao a City of the Portugals, ad-
joyning to the firme Land of China, where there is a Colledge of our Company: and there at-
tending till the Persecution, Tumults, and Warres of Iapon, would permit ten or twelue Fa-
thers of vs to passe thither, which stayed expecting fit oportunitie: when we were readie to de-
part, within few monethes, it pleased our God to change my Lot, and Enterprize which I had
before myne eyes, and to send mee to enter into China, whereinto I entred in the end of the
yeare of our Lord 1599. There were in this Mission at this time, only five Fathers diuided into
three Houses. For though it be twentie yeeres since they first began to enter, yet the entrance of
Strangers is so hard and so straitly forbidden, and their state and perseuerance is so difficult, that
in all this time there neuer passed aboue five or sixe Fathers, and those which succeeded since,
though by little and little, did discouer the Countrey; But their entrance, was by stealth and
secretly. Considering that all passages were shut vp, and that in all China there was no man that
could or durst presume to giue licence to preach the Gospell; we alwayes sought to get some ac-
cesse vnto the King, either by way of Embassage, or by way of Present, and Gifts, and to seeke
to obtayne this in part, or in the whole, to this end and purpose.

Entrance into
China difficult.

Meanes sought
to enter China.

Embassage.
Present.

The Fathers alwayes sought to obtayne some Ambassage of the Pope, or of the Catholike
King. But perceiuing they could not obtayne this, they procured it by way of giuing a Present,
not so much of precious things, for they had none of that kind, as of strange things neuer seene
before in China. And hauing procured this for many yeares space, without hauing any meanes
to obtayne it; the Diuine Prouidence ordayned one in the yeare of our Lord 1590. which was
this: The Fathers being in Xanbeo, (a Residencie of the Prouince of Canton) there passed that
way a great Mandarin, called by the King, to giue him an Office in the Court, which among vs
is like vnto a President of one of the chiefest Councils, which had known the Fathers long time;
and now seeing themselves with him, and signifying vnto him the desire which they had to goe
to Paquin, to giue a Present to the King, and that if hee would doe them the courtesie to carrie
them along with him vnder his shadow and protection, they would alwayes remayne thanke-
full, and exceedingly bound to serue him. After this and other motiues which they presented
vnto him, did that follow which wrought most effect, which was a good Present, with hope of
other things afterward, whereupon he shewed himselfe very tractable to grant their request, and
to take them with him to Paquin.

Being glad of this resolution, they prepared themselves for the Voyage, and tooke the things
which they desired to giue the King, which hereafter I will mention. It pleased God to bring
them to Paquin, in the company of so great a Mandarin, without the hinderance of any bodie.
Being come to Paquin they began secretly to negotiate their businesse: because they durst not,
neither was the Mandarin that brought them willing that they should shew themselves abroad.
But though they attempted all possible meanes, neither with gifts, nor any thing else, there was
not any man that would meddle with this businesse, because it was a matter that concerned
Strangers, considering what might hereof happen vnto them. After they had spent certayne
moneths,

moneths, and saw they profited nothing, and fearing some innouation, they determined to re-
turne to their Residencies from whence they came.

Having returned three hundred leagues, they came to the great Citie of *Nanquin*, which was
the ancient Seat and Court of the Kings of *China*: and now (though the King reside not there)
yet is it the most noble, great, strong, and beautifull of all this whole Kingdome, and retayneth
her being the Royall Court, with all the same Offices which the Citie hath where the King re-
sident. They desired greatly to get an entrance into this City, because, as I haue said, it is a fa-
mous place, and hath such store of graue persons in it, thereby to make themselves knowne, and
here to procure with more facilitie an entrance or acceffe vnto the King. But it seemed a thing
impossible, because it is a City straitly guarded, especially for Strangers, for whose guard and
Watch it hath ordinarily about one hundred thousand Souldiers. And if they went about to
get licence, it seemed impossible to obtayne the same of so many great *Mandarins*, as governed
the same. But our Lord (to whom euery thing is alike possible) vouchsafed to comfort the Fa-
thers for their travell and small fruit which they had reaped of their journey to *Pagun*: and by
the counsell of some friends which they had there, and with the protection of the *Mandarin*
without the contradiction of any *Mandarin*, although all of them knew thereof: howbeit, as
a very great man said, which afterward became our great friend, hee was readie to send to ap-
prehend the Fathers, vntill hee vnderstood that they were peaceable people, which had long
time abode in *China*.

After they were purposed to remayne there, there was another difficulty to get leaue to dwell
and haue an House within the wals. But the Diuine Prouidence gaue them a very sweet and
easie meane for all this, as here I will declare. The *Mandarins* line in this City in houses which
are not their owne, but belonging to the Offices which they beare: and when one hath ended
his Office, hee that succeedeth him, succeedeth him in his Houses, which are all builded at the
Kings cost. At this time a great *Mandarin* had builded one of these, wherein by his Office hee
was to dwell: But when he had finished it, it pleased God, that he enjoyed it not: and hee sent
many Devils to enter into it, as they did indeed, which with fearefull shapes did terrifie those
which dwelt in it, especially by night: and this continued so long a time, that all men left it,
and none would dwell in it. As Father *Matthew Riccio* (who was the party which negotiated
this businesse, as the Procurator of all this Mission) went about to seeke to buy an House, by way
of jest they asked him, whether he would buy an house full of Devils? The Father answered,
that hee tooke it not for a jest, but that if the house liked him, hee would not vary for that; for
he serued a God whom the Devils feared and dreaded, and that trusting in his helpe he was no-
thing at all afraid of them, but that they did rather much feare him, because he was the Seruant
of such a Lord. They went to see the House, which presently liked him: and as they sold
it good cheape because of the bad report that it had, in two words they agreed together: and
the *Mandarin* that sold it was so glad, that he gaue vs Patents to possesse it perpetually in *China*;
a thing which in no place could be obtayned of any other *Mandarin*. Forth-with they went to
it, and at their comming in they blessed it according to the Rite of the Holy Mother Church;
and by the grace of God there was neuer dreame of any euill thing that troubled the same. All
men looked what would become of this, and what successe they should haue with the Devils.
And when they saw the great quietnesse, without any shew of Spirits, they were greatly asto-
nied, saying, that without doubt this was a great God, and that hee sought to dwell in that
House, and that therefore he had commanded the Devils to dwell there, and not to suffer others
to enter therein; and that when he came they went their way.

To this so good beginning the progresse from thence forward was answerable: for the graue
Mandarins vnderstanding, together with the fame that they were Learned men, that they had
many Bookes, that they were men of a good life, and that they had some things of their Coun-
trei, which were neuer seene in *China* (as certayne Clocks with Wheels, and Images in Oyle,
and other pretie things) all of them setting feare apart, and other respects, came to visit the Fa-
thers in great estate, because they were the greatest *Mandarins* of all *China*, but with much hu-
manitie, respect and courtesie, with Presents of things to eate, and Banquets as they vse with
their equals. They were so well pleased with all that they saw and heard, that all of them be-
came their great Friends and Patrones: and gaue so good report of them, that all men sought to
doe the like: and for continuance of their amity they came oftentimes to visit them, and often-
times inuited them to their Palaces: and with this fame and honour of the grauest sort of people,
all the rest of the inferiour and baser sort vsed them with much reuerence, no man daring to doe,
or say vnto them any discourteous thing.

This was the state of things when it pleased God to choose me for this Mission, and when I
entred into it we had three Residences, one in the Prouince of *Canton*, another in the Prouince
of *Quianci*, which is somewhat more within the Land, another in the Citie of *Nanquin*, which
is in the midst of the Kingdome, and three hundred leagues from *Macao*. I entred secretly, as all
the rest did (I say without particular Licence of any *Mandarin*.) But my secrecie continued

100000. Gar-
rison Souldiers
in *Nanquin*.
Riccius saith
40000, perhaps
the other
60000 are for
the Countrey
adioyning, or
for the Naue
and Sea guard:
or Riccius might
speake of the
ordinary at o-
ther peaceable
times, Pantogia
of this trouble-
some time
while the Ja-
ponian warre
continued.
Mandarins
houses are
publike.
House pos-
sessed.

Jesuits Patens
for *China* habi-
tation.

Fame of Je-
suits sanctitie.

Fame of their
Learning.

Watches ade-
mired.

Their credit &
good vsage.

Three Iesuits.

bat a while, as hereafter I will declare. I came at the first, without staying in any other House, to *Nanquin*, where three Fathers of vs were foure moneths; Father *Matthew Riccio* our Superiour, Father *Lazarus Catanio*, and my selfe, and a Brother a *Chinois*, one of the two which are receiued into this Mission, and euery thing goeth well. But as in matter of strangers the *Chinois* are exceeding scrupulous, more then your Worship can beleue, so there were many which spake of our abiding in *Nanquin*, considering that now wee had three Houses in *China*. Wee beganne with much more earnestnesse to procure another better foundation, and to returne to *Paquin* more openly, and seeke acceffe vnto the King. And because in *Nanquin* there bee *Mandarines* to whom this belongeth, and some of them were our Friends, wee beganne to speake of this point.

Leaue for *Paquin* granted.

But it was not needfull to spend many words; for straight way we met with a *Mandarin*, to whom by right this matter appertayned, who frankly and freely offered vs Patents, Dispatches, and whatsoeuer was needfull to accomplish this businesse.

The Riuer of *Nanquin* ouerfrozen all the Winter.

The promises of this *Mandarin* were not vaine: for when the time came that the Riuer was vnfrozen, (which all the Winter is frozen ouer) and Barkes began to goe for *Paquin*, he performed his word faithfully, giuing vs Patents and Passe-ports needfull for the money; and besides, hee sent vs a Barke of the Kings to carry our Present and our owne things. Beeing glad of these good newes and dispatch, we consulted how we should deale in certayne things which offered themselves in this businesse, and who should goe: There was no question but Father *Matthew Riccio* should be one, but who should be his companion: for whom they choose me, and the Brother. We set our things in order, particularly those which were of the Kings Present, which were two Clockes with Wheelles, one great one of Iron, in a very great Case made faire with a thousand ingraued workes, full of gilded Dragons, which are the Armes and Ensignes of this King, as the Eagle is the Emperours: another little Clocke very faire, aboue an handfull high, all of golden Metall, of the best Worke which is made in our Countrey, which our Father Generall had sent vs for this purpose; which was set in a gilded Case, as the other was: and in both of them in stead of our Letters were grauen the Letters of China, and an hand that came forth did point at them. Besides these there were three Images in Oyle, two great ones of an Elbigh, and one little one. The greatest was the figures and portraiture of Our Lady of the Poplar, of Saint Lucar: The second was of our Lady with the Babe Iesus, and Saint Iohn: the third, was a Picture of Christ, which was the least; all of them were of excellent Worke. Besides this, there were certayne Looking-glasses; two Triangle-glasses (which though among vs they be of no account, yet are they esteemed here among them) adorned with Chaines of Silver, and set in an excellent Case of Iapon, which was of twentie times more value then the Glasses, to them that know what Glasses are. A Booke of The Theatre of the World, and a *Breniarie* exceeding fairely bound, with an inscription, That that was the Doctrine of the True God, whose Images they did present him withall. A very faire Monocord, because it is an Instrument whereat the *Chinois* doe wonder much, and other pretie things of lesse importance.

The particulars of the Kings Present, Gilded Dragons or Serpents (so call them) the Kings Armes, Pinto saith a Lion, perhaps his coniecture for the frequentie mentioned also by Polo, sup. p. 89. &c. or perhaps this might then be, and Serpents since, the Royall Ensigne. Besides a Lion is the Armes of Canton Province, and perhaps of some others which might be mistaken for the Kings Armes. They began their journey from *Nanquin* 1600, the 20. of May, *Silou nouo*.

All which things beeing set in order, and imbarqued, we tooke our leaue of the Christians of *Nanquin*, (which at our departure came to our House with a Banquet with great joy) and of the *Mandarins* our friends, which with great sorrow, and shewes of loue tooke their leaues of vs, and sent vs Presents for our Iourney, and many Letters of fauour to the great *Mandarins* of *Paquin*.

We departed with this good dispatch from *Nanquin* in the yeare 1600. the twentieth day of May. And knowing not how the King, and the *Mandarins* of *Paquin*, and those of the Kings Court, would take this our Iourney, because wee were Strangers, wee sought to prepare our selues for that which might fall out: in great hope that we should find ayde eyther in all or in part to obtayne our desire, which we had for the establishment of our Company in this Kingdom, and to procure the opening of an entrance thereunto for the preaching of the holy Gospell.

300. leagues as it were one pathway of shipping.

We began to sayle vpa a very great Riuer, whereof hereafter I will speake somewhat; and when we had sayled certayne leagues, wee entred into another small Riuer made by hand aboue two hundred leagues, only to carry in Barges the Tribute which the Prouinces of the parts of *Nanquin* pay vnto the King, and other things which these Countries yeeld (which are the best, and most plentiful of all things which are in *China*) because it seemeth impossible to carry it by Land with Millions of people, being in Rice, Wheate, Silver, and a thousand other things very great: And the Vessels which are employed about this businesse are so many, that without doubt it is no Hyperbole to say that from *Nanquin* to *Paquin*, which is three hundred leagues, all the Summer time it seemeth to be a path way of the Kings Barges. We were all aswell *Mandarins* as particular men very well intreated all the way, whither many *Mandarins* came out of the Villages and Cities, desiring to see the Present which wee carried, and our selues; bringing vs many Presents for our Iourney. Hauing trauelled two hundred and thirty leagues in forty dayes, wee came to a very famous place and Mart Towne in *China*, which is in the Prouince of *Xantun*, which is next vnto the Territories of *Paquin*, called *Lincin*. Where, because of the great Trafficke of Vessels and Merchants, which goe and come from the Court, who pay

Lincin.

pay to the King a very great tribute, he hath placed one of his chiefeft Eunuchs, which serueth to gather vp his Customes: which liued there in great estate, and much attendance. Whensoeuer he goeth abroad he is alwaies carried in a Chaire, vpon eight mens shoulders, which is a very great honour in *China*, with great store of Horsemen before and behind, with certaine Basons of Copper, which make a great sound when they bee playd vpon, to signifie to the people that he commeth that way, that all may goe out of the way; as the custome is with all the great *Mandarines* in the Cities of their iurisdiction. Which Eunuch vnderstanding of vs, and of the things which wee brought for the King, and of many other things which they put in his head that wee brought, to wit, precious stones, and others of that kind: hee sent vs word, that hee knew what we had brought for the King, and that he desired much to see it, and that the same day or the next he would come, praying vs that we would make it ready.

He came at the appointed time, and hauing seene the things which wee brought for the King, and making account of them to be precious, and that the King would greatly delight in them, he sought meanes to cause them to be presented to the King by all meanes, as things that he had dealt with vs to bring, to please him, and thereby to obtayne some sute for himselfe: and besides this, with desire and hope that wee would giue him some precious stones (whereof the *Chinois* are very greedy) he determined wholly to meddle in this businesse. Hee sent vs a Present of things to eat, and a very courteous message, that wee should passe in one of his Barges, that shortly he would send vs to *Paquin*, with Souldiers of his house, a Petition made with his owne hand to the king; that we should consult together, and bethinke our selues what we desired to obtayne of the King, whether it were to bee *Mandarines*, or to haue lands or houses, or all together, because there should be no difficulty in any thing. The message came with all this courtesie. And we made answer with the like, returning him a Present for his answer with generall words. For though hee came with so great offers, yet wee knew that these Eunuchs, for the most part, are base and couetous people.

It happened at this time that the chiefeft *Mandarine* of this Citie, which was our great friend was come from *Nanquin*, from whence they had fetched him for that Office. Wee determined that Father *Matthæw Riccio* should visite him with a small Present, according to the vse of the Countrey, to relate vnto him this businesse, and to aske his counsell what wee were best to doe. Hee receiued the Father with much courtesie and loue; and kept him two dayes in his house: which, after he had heard the whole matter, answered, that he was very sorrie that we had met with this Eunuch, because we could looke for no goodnesse of his basenesse, couetousnesse, and bad meanes of proceeding; and that he could performe nothing that he had promised, and that his intent was nothing but couetousnesse; that hee would aduise vs to take as little as we could of him: but for all this, that wee should not refuse that which hee offered, but rather to make a vertue of necessitie, and to thanke him with a very good continuance for that which hee promised, because we were in his power, and he might and would hinder our passage, if wee did not so, and take away our Present from vs, and giue it himselfe with his owne hand to the King, without making any account of vs, without controlment of any man, because he was not subiect to any *Mandarine*.

This seemed vnto vs to be very sound counsell, and a forcible enduement to follow it. So we followed the same, and applied our selues vnto him in euery thing, answering the Eunuch according to his desire, and passed in a Barke of his. He desired much forthwith to carrie the Kings Present to his house, saying, that he would trimme them to giue them to the King, and this we courteously denyed him, saying, that we durst not depart with them till we had deliuered them to the King, neither that it seemed reasonable, that when wee did giue them, another should trimme them; especially, that these pieces were not such as had need of more trimming, since in themselves they were so precious: with which answer hee seemed to remayne satisfied. At the first he made vs great banquets, sport, and cheere: but as in very deed his purpose was nothing but to doe himselfe good, and to looke for his owne profit, and not for ours, hee beganne quickly to discouer himselfe: for hee stayed certaine dayes, looking that wee should giue him some precious stones, which some body had told him that we had brought with vs to please him, for some things that they looked for at his hands: and when he saw the dayes were passed, within which he thought we would haue giuen him them, he began to be out of hope, and to grow cold in our entertaynment: yet for all this, he came to visite vs with great pompe at our embarking: and after fifteene dayes he dispatched vs for our iourney to *Paquin* with men of his owne house, and with a Petition to the King, signifying vnto him how hee had met vs on the way, and what our intent was, and what things we brought.

Wee were very honourably entertayned in his iourney, and in all the Townes and Cities of his iurisdiction whereby we passed, he commanded them to giue vs without delay refreshing of Flesh-meate, Fish, much Fruit, and Wine. Wee trauelled eight dayes, and came to the last place of his iurisdiction: which is three dayes iourney from the Court of the King. We stayed there with company that did waite vpon vs, watching day and night about the Barke with their Centinels and Bells, as they are wont to doe with the great *Mandarines*, and especially because

Mathan the Kings Eunuch, his pompe.

Eunuchs base minded.

Not subiect to ordinary Magistrates.

Conceit of gemmes.

Hee dismisseth them.

there were there things belonging to the King, and the rest of the seruants of the Eunuch went to *Paquin*, to deliuer the Petition to the King, and to know his pleasure. They deliuered the Petition, and we looked for an answer thereof within three or foure dayes, as he had told vs. But God had disposed otherwise for the exercise of our patience and hope in him: and that was, that the King made no answer as we looked for: whereupon he was somewhat ashamed of the great brags that he had made to vs without performance of any thing: and hee and wee were all in suspense, when we saw the King returned no answer, which is wont to bee a token that he liketh not the Petition that is made vnto him.

Silence of deniall.

Eunuchs pompous Barge.

Glorious Varnish.

Abundance of all colours in *Iapon* and *China*.

Painted Figures.

Very great Oares and the excellent vse of them. Muske.

Manner of petitioning the King.

Eunuch estranged.

They stayed three months.

Fifteene dayes after wee arriued in this place, the Eunuch came thither; to send from thence to the King a third part of the tribute which he had gathered. He came accompanied with great store of Vessels, and that wherein he was, was such, as assuredly your Worship hath not seene the like in all your life. The forme is very much different from ours: for it is like vnto an high House, wholly diuided into chambers and halls very high, full of carued workes round about, with hangings of Silke, of many figures, and round about full of galleries to walke vp and downe without being driuen to enter in. And on the outside it was all couered ouer with a kind of Oyle like Varnish, which runneth out of certaine trees, which they make with tempering of all sorts of colours, (whereof in *Iapon* and here there is great abundance) and the *Portugals* call it *Charan*; it is a very faire, shining, and durable thing: and the things that are coloured with it, doe shine like Glasses, if it be of the finest: and besides, though it be not costly, yet it is as faire and fairer, because it is more naturall, and very neate and fine, wherewith they paint diuers figures, trees, and flowers; and if it be of the right, it doth not decay, and loseth no whit of his lustre. Herewith was the Barge trimmed without, with diuers figures painted on the hull of the Barge: from the hull vpward the windowes and the walls of the Halls and Chambers was full of carued workes, knots, and carued flowers, some gilded, others of diuers colours, agreeable to their natures, which made a very pleasant shew: within it was of the same worke with more excellency, and the most part was gilded, and the floore of boords was painted with very shining *Charan* or Oyle. It was as long as a good Gallie, little more or lesse, and somewhat broader, but farre higher, and in such sort, that when wind fayleth they vse very great Oares after the manner of *China*, which serue, and are managed as Fishes vse their taylor to swimme. And because they bee of this fashion they vse them with much facilitie in euery Vessell how high soeuer it be. This was the fashion of the Vessell wherein the Eunuch came with much Musike of Trumpets, Drummes, and Fifes, and other Instruments which I omit for breuities sake.

When he was come to this place, seeing the King sent no answer to his first petition, he sent another to put him in remembrance, and to sollicite an answer to the first: wherein hee answered nothing to this point, although he answered to other things. And though it bee true, that sometimes the King maketh no answer, through forgetfulnesse and confusion, because the petitions be infinite which are daily giuen him from all the Kingdome: yet most ordinarily when he giueth no answer it serueth for an answer, either that hee will not doe, or liketh not of that suit that is made vnto him. And therefore because there came no answer, the Eunuch was much grieved that he had meddled in this matter, out of which he could not withdraw his hand because he had giuen a Petition to the King, vntill he had seene some answer of his, fearing some damage, or displeasure of the King, that hereof might ensue: and hereupon hee beganne to estrange himselfe from vs, and sought not to see vs, nor to haue to doe with vs, and sent sixe men alwaies to stay in our Barge, ynder colour to serue vs, but in very truth to watch vs day and night.

In this suspense wee continued three moneths in the extreme heate in a Barge, not knowing what would become of vs. At the end thereof newes was brought vs, that the King had sent to the Eunuch, that he should see what things they were (for vntill then he had not written to him but in generall) and signifie it vnto him, and if he thought them worthie, he should send him a Petition touching that matter. Wee were somewhat more ioyfull with this message, which was so indeed. And Father *Matthew Riccio* went to the Eunuchs lodging to receiue the Kings answer, with such ceremonies and reuerences as they are wont to receiue the messages that come from the King. And to put this commandement in execution, he came to our Barge accompanied with many inferiour *Mandarines*, as witnesses, and in the Kings name hee tooke all these things into his hands: which he sent vnto his house. There he fell to reason with vs, perswading vs that wee should conceale none of the precious things that wee had brought (whereof his minde did so greatly runne) because the King would be greatly displeased, if hee knew that wee had any good things and would not giue them him. Wee told him plainly the truth, putting him in plaine words out of that imagination which we knew he had conceiued. And after many complements on both parts he returned to his lodging.

He wrote to the King what things they were which we had brought, looking that he would straight haue sent for them. But it fell out as it did at the first, that he returned no answer, and the cause thereof seemed to be, that they were things that he made none account of. Wee were now the second time in like case as wee were at the first, not being able to goe backe nor forward:

ward: for they would not suffer vs to goe to *Paquin*, nor to returne backe. The Eunuch being readie to returne to the Citie of *Lincin*, where we first met him, hauing need of the Barge where- in wee were, commanded vs to bee remoued vnto an house in the Citie, there to stay vntill some message came from the King, either good or bad. We remoued with great pleasure, for the desire that we had to say Masse, whereof wee were deprived many moneths. After we were come on shoare, we set vp our Altar whereon we said Masse every day, preparing our selues for that which might betide vs.

Lincin.

This was the thirteenth of October.

Couetousnesse iniurious.

This Eunuch could not bee dissuaded from that which couetousnesse had perswaded him, to wit, that we had brought some precious thing with vs. And seeing it seemed vnto him that he could not get vs by another way, to giue that which hee desired, and wee had not; hee became shamelesse, and two dayes before his departure, he came with a great companie to our house, as though it had beene to visite vs in friendship, we thinking nothing of any such thing: and when he was come in he began to speake vnto vs, and put vs in great feare, asking vs, how wee durst come so farre into the Kingdome without leaue of the King? and that other Eunuchs had aduertised him from the Court, that wee had many other things, and that wee would not shew them, nor giue them to the King. While he was thus talking and dealing, hee commanded his men to seize vpon all our stuffe, which we had in foure or fise Hampers, and to lay them all out vpon a banke, which with great celeritie aboue an hundred Officers which came with him performed, and in two words, they vndid and opened all, and with his owne hands he opened as many papers as he found, to seeke that which he desired: and seeing he could finde nothing that hee looked for, he tooke that which hee found, which was an Image of our Ladie, being one of the two small ones which wee had reserued, that which hee left was better without comparison, and very excellent, on which also hee had cast his eye: hee tooke also certaine Glasses, and other small things, of small importance, because there were no better: but that which grieved vs much was, that he tooke from vs a Crosse of very good and great Reliques, and a Case of Reliques likewise, and the Chalice wherein we said Masse, which because it was of Siluer and gilt (which that yeere they had sent vs of Almes from *Maaco*) did please him; and when we prayed him not to touch it, because it was a thing consecrated to God, which the Kings of our Countrey durst not presume to touch, hee made a iest of it; and the more it was told him that hee should not touch it, hee handled it the more with scorne, saying, that though wee told him he might not touch it, yet we saw he held it in his hands without any difficulty or danger.

Images.

A Crosse and Reliques.

A Chalice.

By the intercession of a *Mandarine* that fauoured vs, he gaue vs the Chalice againe; but wee could neuer get the Reliques againe out of his fingers, as wee desired, for of all things else hee would depart with none.

As he and those that ayded him so willingly were searching with much curiositie, and euery one caught what he could, because all things lay tumbled on the ground: at last they met with a Case wherein was a carued Crucifixe, which was mine. He began to looke vpon our Lord *Iesus Christ* being bloudy and wounded, being a very faire and pleasant sight to our eyes and heart, but very strange, foule and offenseue to his sight. He vsed certaine gestures not saying any word, vntill he was astonished, and turned his head, and asked what it was? Wee told him, that that was the true God which made Heauen and Earth, whom all the World ought to worship, who died for our sinnes, and to giue vs life, and afterward rose againe by his owne power, and ascended into Heauen. He would not heare many reasons; for it seemed vnto him that we were deceived in worshipping a God that in his eyes was dead: againe, he looked wistly vpon it; and the finall conclusion that hee made was, that that which hee suspected was true, that wee were very lewde fellowes, because wee had the shape of a man misused with so great inhumanitie, nayled on a Crosse, and all besprinkled with blood, as that was, and that it was nothing else but some witchcraft to kill the King; And though in this second point hee was deceived; yet in the first he had great reason, though hee knew not wherefore, since our sinnes and euill deeds made *Christ* to be vsed on that sort.

A Crucifixe.

Suspicion.

That which the Eunuch said in our house, he vttered also abroad: in so much that certaine graue *Mandarines* which fauoured vs, retired themselves from vs, and sent vs word, that from henceforth wee should leaue that crucified man, and that seeing now wee remayned in *China*, we should wholly conforme our selues vnto them, for as long as we kept it they durst not speake in fauour of vs, because the report went that it was a deuice to kill the King. But our *China* Boy which was a *Christian* before he brought vs the message, answered before the *Mandarine*, saying, That this was the true God: wherefore not onely wee, but himselfe that was a *Chinois* would rather die then denye him one jot: whereat the *Mandarine* was amazed, seeing him speake resolutely of dying; a thing so much abhorred of the *Chinois*, euen to speake of it: and so he sent vs a moderate message, bidding vs to hide that Figure, that no bodie should see it, for the report that went of it. The Eunuch gaue out many threatnings against vs, saying, that whether the King receiued the Present, or not, the least displeasure that hee would doe vs was, to thrust vs out of the Kingdome, as wicked fellowes, writing a Petition to the King against vs. Besides this we remayned thrust into an exceeding bad and naughty house in the greatest force of

Dying dreadfull.

The force of
Winter.

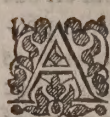
This was till
the beginning
of Ianuarie,
1601.

of the Winter, alwaies with many Souldiers within and without doores, the gates being shut with hanging Lockes, without suffering our Boy to goe forth to buy any thing, without two Souldiers to goe with him. In which kinde of living (though still with some remission of the rigour that we were kept in at the first) wee continued about two moneths and an halfe without any kinde of comfort or rest at any time of the day to say Masse.

At the end of which time, the Eunuch returned to the same place. Wee verily thought that our comming out of that place should not be such as it was, at the least we thought we should be thrust into a perpetuall Trunke or Prison, or in some worse place, as the same went, and the good will which the Eunuch shewed vs.

II.

The King sends for them, is delighted with their Clockes and Pictures; they are shut up, after take a house, are admired for learning; Christianitie of China.



As the cause of our trouble was the Kings not dispatching of our businesse, and our conceiuing that hee misliked of our comming, so all was ended by his remembring by chance to aske where the strangers were, which certaine moneths past they had told him had brought him certaine Images, and certaine small Bells which strike of themselves (for so they call Clockes) and wherefore they brought him not those things, and that they should fetch them quickly; and he gaue the charge of dispatching our businesse to a great Mandarin of Paquin, to whom it belongeth to deale with Strangers.

The King
sends for them

These newes were brought to the Eunuch and vs, who for the executing of the Kings commandement (whose Letter they obey without reply) sent vs word that wee must goe to Paquin, because the King sent for vs, and sent vs eft-soones all the Pieces which hee had in his possession, and the most part of those things which he had taken from vs, that wee our selues should put them in order, that they should receiue no hurt by the way, and gaue vs many men to carrie all our stuffe on their shoulders, and Horses for all our companie, and a Mandarin to accompanie vs. Wee were lodged all the way in the Palaces of the Mandarins very honourably. Hauing traueled foure dayes, we came to the walls of Paquin, and they lodged vs in an house without the walls. And because the King had referred the businesse to the Mandarin, which I spoke of, the Eunuch feared that hee should lose the thanks, which he thought to receiue of the King for that present, if another Mandarin should meddle with it. That day hee caused all things to be made readie of the Petition and remembrance, which therewithall he was to giue vnto the King, and early in the morning with other things and much Siluer of the reuenues which he presented, being all guarded with many Horse-men and Foot-men, hee carryed it to the Kings Palaces.

Their iourney

They came to
Paquin, in 4.
dayes trauell.

The present is
deliuered to
the King.

Clockes and
Pictures admi-
red.

They are sent
for to the
Court.

Who hauing the memoriall deliuered vnto him, commanded his men to receiue all things. They receiued the same: and when hee had seene all those strange things, the like whereof, or of so great excellencie, he had neuer seene before; they say that he rejoyced greatly, considering and viewing all things a very long while, with great shew of admiration, especially of the Pictures and Clockes. Hee commanded them to bring vs to his Palaces, and to enquire of vs what kinde of thing those Clockes were, and what thing was needfull, for to haue them to goe well. Wee answered to the point. And from the place where we were on horsebacke, by poise on two Horses which we mounted, and with the like speed we came to the Court. At the same of our comming, and for to see vs an infinite multitude of people assembled, (because Strangers are no ordinarie thing in China:) and when wee came to the Court, those which had the charge of vs, were enforced to make roome with staues. When we were come to a certayne place, a great Eunuch accompanied with about two hundred small ones, came downe to demand of vs what the King commanded him, and to see how wee did handle those Clockes: They saw how we vsed them; but wee answered to the question, that it was needfull to appoint some bodie of good capacitie to learne, which in two or three dayes would learne how to vse them.

Eunuches are
raught to vse
the Clockes.

The Pictures.

The King of
China his que-
stions.

When they had returned the answer, the King appointed foure Eunuches of his principall Mathematicians, to learne it, and command them to receiue vs in the meane while in his house within his owne Palace. They receiued vs with much respect and good entertaynment. A great multitude of Eunuches came to see vs, and euery one to enquire what came in his minde. But the King, which all those dayes was occupied in rejoycing for those new things, commanded the Images to bee placed in a principall Hall, whether, as the Eunuches told vs, the chiefe Queene went to doe them reuerence: and they told vs of the King, that hee durst not keepe them nere him, being afraid, because they seemed vnto him to bee aliuie. Often times he sent Eunuches vnto vs, to enquire diuers things concerning our Countrey, whether it had any King, what manner of Apparell he wore, and what kinde of Hat? (for in China they make great difference of the

the apparell of the King, from the foot to the head, and of other men) and if wee had any Picture of him that we should shew it. We had a picture wherein was the Pope with his triple Crowne, and the Emperour, and the King with their Ensignes, kneeling before the name of God, and we gaue them it for a show, declaring that those were three kinde of Kings, and that all of them did worship the true God, which made Heauen and Earth, whose Image we had giuen him. They carryed it vnto him, and because it seemed to bee small, he commanded them to draw another greater, in colours by it.

Three kinde
of Kings.

Afterward hee sent another to demand questions of the things of our Countrey, particularly of the Kings Houses. Wee had a Map of the *Escoriall*, newly cut in Copper, and a picture of the Place of Saint *Marke* in *Venice*, both which wee gaue them. Though we suspect that they deliuered but the second, saying, that they durst not giue the other, because straight in haste hee would command them to paint them great, and there was none that durst take it vpon him; though wee know not whither they deliuered it afterward. Hee willed them further to enquire; after what manner wee buried our Kings: because in the matter of Burials and Sepulchers, the *Chinois* are great South-sayers, and put a great part of their felicitie in a good manner and place of their Burials. At that time wee received a Map of the Death of his Majestie, (who liueth with God in glorie) and of the manner of his Funerall, and so we answered him, as it was in the Map, to wit, that they made him a Coffin within of Lead (which continueth long) and without of excellent Wood, and put these coffins in a Sepulcher of stone, and for this purpose, there was a Church builded of purpose. They enquired many things of vs of this kinde these few dayes, where vnto wee answered, aduancing the things that belonged to the seruice of our Lord God, as much as we might, and concerned our *Europe*, as farre as the truth would permit vs, because that we deemed it to bee conuenient for the seruice of our Lord. They told the King so many things, that it seemed hee greatly desired to see vs: But on the other part, he thought it would bee too great a courtesie, and much beyond his custome, who neuer suffereth himselfe to be seene of his owne people, but of his Eunuchs, and Wiues that serue him, and sometime very seldom of some one of the greatest *Mandarins*: yet, though he would not suffer himselfe altogether to bee overcome of this temptation, yet he suffered himselfe in part, and hee sent to take our Pictures: which two Painters did, each of them by themselves as well as they could. Yet in truth I neither knew my selfe nor my companion in that picture, but as it was they carryed it away. It was not after such figure and manner, as your Worship hath knowne mee, but with a Beard an handfull long, and a garment of a Learned honourable *Chinois*, though downe to the foote, and very modest: but from the head to the foot farre differing from our fashion.

The *Escoriall*
Saint *Markes*.

Sepulchers.
Death of King
Philip the 2.

The King ne-
uer suffereth
himselfe to be
seene of the
common peo-
ple.

Bad Picture-
drawers.

After the Eunuches had bene instructed three dayes, the King in haste sent for the Clockes, which they carryed, and set in order before him; whereat hee tooke such pleasure, that he increased their Dignitie, aduancing those foure which had learned this skill, to a greater place of their Order. The King asked them many questions of vs, what wee did eate, and how much, and many other trifles. Whereunto the Eunuches answered (as they told vs afterward) as wee could desire.

Eunuches pre-
ferred.

They gaue vs all the welcomes of humanitie which the King did shew vs, appointing vs all to bee *Mandarins* (which is the reward and felicitie of the *Chinois*) which wee alwayes refused, saying, that we came not for that purpose, but onely to dilate the Law of God, neither could wee take that office vpon vs: But we were so neere to bee made *Mandarins*, that they told vs the King would bestow Dignitie vpon vs, that wee were enforced to beseech the Eunuches, that when occasion was offered, that his Majestie did aske them any thing, they would tell him plainly that we sought no kinde of Dignitie, nor could become *Mandarins*: who told him so much; whereby our Lord God deliuered vs out of much trouble, which wee should haue endured in refusing the same, if the King had bestowed it vpon vs. Wee continued in these demands, questions and answers, goings and commings to the Kings Court: for now we had liued a whole moneth abroad: in which time euery day I at least was there, when wee could not goe both, because Father *Matthew Riccio* was occupied with other Ghests and visitations. They enquired and asked vs, what we would demand of the King: Wee told them, that we sought no profit at all; but if the King would giue vs vnder his hand, some certayne place and a House to dwell in, we would bee very glad; because wee had none other intent, but to stay in some certayne place, and to seeke to dilate the Law of God. For though it bee true, that our purpose did stretch it selfe further (as I haue sayd in the beginning) yet wee found things in so different a disposition from that which we imagined, that it seemed an exceeding great error, to make any motion to giue an entrance for more companie and Fathers: for it was certayne that we should doe no good, nor should finde any, which by any meanes durst presume to moue it to the King, and assuredly should lose all that we had done, and at last should cast our selues wholly out of the Kingdome: and therefore it was not conuenient that we should bee knowne, that we had any companions. And many of our friends gaue vs counsell, that wee should not seeme to seeke to dwell heere; for in that very point, they would haue vs in suspition. Yet neuer thelesse, we went as farre as we could, and as we thought might bee brought to passe, which

Iesuites offered
to be *Manda-
rins*.

A Moneth

was, that we might haue the Kings license, that no *Mandarin* might (if hee would) cast vs out.

*Mandarin of-
fended.*

The *Mandarin*, to whom the King at the first had referred our businesse, seeing the Eunuch had wholly medled in the same without him, being much offended therewith, did throwne altogether vpon vs, and made a warrant out, to take vs wherefoeuer they found vs, vttering certayne grieuous words against vs, because that being Strangers, and remayning in the Court, wee presented not our selues vnto him, to whom of right belonged all the businesse of Strangers. They were at the lodging where wee lay, and they shut vp our Boyes; for they neuer durst offer any discourtesie to Father *Matthew Riccio*, (which at that time was there.) At that time I was at the Kings Court, whither they sought to send me word to speake with the Eunuches, and that they, if they could, should aduertise the King thereof, that they had apprehended vs. But they hindred with exceeding great care and diligence the going forth of any bodie, and they stayed for me till I came home, (which came home thinking no harme at all) and when I was come in, they shut the doore without.

*They are shut
vp some three
moneths.*

*Mandarins Pe-
tition.*

Wee rode the next day very honourably on Horsebacke to the audience of the *Mandarin*, and signified vnto him, that in that we did not present our selues, was not our fault; hee vsed vs well, and honourably; but they put vs in an house with a Guard, where wee continued some three moneths, yet so that certayne *Mandarins* came to see vs. This *Mandarin* gaue the King a remembrance that hee held vs there: *But that as our purpose was good to serue him with that present, it was reason to giue vs some reward, setting downe that it would doe well to giue vs the Ensignes of the Mandarins, and to pay vs. for that which wee had giuen him Royally; but that it was fit to send vs away speedily into our Countrey, or to Canton (where untill then wee had dwelt:) for it seemed not well, that Strangers should dwell, and that in the Kings Court, entring into the Palace of the King euerie day, being a thing so vnusuall.* And in very deed hee had reason: for to suffer vs to enter into the Palace, or to stay and lye there, they did vs such a fauour, that of long time the King of *China* hath neuer done to any Stranger. Wee feared some trouble by this Petition. But our Lord which had giuen vs this bitter morsell, afterwards made it sweet to vs againe, because the King made none account of it. And albeit diuers times afterward, the said *Mandarin* deliuered foure Petitions concerning this point, hee made as small account of the last as of the first. And diuers times the Eunuches told vs, that the Kings meaning was of all likelihood, that wee should stay heere, *For feare lest wee should returne into our Countrey, to giue newes and knowledge of his Kingdome; as they delt with a Turke, which had bene heere aboue fortie yeeres.* True it is, that hee answered as little, in performing nothing that was in the Petition: But wee tooke it for good satisfaction, that hee did not yeeld to that, that we might not lose the other thing, which was the principall.

*A Turke kept
there.*

When three moneths almost were spent, seeing the businesse would bee prolonged, if wee attended the Kings answer, and being shut vp we could doe nothing, nor negotiate any thing that we intended, nor deale in Gods matters, as we desired; wee sought to get out of this place, and to get a license to take a House, and there to stay wayting till the King would giue some order: and wee handled the matter so well, by meanes of certayne *Mandarins* which fauoured vs, and principally by the grace of our Lord, that wee obtained our whole desire: And we tooke an house in the chiefe situation of this Citie: all that which they gaue vs at the Kings cost in that place, which was sufficient for our sustentation, after wee were gotten out they gaue vs the same allowance in like manner.

*They hyer an
House.*

*Visited by
Mandarins.*

Many *Mandarins* of this Court, heard great fame of vs and of our things: and vnderstanding that we were come out of that place, began to come in great numbers and concourse with much honour and respect, courtesie and presents to visite vs, and to enquire diuers things which they desired to know. For the same that went of vs, that wee knew all Countreies, and the things and customes of the World, and the materiall and spirituall things of Heauen, was great: and therefore euery one came to enquire that which hee desired. And though our knowledge be but little, in comparison of the knowledge which is in our Countrey: yet being compared with theirs of *China*, which knoweth nothing of the world, saue their owne Kingdome, which by a common name they call, *The World*: of God, and of the things of Heauen nothing, and of other things little, it was somewhat, and was sufficient to send them home amazed, and alwayes with a desire to returne.

*China igno-
rance of the
world.*

Vie of Maps.

*Ill Cosmogra-
phic.*

They saw a very faire and great Map of the world which wee brought with vs, and we shewed them how bigge the world was, which they thought to bee so little, that they imagined that there was not so much more in all the same, as their Kingdome: And they looked one vpon another, and sayd, wee are not so great as we imagined, seeing heere they shew vs, that our Kingdome, compared with the world, is like a grayne of Rice, in comparison of a great heape. They also thought, that there was no other Writing, nor no other Bookes in the world but theirs: and when they saw ours, which at the least they saw in outward appearance, to bee much better then their owne, they were astonied, and put out of their errour, doing vs alwayes more and more honour: and chiefly they were astonied, when wee shewed vnto them certayne things in the Mathematickes which they knew not, giuing Clockes to certayne persons, which for this

*Ignorance mo-
ther of arro-
gance.*

Mathematicks

end

end we made of purpose : and by these and other meanes, and principally by discourfing with them of Morall vertues, (whereof they write, speake, and haue many Bookes) and of Gods mat-
ters, there ranne so great a fame, that the greatest *Mandarins* of all this Kingdome (which are
the greatest persons next the King) sought to conuerse with vs, and to seeke our friendship : and
so many sent vs presents, and others came to visite vs, with great numbers of people : others
with much courtesie inuited vs to their houses : so that in foure moneths space, wee had gotten
the greatest *Mandarins* of *Pequin* to be our friends, and readie to fauour vs in all things : And he
which at this time particularly doth fauour and honour vs, is the *President of that Audience*,
which hath the charge of vs, and at the first approoued vs : so that wee remayne Inhabitants of
this Citie, with all libertie that wee can desire, to deale with all such as are willing to heare the
things that belong to our holy Law, and their saluation. And by this good successe, our Lord
hath made vs forget all that is past. And though it bee true, that hitherto wee haue gotten no
dispatch, nor resolution of the King, yet wee content our selues in that hee letteth vs stay heere,
although he neuer grant vs more. For albeit by this our Journey, we haue not obtayned all that
wee desired, yet we hope that this our firme abode heere, shall tend greatly to the seruice of our
Lord, and the good of this Mission.

Ethikes.

Foure months

They bee commonly of good vnderstandings, so that easily they fall into reason, and are capa-
ble : they haue not in the gouernment of this Kingdome, any thing that forbiddeth them to fol-
low what Law they list, nor any Law nor Obligation, which is contrarie to our holy Law.
They haue none which effectually and with authoritie doth exhort them vnto other Lawes, and
with-draw them from the truth. For the *Bonzi* (which are dedicated for this purpose to Idols)
are in the common conceit of all men, the most base, contemptible, and worst people in all *Chi-
na*, whose least care is, to exhort them to any thing more then to giue them somewhat : and
thus they doe not onely not exhort them to follow Idols, but also with their bad manner of li-
uing, perswade them (as wee haue often heard of men of good iudgement) that it is not good to
serue them, since their Ministers bee such. And so in this matter of worshipping of Idols,
though there be many that worship them, and haue many of them, and vse their Ministers for
their Funerals, and other things, yet with very small affection, and deuotion thereunto, we ea-
sily make them say that they are naught, and that it is not fit to worship them.

Hopes of
Christianitie.The basenesse
of the *Bonzi*.

Yet, though these things and others, which I omit, doe helpe them with ease to follow the
Law of God, the counterpois is great, and commonly it weigheth downe the ballance on that
side. For first because the matter of *Strangers* is so odious in *China*, and the dealing with them so
suspicious, one sort because they disdain it, as the Princes, who albeit they now conceiue bet-
ter of vs, yet to learne of *Strangers*, and to receiue a Law which is not of their owne meanes,
they hardly perswade themselves; others for feare, as the base people.

The second difficultie, and perhaps the greatest, is a naturall obliuion, that all this Nation
hath of another life, and of immortalitie, and of saluation or condemnation of the Soule : and
not onely an obliuion, but also an auersion from all these things, wherein wee haue likewise
found them to differ from all other Nations. And it is a thing to be noted, that since it is a thing
so naturall to Man to reuerence some God, either false or true, and to feare or loue him, and to
conceiue or imagine what shall follow after this life : Those *Chinois*, (which on the other side
are of so good capacities in humane things, and so wittie therein) bee as though they were de-
priued thereof; for they are almost all *Atheists*, not knowing nor worshipping neither false nor
true God, nor neuer thinking what shall follow after this life : And those which a man would
thinke are most bound hereunto, which are the Learned men, are they, which haue least know-
ledge hereof : yea, rather one of the chiefeest things that they commend, is, not to beleuee any
thing that concerneth another life, Hell, nor Paradise, which they wholly place in this life. The
Bookes which they studie from their Child-hood, doe them much hurt, which are of certayne
Philosophers about two thousand yeeres old, whom they esteeme little lesse, then if they were
their God, to whom euery yeere they offer Sacrifices : of whom they hold so great an opinion,
that they thinke not that any thing more may bee knowne, then They knew. And oftentimes
they haue asked vs, whether wee had not these Bookes in our Countrey ? What other Bookes
might we haue, that might compare with them ? And as these Philosophers, as Gentiles, spake
nothing of the other life, but onely of good Gouernment, and Morall vertues, they thought
they might attayne so farre, without beleueing that there could bee another life. By reason here-
of, and of the common vices which *Paganisme* draweth with it, which in this Countrey increase
exceedingly, by reason of the fatnesse, abundance, and fruitfullnesse thereof, they feelee great
difficulties to vndergoe the yoke of *Christ*, (though it be so sweet) so contrarie to their appetite,
which taketh from them the libertie which they haue, in keeping as many Wiues as they are a-
ble, and in a thousand other things.

Indeuotion.

Almost *Atheists*Bookes of Phi-
losophers, a-
bout 2000.
yeeres old.
Sacrifices to
Philosophers.

These later yeeres in the residencies of *Canton*, *Nanquin*, and heere in *Pequin*, were made some
true *Christians*, which ouercame all these difficulties, and goe on forward with great integritie,
constancie and feruour. In the Prouince of *Canton*, in a residencie which wee haue in *Xaubeo*, a
principall Citie, haue bene Baptised within this two yeeres, about three hundred persons, which
according

Some *Christians*
made there.

Cloſeneſſe of
Women.

Some relations
of Conuerſions are
heere for bre-
uities omitted.

Multitude of
people.

Deſire of Lear-
ning and Mo-
rall vertue.

Marke this
zeale.

according to the Letters which euen now wee receiued, doe all continue with great example and zeale. And the *Mandarins* and grauer ſort of people, moued by the good example which they giue, doe fauour them much : and eſpecially, our Lord hath ſhewed many tokens of his fauour, in hauing ſhewed great plagues vpon ſuch men, as persecuted them for becomming *Chriſtians*. And aboue all, God hath ſhewed his ayde vpon the Women : who, beſides the men, are very hard to bee wonne to receiue our holy Law, which is, the great priuatenefſe which they vſe, be- cauſe it is not lawfull to ſee them, no not for their kinsfolkes. But as I ſay, herein the grace of our Lord God ſhewed it ſelfe very mightie, ſeeing it ouercame this difficultie, and ſo many of them were Baptiſed, after they had bene very well Catechiſed by the Fathers. On Sundayes and Holy-dayes, becauſe they cannot come to Maſſe with the Men, yet at leaſt in this beginning, they meeete in places appointed for that purpoſe, and there they Pray, and reaſon, and intreat of Diuine matters. The men for the exhortations that they make vnto them, haue dayes appointed of themſelues, and with their owne conſent, to conferre and repeate that which they haue told them : which going home they repeate to their Wiues and Daughters.

Euery day ſome bee Conuerted in *Nanquin* : graue and learned men doe enter. Heere in *Pa-quin* while wee haue bene heere, we haue Baptiſed ſome, and ſome great *Mandarins* come to heere. If our Lord doe helpe them, and ſhed his bloud vpon theſe *Chinois*, (as hee hath done in *Iapon*, and in other places) there will bee ſetled one of the moſt famous and learned foundations of *Chriſtianitie*, that is in all the world. For the greatneſſe of this Kingdome, their Lawes and Gouernment conformable to reaſon, their being ſo ſtudious as they are, and giuen to Learning, and to know ſo much as they know of Morall vertues, and their good capacities gentle, docile, and ingenious, and the great peace and quietneſſe which they enioy, without hauing any bodie to trouble them with warre, promiſe much and giue great hope, that the vantage which they haue ouer other Nations lately diſcouered, in the gifts of Nature (being aſſiſted by the grace of God) will helpe them in Gods matters.

And I aſſure your Worſhip, that if the doore were opened to Preach freely and to Baptiſe, I ſay not that the Fathers and Brethren of our Companie which might bee ſpared, but without any amplification at all, halfe the Religious men of all *Europe*, were needfull to attend ſo many Cities, Townes and places ; and ſo infinite numbers of people as there are : albeit when *Chriſtianitie* is once begun indeed, there is ſuch abundance of graue people and of much eſtimation, that many of them might bee made Priests, Preachers, and Biſhops, without feeling any want of thoſe of *Europe* : ſince as now they bee *Gentiles*, and their hope goeth no further then to this life, there be many very great *Mandarins*, whoſe chiefe delight is to diſcourſe of things concerning Vertue, and oftentimes they meeete together as it were in Fraternities to treat thereof ; And the grauer ſort doe make Orations, and Conferences together, perſwading one another, and deliuering the meanes to gouerne well, and to follow vertue. And without doubt, the more wee ſee of this, and the more zeale in theſe *Chriſtians*, ſo much the more our heart is readie to burſt to ſee them ſo deſtitute, and to haue ſo few meanes to obtayne neceſſarie remedie and helpe.

¶ III.

The deſcription of the Kingdome of China : of Catay and Muſk ; the diuiſion into Prouinces ; Cities and Townes deſcribed, Riuers, Shipping, Commodities, Diet, and feeding.

Now by the helpe of our Lord I will ſay ſomewhat that I remember, touching the Cuſtomes, Policie, and Gouernment of this Kingdome, but not in ſuch order as were requiſite, becauſe I haue no leaſure, and therefore I will onely write as things come vnto my minde, though things bee not lincked well together, becauſe I cannot firſt write one Copie, and afterward diſpoſe it in order, with ſuch diſtinction as were needfull ; reſeruing that (as I ſayd in the beginning) vntill our Lord grant me a better opportunitie.

China foure
ſquare. The
Deſcription.

This great Kingdome of *China*, is almoſt foure ſquare, as the *Chinois* themſelues deſcribe the ſame : it runneth North and South from the Prouince of *Canton*, which is the moſt Southerly part of it, beginning ſeuenteene or eightene degrees vnder the burnt Zone, vnto ſotrie two degrees, which is the moſt Northerly part of it : it containeth from *Canton* by water, aboue ſixe hundred leagues : but in a right line it is foure hundred and fiftie, on the Eaſt it confineth with *Corea*, which ioyneth with the ſame, and with *Iapon*, and with the Ocean Sea, by which they come from *Pern*, and *Nueva Eſpana*, to *Manilla* : On the Weſt with certayne ſmall Kingdomes, which lye betweene *Bengala*, the Lands of *Mogor* and *Persian* ; On the South, with the Iles called *Philippinas*, and the *Malucas*, and others, and more South-weſterly, it hath *Sion*, *Pegn*, and other Kingdomes. On the North part, it hath thoſe people which in our Countries wee commonly

commonly call *Tartars*, with whom they haue alwayes had Warre, and once they wanne all the Kingdome from the *Chinois*.

For the Readers better satisfaction I haue here presented him *Hondius his Map of China*, not to shew it, but the erroneous conceits which all European Geographers haue had of it: A more complete Map of China I shall present after, as by comparison will appeare.

HONDIVS his Map of China.



This Kingdome standeth in an excellent climate and situation; for besides the things which it hath in it selfe, it standeth very neere vnto *India*, and other Kingdomes, from whence cometh with great facilitie that which it desireth and wanteth. And before I passe any further, because I haue spoken of the situation and heighth of *China*, I will note for their sakes which would bee glad to learne, and also it may serue to mend two notable errors, which our newest Maps haue. The one is, That they make *China* a third part bigger then it is, placing this Citie of *Paquin* in fifty degrees, being in very deed but in forty onely, as we saw, which twice tooke the heighth thereof with a very good *Astrolabe*: And the limits and end of this Kingdome, which are three dayes journey or lesse distant from this City of *Paquin*, are at the most but two degrees more: And so those great walls so famous in our *Europe* are in two and forty degrees; and this is the greatest heighth of the Kingdome of *China*.

The second error is, that our Maps make a Kingdome about *China*, which they call *Catayo*, whereas indeed it is none other but this selfe same Kingdome of *China*: and the Citie of *Cambalu*, which they put for the head thereof, is this Citie of *Paquin* wherein wee are. Wee finde this here to be true very plainly by occasion of certaine newes which lately were spred ouer diuers parts by the way of *Mogor*, which gaue out many things, and great matters of *Catayo*, which seemed to be so peculiar and proper to this Kingdome of *China*, that they made vs doubt

Two notable errors of our newest Maps. *Paquin* in 40. degrees.

The Kingdom of China goeth nor past 42. degrees Northward. China and Catayo are all one. Cambalu and Paquin are all one.

that it was not a feuerall Kingdome. After wee were come to this Citie of *Paquin* wee met with two *Cafilas* or *Carauans*, one of *Moors* of certaine small Kingdomes bordering vpon *China*, another of *Turkes* with their *Turbants* of the Countries of *Mogor*, and of the great *Ismael Sophi*, (for with this very name they call him) and of other parts, which had knowledge by fame of *Spaine*, *Italie*, *Venice*, *India*, and *Portugall*.

Very Merchants.

It is so in *Moscorie*.

Iasper stone a great merchandise.

These *Turkes* and *Moors* are wont to come hither euery five yeeres by Land, in the name of their King, to acknowledge and pay Tribute to the King of *China*: for which purpose they counterfeit certaine Letters, wherewith they easily deceiue the *Chinois*, which thinke and hold that all the Kings of the World doe acknowledge obedience vnto theirs. But the trueth is, that they come to vse their trafficke and merchandise, and therefore the *Chinois* admit them willingly: howbeit many now doe know, that their paying of Tribute is a fayned thing: In which their trafficke they speed very well. For the King doth maintayne them very plentifully from the time that they come into his Kingdome, vntill their departure; and they tooke all their Chifts of them, whereof this yeere they brought a thousand. The King tooke of them at an easie price a great part of the merchandise which they brought, and afterward hee gaue them rewards. The thing of greatest bulke of merchandise are a kinde of stones, which themselves call *Iasper* stones; which is white, yet somewhat duskyish, so that it enclineth to grey (which seemeth to bee that *Iasper* which so often times in the holy Scriptures is called Precious stone.) It commeth in pieces vnshewen, but whole like peeble stones; which stone for many ornaments the *Chinois* esteeme much; especially the King: and they buy euery pound of the best at eightie Duckets: and of that which is worse, at fiftie or sixtie Duckets, whereby they gaine greatly. I haue seene these stones of other colours in our Countrey, but not of this which the *Chinois* esteeme.

When these men come to this Citie of *Paquin*, they put them into a great house, which there is for this purpose; (wherein wee were two moneths) and suffer them not to come forth. Wee asked these men certaine questions: and one was this of *Catayo*, enquiring of them, How they called this Kingdome of *China* in their Countrey? They answered, *Catayo*, and that in all the Countries of *Mogor*, *Persia*, and other parts, it had none other name, and that they knew none other Kingdome that was called so. Wee asked them how they called this Citie of *Paquin*? They said *Cambalu*, which, as I haue said, is that which our men set downe for the head Citie of *Catayo*. Whereby it appeareth, that there can no doubt bee made, but that wee are heere resident in the Countrey which must bee *Catayo*, if there were no fault in the Maps; and wee know that there is no such Countrey, nor Cities, but a few contemptible *Moors* and *Gentiles*.

x *Almixle*
Span. the Latin
hath Muske.
y *Como buche*
Span. Latin *Stomachum*.

Rhubarb. See
before in *Chag-
gi* Memet. p. 164.
A Sea of sand.

Diuision.

Chorographi-
call Bookes.

China populous

Wee vnderstood also of their x *Ciuets* or *Muske*, whereof they brought some, which is, as it were the maw (or stomacke) of a Beast somewhat bigger then a Cat, which they kill to cut away this maw. They breed wilde in the field, and in a Countrey very neere to *China*, though not of this Kingdome. I had read when I departed out of *Spaine*, a Booke which is printed of the things of *China*, which writeth of this *Ciuet*, and of other things, which I haue seene with mine eyes: it reporteth many errours by halfe informations, which hee which wrote it should haue bene better informed in, although in many things hee tell the trueth. They brought also great store of very good *Rhubarbe*, which heere wee bought of them of the choice, at ten *Maraudis* the pound: it is a wilde root like vnto *Nauewes*, whereof, they say, the fields are full. These men say, That there is a Sea of sand (which our Maps doe place in *Arabia*) neere vnto *China*, which diuideth it from *Mogor*, and other Kingdomes: And this should seeme to bee the cause, why these Kings, which heere great fame of this Kingdome, of the greatnesse thereof, and of the weakenesse of the people, doe not seeke to inuade the same, being not very farre off; because it would bee very difficult to passe ouer the same sandie Sea, with a great Armie.

The *Chinois* diuide this Kingdome into thirteene Prouinces, and two Courts, which are, as it were, two Prouinces. Euery one of them haue their Metropolitane Citie; and euery Citie her diuision of so many Townes. It is knowne very particularly by *Chinise* Bookes which are written of this argument, how many Cities, Townes, and places there are in all the Kingdome, how many houses euery one hath, and commonly what numbers of people, what euery Countrey feuerally yeeldeth, and how much Tribute it payeth to the King, and many other things: but I doe not set it downe here: because I could not get those Bookes these few dayes past, to take a view thereof: At some other time, God granting mee life, I will doe it more at large. Onely I say in generall, that all the way which wee trauelled, wee met with so many Cities, Townes, and Villages, that to beleue their greatnesse, it was necessarie to see them. For your Worship will hardly beleue, that wee spent two or three houres in sayling still by the walls of one Citie. After which there still followed many Townes and Villages, one within sight of another. And after this manner all this way continueth, euen to *Paquin*. Yea, the Villages are very great, and full of people, and of much trafficke. For though wee giue them this name (which among vs signifieth some small matter) The *Chinois* doe not distinguish them

them by great or small, and so their Villages are bigger then others which wee call Townes.

All the Cities and Townes are very well enclosed with high walls. And because, as I said, I deferre this vntill another time, I will only speake of *Nanquin*, whereof I had some sight.

This Citie standeth in two and thirtie degrees and an halfe, eight or ten leagues from the Sea, vnto which it hath a mouth, and a mightie Riuer. It hath three walls of Bricke very high and faire, with very great and beautifull gates, which they shut vp very timely before night. This Citie, of old time, two hundred yeeres past, was the habitation of the Kings of *China*; and so it continueth in very good condition: The streets are very broad, and all paved with very great square stones, or set with bricke. It hath exceeding long streets of two leagues, and two leagues and an halfe, and in the midst of the Citie are the Kings Palaces, which are very great.

The *Chinois* declare the circuit of this Citie, that two Horsmen going in the morning both out of the same gate, and one going on the one side, and the other on the other, going all the day they meet at night in the gate opposite to that which they went out at. The very truth is, that it is at least eleven or twelue leagues in circuit, and seemeth to haue about two hundred thousand houses of people. It seemed to all of vs that were there, that *Nanquin* and this Citie of *Paquin*, each of them haue as many people or more, then foure of the most famous and populous Cities of all our *Europe*, as *Rome*, *Lisbon*, and others of the greater sort. For whereas these two whereof I speake are in themselves so great Cities, not one nor two streets, but the greater part of the Citie euery day doth swarme with people.

There are about this Citie many others within one or two dayes iourney, and very famous for greatnesse and trafficke; among which there are two, one named *Hancheo*, the other *Sucheo*; and this is very great and like to *Venice*, whose streets are halfe water and halfe land. The *Chinois* call these Cities * *Paradise*, to expresse the goodnesse, abundance, and cheapnesse of all things that are in this Kingdome, and come from other places. And *Sucheo* is so full of people, merchandise, and trafficke, that a Booke which is printed (wherein all things are set downe which the Prouinces and Cities pay to the King) saith, that this only payeth one yeere with another in Siluer, Gold, Rice, and Silke, and other things, wherewith it doth greatly abound, twelue millions: so that there be whole Prouinces that amount not to so much by a great deale: which though it seeme an incredible thing, yet they write it for a certaintie: and hee which knoweth what these Cities are, will beleue it.

Yet for all this, these Cities haue no notable things, neither sumptuous Temples nor buildings, which are wont to be those things which doe beautifie a Citie: for the houses are not beautifull outwardly; nor they vse no great Porches, as they doe in our Countrey. And he that hath seene the things of our Countrey, and is skilfull in architecture, shal find it here very little. For the houses are low, and without galleries, lofts, windowes, or sight into the street; yet they haue faire yards, and are very neate within, and painted with diuers colours, with that *Charan*, or liquid Gumme, whereof I made mention before. And that which I speake of *Nanquin* touching the abundance of people, trafficke, and manner of houses, is after the same manner in the other Cities which we saw. For the *Chinois* are so like, and so vniforme in all naturall and artificiall things, that he that hath seene one of the principall Cities, findeth no new thing to be seene in the others. And albeit that other Cities are not comparable to these in bignesse, yet in multitude of people proportionally there is little difference.

This Kingdome is commonly very fertile of all things that are necessarie for the vse of man: and a great cause of the fertilitie and abundance thereof proceedeth of the great number of exceeding great Riuer which it hath; which besides the profit that the Riuer yeeld by the fishing, and besides the profit in watering of the grounds, wherein they stand the *Chinois* in great stead, they are occasion of great trafficke and communication of one Prouince with another with great ease by water, which is an enriching to them that vse it, and of great plentie in euery Citie of all things that are in the Kingdome. From our departure from *Macao*, till within a little of *Paquin*, which is, as I said, fixe hundred leagues, wee trauelled not past one day by Land (because wee would not fetch too great a compasse about by water) wee trauelled a great part of this way vnto *Nanquin* by the greatest Riuer that euer I saw in my life: which in some parts is about three leagues broad, and very deepe: which the *Chinois*, for the greatnesse thereof doe call, *The little Sea*; and that with good reason. For though it were an hundred leagues from the Sea where I entred into it; yet there is great abundance of fish of those kindes which breed in the Sea; as Porposies, fishes with sharpe beakes, and others which I haue seene.

I saw in this Riuer neere the bankes thereof men fish with certaine Fowles as bigge as small Geese, like vnto *Rauens*, with a long beake, and bending downward like a crooked hooke, which the *Chinois* teach to fish: They haue a very long necke, which they binde in such sort that the fishes cannot goe downe into their stomacke, but they fill their throat with them, if they be small fishes, and when they come out of the water, they make them cast them out: and if the fish be great, hee fighteth with him, and beateth him with pecking, assaulting him

Villages as great as Townes.

Walls. *Nanquin* in 32. degrees and an halfe.

Three walls. Streets long. Palaces.

Circuit.

200000. houses

Hancheo and *Sucheo*. *Quin Jay*, *Cin Jay*, *tas coeli*.

Reuenue.

Building not beautifull, compared with *European*.

Vniformitie in *China* Cities.

Fertilitie.

Commodious Riuer.

In 600. leagues but one day by land.

This is more exactly measured by *Ricinus*, a more exact and mature obseruer of all things. *sup. §. 5. cap. 5.*

Mighty Riuer, perhaps *Quian* mentioned by *Polo*.

Fishing with a kinde of *Rauens* or *Cormorants*.

with his bill, vntill hee driue him vp that the Fisher may see him; which commeth quickly with a small Net like a Wheele vpon a staffe, and hee taketh him vnder the water. And after this sort wee saw this Fowle take Fishes sometimes of a pound, and a pound and halfe weight; and they say they take bigger. And because this fishing is so gainfull and so certaine, they pay a certaine Tribute to the King for euery one of these Rauens (or Cormorants.)

Muddy Riuer.

Wee met with another Riuer as great as this, which seemed to bee rather of mudde then water, because the water was alwaies mingled with earth, which whence it should come for so many yeeres, I wot not. They cannot drinke the water without they clarifie it, which they doe with Alume. Besides these two Riuers all the rest is made by hand for vessels to passe to *Paquin*.

Alume vsed in clarifying of water.
Shipping.

The Vessels which we saw in all the Cities which we passed, is one of the greatest things that belong to this Kingdome. For in euery Citie there are two sorts of them, one sort of vessels for burden, and another sort for houses. Some of them are very faire, and as fit to dwell in as houses themselves: and many of them also serue for houses for poore people, wherein they haue their whole houthold, and bring vp Hens and Hogs, and gayne their liuing in them. I remember that the same morning that wee entred into *Nanquin* there went 500. Vessels or more before our Barke, to enter at the same houre, with their sayles vp most pleasantly to behold; many of them being laden with diuers things, all for the prouision of that great Citie: and on this manner they continued all day long in going and comming.

Ship-houses.

Multitude of ships.

The excellent beauty of the *Mandarines* Barges.

The Barges of the *Mandarines* (which are all made at the Kings cost) are the most costly, and are most for the sight, and very great. They would much reioyce in our *Europe* to see them: because it seemeth that there is nothing comparable to these in beauty. Most commonly these haue Trumpets, and Drummes, which they play vpon when they passe by the Citie, and when they meet with others, that all may giue them place. They are commonly as long as Gallies, and as broad or more, but very high, so that to get vp into one of them is aboue a fathome high from the water, and therefore they carrie a great burthen.

Tributes in money and in kinde.

And because I spake before of those which carrie the Kings Tribute, I will here speake more particularly. Many Prouinces from whence they cannot carrie Rice and other like things with ease to *Paquin*, because they are farre off, pay their Tribute in Siluer: but those Prouinces from whence they may passe by water, pay a great part in Rice. For which occasion all the Cities haue great and strong Vessels made of purpose for this seruice. And when the time of their departure is come, euery Casila or Companie departeth from their Citie with a *Mandarine* that hath the charge of them.

10000. Vessels at *Nanquin* for Tribute of Vissuals, and 1000. for other Tributes: and others many for workes.
Path-way of ships.
Sluces or locks.

And they say that those Vessels which goe from this part of *Nanquin*, in all amount to ten thousand, though they goe not all euery yeere: yet they haue alwaies more for yeeres of greater plenty; and because many cannot returne in time, to goe backe againe the next yeere. I know not certainly how many they be; but this onely I know, that all this way from *Nanquin* to *Paquin*, seemed to be a path-way of these Vessels, whereby wee passed: for they went all along, and because they went so deeply loden, oftentimes they wanted water. To helpe this want of water (for because it is no naturall Riuer it neuer ouerfloweth) it hath floud-gates like Sluces, wherewith it keepeth in all the current three or foure or fixe houres: then opening the same, many doe passe with great ease, and they may goe very well vntill they come to such another place.

Silkes and perfumes.

Besides these Vessels of victuals, they carrie to the King euery yeere many others, which bring him particular things, and dainties, whereof this Countrey of *Nanquin* yeeldeth great store, and also for the seruice of the Kings house. Some Casilas or Carauans of these are of pieces of Silke for the Kings house, which may be some dozen of Vessels; others carrie many things to cate: and with one of these Casilas we passed. They were nine great and faire Vessels, which carried pieces of Silke, and other things which they are wont to burne in the Sacrifices which they make vnto the dead, and before their Idols. They say, that these Vessels for particular things are a thousand: and as soone as they come within the Kings house, the Eunuches take the charge of them. From *Nanquin* vnto the middest of the Kings Palaces, Vessels may passe by this Riuer: to come to the place which they goe vnto, they passe thorow the middest of the Palaces. In all these Riuers, when they want winde, the Mariners draw the Barkes with great facilitie, and fixe or seuen are sufficient easily and merrily to draw one of these Vessels laden.

Vessels for workes.

Wee met likewise vpon this way a very great number of Vessels which came from farre, laden with Bricks for the Kings workes, and greater store this yeere to build a great piece of an house which fire from Heauen had burned: for this purpose they carried great store of timber for beames, and boards, and other lesser timber which are carried from the parts of *Nanquin* vnto *Paquin*, some an hundred and two hundred paces long, and one log fastened vpon another, so that these rafts grow high and great: they carrie vpon them frames of dwelling houses ready made, wherewith there goeth an inferiour *Mandarine*, which hath the care of it, and sometimes the Mariners goe with all their houthold, and breed of Hogs, Hens and Duckes: for sometimes they

they stay about a Summer in going to *Paquin*. These seuen or eight yeeres this prouision of timber, Bricks, and lime, and other things hath continued.

The fertilitie of this Kingdome is great, of all things that seeme to be needfull for the vse of mans life. And if there bee any other Nation which liueth commodiously without needing trafficke with forraine Kingdomes, they are the *Chinois*. And though it bee true that some things come vnto them from forraine Countries, yet are they not the necessary things for the life, and which all men vse. The most that commeth out of forraine parts, and they desire, is Siluer: And that which all men carrie from thence is very much, and very good merchandise: as Silke, Gold, Muske, Porcelanes, pieces of wrought Silke, raw Silke, cloth of Cotton wooll, all kinde of worke in Copper, Iron, and Latten, Quicksiluer, Sugar, Honey, Waxe, Cinnamon, workes made of fine wood, and gilded, as Bedsteads, Ink-horns, Cabinets, and an infinite number of other things, whereof there is so great abundance, that although they send out many ships laden for *Japon*, *India*, *Manila*, and other parts: yet without doubt they might prouide ten times more: and if more would come to buy, they would alwaies haue the more to sell. All things are very cheape, without all comparison cheaper then in our Countrey. A pound of Sugar is worth eight or ten *Marauedis*, and sometimes sixe: and if they buy any quantitie at once, an hundred pounds weight are worth nine or ten *Rials* of Plate: And here at the Court (where all things are dearest) a pound is worth twenty, or foure and twenty *Marauedis*. There is great store of Waxe and that very good, which wee buy heere in *Paquin* for the seruice of our Altar, a pound for a *Riall* and a *Quartill*: and the pounds here are greater then ours; for euery one of them weigh sixteene Duckets of Siluer weight. Honey likewise is very good cheape. Of Copper and Latten there is exceeding great abundance: and Latten made and wrought into any worke that a man would haue, with the fashion and all is worth a *Riall* and a *Quartill* the pound. Needles an hundred a *quarto*, and if they buy many together, better cheape. And I haue set downe for example these small things to know the particular price, and of other things (though they bee not so cheape) after the same proportion. Howbeit those which come from forraine Countries to trafficke with them, had need to be very heedfull: for the *Chinois* lose not opportunities to raise the price of them, when they may.

The abundance of things for food is likewise great, to wit, of Oxen, Weathers, Sheepe, Goats, and more then of all others of Hogs, because they are the common food that they liue of, Deere, Hares, which they catch with Hawkes, whereof here and in other parts there are many. And when they are dearest here, one of them is worth foure or sixe *Quartos*: they be as great as they bee in our Countrey, and they are found at all times. Hens, Geese, Duckes, and sundry sorts of wilde Fowles, and all other flesh is exceeding good cheape. Wee came to a very great Citie, where Beeffe, Mutton, Hennes, all was of one price a pound, which was foure *Marauedis*. And in *Nanquin* (though the Court be there) a pound of Hens flesh was sold for three halfpence, Fishes after the same manner, or better cheape, because it stands vpon the Riuer. And I saw a Fish of ten pound weight sold for a *Riall* of Plate, and we bought great Trouts at three *Marauedis* a pound weight. Egges ten, twelue, sixteene, eightene for one *Conduren*, which in our Countrey is a penie halfpennie farthing. Fruits are of the like cheapnesse. In our journey, which was when *Abricockes* beganne to bee ripe, which are here very good, they gaue vs two hundred for ten *Marauedis*. They are very much giuen to eate fresh Herbs and Salads, and Pulse. At euery banquet and good feast, there is alwaies Flesh or Fish. There are many Nuts, Chestnuts, Filberds, and Pine-nuts though but few, Figs, though not of our kinde, and yet as good or better, and many. And although they haue all these things, yet euery Province and Countrey doth not yeeld them all: but that which one wanteth another supplyeth.

Their common food in stead of Bread is Rice sodden only in water, whereof wee all did feed, although at the first wee had much adoe with it. Commonly they haue euery yeere two Harvests, and in some places three. And the Land hath great Plaines with Riuer to water the grounds: for the fields of Rice doe much desire to be couered with water.

From our entrance into *Canton* vnto this Citie of *Paquin*, wee met with few Hills, and especially from *Nanquin* hither very few. Wee passed by a Plaine about an hundred leagues, farther then wee could kenne. I saw likewise much Wheat, whereof they make rolls without leauen, sodden in the reeke or vapour of seething water, and so without crust, good for old folkes that want their teeth. Although that it bee true that the fruitfulnessse of this Countrey is very great, yet without doubt other things, saue Rice would not be sufficient, if the *Chinois* were as great feeders as our people, and did not feed so sparingly as they doe. They all eate commonly thrice a day; once, betimes in the morning; the second time, at two in the afternoone; the third time, very moderately at night. And besides, the rich *Mandarines*, few others which are of good abilitie, doe commonly eate either Flesh or Fish, but Pulse, Salads, and Herbs which cost almost nothing, and their chiefeest food is Rice, or Miller, and hereof they fill their bellies.

They haue many Horses, Mares, and Mules, whose flesh they eate, though I haue not heard report that the greater sort doe feed vpon them. They haue much Wine of diuers sorts; all

Siluer in greatest request in China.

The great store of merchandise in China.

Cheapnesse.

A caution for strange Merchants.

Victuall store and cheape.

Sixe pence. One halfpenny.

Herbs.

Two and three Harvests in one yeere.

Plaine Countrey.

Plaine of 100. leagues.

Spare feedings.

Herb-eaters.

Horses eaten. Wines diuers.

Neatnesse.

Refuites.
Benefit of hot
drinke.Oile made of
an herbe.Cold Prouin-
ces.

made of Rice: but herein they may not compare with the Wine of our Countrey: Whatsoever they drinke, be it Wine or Water they drinke it alwaies hot. They are neate in feeding, for they touch none of their meate with their hands, therefore they vse neither Table Napkins, nor Table-clothes. All their meat is serued to the Table finely minced. They vse to feed with two small stickes of Iuorie, Ebonie Wood, or such like, wherewith they take vp all their meate verie handsomely. And herein, I confesse, they haue a great aduantage of vs; because this manner of feeding is very commodious, and such as euery man that hath triall thereof will much delight in it: and therefore our *Fathers* and *Brethren* in *Iapon* and *Macao* vse it. Their alwaies drinking their drinke hot, and eating little fruit (for they are not so greedie of it as our men are) doth keepe them from many infirmities and sicknesses, and therefore they liue healthfully. They haue no Oliues, yet haue they abundance of Oile. The best is of a kind of Herbe, which they call in *Spaine*, *Alegria*, which signifieth Ioy or Mirth. I say not that it is as good as ours, but I say, I find no fault in it, nor I doe not desire it, nor much lesse the *Chinois*, which can eate nor smell no kind of Oile, because the smell thereof pleaseth them not, as sometimes wee prooued by a little of ours which we had: and they call their stinking Oile odoriferous, so great a force there is in custome. As the *Chinois* are diuerse in diuers Prouinces, so are their Fruits: and those which grow in the Prouince of *Canton*, are not in all these colder Prouinces. There are the best sweete Oranges which hitherto we haue knowne, which are eaten with the skinne.

§. IIII.

Their Moneyes, Apparell, Persons, Trades, Wealth, Learning, Marriages, Superstitions, Rites, and Opinions.

Timber plenty

Much Gold to
be bought in
China.Brasse money
vled in *China*.

Here is in this Kingdome great store of Timber; for prooffe whereof wee need no more but to see the multitude of Barges laden therewith so good cheape as it is. And therefore I thinke a man may build a ship with all things necessary thereunto, three parts of foure better cheape then in our Countrey. They vse not Gold, though there be much to be bought, but all is Siluer, which they doe not coyne in Money, but cast it in Barres, and when they would buy any thing, they cut it and weigh it in certayne fine Weights like the *Romane* Weights in our Countrey: and therefore euery body that will buy or sell, carryeth one of thole Weights with them. Great store of Siluer commeth out of forreine Countreyes. But the chiefe Masse of it is out of the Mynes of the Kingdome it selfe, as also the Gold. When they buy or sell, they try the Siluer of how many *Kilates* it is: and one is worth more, another lesse, according to the goodnesse thereof. It was very necessary for the *Chinois* to weigh and try their Siluer, and not to coyne it into money: for otherwise there would haue beene a thousand deceipts, wherein the *Chinois* are very cunning. They vse Brasse Money, wherein also they try that which is true or false: for in all sorts there is deceit and mixture. They haue the best Porcelane that hitherto hath beene found, which is exceeding good cheape, and in such plentie, that besides all the Kingdome of *China* doth turnish it selfe thereof, they send forth as many ships loadings as they will.

For their Apparell, though they haue great abundance and cheapnesse, yet in goodnesse they may not compare with our Countrey. There is much Silke and that very good, but they know not how to dresse it. They make good Damaskes, razed Veluets, Taffataes, and other sorts: but the colours, though at the first sight they seeme reasonable, are quickly lost and fade away. The ordinary apparell of the common people is of blacke cloth made of Cotton, or of certayne shags of Silke, which are very great, farre greater then a floske, which only serue for this purpose, and are very warme. Persons of Honour weare commonly an outward Garment of Silke which they vse in Visitations, and other like Actions: And there are many which alwayes goe abroad apparelled in Silke, but not in such great number as that Booke setteth downe, whereof I made mention before. All men, euen to the very Souldiers, weare their apparell long downe to the in-step of the foot, with very broad sleeues, open before, and fastened to the sides beneath the arme. They be so well contented and pleased with their manner of apparell, that they think there is none in the World comparable to theirs. And in very truth they bee graue and modest, and especially those of the *Mandarins*, which differeth from all others, sauing the *Bonzi*, which shaueth their Beards and Heads. All the men and women let their Hayre grow long, and the men trusse it vp, and wind it on a knot on the top of their crowne. They weare certayne Nets on their heads like Coyfes, made very cunningly of Horse-hayre: and in the Summer time many weare Caps and Hats of the same. There are many sorts of Caps or Hats (for I know not what their seuerall names are) according to the state of euery one. The basest sort which the common people vse ordinarily is round. Their shooes, are of the same stufte that their Garments are of,

of, very commonly of Silke made with many faire borders and knots. It is a discourtesie for a man to be seene (especially before any man of Worship) without a Cap on his head. They greatly esteeme for the most part things of our Countrey, and they are very deare. And some pieces of Silke which the *Portugall* Merchants brings, especially Veluets of three Piles, are far more dearer then their owne. All woollen cloth is much esteemed and very deare, likewise Chamblots, and fine Linnen-cloth, which they bring from *India* are very deare. Looking-glasses, and all things made of Glasse, and many other things, which in our Countrey are very good cheape, are here deare, and in great estimation.

The *Chineses* haue commonly little Beards, small Eyes, and Noses, and all of them haue black Eyes, so that they much maruelled at the colour of mine, which are of Gray or Iron colour (which they neuer saw) and they find many secrets in them, and very commonly they say, that these eyes of mine know where stones and precious things are, with a thousand other Mysteries, so that they thinke they haue Letters in them. To paint an euil-fauoured man, they paint him in short apparell, with a great Beard, Eyes, and Nose. They are commonly all white, yet not so white as those of *Europe*: and therefore to them we seeme very white. The Learned men are very graue, of very good capacitie, and appeare outwardly very modest and graue.

There are Artificers of all Arts that are in our Countrey, and very many with the selfe-same manner forme of Instruments. Euery man is free to follow what Trade he will, without being bound to follow his Fathers Trades, as diuers times I haue heard it spoken when I was in *Europe*: and those which will may study, forsake, or change that course of life. They worke very good cheape: but in cunning and excellencie ours most commonly excell them much, though in some things they be very skilfull.

The seruice of young men and maydes is easie and good cheape, because there is great store of people, so that a yeares wages is not about two Duckets, and meate and drinke, without apparell. As there are many poore people that haue many Sonnes and Daughters, it is a very ordinary thing to sell them, and this the cheapest thing in *China*. For a youth of twelue or fifteene yeares without any naturall blemish will cost not past twelue or fifteene Rials of Plate, and in time of Dearth much lesse, and it is a common thing to buy them for seruice; though they vse them well, and marry them at their time.

Although the abundance and riches of this Kingdome be very great, as the people also is: yet there is no body that is very rich, neyther in any state of people may they compare in this point with our Countrey. You shall not find in *China*, which is able to spend twenty thousand Duckets of Rent, how neere of Kinne soeuer he be to the King, and very few, and those easie to be numbred that can spend ten thousand Duckets, and the ordinary is no more which they possesse then that which their Lands and Offices yeeld them, which is not great. But though it bee true that those of our Countrey possesse much more Siluer, considering the cheapnesse of things in their Countrey, all commeth to one account.

There are very few of the poore people idle, because all of them commonly take paines, and earne their liuing. Though the multitude of the Nation be so many, and the Kingdome so great, yet the surnames of all the Kingdome are not about three hundred, and all of one syllable.

There are some, though very few, which may be called Knights, which for seruice to the Kings in some necessities haue giuen them Offices in succession: but the common vse is not to haue any Nobilitie by Descent in *China*; neyther can any man say, I am of a better House then you. But the honour and Nobilitie dependeth wholly vpon Learning, and to obtayne degrees and Offices of *Mandarins*. And therefore an House which now is in Office, and his Father bee one, if he haue a Sonne a Doctor, which is made a *Mandarin*, he is honourable, and the honour continueth as long as the Learned men and *Mandarins* doe liue. There is no man, neyther Kinsman nor not Kinsman of the King which hath euer a Village of his owne that payeth him Tribute: but all men pay it to the King; and hee giueth stipends and wages to the *Mandarins*, so that they receiue nothing of particular men by right, though they extort much continually by oppression.

Commonly the *Chinois* doe marry from fifteene to eightene and twentie yeares, and all of them doe marrie one Wife that is chiefe; and this is their lawfull Marriage. On the day of their Marriage, when the Bride doth passe to the House of her Husband, shee carrieth openly before her through the streets all the things which she bringeth with her, and all her house-hold stufes. But besides her they may marrie (I say they may keepe and doe keepe as many as they are able) as many Wiues as they will, which for the most part they buy: and afterward when they will, sell them away againe. They may not only not marrie with any Kinswomen of their Wiues, but with none of that surname, though they haue no shew of Alliance. The sonnes of the Concubines doe likewise inherit, and there is little or no difference in their state and honour, to be the Sonne of the lawfull Wife or of the other, neyther make they any question of it.

The thing wherein the *Chinois* are most obseruant, Ceremonious and Superstitious, is in their Burials, Funerals, and Mournings: for herein they shew their obedience and loue to their Parents, whereof their bookes are full. It is a very ordinary thing to haue great respect to their Father

Sarcos lat. ferruginei.

Trades.

Seruants cheape. Sale of children vile.

None very rich.

Yet as rich as ours very rich.

Few idle.

Surnames.

Knights.

Nobilitie only in Learning.

No Lord but the King.

Extortion.

Marriage.

Polygamic.

Inheritance.

Funerals and mournings.

ther and Mother, and the disobedient are grievously punished. Many graue men and *Mandarins* begge leaue of the King to leaue their Offices which they haue, and to goe home to keepe their Father and Mother company, yeelding for a reason that they be old, and that they would goe to serue them. And it is a Petition in the sight of all men so iust, that they grant it very vsually. When the Father or the Mother dieth, all the Sonnes and Daughters (from the King to the meanest Peasant) doe mourne for three yeares. The mourning colour, which among vs is blacke Bayes, among them is white Linnen, whereof they make all their apparell euen to the Cap. The first monethes they weare a very rough Sack-cloth, girded with a Coard, like the bare-footed Friers. And though he be neuer so great a *Mandarin*, without any exception (saue only the *Mandarins* of the Warre) as soone as hee heareth newes of the death of any of his Parents, he is to leaue his Office and Dignitie, and all other Employment whatsoever of Gouernment and Examinations of obtayning his degree, and is to goe home for three yeares to burie his Father or Mother (and to mourne and bewaile them. The graue men which haue an house for this purpose, doe not straitway burie their dead, but keepe them two or three yeares in the house, in a Chamber which they keepe for this Office, and it is not the worst in the house: and very vsually or euery day they go thither to make them a thousand Ceremonies and Reuerences, and to burne Incense, and other sweet saouours, and to set ouer the place where they be laid, meate to eate; and at severall times, many of those *Bonzi* doe meet, and with great Ceremonies begin their Service and Prayers, and their Sonnes, Kinsfolkes and Wiues make lamentation. The *Mandarins* do not only leaue their Offices, and change their Weeds, but also all the things which they did vse. Many sit not in Chaires, but vpon low Stooles: they visit, or suffer themselves to be seene very seldome: they change euen the very Paper wherein they write, wherein they haue a piece of another colour, in token of mourning: when they name themselves in their Letters, they vse not the name which they did at other times, but others proper to the partie, as when he nameth himselfe, hee calleth himselfe *disobedient*, signifying, that by his disobedience to his Parents he did not preferue them aliue.

They vse no kind of Musike, and many change their ordinarie Diet into courser food. Vpon the Funerall day they prouide great company: many Kinsfolkes and Friends meete together, all clad in white, with many *Bonzi*, (according to euery mans abilitie) which sing with dolefull Instruments. And by their apparell which they weare, and their time in singing, hee that knew them not, would take them for Clerkes reuested, singing plaine Song; for they much resemble them. They make many Beeres with men of Paper or of white Silke, many Banners and other Ensignes. The place whither the Corps goeth is adorned with many figures: the Corps is put into a very great Coffin. This Nation holdeth a great part of their felicitie, for them and their Successours to consist in these things of their Funerals, especially in two, the Coffin or Chist wherein the Corps is to be layed, and the place of their buriall. The stuffe to make the Coffin of, wherein themselves are to bee buried, and the making of the Coffin, they leaue not to others to doe after their deathes, neither then may the body looke for much cost to make one of these Coffins, neither in this (as a thing of great importance) will they trust, no not their owne Sons: but they themselves at leisure seeke some kind of Wood that is least corruptible, and Plankes which are commonly foure, fixe, or eight fingers thicke: which because they bee so thicke, and the Chists or Coffins very closely shut they can keepe their Corps in their Houses without any euill smell. Some spend in making their Coffin seuentie, eighty, and an hundred Duckets. They hold it for a felicity to be able to get one of these that is good; on the contrary for a great disgrace, not to haue a Coffin to burie himselfe in, and they are very few which faile in that one point.

The Sepulchre and place thereof is the thing for choosing whereof they vse great Sorcerie or casting of Lots, and doe it with great heedfulness, and with the helpe of some that are skilfull in this Art. For they hold opinion, that in making a good choice of the place dependeth a great part of their owne good fortune and of their Posteritie. And oftentimes they are a yeare in resolving whether it shall looke toward the North, or to any other part. And therefore, the greatest and most contentious Sutes which are in *China*, are about places of Burials. These places of Burials are alwayes without the wals in the fields, or Mountaynes wherein they build Vaults very well made and strong of Bricke, stone, or other matter, wherein they lay the Coffin, and then close it vp very surely: And afterward now and then they come thither to performe certain Ceremonies, & to bring things to eat. They hold it very vnluckie to burie a dead man in the Citie: and if they know it, though he were the greatest man that is in *China*, they will not suffer him to bewaile his dead Friends much, especially those which are women. There are many which beleue the passing of the soules from one bodie into another: and therefore after the death of their Father and Mother, they will neuer kill any liuing beast, yeelding for a reason why they will not doe so, lest some of them should bee their Mother or Father, or some other person. And likewise many of them fast, because, that whereas some of them bee poore; they desire afterward to be borne againe in a rich and honourable Family.

Although it bee true that the most part of them beleue not in Idols, and it offendeth them

Three yeares
mourning in
white Linnen.

Keeping the
dead at home.

Other Funerall
Rites.

Funerall day.

Funerall Figures.

Coffin.

Buriall place.

Vnluckie to
burie in the
Citie.

Transition of
soules.
Metempsychicall
Superstition.

not to speake euill of them, yet commonly all of them at a certaine time of the yeare doe them some reuerence, because it is the custome, though in no sort they worship them as Gods: and those which put most confidence in them, burne Paper, Incense, and sweet smells vnto them, and kill beasts before them. Their Bookes of these Idols speake of Hell, and in many places, or in a manner in all the Cities there is set vp a portraiture of Hell made with bodily shapcs, and many Devils, as vglie as wee paint them. It is very well set forth, but badly beleeued: for it serueth only there for a bugbeare. And if any belecue that which the Idols say of Hell, that it is a place of torments, they say, that after so many yeeres be passed, all men come out againe, and are transformed into some beast. Those which beleue in the Idols, come before them to cast lots to know what things shall come to passe: howbeit I haue not heard in all *China*, that there was any answer of a Diuell in an Idoll, as is in other parts, in regard of the small beliefe that they haue in them, and the lewdnesse of the *Bonzi* that serue them. Their houses wherein they set them, whereof as yet I neuer saw any good one, are commonly verie filthy and stinking.

Idolatrie.

Of Hell.

See in *Pinto*.

Lots.

Wicked *Bonzi*.

And besides this consulting of Idols, the *Chinois* are much giuen to Diuinations to know things to come, and whether they shall haue good or bad fortune; whether they shall haue that which they desire or no: and there bee an infinite number of these South-sayers, and all of them prattlers, mumblers, and cooseners, whereby they deceiue many. And though the *Chinois* be of good vnderstanding, and know that these fellowes know nothing, and euery foot doe take them in lyes: yet for all this, there are verie few that when any occasion is offered, doe not consult with them. And though they seeme to bee but few, yet some of them are in league with the Deuill, as oftentimes wee gather by certaine things.

Diuiners and diuinations.

Many of these graue men of *China*, haue commonly two follies, wherein they doe erre more then in other things. The first is, that they perswade themselves that they can much prolong their *Liues*; and for this purpose they vse a thousand inuentions, and take many medicines, which indeed rather doe shorten their dayes. There are many Masters and Bookes of this follie, which vsuallie are graue and rich men. There are many that make themselves very old folks, whom the people follow like Saints to learne some rule of life of them, wherein they put all their felicitie. Many doe not beleue that we are so old, as we say we be, and that we doe dissemble: but that indeed we bee an hundred yeeres old, and that we know this rule to liue for euer, and that we doe not Marrie because wee would liue long. The other follie is, that they perswade themselves that they are able, and goe about to make Siluer, whereof likewise there are many Bookes. They vse for this purpose many Hearbs, and Quick-siluer, wherein they spend that little Siluer which they haue, and remaine beggers, but not perswaded but that it is fecible, but that it was not their good lucke, and good fortune: and to obtaine this, many of them fast many yeeres.

Studies to prolong life.

Bookes of Alchimie.

§. V.

Their bad Souldierie and Artillerie; Degrees, Priuiledges, Honours and promotions of Learning. Their Authors and Bookes, and Printing.
The Mandarins commended.

Here are many Souldiers in many Prouinces of this Kingdome: and though they haue had Peace these many yeeres, yet they still entertaine them: but because they bee louers of peace and quietnesse, the most contemptible state, except the state of the *Bonzi*, is the Souldier. And indeed it is a most base people, which hath no valour nor worthinesse, much lesse any fortitude in them. Many of them are Porters, which beare on their shoulders, the Chaires wherein the *Mandarins* and honourable persons are carried. And at the time of Musters, which are made from time to time, they repaire thither, to obtaine wages, and thus they haue no worth, nor jot of honour in them. The punishment wherewith their Captaines punish them, is the same wherewith they punish all other people: they whip them as wee doe Children in Schooles. According to the worthinesse and valour of the Souldiers, the beautie of their Armour, offensiue and defensiue is answerable, which is fitter to bee laughed at, then to be reported. They haue no Harquebusses that are worth any thing: and all those which I saw (and I saw many Souldiers with them) had their barrells but a spanne long: so that it seemeth that they beare it and the rest of their Armour for fashions sake. And I maruell not: for by reason of the exceeding great Peace which they haue so long enjoyed, they haue none occasion to become valiant: but they are able men when occasion serueth, and it seemeth they will easilie become valiant.

Souldiers many and few.

Basenesse, Armour and Armes. The barrells of their Pieces but a span long.

The causes of bad Souldiers, disrespect, disuse, and their choise from the tongue.

The *Mandarins* of Souldiers, is also a thing of small estimation, and they are nothing comparable with those which they call the *Mandarins* of Learning, which are those, which take Degrees. The *Mandarins* or Captaines of Souldiers, obtaine not the same for Heroicall arts or prowesse, but they make a Discourse or an Oration, vpon some matter concerning warre, and they

make

- Exercises Militarie. No Ordnance make choise of certaine of those which had done it best. Likewise they shoote two or three Arrowes, to see if they bee skilfull in shooting. They haue no vse of great Ordnance. Albeit I saw in the Gates of some Cities, certaine small short Pieces, as broad at the mouth as at the nether end, which I know not whether they shot off sometimes or no: I saw about fixe or eight of them vpon the Walls. The defence of their Walls is their height, without any other Artillerie. The greatest force and number of Souldiers, resideth in the confines of the *Tartars*.
- Tartarian conquest. It is foure hundred yeeres since a King of the *Tartars* wonne all *China*, (whereof *Paulus Venetus* writeth, which was in that Countrey) and they did also possesse it two hundred yeeres: at the end whereof, a *Bonzo* a very prudent and valiant man rebelled, and cast the *Tartar* out, and remayned King, whose issue continueth vntill this day. They alwayes keepe great Watch and ward vpon this frontier. Many youtnes of these *Tartars* remayned in *China*, and namely in these parts of *Paquin*, there are many which keepe and maintayne their Law of *Mahomet*, and haue *Mezquitas* or *Turkish* Temples, and are much different in shapes and countenances from the *Chinois*. Except the Souldiers, there is none that keepe Weapons in their houses: not because it is forbidden, but because there is no need of them: but rather the Learned and graue people, count it a dishonest thing to keepe Armour: there is no vse of them but in the time of warre. For you shall neuer see them fight with weapons one with another as wee doe. But their fighting is to buffet one another, to pull them by the hayre of the head, and to draw them by the collar, and in two words to become friends againe. Our men make no great matter of giuing buffets and such like, for they kill one another.
- Feare of Tartars. The *Chinois* are greatly giuen to Learning and studie; for all their honour and riches dependeth thereupon. They haue about fortie thousand sundry Letters: though many of them bee made one of another. They haue no A, B, C, nor any thing like thereunto, as among vs. But to signifie euerie thing they haue one Letter, and all diuerse. Their words are of one syllable, and no more, though their Letters bee so many. Those which are commonly vsed every day, are eight or ten thousand. They begin to learne to write and reade commonly, when they be seuen yeeres old: they write with Pensils. They haue many little Bookes which encourage Children to studie, exhorting them to take paines, with the reward that they shall grow to bee *Mandarines*. They know not, nor studie any Science, neither Mathematickes, nor Philosophie, nor any such thing, but onely Rhetoricke: for all the substance of their knowledge and fame of Learned men, consisteth in nothing else, but to know how to make a very elegant Discourse and Oration vpon a theame, like as in our *Europe* the Oratours vsed anciently. And as the *Chinois* haue good wits, and by hope of reward are verie appliable hereunto, they doe it with great excellencie, and occupie themselves with nothing else, and haue no other knowledge to distract them from it.
- Mahometans. No weapons in houses. Not bloudie. Studios. Many Characters. Monosyllable language. Pensil-writing. Rhetorike sole Art. Here followed of their Degrees which is more exact in *Trigantius*, and therefore here omitted. Glory of Doctors. Every Doctor (after hee hath obtained his degree) setteth vp in his Countrey before the doores of his House a Title of verie great letters, which saith: *This is the House of a Doctor*: which all men haue in regard. And before the doore, they set vp many high Poles like masts, which euerie *Mandarin* of that Citie where hee dwelleth sendeth him, with a Banner hanged vp, and alwaies they remaine there. They make a verie excellent Arch triumphall, to him that hath the first degree, at the gate of his House. The *Chinois* esteeme more then we doe, the skill to bee able to write well, and Print euerie yeere a great number of Bookes, whereof there is no examination nor choise, and euerie man Printeth what hee list, good or bad, and so they make a booke of nothing. The best which come forth are of no Science: for as I haue said, they know none: but they are onely of Morall sentences, to the aduancement of good Customes and Government. Their manner of Printing is not like ours: for they joyne not their Letters, but for euerie leafe they make a table which hath letters on both sides, it would seeme to bee very hard, but with the custome which they haue gotten, they doe it with great ease, speed and cheapnesse. I will send you some Booke well printed, that your Worship may see it. They also print Letters in white, I say white letters, and the ground blacke. And though in the former they come not neare vs, yet in this they goe far beyond vs. They vsually print these letters in Stones, and the letters stand not in the Stone vpward to touch the Paper directly, but in the paper and the stone they stand all one way: and this is the order whereby they doe this: They wet the Paper, and laying it vpon the toppe of the Stone, they gently beate it with some verie gentle thing, wherby the Paper which lyeth vpon the Stone sinketh into the hollownesse of the Letter, and resteth lower then the other, then with a kind of Inke which they haue for this purpose, they finely lay it ouer, whereby the Letters remaine white, because they bee deeper, and the rest remaineth blacke. I send you with this Letter certaine papers thereof, that your Worship may reioyce in beholding the excellencie wherewith it is done. One of our Bookes of equall volume with one of theirs, containeth much more: for our letter is lesser then theirs. Though in *China* it be harder to learne to reade and write, then in our Country, yet there be few but know ordinarie Letters to deale betweene man and man.
- They Print yeerely great store of bookes in *China*. Easie Printing. Printing white. Most can write and reade. Poetrie. Likewise they make great account of Poetrie, and also the grauer sort giue themselves much vnto it. It is verie ordinarie with them to send vs some Poesie in praise of vs, when wee enter into

into friendship with any. Also they make much account of Paintings, and playing vpon Instru- Painting and
ments. And albeit they know but little in the first, because they haue no Art, nor paint the Musicke.
things with shadowes, and know not how to paint in Oile : yet in the second they are verie
readie on their Instruments, and play grauely and leasurely. I heard certaine sorts of Musicke, e-
specially in the Palace of the King : to welcome me, the Eunuches his Musicians played vnto
me awhile, and they pleased me : although in this, little it seemeth vnto me they may compare
with our Countrey, yet it is certaine, that they thinke they doe farre excell vs. They haue not
about one kinde of Instrument, which the grauer sort vse and make much account of, which is
like vnto our Harpe, although the fashion and manner of playing vpon it, differeth from ours, and
from all our other Instruments.

As in *China* there is no sort of people more honourable then the Learned men, and Doctors : Noble Spirit
so there is no people of better condition, and of more Honourable and more Noble manner of of the Manda-
proceeding. And albeit before they were Doctors and *Mandarins*, they were verie poore and rini.
base people, and many of their Fathers officers of vile Offices, (as it is verie ordinarie) neuerthe-
lesse, after they haue obtayned the Degrees, they put vpon themselues a more honourable spirit.
And therefore albeit in *China*, wee indured much trouble at the base peoples hand, yet the *Man-
darins* did alwaies vse vs honourably and with much respect : especially now, for which cause
now no man dare trouble vs. And if there bee any, which in title are like our Lords, Knights, and
Courtiers, they are these. There are among them, men of much excellencie and sinceritie in their
Office, which doe seeke the common good : And without doubt they make vs wonder, that see- Sinceritie of
ing they bee but *Gentiles*, which doe nothing for the zeale of Gods honour, nor for his sake, they some.
be of such sinceritie, which they shewed of late more then at other times, in hauing to doe with
this wicked, vicious, and couetous King, which they now haue : who though hee be so absolute
a Lord, that with the same libertie, and in a manner with the same facilitie, hee doth what he
list with the greatest *Mandarins* of his Kingdome, as well as with the basest people thereof.
Yet for all this, of late yeeres there were many, who with great libertie and courage reprehend-
ed his faults by writing (which is the manner of speaking most publikely with him) that all
men might read it. And though they might feare some grieuous punishment (besides the losing of
their Offices, for that was certayn) neuerthelesse, there were many men of courage which wrote
vnto him : among whom there was one very renowned : The letter which he wrote to the King,
began thus. *That although hee were assured, that he were to be hanged, and that the Fire were kindled
to burne him, yet hee would reprehend his vices and lewdnesses, and the euill example that hee gaue to all
his Kingdome :* And so hee did, and spake verie freely, and put him in great feare. And it see-
meth that for his sinceritie and courage, the King had some regard of him, and though hee puni-
shed him, yet it was verie moderatly.

There fell out another accident in this kinde within these few yeeres, which because it is no- Kings Wiues
table I will heere set it downe. This King hath many women besides his lawfull wife, which and Children.
among themselues keepe the order of first and second. Hee hath no Sonnes by his lawfull Wife,
but he hath one which is the eldest of the third or fourth, and others youger of the second. The
Eldest by the custome or lawes of the Kingdome, is the lawfull inheritor, although he bee of
the fourth wife : but hee bare more affection to the other and to her Sonne, and desired, by her
perswasion, to aduance him to bee Prince, and would not haue aduanced the lawfull Heire. The
time being passed to performe the same, many *Mandarins* lost their Offices, for reprehending
him of this disorder, and for seeking to make him aduance the Eldest. But the principall *Man-
darins* of the Court perceiuing that hee proceeded on, and would not doe that which they re-
quested, and which was reason, consulted together, and published a Proclamation, which com-
manded all the *Mandarins* which are in the Court (which are about some thousands) that vn-
der paine of losing their Office, they should all meete at such a day, and such an houre, in such a
place of the Kings Palaces. When they were all assembled at the day appointed, with their
Ensignes of *Mandarins*, they put vp a Petition vnto the King, saying, *That since so often they
had aduised him of a thing so Iust, and that hee made none account of them, not seeking to aduance
the true Prince, that hee should seeke those that would serue him, that all of them would there giue
ouer their Ensignes of Mandarins, and would no longer serue.* It seemeth the King was afraid of so
great a resolution of the chiefe men of his Kingdome : And so hee commanded an Eunuch to
goe forth vnto them, and answer them, that they should resume their Offices in Gods name,
and that hee would fulfill their request. Finally, they did effect so much, that they caused him to
doe that which was reason ; and so this yeere 1602. hee aduanced the true Prince, of whom
hereafter I will speake somewhat.

Sinceritie of
some.

The present
Kings disposi-
tion.

Heroike zeale.

Kings Wiues
and Children.

Question of
the Successor.

Thousands of
Court Manda-
rins.

The Prince
Proclaimed.

p. VI.

Of the Government of China : Of the Mandarins ; the China Complements and manifold nicities.



OW I haue touched the state of the *Mandarins*, it offereth it selfe to speake of the manner of Government in particular ; But I confesse vnto your Worship, that the multitude of Offices which they haue is so great a frame, that I was not able to vnderstand it, to reduce it into order. Onely I will say in generall, that they haue many

Gouernment
good if well
executed.
Lawes lawlesse

good things belonging vnto Government, but not the execution : finally, it is a Government of *Gentiles*, with a thousand faults. There are no great store of Lawes, but commonly they decide Controuersies of their owne heads, and make Lawes in their Iurisdiction after their pleasure, euery one diuerse. And heere your Worship may imagine, that the Government in the practise cannot bee very iust, since euery one that can tell how to make a good theame or exercise, are not sufficient to bee Law-makers : And it is very ordinarie among them to direct all things to their owne profit, whereby of necessitie, they commit many absurdities and wrongs, and take all that they can get: Bribes are vsuall, and men vse these more then any thing else : And though one of them know this fault in another, they all dissemble as being in the same fault, that others may winke at them. And though they seeke to hide it one from another, yet it is like the secret of *Anchuelus*.

Bribes.

Dance in a
Net naked,

The *Mandarins* are many in all Cities, but very extraordinarie in the Courts of *Nanquin*, and *Paquin*. For in this Citie of *Paquin*, besides the *Mandarins* of Armes, whereof no great account is made, and are more in number then the rest ; and besides those which alwayes repaire thither,

Court *Manda-*
mins.

vpon the busineses of all the Prouinces : Those that properly belong to this Citie and Court, are about two thousand and five hundred : who all, or the most part heare Causes ordinarily twice a day ; so that wee cannot imagine what busineses occupie so many *Mandarins*, nor what is the Iurisdiction of euerie one. The most principall which are in all the Kingdome and heere, are sixe, Presidents of sixe Councels, being the chiefe of the Kingdome. There is one, which is the greatest, to whom belongeth the government of all the *Mandarins* of the Kingdome, to aduance

Chiefe *Man-*
darin, or of
Heauen.
See of these af-
ter in the dis-
course of *Ric-*
cins and *Tri-*
gantium.
The second.

them to higher Offices that doe deserue it, and as much as they deserue, to chastise and to degrade those which badly performe their Office : which because it is a place so great and honourable, the *Chinois* call him, *The Mandarin of Heauen* : who proposeth all these things to the King, as to promote, to aduance, to disgrade the *Mandarins*, and the King confirmeth them : So that all the *Mandarins* how small soeuer they bee, that are in all the Kingdome, are appointed by the King. The second hath the charge of all things belonging vnto Ceremonies, as well humane of Courties, and ceremonies in all royall Acts, as in making the King, the Prince, and in marrying of them, &c. And all that which belongeth to the worship of the Sacrifices of the Dead, and others which the Kings offer to Heauen and Earth. There is another chiefe of the Councell of Warre : another of the Kings Treasure, which taketh the account of the Kings

The third, &c.

rents : another Councell is of the Workes, as of the Kings houses, prouision for all things necessarie, for the Walls of the Cities, &c. There is another of Chastisement, whereunto causes criminall and sentences of Death doe belong. About these (sixe) there is onely one Degree, which are absolutely the greatest, before whom whatsoeuer the King doth in any thing is consulted of. Although it bee true, that these be rich and opulent in the conceit of the *Chinois*, yet none of them in any thing may compare with any of the meanest Lord of title, of our Countrey. The wages which they haue of the King is small : the attendance which they haue, is of base people, and of small countenance, yet they are much respected and obeyed : And the common people kneeleth vnto them, as to the *Mandarins*. The common chastisement which all the *Mandarins* doe giue, is to whip them with peeces of Canes, of foure or sixe fingers broad and thicke, where-

Counsell of
State, or the
Colai.

Their wealth
and wages
meane.

with oftentimes they dye, when it is layd on soundly. Whipping is as common as it is to whip Children in the Schoole : And sometimes for nothing they giue a dozen stripes, as well to the Plaintiffe as to the Defendant, and therewith they end the Suites, and they stay to giue none other sentence, but say : *Giue him twentie stripes*.

Whipping.

State and
pompe.

Vsuallly when the *Mandarins* of any State goe through the streets, men goe before them crying, or making a noise with Instruments, for the people to giue place. And in particular Cities, when a great *Mandarin* passeth through the streets, all men hide themselves and goe into houses, and the Handicrafts-men cease from their worke, and that in such sort, that I saw once in a Citie in a street of great trafficke, a *Mandarin* appeare, and in a moment euery bodie got away, euen the very Dogges, with exceeding great silence : so greatly they bee reuerenced of all men. And many carrie Chaires trayling them before them, and other Instruments. But in the Courts (though the *Mandarins* bee greater) the people runne not away, they doe no more but giue way that thy may passe. In the Courts many *Mandarins*, though they be great, ride on Horsebacke, and others in Chaires : but besides them, all goe in Chaires carried on mens shoulders, which according to their Offices are two, or foure, or eight.

Euery

Every Prouince hath a Visitor, which publickly visiteth the same every yeere, and taketh information of the *Mandarines*. There are secret and priuie Visitors. Sometime one is sent: But it is no vsuall thing, and as I haue heard, it is long since it was left off. I speake this, because I alwaies heard when I was in *Spaine*, that the *Chinois* vsed this manner of Visitation.

The Visitor onely may giue sentence of death. They be not cruell in punishments by death. Onely the King vseth some cruell execution: and namely this King that now reigneth, which is a very wicked man. One of them is that which lately hee caused here to be executed vpon eight men, by the great frosts of Winter, for no great offence for so cruell a punishment, and as they say, falsly imputed; And this it was: Hee caused their neckes to be put through a thicke planke, which taketh a great part of the head, and they set the planks to stand vpon Formes, so that the man standeth vpon his feet day and night in the midst of the street, with men to watch him. Hee condemned them to this punishment for three moneths: but they died before fiftene dayes, with their legs all rotted, and burst with standing alwaies on foot: I my selfe saw them stand on this fashion, which pitied me extremely. I neuer saw nor heard of any other cruell punishments; though, as I haue said, often times the *Mandarines* kill them with whipping, which is a very cruell thing.

The *Chinois* are very curious in writing of newes, which vsually they set out in Print, and in a very short space disperse them through all the Prouinces. There are alwaies Bookes wherein all the *Mandarines* of the Kingdome are written, as well their names as their Countries: And because they be changed euery foot from one place to another, they blot out and put in the names as soone as they know them, with great facilitie.

One thing among the rest is (wherein they be very dutifull and prolix) in their manifold courtesies, which are of many sorts, according to the estate of him with whom they haue to doe. The vsuall fashion is when they visite one another, the stranger is set on the most honourable hand (which in some places is the right hand, and in the *Northerne Prouinces* the left) and putting one hand in the sleue of the contrarie arme, which is very long and wide, they lift vp their hands so fastned together, then bending their (head and) body downe to the ground, saying, *Zin zin*, which is of no signification but an interiection of urbanitie, their bowing veneration they call, *Zo ye*: they change places to repay courtesies. After this the Guest sitteth downe in the Chaire of the Master of the house, and the Master of the house another besides that which the Guest hath, and each of them setteth them in their due place, which is the strangers Chaire in the highest place, distant from the wall, and the Chaire of the Master of the house is set in the midst of the lowest place, one ouer against another. After this (when they haue ended their salutations) they straightway cause a drinke to be brought, which they call *Cha*, which is water boyled with a certaine herbe, which they much esteeme, for this is a want of ciuilitie and courtesie: and at the least they must drinke of it twice or thrice. He bringeth forth some Fruit or Sweet-meat, and a Spooone to take it vp. If the Guest stay any time, straight without faile they will bring out some thing to eate, but with some preparation, answerable to the occasion and person: whereon they eate very little, vnlesse it be at the ordinary houres of feeding, and then they eate somewhat more.

When they visite one another (vnlesse they be very great friends and familiars) a Boy goeth alway before, which carrieth a Libell or Booke of visitation, which they call *Paytre*, which is as much as, *A Paper of visitation*: And this name neuer faileth, for alwaies they vse it: wherein his name with modest epithets (as many perhaps as *Visitors*) are written, according as the quality is of them that visite, and those that are visited; so is the manner most different whereafter they write the same: to wit, with more humility, either as our better, or as an equall, or as an inferior, as a scholer, or as a master: for as the relations are many and particular, so the fashions and manners which they vse are diuers. Of these things, and of all that hereafter I shall say touching this point, I will send you the examples in their owne papers of visitations, which great *Mandarins*, and ordinary men brought vnto vs, setting down in our tongue vpon euery letter the declaration thereof. And I doubt not but your Worship, our most deare Fathers, and Brethren, and as many others as shall see the same will reioyce thereat. And when that Paper is brought, they carrie newes into the house to him that is visited, which prepareth himselfe to receiue his Guest, which cometh within a while after. When they be not people which they see euery day, they vse not ordinary apparell in their visitations, but they haue garments proper for this purpose, of a farre different fashion. And if by chance one come so apparelled, and another be not, he sayth, that he durst not salute him, nor receiue him before he had put on his apparell, so he getteth him away in great haste to put on his apparell, and then they begin to performe their complements.

When the Guest departeth, hee alwaies goeth before, and at their going out of the doores they vse salutations, and offers of courtesie; according to the qualitie of the Guest, and the Master of the house, so he bringeth him more or lesse way, or vnto the street: or if he goe so farre, he stayeth till he take his Chaire, or his Horse, and then lifting vp their armes and sleues vnto their heads they take their leaues and depart one from the other. When they are departed, the Visitor and hee that is visited, each of them send a Boy to giue one another thanks, one for his visitation, the other for his good entertainment and friendly vsage. If hee that is visited be not

Visitors.

Punishment by death rare.

The great frosts of Winter in *Paguna*.

Bookes of newes.

Complements of courtesie and entertainment. That which is in a little letter is added out of *Trigautius*.* When they salute in the street, they turne to the North, side to side: at home to the head of the house, which is against the doore, Northward also their Temples and Halls for entertainment being made with the doore to the South. *Cha* or *Chia* a drinke made with a certaine herbe.Paytre or visiting paper. These Libells consist of 12. pages of white paper a palme and halfe long, &c. see *Ric.* pag. 66.

Salutation or visitation-garments.

Taking leaues.

Head place of
the house.

Great Letters
for great per-
sons.

First acquaint-
ance.

Sending Pre-
sents.

Banqueting.

Inuitations.

Feasts to taste
and bride it.

Chinois Com-
plimental and
almost all
complement,
New-yeere.

at home, they leaue the *Paytre* at his house, which is a token that hee came to visite him. Hee that is visited is bound to requite his visitation presently, or the next day, if he bee a man of Worship, or if they bee equals, within three or foure dayes: which payment is performed after the selfe same manner: and if hee finde him not at home, it sufficeth to leaue the *Paytre* there. If hee that requiteth the visitation bee a farre greater person then the first which visited him, (as if he be some great *Mandarin*) hee which first visited him, returneth the next day in person with a paper, wherein hee giueth him thanks that he came to his house: and if they see one another, he giueth him thanks by word of mouth. When the man which visiteth is of great Worship hee sendeth word a good space before with a *Paytre*: and the Master of the house commeth forth to receiue him, and to bring him into the house. All their Houses and Lodgings, haue alwayes an head and more honourable place (which is the highest part) where alwayes they place the Guest. Likewise in their writing they vse a great difference, according to the estates, Dignitie and Age: and in their Letter, the greater the *Mandarin* is, they vse the greater Letter: those that are equall, or inferiour vse a very small letter: likewise they obserue the same order in speaking to euery one according to his qualitie. When they meet in the streets, the ordinary courtesie, is, to put their hands into their sleeues, & closing them together to hold them vp, & to vse a common speech, which they haue for this purpose. When a couple enter into new acquaintance, they doe yet more, and that is, they kneele downe, and touch the ground with their head so often, and with so great ceremonies, that I dare not speake of them, lest I should neuer make an end.

When they send Presents, they write downe all things which they send in a paper, as they doe their speeches, with words of Honour: whereof I send likewise examples to see, of very graue persons which sent vs Presents. And whether the partie receiue the Present or not, or only a part, he alwayes sendeth backe another paper with certaine red lines (as herewith is to be scene) with a Letter which sayth: *I thanke you much*: And when he receiueth the Present, hee alwayes giueth some money to the youths that bring it: and hereby he remayneth bound to answer him, with another Present as great at the least: And herein they be very precise, especially persons that are not of the greatest account. A thing which I finde very strange, and which doth put vs to much trouble, to be driuen equally to answer those Presents which the greater *Mandarins* doe send vs, for they alwayes desire some thing of our Countrey, and here we are very poore.

They send vs somtimes from *Macao* some Clockes of sand, or Houre-glasses, some Knives, some cases of tooles for Surgeons, and other things: for they much esteeme all things that come from our parts: and with these things, which in our Countries are little or nothing worth, heere wee procure friends, which stand vs in exceeding great stead to conferre with them of our holy Faith, and of the saluation of our Soules.

Besides their Presents and visitations, they haue Gossippings and Banquets, whereunto very vsually they inuite one another. When these be very solempne, they set euery Guest two tables for him selfe, one of Flesh and Fish, &c. another of Fruits and sweet Meats. When they be not so solempne, one table for euery man, or two at euery Table: they provide for these Guests great diuersitie of meates well dressed and seasoned, which they bring soft and fayre one after another, that they may be hot. When they inuite one to a Banquet, they send sixe or seuen dayes before a paper, wherein they inuite him against such a day. If hee cannot come, he sendeth another paper, wherein he saith, *I excuse my selfe*: If he excuse not him selfe, he is resolu'd to come. This paper is sent with many words of courtesie, & with much honour. On the day appointed in the morning, hee sendeth another to inuite him againe for the selfe same day: and at the appointed house, hee sendeth another to pray him to come: and then hee goeth: If any of these messages should fayle hee would not goe. When he is gone to the Banquet, they vse many other ceremonies: But the most adoe is, about their places, so that it is long before you can place them, and allot out the roomes how they shall sit, because they euer seeke, or at least make shew that they seeke to giue the chiefeest roome to others. They feed not as men vse to doe in our Countrey: neither seemeth it that the Feast is made to feed, but onely they taste of some small thing for fashion sake; and they drinke very sippingly in small Cups of Porcelane, each of which will containe sixe or fixe Thimbels-full of Wine; and heerein and in deuising, they spend sixe or sixe houres at a Banquet, and goe home an hungred. And thus it happeneth vnto vs; although wee seeke to excuse our selues from them as much as we can, because wee lose much time, vnlesse it bee some great *Mandarin*, who we feare would take it euill, if wee should deny his request. When the Banquet is ended, the next day euery one of the Guests sends his Boy with a paper, wherein hee thanketh his Host for his good cheare.

Heere your Worship may see, wherein the *Chinois* spend the one halfe of their life. For the greatest businesse they haue, and that wasteth most of their time, is in Visitations, Banquets, and sending of Presents. And the time wherein they most of all vse the same, is their New-yeere, which lasteth fifteene dayes: their Birth day, which all of them keepe with great solempnitie: or when they goe forth, or come home on a Iourney. And to end the whole yeere, I send you some Papers of visitation of all these things (whereof they haue sent many vnto vs) that your Worship may see (though you vnderstand not the outward Letter) the manner and fashion of this

this people, how farre different Salutations, manners and fashions, we send you from the plainnesse of our *Europe*, and especially of our *Companie*. But for the present, wee all thinke it necessarie to eate after this fashion, and to vse their customes, to obtayne more free access vnto them, and to winne them to *Christ*.

There is a *Turke* heere, a dweller in this Citie, which aboute fortie yeeres agoe, brought one or two Lions to the Father of this King: who, partly because hee knoweth no Learning nor Sciences, and partly because hee sought not to apply himselfe to the habite, customes, and manner of *China*, there is none that will deale with him, nor come neere his house: And through the grace which God hath giuen vs, and because they see vs apply our selues to their Apparell, Fashion, and Courtesies, all the grauest *Mandarins* come home to our house to visite vs, and doe vs the fauour, to hold vs publikely for their Friends: which they vse not to doe, to their owne Countrey-men, of our qualitie and condition: praysed bee our Lord alwayes, *Amen*.

I will not omit to declare the great pleasure, wherewith these learned *Chinois* heare the great consent of the things and ceremonies, of our holy Faith in *Europe*, and that wee haue Bishops, and, as we call them heere, *Mandarins*, and superiours in Spirituall things: and aboute all, they reioyce exceedingly to heare of our Pope, that being so great a personage they preferre a Learned and Holy man by way of Election, and not by Succession; and likewise the obedience and subjection which other Kings doe yeeld vnto him; and that there haue bene many (as wee told them) who being chosen Popes, refuse it in good earnest, and by no meanes will accept the same: and that we haue all things which concerne the Law of God and good manners, set downe in writing, with all other Bookes concerning him, or his Ministers.

And although that which I haue spoken hitherto of our high Priest, is a thing very apparent and true, and wee deliuered it for such, and they so vnderstand it: yet oftentimes they haue giuen vs occasions of laughter. The first was, That when wee told them, that some refused so great an Office: straight-way they aske, where you say that they refuse it, is it not euident that their excuse will not bee accepted? As who should say, if they would accept of it, who is there that would make an excuse? And thus they say, because they doe so themselves: for when great Offices are bestowed vpon them, eftsoone they offer vp a Petition, making a thousand excuses to the King not to receiue them: and they desire nothing lesse, neither can any thing happen so grieuous vnto them, as to accept their excuse. But usually they be not admitted: though sometimes they bee, to their great grieve of heart, as I my selfe haue seene: But to excuse themselves, or to refuse with some danger, is the vse so common, that they will not sayle to doe so: for if they should not doe so, it were more certayne that they should goe without the Office. The second thing that made vs more to laugh, is, that many of them tell vs, that if wee would returne into our Countrey, without doubt they would make vs Popes: The reason (though not openly) which they yeeld, is, that wee haue a great aduantage aboute other men of our Countrey, to wit, that wee haue seene, and studied, and vnderstand their Bookes; because that they onely, in their opinion, can make a man perfect, and generally seene in all things. Such is the high conceit and reputation which they hold of their Bookes.

A *Turke* disrespected.

The Hierarchy applauded by *Chinois*.

Ridiculous excuses.

§. VII.

Of their Women: Of the Tartars Conquest, Acts and Expulsion. The greatnesse of the King, and neighbouring States. Of the Quenes Eunuchs.

Will conclude this Letter with two points: the one concerning the Women, whereof I haue little to say: and the last is of the King, and of his Palaces and Seruices.

Euery man (as I said before) may keepe as many Wiues as hee will, and so they doe: which is the cause of many tumults, quarrels, and disorders in their houses among their wiues, and among the Sonnes of diuers Mothers: and therefore when wee tell them, that in our Countrey no man marryeth but one Wife, they neuer are satisfied in praising it in words, though neuerthelesse they doe not follow it, nor put it in practise. And the discontentment which the Women haue among themselves, and with their Husbands for this occasion, is like to prooue a great encouragement vnto them, to make them desirous to receiue our holy Faith, and to perswade their Husbands to embrace the same, seeing that it doth not permit any more but one lawfull Wife onely.

Of their other Conuersation, Customes, and other things, wee know nothing, neither is any thing to bee learned: for they keepe house all their life time, and goe out of doores exceeding seldome to visite either their Mother or Sisters, or nearest kinswomen, for they goe not to any else, no not in thought: And therefore as they haue no conuersation, (but alwayes to keepe home) I can speake nothing of their behauiour. Their Apparell seemeth vnto mee honest and comely: (for sometimes I haue seene the Wiues of Officers, and of the poore people, for many of them doe goe abroad.) In some parts of the Countrey wee haue met many women vpon the high way, in short garments, like to the men of our Countrey, without any difference, save on

Palace.

Polygamie religious.

Clofeness of Women.

Apparell.

- their heads, and their feete : for all the rest is all one kinde of Apparell ; but these are the common people onely : One of the greatest ornaments that the Women haue, is, to haue verie little feete, and they are so little, that they goe verie badly, and alway they seeme to goe as though they would fall. I could not know the cause, nor the *Chinois* themselves know not the originall occasion, why this is counted for a beautie : albeit some say, it began not for a comelinesse, but onely with a purpose to cut off all occasion from them of going abroad.
- Small feet.**
- Histories of their Kings.** The *Chinois* haue beene very carefull in their Histories, and therefore they haue histories of their Kings of about foure thousand yeeres. And if credit bee to be giuen to that which their Bookes report, touching those times, and is gathered by diuers of their Histories ; There are many more yeeres from the Flood to our dayes (whereof they also haue some knowledge in their Bookes) then the most followed and allowed Calculation among vs, which treat of that matter, doe allow of : for they say, it is sixe thousand yeeres at the least. They say that they haue continued Histories. But I leaue this, because I haue not well conferred the truth and foundation of the *Chinisch* histories. At the least it is certaine, that they haue knowledge of their matters, and certaine Kings within a little after the Flood, whensoever it was. They had many ancient Kings, which were verie good men, which it may bee were saued in the law of Nature, because the heroicall workes of Vertue, which they report of them were great, and there is no record that they worshipped Idols, but some, that they worshipped the Lord of Heauen and Earth. There were some that sought not to leaue their lawfull Sonnes to bee their Heires, because they thought them not fit for Gouvernment, but choose the wisest and best man, that they could finde, and left the Kingdome vnto him.
- Knowledge of the Flood.**
- Moralitie made a King, and Nature made a Mandarin contrary to innumerable Scripture, &c.**
- This Kingdome in old time was diuided into many small Kingdomes, vntill by little and little it was vnited. It is some foure hundred yeeres (as I said before) since a *Tartar* King possessed it whollie, and two hundred, since a *Bonzo* or Religious man of *China* recovered it. This *Mahometan Tartar* King, left some tokens of himselfe in things that he did. Hee left in *Nankin*, certaine Mathematicall instruments of Copper, the like whereof for goodnesse peraduenture are not in all *Europe*, at least not better.
- Mathematicall Instruments.**
- The China vindex.**
- New Lords, new Lawes.**
- The *Chinese Bonzo* which expelled him out of the Kingdome, was a very valiant and wise man, and there bee many Histories of his wisdom, and sententious sayings, and iudgement in hard matters : and the manner and forme of Gouvernment, which hee ordayned in this Kingdome, which continueth inuolable, doth greatly declare the same. Hee made new Offices and gaue new Names to all of them : An vsuall thing when one house beginneth to Raigne, to change all, euen the name of the King, as also of all Offices, and also of many Cities. I omit the diuision of the Gouvernment into so many heads, and so good distribution, that it seemeth (and so the *Chinois* say) it is like to continue thousands of yeeres, so that no man of the same Kingdome is able, nor hath any power to make any Rebellion of importance. For those which in former time reuolted, were the Vice-royes of the Prouinces, and other great *Mandarins*, in whole power were the Gouvernment, the Souldiers, and the treasure. But hee diuided it in such sort, that those which had power ouer the Souldiers, should haue no money at all, neither should the pay of the Souldiers depend vpon them : and those which keepe the Treasure must haue no superintendencie and dominion ouer the Souldiers. Others which were mightie and rich, hee impouerished and diuided their Authoritie and Reuenues among many ; and so there is no man that can call himselfe Great. I remember that I had read in a Booke, set out in the *Spanish* tongue, of the great power of certayne Captaynes, and because the King did not trust them, hee sent one of his house to will them to come vnto him.
- Rebellion prevented by the policie.**
- All which relation, with many other things which hee reporteth of the prouidence of the King, how hee diuideth his Authoritie among diuers Princes, is not so in truth, neither in truth, neither is there any apparence thereof, neither haue the Captaynes much authoritie, neither are they very rich : for though they haue many people, yet the government of them is diuided into diuers heads, so that they can hardly assemble to raise any Rebellion, especially, because they remaine alwayes in the Kingdome, and neere about the King.
- Reuenue.**
- The Reuenue of this King, without doubt, is exceeding great, and vntill wee haue gotten it out of their Bookes (wherein euery thing is set downe very particularly) I will not presume to publish the same, not as though I knew not that it is so, since whilest a man knoweth more of this Kingdome, he doubteth lesse : Yet because I feare for all this that it will bee hard to make one beleue the same, which knoweth it not of a certainty; making the Accounts not very large, his Reuenues are one yeare with another an hundred Millions in Silver, Gold, Rice, and an infinite number of other things : although the greatest part is Silver. And he that considereth the greatnesse of the Kingdome, and that euery man payeth Tribute to the King of their Persons, Lands, Trees, and other things (without carrying any Tribute out of the same) that which I speake will not seeme excessiue. But as his Reuenue is very great, so his Expences are many. For those which in this Kingdome doe liue at the Kings charge are many, to wit, all the *Mandarins* to whom the King giueth Wages, all the Souldiers, all the Kinsfolkes of the King, his Eunuches, and an infinite number of people, whereby his charges are exceeding great, although alwayes there remaineth
- 100. Millions, others say, 150.**
- Expences.**

mayneth a good deale for him to lay vp : and there is no doubt but hee hath it in store in exceeding great quantitie.

Many small Kingdomes round about acknowledge the King of *China*, and pay him Tribute, as *Corea*, and others, whose names I know not, on this Northerne part : and on the side of *Malaca* and *Macao*, many others. And sometimes on these Northerne parts they trouble him somewhat, in robbing and killing of people. It may be that your Worship, or some bodie else may demand, why the King of *China* being so great, subdueth not these small Kingdomes that lye about him to deliuer himselfe of trouble ? I answered, that he wanteth no abilitie : but I will say one sure thing, a Paradoxe to the people of our *Europe*, which is, That neither the *Chinois*, nor their King doe seeke, nor dreame of dilating their Empire more then it is. And this their resolution is such, that although they would giue them all these Kingdomes, they would not take them, & much lesse if they were farther off. For they hold it for one of the greatest miseries (especially the *Mandarins* & graue sort of people) to go out of their Kingdome to any other part.

There is one of the best Examples hereof that may be giuen: which fell out of late, and that was, that as by the danger which might grow to his Kingdome, if the people of *Iapon* should winne the Kingdome of *Corea*, which is joyned to *China* by the mayne Land, as they began to doe; the *Chinois* ayded the *Coreans* with many men : and the people of *Iapon* by the death of their King called *Quabacondono*, did wholly abandon it. The Kingdome remayned in the power of the *Chinois*, and so continued two or three yeares. After which they wholly gaue it ouer, without any other greater respect, then that there were none that were willing to goe thither to gouerne it, nor that the King had any need to annexe it vnto his Estate. And without doubt, it seemeth that he would doe the like with any other, although they would put it into his hands. And touching those Kingdomes which pay him Tribute, there is no great account made, whether they come or no : and their continuall comming, is more for the profit of those which come, then that the King doth desire it. And therefore the *Philippine* Islands which in former times paid Tribute to the Kings of *China*, were made none account of when they ceased to pay it.

This King hath one lawfull Wife (as other men haue) in choice whereof they haue regard to nothing else but to her good qualities and externall beautie, for there is no Nobilitie to be sought for. Besides her hee hath a great number of Concubines chosen after the same manner, whose Sonnes (if the lawfull Wiues Children faile) inherit the Kingdome, which commonly falleth out, and such is he which now is King, and he which is to succeed him. When any of these women be once entred into the Kings Palace to bee his Wife, there is no name which may bee compared vnto her in being kept close; for they may not only not goe abroad, no nor bee seene of their Father, Mother, or Brethren. They haue little or none authoritie, but such as they obtaine of the King. Also the seruice of the King, of the Queene, and of his Concubines, is all by Eunuches, a seruice doubtlesse vnworthy of a King. All these Eunuches (without any exception) are of the most base people which are in all the Kingdome, whose Fathers (because they cannot keepe them when they were young) doe make them Eunuches, in hope that one day they shall get into the Court to serue the King : the manner is farre different from some which are in *Europe* : for these bee like those which the *Turkes* vse. Because their Fathers doe this for po- uertie, it followeth that they haue no excellencie, for they haue no meanes to learne it, and they are little or nothing Learned.

They elect and choose these Eunuches from time to time to supply such as die, and this first yeare that I was here, they chose aboue three thousand, for which purpose there assembled aboue twentie thousand (as they say) out of which number they made their choice. The Electors were a verie great *Mandarin* (to whom, as I said before, the Kings priuate businesse belongs) and another Eunuch of the eldest and most priuate. The Examination and Election consisteth in two things, which are a good Countenance and a good Tongue : for prooffe whereof, they make them pronounce two words, wherein those that haue not a readie Tongue doe stumble. When they are chosen, and gone to the Court, they diuide them in diuers Offices : yet at their first comming, they are appointed to waite vpon the old Eunuches as Boyes, which make good triall of their patience, and obedience : and he that after certaine yeares sheweth himselfe to- wardly, they begin to employ in greater matters.

Of these Eunuches, the King hath his Musicians and Mathematicians, who, to bee briefe, I say, haue no sound vnderstanding in these things at all, but only for complement or superficially : yet some of them are bound to watch all night, and to looke whether any Comet doe appeare, or any such like thing in the Skie, to enforme the King thereof : and to performe other like Of- fices. They are vsually verie couetous, and as they are base, if they rise to bee priuate with the King, some of them be proud and vncourteous. They serue the King as slaues, obeying his will which way soeuer he inclineth. The King chastiseth them verie sharply for euery light offence: especially the King that now is, which is a very wicked man. He hath caused many to be whip- ped to death, for some small matter wherein they haue offended him. Yet there are some of them good and discreet, which the King vseth for dispatching of his businesse, and other matters

Neighbour
Kingdomes.
Corea or *Cora*.

A Paradoxe.
Contentednes.

Corea ioyned
to the Conti-
nent of *China*.

Queenes
closenesse.

Eunuches.

The yard and
all cut away.

Their numbers
and choice.

Seruice.

Ignorance.

Couetousnesse.

of weight. Though the ordinarie wages which they haue of the King bee small, yet it serueth them well to liue of, and therefore they goe verie well apparelled in many Robes of Silke verie finely wrought of diuers colours, and the manner of their Cap and Apparell differeth from all other peoples. There are of them in number, as they say, aboute sixteene thousand of them in the Kings palaces. Hereby your Worship may see what Examples and Education the King of *China* obserueth, which spendeth all his time with these and with women.

Although it be the custome of these Kings, to shew themselves from time to time to certaine of the greatest *Mandarins*: yet they neuer suffer the rest of the people to see them, nor to speake with them; and when he speaketh with any bodie, they enter not into the place where hee is; but the King commeth forth to a certaine place. If there be any Nation among whom the Law of Nations hath no place in many things it is this: for as they haue no commerce with other Nations, so they haue not the Law which is common to all men. And therefore they admit no Ambassadour in *China*, vnlesse it be by the way of giuing some Present, the King not acknowledging any; neither doe they thinke that there is any in the World, which is able to deale with their King by way of an Embassadour. And if they bring any Message (as the *Japans* brought within these few yeares, who came to intreate of certaine agreements, by no meanes they are admitted to the sight of the King; neither doth he giue them audience: but some *Mandarin* doth accompany them: and the entertaynment which they giue them, and honour which they shew to all strangers which come vnto them is verie small. But as for the most part they haue no great conceit of strangers, so their entertaynment is like to their conceit. Whosoever he be that commeth into their Countrey, they shut him vp in a verie homely house, not suffering him to goe abroad.

Royall Palace.

The Kings Palaces are verie great; and albeit in the excellencie of Architecture they bee not comparable to those of our *Europe*, yet they much exceed in the hugeness of Building. They haue three wals foure square, the circuit of the first may be as bigge as the wall of a good Citie. Betweene the first and the second wall, there is a wall which enuironeth the greatest part of the House, and here are many Houses of the Eunuches of the lowest sort, which exercise Mechanicall Arts, or the like, as Porters, &c.

Betweene the second and the third wall there are many pieces of the Kings House, which is not joyned altogether, but in diuers parts there be diuers Roomes, built for diuers purposes, one answering to another. These parcels of Buildings which are here (which are euerie one as long as the Carre of an Horse, and very high) haue no vnder Roome, but a great Building raised vp with foundations of great Bricks, as broad and long as all the Building, wherein there are Gates of Marble stone very wel wrought to passe from one place to another. This house or Foundation is about eight fathomes high little more or lesse. About these are gilded Galleries, Terraces, Halls, and Chambers, which on the out-side shew verie gallant (which is as much as can be seene; for no man can get in to see them.) The greatest part of them is of Timber, with many gilded Embossments, and many other pleasant Pictures. The Roofes are verie well made. The Tiles are of a farre better fashion, in mine opinion, then ours, and so euen ioyned together that that they seeme to be all one piece: they are all anneled with yellow, which is the Kings Colour. To conclude, I say, that it seemed vnto me in multitude of Houses and greatnesse a stately thing. Also betweene these wals the Riuer runneth which I spake of: and to passe from one to another there are many faire Bridges of Marble made of very great stones: betweene these wals was one of the two fourth parts of the House, on which the fire from Heauen fell downe within these few yeares, and consumed it: and with the blowes of the stones which fell downe many verie great Houses were broken downe to the ground (as sometimes I beheld my selfe) and they remayned with many signes of fire on them. They say, that when this fire fell from Heauen, the King commanded his Sonne to kneele downe, and beseech *The Heauen to be mercifull vnto him, for he himselfe was too wicked, and that the Heauen would not beare him.* Within these wals are many Lodgings of the grauest Eunuches, who like Fellowes of Colledges liue many in one House, euerie one hauing his priuate Chamber. Heere betweene these wals are Mounts and Groues and other recreations whither the King repaireth to recreate himselfe. And the space of these wals is very great, for when I went to the Palace to teach the Eunuches which were in that place to trimme the Clocke, I passed before I came to their Lodging eight great Palaces, and on the other side there were many more. The Lodgings of the Eunuches vsually are low and bad, for the Kings Seruants, yet very necessarie.

Yellow is the Kings Colour.

Riuer and Bridges.

Fire from Heauen.

No peace to the wicked.

Mounts and Groues.

Third partition.

Next after this followeth the third wal, where the King dwelleth, with his Wiues and Children, and those which where his neereft seruants, whereinto no man entred but they. And therefore albeit I haue heard that it is a very beautiful thing & very much worth the seeing, as in very deed it sheweth to be: yet I cannot giue any Relation of any thing concerning the same in particular. Only this I say, that when I was in the House of the Eunuches that were the Mathematicians, I went sometimes vp into a Towre, from whence I might see the tops of the Houses, the Groues, and Orchards, and me thought that I neuer in my life saw so great a frame of Building, although I haue scene many in mine owne Countrey. And therefore there are alwaies a great

a great number of Officers of all Offices, some making new Buildings, and others repaying the old. The King neuer goeth abroad, especially this King, and his Ancestors some one time and no more, vnto a Temple which they haue builded to *The Heauen, and the Earth*, where euerie yeare they offer Sacrifice. And therefore I know not with what pompe hee goeth abroad: But like as in his seruice he hath no men of qualitie, it cannot bee such as our Kings vse in their going to Church:

King a home Prisoner. Temple of Heauen and Earth.

There is a barbarous custome among the Kings, that when the Prince is aduanced to the Kingdome, within a short time after, all the rest of the old Kings Sonnes are to depart out of the House to certaine places appointed for them, which vnto the third Generation are serued like Kings, but they neuer come more in the presence of their Father, Mother, nor elder Brother: and therefore there is great lamentations of their Mothers at their departure. The Posteritie of these doe alwaies remayne as Kinsmen, and with the name of the Kings Kinsmen. To all these (which are very many) the King giueth sufficient mayntenance, which is no great matter. They neuer beare Office; and deale with other people, and marrie with them, without doing themselves much good or none at all in being the Kings Kinsmen, nor purchase any speciall authoritie thereby. Other Kinsfolkes of the King, married with the Sisters, Daughters, or Cousins of the King, or Queene, although they haue sufficient to liue vpon, yet haue they exceeding small authoritie, and haughtinesse. And herein, nor in any thing may they compare with the *Mandarins*.

Barbarous v. sage of the Kings Children.

Here came to visit vs one married with the Sister of this King that is now, in a Chaire with three or foure Boyes to wait on him. Another came oftentimes married with the Sister of the Wife of the Prince that is to inherit, on Horse-backe with one Boy only attending on him; and hee entred into the Examinations that hee may proceed Doctor and become a *Mandarin*: So little is the benefit that groweth vnto them by the Consanguinity or Affinity of the King which are joynd vnto him thereby.

Here the time faileth me, though neither matter, nor desire to giue contentment to your Worship, and the rest of my most deare Fathers and Brethren, neither doth nor shall euer faile me. And therefore if I shall vnderstand, that they take this in good worth, I will giue Relation of that which shall fall out here by the helpe and grace of our Lord, to whom I humbly beseech all of them to commend mee.

King's Affinitie and Consanguinitie, little worth.

I send here withall two Maps of this Kingdome of *China*, which came to my hand after I had written this Letter, and Relation. I sought to translate all that which is contayned in the *China* Letters; which is all the Rent which euerie one of these Prouinces payeth to the King of *China*; and to make a description of all the Houses which euerie Prouince hath, and how many people, and many things else: But your Worship may beleeue that by no meanes I had leysure: and therefore I send you only the figure, and another yeare (if it please our Lord God) I will send you the same with the declaration thereof.

Maps of China.

All the rundles and squares which are therein are Cities, or Fortresses of many Inhabitants, both of them walled about. There is no Towne here set downe that it is not walled: the others are many more.

The Rivers are well distinguished. The great lines are the limits of the Prouinces: the other small lines, and of little circuit are the Iurisdicktions of some one principall Citie.

We print here another Map of all the World of our manner with *Chinise* Letters, which because wee want time to declare the Letters, I send not till the next yeare, which then we will send if our Lord grant vs life.

I send you many other Papers, that your Worships may see the fashion of the Letters of these people of *China*, and what Characters wee committed to memorie. From *Paquin*, beeing the Court and Royall Citie of the King of *China*, the ninth of March, 1602.

CHAP. VII.

A Discourse of the Kingdome of China, taken out of RICIVS and TRIGAVTIVS, containyng the Countrey, People, Gouvernment, Religion, Rites, Sects, Characters, Studies, Arts, Acts; and a Map of China added, drawne out of one there made with Annotations for the understanding thereof.

§. I.

Of the Name, Scite, and Greatnesse; the Tributaries, Commoditie, Arts, Printing, Scales, Inke, Pencill-pennes and Fannes.

Here in the author begins l. 1 cap. 2. the first being a place: The diuers names of this Kingdome.



The China cu-
some of chan-
ging names &
yet this name
China, Sina, or
Cathay, vn-
knowne to
them.

Conceit of the
Earths forme.

The Kings
Title.

Largenesse of
the Kingdome
of China.

The temperate
Climate.

His vtmost Empire in the East, hath beene made knowne to Europe by diuers appellations, as that of *Ptolemy, Sina*; that later of *Marcus Paulus the Venetian, Cathay*; and that most vsuall receiued from the *Portugals*, which call it *China*. I doubt not also that this is the Region of the *Hippophagi*, or *Horse-eaters*, a meat there as common as *Beefe* here: as also that this is the Region *Serica* or *Silken*; forasmuch as there is no Kingdome of the East where *Silke* is found in that quantitie; and the *Portugals* ship it thence for *Iapon*, and all *India*; the *Spaniards* also of the *Philippina* Islands, freight their ships therewith for all the *American* World. Moreouer, I find in the *China* Chronicles that this *Silke*-worke was there two thousand six hundred thirtie six yeares before the Birth of *Christ*: whence it passed to the rest of *Asia*, to our *Europe* and to *Africa*. But in this varietie nothing seemes so strange to me, as that all these names are so strange to them, not knowne or once heard of, although the change of names be not strange to that Countrey. For as often as the Empire passeth from one Family to another, according to the vicissitude of humane Affaires: He which attayneth the Throne, imposeth a name at his pleasure. So hath it beene sometimes called *Than* (which signifieth exceedingly large) another while *Tu*, that is, *Rest*; after that successiuey *Hia*, or *Great*; *Sciam*, *Adorned*; *Chen*, *Perfect*; *Han*, *The Milkie way in Heauen*, &c. And since this Family, called *Cin*, which now holdeth the Souereignty, hath reigned, it is called *Min*, which intimateth *Splendour*, and by vsuall addition of one syllable *Ta-min*, that is, the Kingdome of *Great Splendour*, *Brightnesse* or *Glory*. Yet doe few of their Neighbour Nations obserue these changes of Names, whereby each of them almost, stile it by seuerall appellations. Those of *Cocin*, *Cauchin-china*, and the *Siamites* call it *Cin*; the *Iapanders*, *Than*; the *Tartars*, *Han*; the *Westerne Saracens*, *Catay*. Also amongst the *Chinois* themselues, besides that arbitrary name so imposed by their Kings, it hath some common to all Ages. Such are *Ciumquo*, that is, the Kingdome; and *Chiumboa*, which signifieth a Garden, a name arising from their Geography, beleeuing indeed the roundnesse of the Heauen, but a squarenesse of the Earth, and their Kingdome in the midst thereof, a conceit growne out of conceit now, by better instruction of the Iesuits.

Their King is called *Lord of the World*, and they supposed accordingly that their Kingdome containd the principall part thereof; not deeming the Neighbour Kingdomes worthy to be called *Kingdomes*, which yet before their Commerce with *Europeans* were all they knew. And not vnworthily is the name *Great* prefixed to their Kingdomes appellation, beeing the greatest Kingdome in the World, which at this day carrieth One Name, or hath done in former times. For Southward it beginneth in the nineteenth degree, at the Ile which they call *Hainan*, that is, the *South-Sea*; and runneth into the North to the two & fortieth, euen to those wals which diuide the *Chinois* from the *Tartars*. The longitude beginneth from the one hundred and twelfth (reckoning from the *Canaries*) in the Prouince *Tunan*, and extends East-ward to the Sea in one hundred thirtie two. These Dimensions wee haue obserued in diuers places of the Kingdome where we haue passed, by *Astrolabes* and other Mathematicall Instruments; adding also the obseruation of *Eclipses* in their Almanacks, where the Moones Change and Full are iustly described, and specially by authoritie of *Cosmographicall* Plaines. Yet if others which shall come after vs shall more exactly obserue the longitude (which I dare say will be no great matter) I shall not vnwillingly yeeld. Hence may be obserued that this ample Kingdome is for the most part within the temperate Zone; neither doth it extend so farre North-ward as some Maps haue described by many degrees. And lest any should thinke that some great parts of so large a Domi-

nion

nion be desert, I will here translate out of a China booke entituled, *The Description of that Kingdome*, there printed, 1579. that which followeth.

In the Kingdome (of China) there are two Provinces Royall, Nanquin the Southerne Court, and Pequim the Northerne, and thirteene others. In these fiftene Provinces (you might call them Kingdomes) by another division are numbred one hundred fiftie eight Regions or lesse Provinces, called by them *Fu*; the most of which haue twelue or fiftene Cities of reasonable quantitie, besides Villages, Hamlets, Castles and Townes. In these Provinces are two hundred fortie seven greater Cities, called *Cheu* (howbeit sometimes distinguished from other Cities rather in dignitie then largenesse) of vulgar Cities, which they call *Hien*, 1152. Of men growne to ripe age, which pay tribute or poll money to the King, were then fiftie and eight millions, sine hundred fiftie thousand, 801. In all which the female sexe is not reckoned: and of the Masculine are omitted, Boyes, Youths, Eunuchs, Souldiers, the Royall kindred, Magistrates, Students, and very many others. And of the Souldiers, although there be a Supine peace (except some Tartarian assault sometimes) there are maintained in the Kings pay, and in perpetuall Armes, about ten hundred thousand. For the three Northern Provinces are almost halfe in pay. In that booke are numbred Kingdomes adioyning to that of China and tributarie; to the East three, to the West fiftie three, to the South fiftie six, to the North three. Yet I obserue that nothing so many doe in these dayes pay tribute, and those which doe, carry more from China, then they bring thither: and therefore the Chinois care not much whether they continue loyall or no.

To the worth of this Kingdome, may bee added, the fortification by Nature or Art round about it. To the South and East, the Sea washeth it, and so many Ilands guard it, that hardly can a Fleet of Ships approach the Continent. To the North, steepe precipices are ioyned together, with a continued Tract of 405. leagues, and exclude the Tartars assaults. To the North-west is a sandy desert of many dayes journey, which prohibite passage of an Armie, or minace their burials. The South-west hath great Mountaines and little Kingdomes to preuent feare on that side.

From this largenesse of Territories proceeds such diuersified varietie of things growing in that Kingdome, some in the torrid, others in the colder or in the temperate Zones: whatsoever is required to the necessitie or delicacie of food or raiment being there naturall; nothing being here in Europe but either is there, or a better supply: Wheat, Barley, Panike, and other Corne; Rice, Pulse (in some Provinces two or three harvests yeerely) fruits and Apples of the best (Nurs and Almonds excepted) Figs and others vnkowne in our world, as the *Lycias* and the *Longanas* in Canton Province onely; the *Sucusina* or China Figge, or Apple so called, because they may dry it as they do Figs, & liker to a Peach red, without hoarinesse or stone: in Oranges, Citrons, Limons they exceed all places. So doe they in goodnesse and varietie of Gardens, Herbs, as being there much vsed, some for religion, others for pouertie easing nothing else. Flowers haue there taken vp their bowers, admirably varied, more respected for sight then sent; the Art of distilling sweet-waters being there vheard of. In the foure Southerne Provinces grow *Betre* or *Betele* leafe, and the tree *Arequa* or *Arequiera*, so much vsed in India, and chewed all day long for their stomacke and teeth. *Sesame* Oile is both odoriferous and plentiful. Wine is not there so good as in Europe (the Grape being neither pleasant nor frequent) made of Rice and other things.

Hogs-flesh is common food: they haue Buffalls, Muttons, Goats-flesh; Hennes, Duckes, Geese, innumerable: Horses also, Asses, Mules, and Dogs-flesh are food, and shamble commodities. In some places superstition abtaineth from Beefe and Buffalls, Venison, especially red Deere, Hare, and diuers domestick creatures are common; all cheape. Their Horses and Beasts of labour are not so goodly as in Europe, but more in number, and therefore in cheapnesse. The whole Kingdome is very commodious for passage by Riuers both naturall and hand-made: whence the number and kindes of shipping is incredible; insomuch that a moderne Writer hath auerred, that there are as many which keepe on the waters as on the land; an Hyperbole, yet not so exceeding the truth to such as saile these Riuers, as may bee seene to others. I am of opinion, that there are as many Ships in this Kingdome, as are in all the world beside in fresh waters: for their Sea-shipping is fewer and not comparable with ours. But to returne to their Horses, the Chinois know not how to manage and breake them but by gelding; so that their Horses for seruice are innumerable, but so vnseruiceable, that they will not indure the neighing of the Tartarian Horse without flight. They shoote them not with Iron, so that in rockie and hard wayes they faile.

Besides the Seas plentie of Fish and Riuers, they are stored also in Lakes, seeming for their depths and largenesse petie Seas. They haue more store of Fish-ponds also, then in these parts, whence the Market is daily furnished. Their Woods haue no Lions, but store of Tigers, Beares, Woolues, Foxes. Elephants there are not, but for pompe some kept at the Court in Pequim, brought from other places. Flaxe they haue not, but are supplied with abundance of Cotton, the seed whereof was brought thither foure hundred yeeres since, and hath so liked the soyle, that the whole world, as may seeme thence might haue sufficient. Of Silke-workes wee say no more. Of Hempe, and of some other Herbs, they make many clothes, especially for Summer

*Some say many more see the Map and notes.

chap. 3.
The commodities of China.

Fruits of all sorts.

Flesh for food.

Passages by water.

Store of shipping and water dwellers.

Horses.

Fish.

Wilde beasts.

Cotton.

Sale of cloth.

vse

vse. They milke not their Sheepe; they sheare them, yet make no cloth of the Wooll (notwithstanding, woollen-clothes brought thither by Merchants is well sold) but light Summer clothes for blankets and other sleight vses. The North parts, though neerer the Sunne then some Regions in *Europe*, are colder, the great rivers and lakes frozen ouer, of which we can giue no reason, but the neighbouring Mountaines of *Tartaria*: against which they are furnished with choice Fures.

Metalls.

All sorts of metalls are there found. They make besides Brasse and Copper, another shining like Silver, as cheape as the yellow Brasse. Of molten Iron they make Kettles, Caldrons, Bells, Mortars, Ordnance, and other things. Their Gold is cheaper then with vs. Silver they vse for money, distinguished not by stampe but weight, in all bargaining vsing the ballance, which is made the more incommodious for the differing goodnesse of the Silver, and frequent allay and fraud. In some places are Brasse farthings. Plate and Gold vessells are vsed by the greater, but nothing so much as in these parts. The women spend much Gold and Silver in their head-tires.

Porcellane.

The vulgar vse earthen dishes, called, I now not why, *porcellane*; the best whereof is made in the *Kiamsin* Prouince of a yellow earth. It endureth without riuing hot meates, yea as wooden dishes here with a wyre, they sowe the rifts and make them hold liquor. They make Glasse, but therein are short of the *Europeans*.

Glasse.

Buildings.

Their houses are of Timber commonly, euen the Kings Palaces, the walls which serue for partitions of roomes being sometimes of Bricke, but the roofe sustained by Timbers: which together with their shipping argues their plentie of trees. Oakes are rare, but supplied with a hard and euerlasting wood with them vsed for coffins, in which their curiositie will sometimes spend a thousand Duckets. There is also store of a kinde of reed, which the *Portugalls* call *Bambu*, of almost Iron hardnesse, the roundnesse scarcely compassed with both hands, and serues for smaller posts; the lesser of them for Launces and other vses. For fire they vse Wood, Coles, Reeds, Straw, and a bituminous substance called *Mni* (a kinde of Mine-cole or Sea-cole) which is most and best in the North, digged out of the earth.

Hard Timber and Reeds.

Sea-cole.

Rhubarb, China, Muske.

Of medicinable herbs they haue diuers, specially Rhubarbe, sold for tenne halfe pence the pound: *China* Wood, or holy Wood growing in desarts naturally, and thence taken for no other price but the labour: Muske; Salt both made of Sea-waters, and of others easily in the Continent; Sugar more common there then Hony, though both plentifull: Waxe both of Bees, and another whiter and burning better made by certaine wormes, which therefore are nourished in trees; another also made of a certaine fruit: Their paper is not so during as ours, nor can endure the presse on both sides.

Salt, Sugar, Home-waxe.

Paper.

Their drinke Chia, Chia, or Cia.

I omit their parti-coloured Marbles, their gems, colours for paintings, odoriferous Woods, &c. I cannot passe by some rarities; as their shrub whence they make their drinke *Cia*. They gather the leaues in the Spring, and dry them in the shadow, and keepe it for daily decoction, vsing it at meates, and as often as any guest comes to their house, yea twice or thrice, if hee make any tarrying. They sup it hot, bitterish to the palate, but wholesome: not of ancient vse, for they haue no ancient Character in their bookes for it. The *Japanders* pay deare for it, ten or twelue Duckets a pound for the best, and vse it otherwise, putting the poulder of the leafe to hot water, as much as two or three spoonefulls: the *Chinois* put the leaues themselves into the hot water, which they drinke, leauing the leaues behinde. They haue also a bituminous substance like milke, strained out of the barke of a tree, of pitchy cleauing, whence they make *Sandaracha*, a varnish for their houses and household, ships, and other things: yeelding a smooth touch to the hand and glasse splendour to the eye with long continuance. Thus can they more then counterfeit the colours of any wood, and hereby are provided against prouisions of Naperie, this seruing for Table linnen; they recouering any greasie contagion with a little rinsing of water. They haue an Oyle also pressed from an apple not vnlike it in vse, but not so resplendent.

Sandaracha, a rich Varnish.

Spices:

They haue Cinamon and Ginger growing, Pepper and other Spices are brought from other parts. They haue store of Gun-powder, not so much for Artillerie (which they can vse but meanely) as for Fire-workes in pompous spectacles, thereby representing, Trees, Fruits, Battels, and other things with great Art and cost. We saw at *Nanquin*, in the first moneth of the yeere, as much this way spent as would haue serued a continued fight two yeeres.

Chap. 4. Of their Arts in China.

This is not to be vnderstood of Temples, &c. as may appeare by *Nanquin* Temple, &c.

Printing. Antiquitie and manner of it.

For Mechanicall Arts, they are not comparable to our mens Architecture, whether yee regard the beautie or continuance of their buildings, they not so much as conceiuing or crediting the stately magnificence or long durance of some in these parts. They either make no foundation, or verie sleight, and thinke a mans age to be age enough for a house, and that scarcely without reparations: their houses being also of Timber, and where the walls are Stone, they haue Timbers to beare vp the roofe, that the wall may easily be repaired or renewed without meddling with the supporters.

Printing is ancienter there then here; some thinke before the Incarnation, and most certaine about five hundred yeeres old: much differing from ours because of the multitude of their Characters. They graue or cut these Characters in a table of Peare-tree, Apple-tree or *Zizyphus*. In this

this Table they lightly glue on a whole leafe written, and then cunningly shaue the drie paper, that they make very little transparence; after which they cut the wood, that onely the prints or lineaments of the Characters are eminent: which done, with great facilitie and celeritie they print off leaues at pleasure, one Printer often 1500. in one day; so ready also in cutting, that to mee Ours seeme to spend as much time in *composing and correcting*. This course is more accommodated to their great Characters then to ours, whose little letters are not easily cut in wooden Tables. They haue this commoditie also, that keeping these Tables by them, they may with little labour adde or take away words or sentences: and need not at once print off any more Copies then present vse or sale requireth. Wee doe this with Bookes of our Religion or *European Sciences*, printing them at home by our *China* seruants. They haue another way of printing Characters or Pictures printed before in Marble or Wood, laying on a leafe of Paper moist, and on that a woollen Cloth, whereon they beate with a Hammer till the Paper insinuates it selfe into the voide spaces and lineaments of the Characters or Picture: after which they lightly colour that leafe with Inke, or other colour, those delineations onely remayning white, and retayning the Prototype-figure. But this is for grosser Pourtraitures,

They are much addicted to pictures, but nothing so cunning in painting, founding, grauing, as *Europeans*. They make magnificent Arches with figures of men and beasts, and adorne their Temples with Idols and Bells, but their Genius otherwise generous and ingenious enough, for want of commerce with other Nations, is herein rudely artificiall. Shadowes and Oyle in picturing are to them vnknowne, and their Pictures therefore haue no more life of Art then Nature. In Statues, themselves seeme Statues for all rules of Symmetry any further then by the eye, and yet will be doing in huge (indeed) Monsters of this kinde, in Earth, Brasse, and Marble. Their Bells haue all wooden Hammers, which yeeld a wooden sound, not comparable to ours, nor seeming capable of those of Iron. They haue variety and plenty of Muscalle Instruments, yet want Organs and all that haue Keyes. Their Strings are made of raw Silke, and know not that any can be made of Guts. The Symetrie of their Instruments is answerable to ours. All their Musike is simple and single-toned, vtterly ignorant of comfort in discord-concord: yet much applaud they themselves in their owne Harmonie, howsoeuer dissonant to our eares. But this pride seemes to grow (as usually it doth) from ignorance, and it is likely they would preferre ours if they knew it.

They haue scarcely any Instruments for measuring of (that which measures all things) Time; such as they haue, measure by water or fire, but very imperfectly, as is also their Sun-diall, which they know not to fit to differing places. They are much addicted to Comedies, and therein exceed ours; some practising the same in principall Townes, others traouelling thorow the Kingdome (or roguing, if you will) beidg the dregs of the Kingdome, buying Boyes whom they frame to this faining facultie. Their Comedies are commonly antient, whether Histories or deuices, and few new written. They are vsed in publike and in priuate Solemnities; as also in Feasts, whereto being called, they offer to the Inuiter a Booke, in which to take his choise, the Guests looking, eating, drinking together; and sometimes after ten houres feasting, they will spend as much succeeding time in a succession of Interludes one after another. Their pronunciation is with singing accent, and not with the vulgar tone. Seales are of great vse with them, not onely for Letters, but for their Poems also, Pictures, Bookes, and many other things. These contayne the name, sur-name, dignitie, and degree: neither content they themselves with one, but haue many, inscribing sometimes the beginning and end of their workes; not imprinting them in Waxe, or such like substance, but onely colour them red. The chiefe men haue on the Table a Boxe full of Seales, which containe their diuers names (for euery *Chinese* hath many names) and those of Wood, Marble, Iuorie, Brasse, Crystall, Corall, and better stones. There are many workemen of that *Seale-occupation*, their Characters differing from the vulgar, and fauouring of Antiquitie and Learning.

There is another Art not vnlike, of making Inke for all writing, made into little Cakes or Balls of the smoke of Oyle. For their estimation of exact writing makes the making of Inke also to be holden an Art not illiberall. They vse it on a Marble smooth stone; with a few drops of water rubbing those Balls, and colouring the stone, thence taking it with a Pensill of Hares haire wherewith they write.

Fannes also are in much vse by both Sexes for the causing of winde to coole them in Summer. No man may goe abroad without a Fanne, although the weather be cold, and the winde already bee importunate: the vse being rather for ornament then necessitie. They are made of Reeds, Wood, Iuorie, Ebonie, together with Paper or Silke, and a certaine odoriferous Straw, in round, ouall, or square forme. The chiefe men vse them of Paper gilded with plaits to be let in or out, and therein inscribe some pithie sentencce or Poeme. These are the most common gifts or presents (as Gloues in *Europe*) and we haue a Chist full of them sent vs by our friends. In other things the *Chinois* are liker ours, vsing Tables, Stooles, and Beds (which the adioyning Nations doe not, but sit on Carpets on the floore) to eat or sleepe.

§. II.

Of their Characters and writing downward: their studies, Ethikes, Astrologie, Physike, Authentike Authors, Degrees how taken both Philosophicall and Militarie.

Cap. 5.
Monosyllable
Language, as
also our proper
English is al-
most wholly.

70000. Chara-
cters.

Equiuocations

Five Accents.

Hardnesse of
China Speech.

Eloquencia sine
eloquio.

Many Nations
and Langua-
ges haue the
same Chara-
cters.
Court Lan-
guage.

Their writing.

Morall Philo-
sophie.

Confutius.
His heroiike
honours.

Mathematikes.

Phaenomena.

NOW, for their more liberall Arts, and Literate-degrees, this Kingdome differs from all others: in which their Learned beare principall sway. The *China* words are Monosyllables, not one otherwise, howsoever two or three *Vowels* sometimes are conioyned into one *Diphthong*, to speake after our manner; for they haue not *Consonants* nor *Vowels*, but diuers Characters for so many things, and as many of them, as there are Words, so that a Word, Syllable, Letter, are the same; and when we ioyne diuers Syllables to make one Word, it is after our fashion, because they signifie the same thing; with them each Syllable is a feuerall word. And although the number of things and Characters seeme the same, yet doe they so compound them together, that they exceed not seuentie or eighty thousand: and hee which knoweth ten thousand of them, hath the most necessary: to know all is in manner for any one man impossible. Of these Characters the sound is often the same, the figure and signification differing: so that no Language is so equiuocall; nor can any Speech bee written from the Speakers mouth by the Hearer, nor can a Booke bee read to the Hearers vnderstanding, except they haue the Booke before them, by their eyes to distinguish the equiuocations which their eares cannot. Yea, in speaking accurately, the Hearer often vnderstands not without repetition and writing either with Inke, or water on the Table, or forming the Characters in the aire; and this most happens in the most elegant and polite discourses (the stile of Bookes and Inkhorne-dialect of their learned, wholly differing from the vulgar Idiome.) This equiuocation and paucity of sounds is in some sort eased be *Accents*, which are five, and not ealie to distinguish; by which of one Syllable (as wee account it) they make it with differing tones five fold in differing signification: and there is no Word which is not pronounced with one of these Accents. Hence is the Language so difficult as none else in the World for Strangers to learne to speake and vnderstand; which importunate labour of ours hath yet attained. The reason I conceiue to be that they alway haue laboured to adorne their writing more then their speech, their eloquence still consisting in writing and not in pronounciation, as *Isocrates* is commended amongst the *Greekes*.

This multitude of Characters, as it is burthensome to the memory, so it hath this commodity, the commerce with diuers Nations of different Languages by community of writing; *Iapon*, *Corai*, *Cauchinchina*, the *Leubices*, vnderstanding and reading the Characters, each into his owne Language, which the other vnderstand nothing at all. Each Prouince also hath its owne, and all haue one common Tongue besides, which they call *Quonhoa*, or the Court Language (the Magistrates being all forrainers, and none bearing Office in his Countrey Prouince) vfed in their Courts, and by the Learned: this onely did ours learne, nor is the other vfed by the ciuill or learner in conference, except priuaty by Countrey-men: yea, children and women learne this Court-speech. I heare that the *Iaponians* haue an Alphabet also of Letters after our fashion, besides these Characters; but in *China* they haue none, so that from their Cradle to the extremest age they are learning their Characters, as many as professe Learning: which howsoever it takes vp time from better Sciences, it doth it also from idle youthfull vanities. Hence also riseth a kinde of writing with them, in few Characters expressing that which would cost vs long discourses. Their course of writing is from the right hand, the line downward, ours contrary from the left and side-ways.

Of all the noblest Sciences they are best skilled in morall Philosophie (naturall, they haue rather obscured) and being ignorant of Logicke, they deliuer those Ethicke precepts in confused sentences and discourses without order by meere naturall wit. Their greatest Philosopher is called *Confutius*, whom I finde to haue bene borne 551. yeeres before the comming of *Christ*, and to haue liued about 70. yeeres, by example as well as precept exciting to vertue, accounted a very holy man. And if wee marke his sayings and doings, wee must confesse few of our Ethnike Philosophers before him, and many behinde. But with the *Chinois*, his word is authoritie, and no speech of his is called in question; the Learned, yea the Kings also, euer since worshipping him, not as a God, but as a Man; and his posteritie are much esteemed, the head of that familie inheriting by grant of Kings a title of great honour, with immunities and reuenues answerable.

They haue some knowledge also of Astrologie, and the Mathematikes: In Arithmetike and Geometry antiently more excellent, but in learning and teaching confused. They reckon foure hundred Starres more then our Astrologers haue mentioned, numbring certaine smaller which doe not alway appeare. Of the heauenly Apparances they haue no rules: they are much busied about foretelling Eclipses, and the courses of Planets, but therein very erroneous; and all their

skill

skill of Starres is in manner that which wee call Iudiciall Astrology, imagining these things below to depend on the Starres. Somewhat they haue receiued of the Westerne *Saracens*, but they confirme nothing by Demonstration, only haue left to them *Tables*, by which they reckon the Eclipses and Motions:

The first of this Royall Family forbad any to learne this Iudiciall Astrologie, but those which by Hereditary right are thereto designed, to preuent Innouations. But he which now reigneth mayntayneth diuers Mathematicians, both Eunuches within the Palace, and Magistrates without, of which there are in *Pequin* two Tribunals, one of *Chinois*, which follow their owne Authors, another of *Saracens* which reforme the same by their Rules, and by conference together. Both haue in a small Hill a Plaine for Contemplation where are the huge Mathematicall Instruments of Brasse before mentioned: One of the Colledge nightly watcheth thereon as is before obserued. That of *Nanquin* exceeds this of *Pequin*, as being then the Seat Royall. When the *Pequin* Astrologers foretell Eclipses, the Magistrates and Idoll Ministers are commanded to assemble in their Officiary Habits to helpe the labouring Planets, which they think they do with beating brazen Bels, and often kneelings, all the time that they thinke the Eclipse lasteth, lest they should then bee deuoured (as I haue heard) by I know not what *Serpent*.

Their Physicke Rules differ much from ours; they examine the Pulse alike. They succeed well in their Prescriptions, which vsually are Simples, Herbs, Rootes, and the like. They haue for it no publike Schoole, but each learnes it of his owne Master, yet in the two Royall Cities Degrees of this Art are giuen after Examination, but cursorily and without any respect acquired by his Degree, because all may practise which will. Neyther doth any study Mathematickes or Physicke, which is in any hope of the Etlike glory, but such as want of wit or meanes hath deterred from studies more sublime. Contrariwise, that Etlike Science is the Ladder of *China* felicity. *Confutius* brought into order the Bookes of foure former Philosophers, and wrote a fift himselfe, which fise Bookes hee called *Doltrines*: in which are containd Morall and Politike Rules, Examples of the Ancients, Rites and Sacrifices, diuers Poems also and the like. Besides these fise Volumes, out of *Confutius* and his Disciples are brought into one Volume, diuers Precepts without order, Similes, Sentences Etlike, Oeconomike, Politike: this Booke for the foure parts is called the *Foure Bookes*. These nine are the ancientest *China* Bookes, whence the others most what are taken, and contayne most of their Characters. And the ancient Kings enacted that they which professe Learning, should take the foundations of their Learning from these Bookes, not only to learne the proper sense of the Text, but to bee able on the sudden to write fitly of any sentence, for which cause that *Tetrabiblion* is learned without Booke. Neyther is there any *Vniuersitie* or publike Schoole (as some of ours haue affirmed, the Masters or Professors whereof haue vndertaken to read and expound those Bookes; but euery one gets a Master at home at his owne choice and cost (of which there is a huge multitude.) In this Science are three Degrees bestowed on them which offer themselues to be examined and are iudged meete. That Examination is almost wholly in Writing. The first Degree is conferred in euery City in that place which is called the Schoole, by some learned man designed to that Office by the King, who is by that place called *Tibio*; the Degree is termed *Siencai*. A threefold Examination is premised. First, at his comming to any City of his Prouince, all that stand for that degree in that City, and the confining limits thereof resort thither and are examined by those Masters which are set ouer the Bachelours till they haue attained further Degree, mayntayned by the Kings stipend. In this Examination euery one is admitted, perhaps foure or 5000. assembled to that purpose. The second is by the foure Gouvernours of the City (for none are admitted to Government but the Learned) which present out of all that number 200. of the better Writers to the *Tibio*, and he in a third Examination chuseth 20. or 30. of the best, which he entitleth *Bachelors*: their Ensignes are a long Gowne, a Cap, and Boots, which none else may weare, & in all places they are much respected as in a ranke aboue the vulgar Citizens, and enjoy also diuers Priuiledges, being in manner subiect only to the Masters aforesaid and the *Tibio*, other Magistrates scarcely meddling with them. This *Tibio* not only hath authority ouer these new created Bachelors, but ouer those which were made before to re-examine them: and these according to their writing hee diuideth into fise ranks; the first he rewardeth with some publike Office in the City, the second with some inferior honour, the third he neyther rewards nor punisheth, the fourth he causeth to be publicly whipped, the last he degradeth and maketh againe Plebeians. The second Degree is called *Kingin*, and may be compared with our *Licentiates*, and is conferred but once in three yeares, and that in the Metropolitane City about the eight Moone with greater Majesty. And the degree is not conferred to all, but to a certayne number of the worthiest, according to the dignity of each Prouince: *Pequin* and *Nanquin* haue each 150. *Cequian*, *Quamsi*, and *Fuquian* 95. others fewer. Only Bachelors, but not all, are admitted to this Examination, the *Tibio* sending out of each City or Schoole 30. or at most 40. of the best, which number yet ariseth in some Prouince to 4000. of those Examinates or Probationers for this second degree. A little before the eighth Moone (which often fells in September, the *Pequin* Magistrates present to the King 100. of the most esteemed Philosophers in the Kingdome, who thence pricketh or nameth thirty, for each Prouince two, to

Colledges:

Eclipses.

Physicians.

Confutius his
fise Bookes.
Tetrabiblion.

No Vniuersity.

Degrees.

Tibio the Pro-
poser.
Siencai a Ba-
chelors de-
gree, or as Ma-
ster of Art
with vs.

Ornaments.
Their Priuile-
gedges.

The second
degree, *Kingin*, as *Licentia-
tes* or Ba-
chelors in Di-
uinitie, if we
compare them
with ours.

Examiners.

Palace of examination.

take charge of the Examination of these Candidates. One of these two must bee of the *Hanlin Colledge*, the Collegians whereof are most famous thorow the Kingdome. The King doth not name them till that nicke of time when they must presently packe to their Prouince, diligently guarded also that they speake with none of that Prouince till the *Act* or *Commencement* be past. In the same Prouince also are chosen the best Philosophers to assist these two Examiners. In euery *Mother City* is a huge Palace built for this purpose, compassed with high wals, with many stations for the Examiners separate from noyse; and foure thousand Cels or Studies besides in the midst of the Palace, wherein is a stoole and table for one man, that none may see or confer with any other.

Dayes of Examination.

When the Examiners sent by the King, and those of the Prouince are come thither, they are presently shut vp in their stations before they can speake with other men, or with each other, during all the Examination time. Night and day, meane-whiles the Magistrates and Souldiers guard the Palace from Colloquies. Three dayes (the same thorow the Kingdome) the ninth, twelfth and fifteenth of the eighth Moone, from morning to night are appointed for their writing, the doores being shut. A light refection provided the day before is given to the Writers at publike cost. When the Bachelors come to the Palace, they are thorowly searched whether they haue any Booke or Writing with them, and are admitted only with the Pensils which they vse in writing, their Plate, Paper and Inke; these also and their Garments searched to preuent all fraud, which found causeth the twofold punishment both of losse and sence. When they are admitted, the doores shut and sealed, the two Royall Examiners out of the *Tetrabibulum* propound

Theames giuen.

Seuen writings

three Sentences for so many Theames to euery of them; and foure out of the five Bookes of *Doctrines* for so many other Theames. These seuen Writings must bee made for elegance of words and weight of Sentences according to the Precepts of *China* Rhetoricke; neyther must any Writing contayne aboue 500. Characters. Two dayes being passed for the Examination of these; the next day out of the Chronicles, or other three Cases of Politie are propounded, wherein each which three Theames or Writing expresse their minde, or Libel-wise admonish the King what were fittest to be done. The third day three Law Cases, such as happen in the Magistrates, Offices are propounded, for each thereof to expresse his Sentence. These in great silence, each in his appointed Cell, hauing written their Theames, subscribed with their owne, their Fathers, Grand-fathers and great Grand-fathers names, and sealed so that none but men appointed may reade them, offer them to certayne Officers, which before the Examiners see them; cause them to bee transcribed by certayne thereto appointed: which Copies to be distinguished from the Originals are written in Red Inke, without the Authors names (the Originals laid vp safely) that none might by the hand or name know the Authour. In this Examination the Assistants first reiect the worst & present vnto the two Examiners twice so many as are to be chosen Licentiate; as if one hundred and fifty are to bee chosen, three hundred are tendered to passe their last scrutinie: who first lay by the best, so many as are to bee elected (and thence take the first, second, and third, and set them accurately in order, and then conferre them with the Originals, thence taking the names which they cause to bee written in great Cubitall Letters, in a huge Table, which they expose about the end of the eighth Moone in great concourse of Magistrates, and applause of the new Elects Friends and Kindred. The Priuiledges and Ornaments of this Degree are more then of the former, and if they intend to proceed no further, they are hereby capable of very good Magistracies. After the *Act*, the Kings Examiners publish a Booke of their proceedings, the names of the Graduates and their principall Writings, especially his which is as the *Elder Brother* (they call him *Quinyuen*), and whose Theames were best liked. The Bachelors of other Prouinces may not here be admitted; some only except of the Kings Schoole in *Pequin* and *Nanquin*.

Care to auoid corruption.

Creation and Priuiledges.

Third degree as of Doctors called *Cin-su*.

The third Degree is like our Doctorship, called *Cin-su*, which is conferred euery third yeare also, but only at *Pequin*, and alway is the next yeare after that Commencement of Licentiate. Only three hundred chosen ou of the whole Kingdome obtayne it, although the Licentiate of euery Prouince are admitted to the Examination.

Colai.

This *Act* is in the second Moone on the same dayes that the former and in like forme, sauing that the diligence is greater, as for a greater degree, and the *Colai*, the chiefe Magistrates of the Kingdome are Examiners. The Doctors being pronounced in the same Palace, where the Licentiate vse to bee; all of them in the Kings Palace, before the chiefe Magistrates of the Court (yea anciently the King was wont to bee present) make a Theame, according to the iudgement whereof, the order of the Magistracies which they are to beare, is declared, being distributed in three Rankes.

First and second place glorious.

Hee that in Examination of Doctors had the first place, hath in this second Examination the third place without question: but hee which hath the first or second enioyeth a great dignitie during his life, besides the greatest Offices in the Common-wealth; and might (compared with ours) bee as a Duke or Marquessie, if it were Hereditary. These Doctours presently haue their peculiar *Vest*, *Cap*, *Bootes*, and other Ensignes of Magistrates, and are preferred to the best Offices, such as the Licentiate may not attayne, and are as the prime men of the Kingdome.

Those

Those Licentiates which are rejected from the Doctorship, if they meane to proceed no further, are preferred to Magistracie; but if they list still to stand for that degree they betake themselves home to their Bookes afresh, till the third-year-examination returns, so that some stand ten times, continuing so long private to become more publike. A Booke is also published of them and of their successe. Another is yearly set forth containyng the Names, Countrey, Parents, Offices of all the Doctors; and where they governe, whereby a man may know how any hath risen or descended all his life, as is there vsuall after their merits. It is remarkable also how the Licentiates and Doctors of the same yeare respect one the other as Brethren euer after, and loue the Friends also of their Colleagues, and honour their Examiners as Fathers.

They vse to grant at the same times and places the same Titles (in the Moone following) to Military Professors, but with lesse pompe, because Souldierie is of no such reckoning with them, and few stand for them. This Military tryall is three-fold, in the first they shoot nine Arrowes on Horse-backe running; in the second they shoot as many at the same marke standing: and hee which hath hit the Marke with foure on Horke-backe and two Arrowes on foot, is admitted to the third tryall wherein they haue some Theame of Military matters propounded, and the Judges examining this Triple tryall out of the whole number pronounce about fifty Licentiates in euery Prouince. And when the Doctorall Act is at *Pequin*, one hundred of the choice of these after a Triple Examination are made Military Doctors. These Doctors are more easily admitted to Military Prefectures (but scarcely without Bribes) then the Licentiates. Both the Philosophicall and Military, ouer their doores, set vp in great Letters this their new attayned dignity. All the Examiners, whether of Mathematicall, or Military, or Philosophicall degrees, are of those Philosophers, without assistance of any Captaine, Mathematician, or Physician, as if thereby they were inabled to all things.

Ambition will be highest or nothing.

Military degrees.

Threefold tryall.

§. III.

Of the Tartarian Conquest; Of H v m v v the Establisser of the present Government. The Reuenues. Magistrates in the Courts Royall, Provinces, Cities, Orders, Exaltations, Visitations, Deprivations.

The Government of China is Monarchicall. In times past, there haue bene Lords of Title, as are Dukes, Marqueses, and Earles in Europe, but taken away eightene hundred yeares since. It was neuer subdued by any Forreiners before the Tartarian Conquest. The Iesuites thinke that that Conquerour was *Tamberlane*: for the *Chinois* call him *Tiemor*, and say that he had before subdued *Persia* and *Tartaria*. Hee (whosoever hee was) conquered all the *Chinois* and left them to his Posterity till the yeare 1368. At that time the *Tartarians* growing weaker, diuers Captaynes arose in diuers parts of the Kingdome which shooke off that yoke. Amongst them all the most famous was of the Family *Cin*, whom afterwards the *Chinois* called *Humou*, a famous Captayne, or rather a *Flood of Armes*. He of a common Souldier grew to such greatnesse, that hee first expelled the *Tartars*, and then repelled the Rebels thorow all the Kingdome, and possessed that Souerignrie which still continueth in his Line. For the Crowne there goeth by Inheritance: only two or three of the Ancient Kings haue commended it to others, their owne Sonnes seeming vnworthy; and the people haue by Rebellion sometimes raysed a new Family, diuers yet losing their liues rather then acknowledging that Faction, this being Prouerbiall in their Philosophie, *An honest Woman hath but one Husband, and a faithfull Seruant but one Lord.*

There are no ancient Lawes, but the first Founder of any Royall family makes new Lawes, which his Posteritie are not easily permitted to transgresse. So the present Lawes of China are no ancienter then *Humou*, who either made new, or confirmed the old. Out of ignorance of other parts of the world, they thinke their King *Lord of the World*, and call him *Thienou*, the *Sonne of Heauen*, or (which is all one in their Theologie) of *God*. His vsuall title yet is *Hoamsi*, that is, *supreme Monarch*: whereas they stile other Kings *Guam*, an inferiour title. To prevent Rebellions and Factions. *Humou* ordayned that none of the Royall blood should intermeddle with Government. Those Captaynes which had ayded him in expulsion of the *Tartars*, hee gaue militarie Commands with reuenues and titles, to descend to their Heires. The Royall race hee gaue the titles of *Guam*, as pettie Kings, with large reuenues to bee yeerely payed out of the Exchequer, and commanded all Magistrates to reuerence them. Their Posteritie hee honoured with inferiour Honours and reuenues, so much lesse as further from the originall, and after certaine generations to haue no more then might well maintayne them without labour. The like in Marriages and Titles were prouided for the Royall Daughters. Those assisting Captaynes hee honoured with a plate of Iron like a Charger, in which are engrauen those their exploits for de-

Chap. 5. Polo hath related the Conquest of *Mangsi* by *Cublai Can*, whose successor (and perfecter haply of that Conquest) was *Temur* or *Tamur*, sup. 83. & 126. about 100. yeares before *Tamerlane*, yet it seemes they were not fully subiect (for *Manducile* seru- ued in the wars of *Ecbiant* Can against *Mangi*, sup. 135.) till *Tamerlane*, of whom, see sup. 154. But to ascribe it to *Tamerlane*, and to end the *Tartars* Reigne at 1368. argues small skill in History of the *Tartars*, *Tamerlane* then being but young, if so soone borne. The time (howeuer) is here mil-reckoned.

liuerance of the Kingdome; which being shewne to the King, is priuiledged with pardon of any penaltie, though mortall, three times, except for Treason which forfeiteth presently all Priuiledges. Euery time it obtaynes any pardon, it is engrauen in the Plate. The Sonnes in Law, and Fathers in Law of the King, and some which haue extraordinarily merited of the State, enjoy like Honours and Reuenues with the same diminution of time, as before.

Magistrates.

Quonfu and
Lau Ye or *Lau*
Sie.
Mandarin a
Portugal name.

He also ordained that all Magistracie and Gouernment should belong to those Licentiates and Doctors, whereto neyther the fauour of the King or other Magistrates are necessary, but their owne merits, except where corruption frustrates Law. All Magistrates are called *Quonfu*, and for honours sake they are stiled *Lau ye* or *Lau sie*, that is, *Lord*, or *Father*. The *Portugals* call them *Mandarins*. These haue some representation of *Aristocratie*, in that Gouernment: for though they doe nothing but first petitioning the King, hee also determines nothing without their sollicitation. And if a priuate man petitions (which is seldome, because Officers are appointed to examine Petitions before the King sees them) the King, if hee will grant it, sends it to the Tribunall proper for that businesse, to aduise him what is fit to bee done. I haue found for certaine, that the King cannot giue Money or Magistracie to any, except hee bee solicited by some Magistrate: I meane this of publike Reuenues; which doubtlesse doe exceed one hundred and fiftie Millions yearely, & are not brought into the Palace Treasurie, nor may the King spend them at his pleasure: but all whether Money or Rice and other things in kinde, are layed vp in the publike Treasuries and Store-houses, in all the Kingdome. Thence the expenses of the King his Wiues, Children, Eunuches, Family, and of all his Kindred are in Royall sort disbursed, but according to the ancient Lawes, neither more nor lesse. Thence the Stipends of Magistrates and Souldiers and all Officers thorow the Kingdome are paid: the publike Buildings, the Kings Palace, Cities, Walls, Towres, Fortresses and all prouision of War are thence sustayned, which cause new Tributes sometimes to be imposed, this huge Reuenue notwithstanding.

Kings Reuenues 150. Millions.

How dispensed

Bookes of
Officers.

Of Magistrates are two sorts, one of the Court which rule there, and thence rule the Kingdome; and other Prouinciall, which gouerne particular Cities or Prouinces. Of both sorts are fise or six Bookes to be sold euery where, printed twice each moneth at *Pekin*, as by their course of printing (you haue seene) is easie; contayning nothing else but the name, Countrey, and degree of the Magistrates; and therefore printed so often because of the exaltings, shiftings, setting lower, death of Parents (which suspends three yeares to mourning in priuate) their owne deaths or deprivations.

1. *Li pu*, or
Court of Ma-
gistrates.

2. *Ho-pu*.

3. *Li-pu*.

4. *Pimpu*.

5. *Cumpu*.

6. *Himpu*.

Of the Court Tribunals are reckoned sixe; the first, *Li pu* (*Pu* is as much as *Tribunall* or *Court*, and *Li*, as *Magistrates*) to which it belongeth to name the chiefe Magistrates of the Kingdome, bringing vp from the lower to the higher according to the Lawes prescribed, or if they deserue it, abasing or quite depriving them. For those Licentiates and Doctors continually ascend, except their owne faults deject them, wherein a deprivation makes for euer vncapable. The second is called *Ho-pu*, that is, the Exchequer Court, or that of the Treasurie; which exacts and disburseth the Kings Reuenues. The third is the *Li-pu*, or Court of Rites, which ordereth the publike Sacrifices, Temples, Priests, Kings, Marriages, Schooles, Examinations, Festiuall Dayes, common Gratulations to the King, Titles giuen to the wel-deseruing, Physicians, Colledges of Mathematicians, entertayning and sending Embassages, with their Rites, Presents, Letters; the King holding it abasing to his Majesty to write to any. The fourth, is the *Pimpu*, or Military Court, which rewards the meriting, and takes from the sluggish Souldier; ordereth their Musters and giues Military degrees. The fifth is *Cumpu*, which hath care of the publike Buildings, Palaces for the King or his Kindred, and the Magistrates; Shippes for publike burthens or Armadas, Bridges, Walls of Cities and all like prouisions. The sixth Court is *Himpu*, which inquireth into Criminall Causes and sentenceth them; also all the publike Prisons are subject hereto.

The President
or *Ciam Ciu*.
Cilam.

Colai, or Coun-
sell of State.

Choli and *Zauli*
Magistrates
extraordinary.

All the affaires of the Kingdom depend on these Courts, which therefore haue Magistrates and Notaries in euery City and Prouince, to admonish them faithfully of all things, the multitude and order facilitating this so weighty a Designe. For first, in euery Court is a Lord Chiefe Iustice or President called *Ciam Ciu*, who hath two Assistants, one sitting at his right hand, the other at his left, called *Cilam*: their dignity in the Royall Cities is accounted principall. After these euery Tribunall hath diuers Offices, each of which hath diuers Colleagues, besides Notaries, Courtiers, Apparitors, and other Seruants. Besides these Tribunals there is another the greatest in the Court and Kingdome; they call them *Colaos*, which are three or foure, sometimes sixe Priuy-Counsell in all Affaires. These are daily admitted into the Kings Palace, and there abide whole dayes, and answer as they see cause to the Petitions which are put vp to the King (who was wont to define matters with these *Colai* in publike) and shewing their answer to the King, hee alters or approoueth the same, and sets his hand thereto for the execution.

Besides these Orders of Magistrates and others not mentioned (as like to our owne) there are two sorts not vsuall with vs, the one *Choli*, the other called *Zauli*. In each of these Orders are about sixty choice Philosophers, men approued for their wisdom and courage before experienced.

ced. These two Rankes are vsed by the King in Court or Prouince busineses of greater weight, with great and Royall power, which causeth to them great respect and veneration. These by Libell admonish the King if any thing be done contrary to the Lawes in any parts of the Kingdome, not sparing any of the Magistrates, nor the Kings Houle, nor the King himselfe; to the wonder of other Nations. And although the King sometimes bee touched to the quicke, and toucheth them to the quicke againe, yet cease they not still to rip the sore till it be cured. Other Magistrates may doe it, yea any priuate man; but these mens Libels or Petitions are of most worth, as proceeding from their peculiar Office. The Copies of them and of the Kings answers are printed by many, so that the Court and State Affaires flye thorow the Kingdome, and are by some written in Bookes, and those of most moment transcribed into the Annals of the Kingdome. Of late when the King would for loue of a second Sonne haue excluded the eldest, so many by Libels reprehended the King, that he in anger deprivied or abased one hundred of the Magistrates. They yet ceased not but one day went together into the Kings Palace, and offered vp their Magistracies if he persisted to breake the Law. Lately also when the chiefe of the Colai did not obserue the Law, in two moneths space about one hundred Libels were put vp, notwithstanding they knew him a great Favourite; and hee dyed within a while after, as was thought, of griefe.

See Pantoia.

There are also besides Magistrates, not a few Colledges instituted for diuers purposes, but the most eminent is that called *Han lin Yuen*, into which none are chosen but choice Doctors after due Examinations. They which liue in that Royall Colledge, meddle not with Gouvernment, yet are of higher dignitie then the Gouvernours. Their Office is to order the Kings Writing, to make Annals of the Kingdome, to write Lawes and Statutes. Of these are chosen the Masters of the Kings and Princes. They wholly addict themselves to their studies, and in the Colledge haue their degrees of honours, which they attayne by writing. Thence they are preferred to great dignities but not out of the Court. Neither is any chosen to bee a *Colao*, but out of this Colledge. They gaine much also by Writings for their Friends, Epitaphs, Inscriptions and the like; which all seeke to haue of them, their name giuing credit and reputation of Elegance. These are the chiefe for Examinations of Licentiates and Doctors, who hold them for Masters and send them Presents.

Colledges.

Han lin Yuen.

All these *Pequin* Magistrates are found also at *Nanquin*, but obscured by the Kings absence. *Hum-um* had fixed his Seat at *Nanquin*, but after his death *Yun lo* one of his Nephewes, who in the Northerne Prouinces defended with an Armie thole Borders against the *Tartars*, perceiuing *Hum-um* Sonne but weake, thought to deprivie him of the Kingdome, which hee effected by helpe of the Northerne Prouinces, and with force, fraud and largesse obtayned his Vncles Throne. And because he was strongest in the North parts, and most feare was from the *Tartars* there, he there fixed his Residence, where the *Tartar* Kings had wonted to abide and called that Citie *Pequin*, that is, the Northerne Court, as *Nanquin* signifieth the Southerne, leauing to this the former Offices and Immunities.

Cause of the remouing the Seat Royall from *Nanquin* to *Pequin*.

The Gouvernment of the other thirteene Prouinces depends on two Magistrates, the one *Pucinsu*, the other *Naganzasu*: the former judging Ciuill Causes, the later Criminall; both residing with great Pompe in the Mother Citie of the Prouince. In both Courts are diuers Colleagues and they also chiefe Magistrates called *Tauli*, which gouerning other Cities often reside in them. The Prouinces are all distributed into diuers Regions, which they call *Fu*, each of which hath a peculiar Gouvernour called *Cifu*. These Regions are subdiuided into *Cen*, and *Hien*, that is the greater or more eminent Townes, and those which are more vulgar, which are not lesse then our Cities, if you except our greatest. These haue their speciall Gouvernours called *Cicem* and *Cibien*. The Gouvernours of Cities and Regions haue their foure Assistants and Colleagues as Auditors, and Iudges to helpe them. As for the opinion of some that thinke those only to bee Cities, which are called *Fu*, and *Cen*, and *Hien* to bee Townes, it is an error: for the City wherein the Gouvernour of the Region resides, is also called *Hien*, and hath its peculiar Gouvernour called *Cibien*, and Assistants; and the *Cifu* hath no more power there then in other places of his Iurisdiction; which is the first Appeale to him as Superiour from the *Cibien* or *Cicem*. The second Appeale is to the *Pucinsu* and *Naganzasu* and their Colleagues in the Metropolitane Cities, which Cities likewise haue their *Cibien* and *Cifu*, aswell as the Subordinate; all in incredible Symmetrie.

Prouinciall Gouvernment. *Pucinsu*. *Naganzasu*. *Tauli*. Diuision of Prouinces. Regions or Shires. *Cen* and *Hien*.

Title sum mistaken. *Cifu*, *Cibien* and *Cicem*. Appeals.

And because the whole Prouinciall Gouvernment hath reference to *Pequin*, therefore in euery Prouince besides these, are other two superiour to them sent from the Royall Citie, the one fixing his Residence in the Prouince, called *Tutam*, which may bee compared to our *Vice-roy*, hauing command ouer other Magistrates, and in Martiall affaires: the other is yeerely sent from the Court, and is called *Cia-yuen*, as a Commissioner or Visitor, which reuiues all the Causes of the Prouince, the Cities also and Castles, inquireth of the Magistrates, and punisheth some of the meaner sort, acquainting the King touching the rest, how euery one demeaneth himselfe; and he onely executeth Capitall punishments. Besides these, are many others in Cities, Townes and Villages: and beside them, many which haue command of Souldiers, especially in the Con-

Tutam. *Cia-yuen* or *Chuen*.

- finer and on the Coasts in supine Peace, watching and warding in Ports, Walls, Bridges, Castles, as in the hottest Warres, with Musters and Martiall exercises. All the Magistrates of the Kingdome, are reduced to nine Orders, whether you respect the Philosophicall or Militarie Senate: to all which out of the Treasury is proportionably distributed monethly pay, Money or Rice; yet little answerable to that their Magnificence (the highest Order not hauing one thousand Duckets yeerely) and equall to all of the same ranke, the supreme in matters of Warre hauing as much as the supreme in the literate Order, if you looke to that which the Law alloweth. But much more accrueth extraordinarie then this fee or stipend, besides what any mans industrie, couetise, fortune, bribing addeth, by which they oft attayne to great wealth.
- All the Magistrates vse the same Caps, both Mercuriall and Martiall, of blacke Cloath with two Eares or wings, of Ouall figure, which may easily fall off, which being a disgrace, causeth the more modestie and steadinesse in carriage of their heads. They all weare like *Vest*, and like blacke leather *Bootes* of peculiar fashion; also a *Girdle* wider then the body, about foure fingers broad, adorned with circular and square Figures: On the breast and backe, they weare two square Cloathes Embroidered: in which and the Girdles is great varietie, according to their diuers Degrees; by which the skilfull know their ranke and place. The cloathes intimate it by the figures of Flowers, Fowles, Beasts; the girdles by the matter, of Wood, Horne, Sweet wood, Gold or Siluer; and the best of all of that *Iasper* before mentioned, called *Tu ce*, brought from *Cascar*. Their shadowes or *Sumbreros*, by their Colours and numbers intimate like difference. They haue other *Ornaments*, *Banners*, *Chaynes*, *Censors*, *Guards* with Cryes to make way, that in most frequent streetes no man appeareth, more or lesse, according to the Magistrates Dignitie.
- The *Chinois* hauing plentie of all things, care not for subduing the neighbour-Nations, better keeping their owne, lesse caring for others Countries, then our *Europeans*: their Chronicles of foure thousand yeeres not mentioning any care of enlarging their Empire. And if any *China* impressions or foot-prints bee, it is from men voluntarily going to other Countries, not from the Kings ambition sending them. It is also remarkable that Philosophers beare all the sway, the Souldiers and Captaynes being subject to them, and sometimes beaten of them as Schoole-boyes by their Master: euen in Militarie matters, the King more vsing the aduise of Philosophers then Captaynes; whereupon enery haughtie spirit rather affects meane places in the *Literate* Order, then great in the *Martiall*. Yea these *Literate* are more magnanimous, and more contemne their liues in zeale of the publike then the Souldierie. No lesse admirable is the Symmetrie and Order of Magistrates in their subordinate Orders, in Obedience, Reuerence, Visitations and Presents; the Inferiour giuing honourable Titles to the Superiour and kneeling to them. None beares any Office about three yeeres, except the King confirme it. And the chiefe Magistrates of Prouinces, Cities and Regions, euery third yeere must appeare at *Pequin*, and doe their Rites to the King, at which time seuerie inquirie is made of the Magistrates, and they thereupon rewarded or punished. I haue also obserued, that the King dares not alter any of those things, which in this publike Disquisition are ordered by the Iudges. Anno 1607. we reade foure thousand Magistrates condemned, that being the Search-yeere; and a Booke published thereof.
- These Condemned are of five sorts; First, Couetous which haue taken Bribes to peruert Iustice, or haue vsurped the publike or priuate mens fortunes: these are wholly depriued of all Offices for euer. The second are the Cruell, which haue too seuerely punished, which are also depriued of their Places and Ensignes: The third are the Old and sickly, and the Remisse and negligent; these are depriued, but permitted the Immunities and Ensignes. The fourth sort, are the rash, headdie, and vnaduised, which are put in lower Offices, or sent to more easie places of Government. The last are such, as haue not gouerned themselves or theirs, worthy of that place of Government; these are wholly depriued. The like Inquisition is made euery fifth yeere of the Court Magistrates, and the same time also, of Militarie Commanders.
- None may beare Office in his native Prouince, except Militarie. The Sonnes also or Domestike seruants of Magistrates, may not goe out of the house lest they should bee Factors for bribes: but all seruices without doores is done by Officers, designed to his place: and when hee goeth out of his House hee sealeth the doores, whether priuate or publike, that none of his Seruants may goe out vnwitting to him.
- They permit no Stranger to liue with them that mindes to returne to his Countrey, or is knowne to haue Commerce with forraigne Nations: and no Stranger although of a friendly Nation and Tributarie, may haue access to the inward parts of the Kingdome; a thing whereof I haue seene no Law, but Custome: neither haue I euer seene any of *Corai* in *China*, except some Slaues which a Captayne brought thence, although a tributarie Nation which vseth in manner the *China* Lawes. And if a Stranger steale into the Countrey, they punish him not with Death nor Slauerie, but permit him not to returne. They most seuerely punish those, which without the Kings leaue haue commerce with Strangers: and hardly can any bee perswaded to be sent abroad with Mandates; and such are rewarded with some Dignitie at their returne. None beare Weapon in Cities, not the Souldiers or Captaynes, but in their Traynings; nor haue any men weapons
- Militarie commands.
- Magistrates fees.
- Robes and Ornaments.
- See in Gees. Cap. 4. Umbelle.
- Contentednes
- Philosophers Empire.
- Beautie of Order.
- No Office about 3. yeeres. Appearing at *Pequin*.
- Seuerie Iustice 4000. Iudges iudged.
1. Couetous.
2. Cruell.
3. Remisse.
4. Rash.
5. Vngouerned
- Care to prevent rebellions, factions, and bribes.
- Strangers.

weapons in their Houses, except some rustie blade which they vse when they trauell for feare of Theeues. Their greatest Brawles goe no further, then scratching or pulling by the hayre; hee which flees or abstaines from wrong is esteemed both Wise and Valiant. When the King dyeth, none of his Sonnes are permitted to remayne in the Royall Citie, but the Heyre; and it is Capitall for them, being dispersed in diuers Cities to stirre thence. Some principall amongst them, compounds their strifes and rules them; in Cases with others, they are subject to the Magistrates.

Weapons.
Brawles.
Succession and royall kindred.

Q. IIII.

Their manifold rites in Salutations, Entertaynments, and other Ciuitie : to the King and Magistrates : Of Buryals and Marriages, Birth-daves; their Men, Women, Names and Games, Habites.

Courtesie or Ciuitie, is reckoned one of their five *Cardinall vertues*, much commended in their Bookes. (*Their common Rites yee haue had largely in Pantoia.*) When greater respect is vsed, as after long absence, or on a Solemne day, after the common bowing, both fall on their knees with the forehead to the ground, and then rise and downe againe in like sort three or foure times. When they doe this reuerence to a Superiour, hee stands at the head of the Hall, or sits, and at all those prostrations ioyning his hands, bowes a little and sometime for greater modestie hee goeth to the side of the Hall, whose head is Northwards as the doore is Southwards. The same rites they performe to their Idols; and sometimes as the Seruants to their Master, or the meanest of the people to honourable persons, which is presently to kneele and knock the ground thrice with their forehead: they stand at his side when their Master speakes, and kneele at euery answer. When one speakes to another, they vse not the second person, nor the first person when they mention themselves, except to their inferiour, and haue as many formes of depreessing themselves, as of exalting others, the lowliest of which is to call a mans selfe by his proper name, in stead of (I.) When they speake any thing of another mans, they vse a more honourable forme; Of their owne, or theirs, a more modest: which a man must learne both for manners sake, and to vnderstand their meaning.

Cap. 7.
Courtesie in mutuall veneration and circumspet behaviour to others.

Side-reuerence.

Respect of persons.
See *Thaofos Epistle*. sup. 344

The Visitors send their Libels or papers of visitation, so many that the Porter is faine to keepe a note of their names, and where they dwell, lest wee should forget; and if the partie to bee visited be not at home or at leasure, that libell is left with the Porter for a testimonie. The more honourable the Visitor, the larger hee writes his name. In sending Presents they vse like libelling; setting downe also each gift in a line by it selfe, part of which may bee sent backe without offence, which is done with a like libell of thanks. They often send money or pieces of Gold for presents. They haue Garments proper for visitations. The chiefe place in both Royall Courts, is giuen to Strangers, most remote especially, which made vs commonly to bee preferred. The seruant, when they are set, brings as many little Cups of *Cia* as are Guests. When they part, neere the Hall doore, they reiterate their bowings, then at the Doore, and at the passing out, and after they are in their Chayre or on Horsebacke, againe without doores; and lastly, a Seruant is sent after in his Masters name, to salute them, and they send their seruants likewise to resalute.

Visiting one another.

Tedious courtesie.

Their Banquets are not so much commestations as *Compotations*; for although their Cups be as little as Nut-shells, yet they drinke often. Their Ciuill and Religious affayres are therein handled, besides the demonstration of kindnesse. In eating they haue neither Forkes, nor Spooones, nor Knives; but vse small smooth sticke, a palme and a halfe long, wherewith they put all meats to their mouthes, without touching them with their fingers. They bring all things to the Table cut in little pieces, except it bee of softer condition, as Egges, Fish, and such things as their sticke will diuide. They vse to drinke hot, euen in hottest weather, whether their *Cia*-decoction, or Wine, or Water: which it seemeth is profitable to the Stomacke; for they liue long, and are strong at seuentie or eightie yeeres: Neither is any of them troubled with the Stone, which I suppose is occasioned by our cold drinke. When any is Inuited, a Libell is sent a day or more dayes (if it bee to a solemne Banquet) before, signifying, that the Inuiter *hath prepared a Banquet of Hearbs, and hath washed his Cups, that at such a day and houre (which commonly is neare night) hee may heare and learne somewhat of him*: At the day they send another like Libell (on the out-side of these Libels, there is a red paper added with the more honourable Name of the inuited, which the *Chinois* vse besides their proper name) in the morning to each Guest, and

China banquetting.

Feeding.

Hot drinke.

The Stone vnknewne in *China*, which so tormenteth Europeans, both in the Kidney, Vreters, Bladder: this last deprived me of

my honorable Patron and best friend, B. King, Anno 1621. and Anno 1622. Master Bifield my neighbour, the painefull Minister at *Thi-fleworth* dyed of a Stone, which I weighed, and found (a miracle in Nature) much about 32 Ounces, whiles these our *China* relations are in the Presse; therefore here mentioned. My selfe also hauing stone passions, am therefore not stonie in compassion.

third

third at the houre. Their furniture is not Hangings (whereof they haue no vse) but Pictures, Flowers, Vessels; to each Guest his Table, and sometimes two to one, the one before the other. These Tables are some Cubits long and broad, but more in length, and couered with a cloath as our Altars. The Seats shine with their Varnish, adorned also with Pictures and Gold. The first entertainment is with *Cia* in the Hall: and thence they goe to the Feasting-roume. Before they sit downe, the Inuiter salutes the principall Guest with a low courtesie, and holding a cup of Wine: then goeth to the doore or porch, and first making a low courtesie, turning his face to the South, powres out that cup on the ground, offering it to the *Lord of Heauen*, and bowing downe againe, returneth, and filling another cup goeth to that principall Guest, and bowing salutes him in the place in which the rites of salutation are vsed: and then they goe together to the Table where the chiefe Guest must sit. The midst of it is the chiefe place; there with both his hands he sets a dish with great veneration, and taking the two stickes (which vsually are of Ebonie, or Iuorie tipped with Gold or Silver, where they touch the meate) layes them by, and taking a seat, brusheth it with his sleeues lightly, and sets it in the midst; after which both goe backe and bow themselues in the midst of the Roome. Thus hee doth to euery one, placing the second on the left hand, the third on the right. Lastly, hee which shall haue the chiefe roome receiueth of his seruant the Inuiters Dish and Cup, and bids Wine to be filled, and together with the other Guests and the Inuiter, boweth downe and placeth the Dish on his Table (which is placed in the lower part of the Hall, with his backe to the South, and face to the chiefe Table) with the stickes and seat, as he had done before to him; and then all goe againe to their place, with great ceremonie, to sit them better with both hands, he to whome the rite is done, standing by the side of the doer with his hands in his sleeues, and modestly bowing with thanks. They wash neither before nor after. After all this, they performe the last rite of inclination to the Inuiter together, and then each to other, and then sit downe. When they drinke, the Inuiter with both hands takes the Cup in the Dish, and lightly lifting it vp, and then letting it downe inuites them to drinke, all turning to him at the same time, and beginning to drinke, or to sip rather, foure or fise times setting it to his mouth, not as we vse with one continued draught. After the first Cup the Dishes are brought in, of which the Inuiter beginning, all with their stickes apply a bit or two to their mouthes, diligently obseruing, not to lay downe their stickes before the principall Guest hath layd downe his: and then the seruants fill his, and after euery mans Cup, with hot Wine: and the same rite is againe and againe repeated, but more sipping then eating. Mean-while some discourse, or Comedie, or Musike continue. The grace of their Feast is variety, a little of each, Flesh also and Fish mixed, taking off nothing, but setting one Dish on another like Castles and Towers. Bread, and Rice (which there supplies our Bread) comes not in solemne Banquets. They haue games also, in which the loser is fined to drinke, with others disport. None is compelled to drinke about his strength. Their drinke is tipple, boyled like our Beere. Their solemne Banquets last all night, the remainders giuen to the Guests seruants. Neere the end of the Feast they change Cups. In eating they are more moderate.

The Guests
courtesie to
the Host.

Sipping oft,
not drinking
one draught.

King obserued.

Petitions.

New yeere.

New Moone.

Birth-day.

Kings colour
yellow, Sun-
like.
Dragons.

The Palace
and gates.

The King is obserued with more Rites then any other in the World. None speakes to him but his Eunuches, and those which liue in his Palace, Sonnes and daughters. None of the Magistrates without the Palace (the Eunuches also haue their degrees) speake to the King but by Petition, and those with so many formes of veneration that none can make them, which is not well exercised, though he be learned. Euery new yeere which beginnes with that New Moone which next precedeth or followeth the Nones of February, out of euery Prouince a Legate is sent to visite the King, which is done more solemnelly euery third yeere. Also in euery Citie on euery Change day, all the Magistrates assemble to one place in their Citie, where the Kings Throne and Dragon-ensignes are carued and gilded, often bowing and kneeling before it with peculiar composition of the body to veneration, and with ten thousand yeeres of life to the King. The like is done on his Birth-day yeerely, the *Pequin* Magistrates and Prouinciall Legates, and the Kings kindred make their appearance there and presents. All also which are named to any Office by the King goe to giue thanks to the Throne (for the King is not there) with rites prescribed with habite peculiar to that purpose, with an Iuorie Table couering their mouth as oft as they speake before the King: the King was wont to come forth to a window, with such a Table in his hand, and another on his head, ouer his Crowne hanged, about with threads of gemmes, his face hidden in presence from the beholders.

The Kings colour is yellow (forbidden to others) of which his garment is wrought with many golden Dragons, which are carued or painted in all the Palace, and Vessell, and furniture; in the rooffe also, whence some haue thought the Tiles to be of Gold or Brasse, being of a yellow Earth, each nayled to the Timber: with Nayles gilded on the heads, that all may appeare yellow. It were treason for another to arrogate that colour or Armes, except he bee of the Royall linage.

The Palace gates are foure, to the foure corners of the World. They which passe by, descend from their Horses or Seats, and goe on foot till they be past, the greatest soonest alight, and that at *Nanquin* also, where no King hath of long time resided. The gates to the South both inner and

and outward are three, the King only going in and out at the middle (which otherwise is shut) others at the other gates on the right and left hand. Their computation of time is onely by the Kings Raigne. Sometimes the King bestoweth a Title on the Parents of the principall Magistrates by a certaine writing, made by the Kings Philosophers in the Kings name; esteemed wonderfully, acquired with any cost, and kept in the familie as a thing sacred. The like opinion is of other Titles given to Widowes, expressed in two or three Characters, given to Widowes which to their old age haue refused second marriages; or to old Men which haue liued an hundred yeeres, and in like cases. They set these Titles ouer their doores. Magistrates also doe the like to their friends. To good Magistrates Arches are erected at publike cost, of Marble: by Citizens also to some of their Citizens which haue attayned any notable dignitie. The most precious Artifices thorow all the Kingdome are yeerly sent to the King to *Pequin* with great costs. The Magistrates of the Kings Citie goe abroad with lesse pompe, on horsebacke; and few of the principall in Seats, and those carried but by foure Porters: all in reuerence of the King. Foure times in the yeere, once a quarter, all the Court Magistrates assemble at the Sepulchres of the antient Kings and Queenes, and make there their offerings: giuing the principall honour to *Hammou*. They prepare to this solemnitie certaine dayes fasting at home and surceasing of suits.

Kings gate.
Time.
Title.

Widowes.
Old men.

Arches.

Pequin.

Funerals of
Kings.

Next to the King they honour their Magistrates, both in formes of words and visitations, to which none aspire but Magistrates; and they which haue beene depriv'd lose not all honour in this kind, but sometimes come forth in their habits, and are respected by their Citie Magistrates. If one bee preferred to another dignity, which hath well executed his Office, they honour him with publike gifts, and reserue his Boots in a publike Chist, with Verses in his praise. To some they erect Temples also, and Altars with Images, and some are deputed to keepe lights there burning, and odours, at publike Rent charge perpetually, with huge Censers of Bell-metall, as they doe to their Idols. Yet doe they distinguish betwixt this and Diuine worship, of their Gods asking many things, whereas these Rites are onely memorials, though many of the vulgar * confound them together. Cities are full of such Temples, by friends often erected to vnworthie men, to which at certaine times they goe and performe kneeling and bowing. Rites, and offer Meats. Their Bookes are full of precepts for obseruing Parents with due honour, and in outward shew no Nation performs so much. They will not sit ouer against them but on the side, speake to them with great reuerence, they sustaine their poorer Parents with their labour in best manner they are able, and in nothing are more curious then their funerals.

Honour of
Magistrates.

* As in the *dona*
lia and *latria* of
Saints worship
and that of
God.

Honour of pa-
rents.

See in *Pantoid*
of Funerals
and mour-
nings.

Mourning by
bookes.

The mourning colour is white, and all their habite from the Shooes to the Cap of a strange and miserable fashion. The cause of three yeeres mourning for Parents, is because so long they carried them in armes with so much labour of education: for others as they please, a yeere, or three moneths, as they are in neere ness: For the King they mourne three yeeres thorow all the Kingdome, and for the *Lawfull Queene*. Their funerall Rites are written in a Booke which they consult on that occasion, all the parcels of the habite there pictured. When a man of ranke is dead, the Sonne or next Kinsman sends Libels to the friends within three or foure dayes: all the Roome is white, with an Altar in the midst, on which they place the Coffin and Image of the dead. Thither all the friends come in mourning one after another, & offer Odors and two Wax-candles on the Altar; whiles they burne, making foure bendings and kneelings, hauing first censured against the Image. The Sonnes stand at the side, and the women behinde, couered with a Curtaine, mourning the while: the Priests also burne Papers and Silkes, with certaine rites to minister Clothes to the deceased. They abstayne from wonted Beds (sleeping on Straw-beds on the ground neere the Corps) from flesh and other daintier food, Wine, Bathes, companie with their Wiues, Bankers, not going out for certaine moneths, remitting by degrees as the three yeeres expire. On the funerall day the friends are by another Libell invited, to which they goe in Procession forme, in mourning; many Statues of Men, Women, Elephants, Tigres, Lions, of Paper all going before, diuersified in colour and gilding, which are all burnt before the Graue: a long ranke of Idoll Priests, Prayers, and Players on diuers Instruments obseruing diuers rites in the way; huge Bell-censers also carried on mens shoulders; after which followes the Herse vnder a huge carued Canopie adorned with Silkes, carried with forty or fifty men. Next the children on foot with staues, and then the women enclosed within a white gestatory Curtaine, that they may not be seene: followed by women of the kindred in mourning Seats. The Graues are all in the Suburbs. If the Sonnes bee absent, the Funerall pompe is deferred till their comming. They bring (if it may bee) the deceased in another Countrey to lie by his friends. The Graues are adorned with Epitaphs in Marble magnificently. Thither on certaine dayes yeerly the kindred resort to cense and offer, and make a funerall banquet.

Buriall.

Marriages.

Their Marriages and Spousals are with many rites, done in their youth; the Contracts compounded by the Parents without their consent; they obserue equalitie in yeeres and degree in the lawfull Wife. In their Concubines, lust, beauty, price beare sway. The poorer also buy their Wiues, and when they list sell them. The King and his kindred respect onely beauty, Magistrates appointed to make the choise. One is his lawfull Wife; the King and his Heire hauing

- nine other Wiues a little inferiour, and after them sixe and thirty, which are also called Wiues: his Concubines are more. Those which bring forth Sonnes are more gracious, especially the Mother of the eldest. This is also familiar to other families thorow the Kingdome. Their first Wife sits at Table; others (except in the Royall families) are as Hand-maids, and may not sit, but stand in presence of either of them: their Children also calling that lawfull Wife their Mother, and for her (though not the true Parent) obserue trienniall mourning. In Marriages they are curious not to take any of the same sur-name, of which sur-names there are not a thousand in all that vast Kingdome. Nor may any man frame a new sur-name, but must haue one antient of the Fathers side, except he be adopted into another familie. They respect no affinity or consanguinity in a differing sur-name, and so marrie with the Mothers kindred almost in any degree. The Wife brings no portion, and although when shee first goeth to her Husbands house the street-full of household attends her, yet is all prouided by his costs which sends money some moneths before as a gift to her for that purpose.
- Sur-names.** few. In England antiently were few or none. See *Cam. Remaines.* Affinitie and consanguinity. Portion.
- Birth-day.** Euery mans Birth-day is festiuall celebrated with Presents, Banquets and iollity: especially after the fiftieth yeere explete (at which time they are reckoned amongst old men) and then euery tenth yeere. The Children then procure Emblemes of their friends, and Epigrams, and some write Bookes. That day is also festiuall in which they are of age to take the *Mans cap*, which is about twenty yeeres, till that time wearing their haire loose. But the first New and Full Moone of the yeere is most generally festiuall; each man then hauing ingeniously deuised Lights or Lamps made of Paper, Glasse, or other matter, the house seeming by the diuersified Lights to bee on a light fire. They runne vp and downe also with great stirres in the night with Dragon-fashioned Lights, and make great shewes of Powder-fire-workes.
- Virilis pilus.** The *Chinois* are white (but neerer the South more browne) with thinne beards (some ha-
Candlemas. uing none) with staring haire, and late growing; their haire wholly blacke; eyes narrow, of Egge forme, blacke and standing out: the nose very little, and scarcely standing forth; eares meane: in some Prouinces they are square faced. Many of *Canton* and *Quamsi* Prouinces on their little toes haue two nailes, as they haue generally in *Cabin-china*. Their women are all low, and account great beauty in little feet, for which cause from their infancy they bind them straight with clothes, that one would iudge them stump-footed: this, as is thought, deuised to make them house-wiues. The men and women both alike let their haire grow without cutting: but Boyes and Girles till they are fifteene yeere old, are cut round, leauing a locke onely on the crowne: after which they let it grow loose ouer their shoulders till twenty. The most of the Priests haue head and beard euery eighth day. When they are men they binde vp their haire in a Cap or Coife made of horse or mans haire, or in a silken Cawle; and in Winter of woollen: on the top it hath a hole, where the haire comes forth, and is tyed in a neate knot. The women weare not this Cap, but binde vp their haire in a knot, and make it vp with a dresse of Gold, Siluer, Stones, and Flowers. They weare Rings on their eares, but not on their fingers.
- Fire-workes.** The men and women weare long garments. The men double them on their breast, and fasten them vnder both the arme-holes; the women on the midst of the breast. They weare wide long sleeues; but the womens wider, the mans straighter, at the wrists. Their Caps are artificially wrought. Their Shooes are much differing from ours; the men weare them of Silke with diuers workes and flowers, exceeding the elegance of our Matrons. Shooes of Leather none but the meaner sort weare; and scarcely admit they Leather soles, but of Cloth. The Caps of their Learned are square, of others, round. Euery one spends halfe an houre at least in combing and trimming his haire. They winde also long clouts about their feet and legs, and therefore weare their Breeches loose. They weare no Shirts, but a white Coat next the skinne, and wash often. They haue a seruant to carrie a Shadow or great *Sumbrero* ouer their heads against the raine and Sunne; the poore carrie one for themselves.
- cap. 8.** *Chinois* persons described.
- Women.** For *Names*, besides the sur-name of which is spoken, the Father giues one to the Sonne (for females haue no name but the Fathers sur-name, and called as they are borne, *first, second, third,* in order of the Sisters:) by this name they are called by the Father and Elders; others call them likewise from that order amongst the Brethren, as is said of Sisters. They in their writings call themselves by that which their Father gaue them; but if others either equall or superiour should so call them, it were both vniuall and iniurious. When a Boy goeth to Schoole his Master giueth him another name, which is called his *Schoole-name*, whereby onely his Master and Schoole-fellowes may stile him. When he hath his *Mans cap* put on, and marrieth a Wife, some more honourable person giueth him a more honourable name, which they call, the *Letter*: by this any man may call him, but those which are subiect to him. And when he is now at the full growth, he receiueth of some graue person his most honourable name, which they call *Great*, whereby any may call him present or absent: but his Parents and Elders still vse the *Letter-name*. If any professe a new Sect, his Instructor calls him by a new name, which they call, of *Religion*. And when one visiteth another, he will aske what is his *Honourable name*, to stile him thereby: and we were therefore fayne to take a *Greater name* then that which we receiued in Baptisme, for them to call vs by.
- Haire.** **Rings.** **Apparell.** **Name-ceremonies.** **Women haue none.** **Fathers name:** **Schoole-name.** **Letter-name.** **Great name.** **Religious name.** **Greater then Christian name.**

They are studious of Antiquities : much value old Triuets of Bell metall, Pictures in blacke and white Characters and writings, sealed with the Authors seale (for there are many Counter-
eaters.) The Officers haue all a Seale proper to their place giuen by *Humon*, which they vse on-
ly sealing with red colour : and if they lose the Seale they lose the Office, and are besides severely
punished ; and therefore they carry it with them, in a sealed and locked Boxe, and neuer leaue it
out of sight, at night keeping it vnder their Pillow. Graue men goe not on foote thorow the
streets, but are carryed in a seate closed, except they list to open the fore-part, whereas Magi-
strates seates are euery way open. Matrons seates are altogether closed, but easily knowne from
mens by the fashion. The Law forbids Coaches and Litters. Some Cities are in the midst of Ri-
uers and Lakes, in which they haue very neate Boates to passe the streets. And because they goe
more by water then ours, therefore there Shipping is more conuenient and elegant. But the
Magistrates, built by publike cost are as commodious as Houses, with diuers Lodgings, a Hall,
Kitchen, Cells, so neate as seeming Great mens houses, rather then Ships ; and therefore they
make their solempne Banquets a Ship-board, passing along the Rivers and Lakes for further plea-
sure. All within shines with *Ciaram* or shining Vernish in diuers colours, and the Carued
workes gilded in places, with combined sweetes to the Eyes and Nose. They honour their
Masters more then with vs, so that if a man haue beene anothers Scholler but one day in a-
ny Art, hee calls him Master euer after, and neuer sits in any meeting but at his side, and doth
him all honour.

Dice-play and Cards are common with them : Chesse also with the grauer persons, not alto-
gether vnlike ours : but their King neuer remoues but to the foure next roomes, and the Bishops
haue their Queenes. They haue also which they call *Poulder paunes*, which goe before the
Knights and follow the Paunes. They haue a graue Game in a table of three hundred roomes
with two hundred men white and blacke, in which Magistrates spend much time, and the cun-
ning skill whereof gets much credit to a man, although hee can doe nothing else : and some
chuse such their Masters with wonted rites. Theft is not punished with Death : the second fault
therein, is branded with an hot Iron and Inke in the Arme, with two Characters, the third time
in the Face, after with their terrible Whipping or condemning to the Gallies, for a time limited
: so that there are abundance of Theeves. Euery night in Cities, many Watchmen at cer-
taine times beate Basons as they walke the streets, the streets also enclosed and shut, yet many
chefts are committed, the Foxe being the Gooseherd, and the Watch partners with the Theefe.
The Cities in greatest Peace in the midst of the Kingdome, are shut euery Night, and the Keyes
carryed to the Gouvernour.

§. V. Of their Superstitions, Cruelties, feares of Magistrates, of the Kings kindred,

of Strangers and Souldiers. Their Deities and three Sects :

Priests, Nunnes, Monasteries, Le-
gends, Lyes.

NO superstition is so generall in the Kingdome, as the obseruation of luckie and vnluckie
Dayes and Houres, for which purpose yeerely is Printed a two-fold Table of dayes by
the Kings Astrologers, in such plentie that euery house is full of them. In them is
written on euery day, what may bee done or not, or to what houre yee must forbear
businessse, which may in that yeere happen. There are others more dangerous Masters, which
make a liuing by this Wizardly profession of selling lyes, or prescribing fit houres : wherby many
differre the beginning of Building, or Iourneying till their appointed day or houre come : & then
how vnfitting soeuer that prooueth with crosse weather, they set on neuertheless, though it be
but a little little onser, that the worke might thence appeare to take beginning. The like super-
stitious obseruation they haue of the moment of the Natiuitie, which they precisely set downe,
diuers professing by Astrologie, or by superstitious numbers, or by Physiognomie, or Palmestrie,
or Dreames, or words in Speech, or posture of the body & by innumerable other wayes to fore-
tell future Fortunes ; many *Gipsie*-jugglers vsed to such impostures, as by a stalking Knaue which
shall professe his Fortunes exactly told him by the professor, or by learning out of printed Bookes
which describe euery Citie, Street and Familie, what hath hapned as an argument of the truth
of that which they say shall happen. Yea, their credulitie breeds such strong imagination, that
some being foretold of a Sicknesse such a day, will then fall sicke of conceit.

Many also consult with Devils and familiar Spirits, and receiue Oracles from the mouth of
Infants, or of Beasts, not without fraud. They are superstitious in chusing a plot of ground, to e-
rect a dwelling House, or Sepulcher, conferring it with the head, tayle and feete of diuers Dra-
gons, which liue (forsooth) vnder our earth, whence depends all good or bad Fortune. Diu-
lers Learned

Seales of Ma-
gistrates.

Seats in which
they are carry-
ed on mens
shoulders.
Boates & ships

Masters re-
spect.

Games.
Chesse.

Theft punish-
ment.

Chap. 9.
Obseruation
of times.
Two fold Al-
manacke.

Impostors.

Diuinations
and telling of
Fortunes.

Strength of
imagination.

Devils consulta-
ted.

Dreames of
Dragons.

- Geologers.** Learned men busie their wits in this abstruse Science, and are consulted when any publike Buildings are rayled. And as Astrologers by the Starres, so these *Geologers* by inspection of Riuer, Fields, Mountaines and scite of Regions, foretell Destinies; dreaming by setting a Doore or Window this or that way, conueying the rayne to the right or left hand, by a higher or lower rooffe, honour and wealth shall accrue to the House. Of these Impostors the Streets, Cities, Courts, Shops, Markets are full, which sell that which themselves want, good Fortune to all Foole-fortunate buyers: yea, Women and blinde folkes professe it, and some find such Chapmen of the Learned, Noble, King and all, that they grow to great riches by others little wits. All disasters publike or priuate are attributed to *Fate*, and ill scite of some Citie, House or Palace. The noise of Birds, the first meeting in the Morning, Shadowes caused by the Sunne in the house, are their Fortune-guides.
- Augurie.** For other vices, some will make themselves Seruants to rich men, to haue one of the hand-maydes become his Wife, so multiplying issue to bondage. Others buy a Wife, but finding their family become too numerous sell their Sonnes and Daughters as Beasts, for two or three pieces of Gold (although no dearth prouoke him) to euermore separation and bondage, some to the *Portugals*. Hence is the Kingdome full of Slaues, not captiued in warre, but of their owne free-borne. Yet is seruice there more tollerable then else-where; for euery man may redeeme himselfe at the price payd for him, when hee is able; and there are many poore which with hard labour sustayne themselves. A worse euill in some Prouinces is theirs, which finding themselves poore, smother their new-borne Babes, specially Females, by an impious pietie and pittilesse pitie preventing that sale to Slauerie, by taking away that life which euen now they had giuen. They pretend hereunto also their *Metempsychosis*, dreaming that the Soule of that Infant shall the sooner passe into some more fortunate body: and are not therefore ashamed to doe this in others presence, yea not the meanest of the communaltie. Many more inhumanely kill themselves, either wearie of a miserable life, or willing after death to bee reuenged of some enemy, whiles to the Enemy of mankind many thousands yeerely Sacrifice themselves, by Halter, Drowning, and Poyson.
- Cruell vices and vnnaturall Chinois.** Another immanitie in the Northerne Prouinces is vsed vpon Male Infants, whom for hope of Palace preferments their Parents make Eunuches; of which in the Kings house are ten thousand, a dull and blockish kinde of vnkind vnmanly men. Their Whippings also take away more liues, then the executions of sentences to Death; their Reedes slit two ells long, a finger thicke and foure broad, at the first blow breaking the skinned and flesh on the hinder part of the thighes: to preuent which many bribe the Magistrates, of whose domineering fullnesse of power they liue in perpetuall feare, where calumnies and lyes are so rife: which *China* perfidiousnesse made the Kings come so guarded abroad and vnknowne, and now not to come forth at all.
- Child-selling.** The Kings kindred are now growne to sixtie thousand, and daily increasing become a burthen to the publike, and daily increase in idlenesse, impotence, numbers, the King being very jealous of them, and setting Guards, besides their perpetuall exile from *Pequin* and *Nanquin*. No maruell if Strangers be no better trusted in *China*, where the Natiues and Bloud are suspected: out of whose Bookes they scorne to learne, and repute them little better then Beasts: and the Characters whereby they expresse them are taken from Beasts. How Legats are held as prisoners in publike houses is else-where deliuered. Commanders of Souldiers, which guard places are guarded and watched, and not trusted with the pay of their Companies: neither is there any more base then the Souldiery, most Slaues or condemned persons, for their owne or their Ancestors euils: and when they are free from exercises of warre, they become Muletters, Porters, and of other base Offices. The Captaynes onely haue some authoritie. Their armes are worthlesse for offence or defence, and onely make a shew, the Captaynes being also subject to the Magistrates whippings. Their Alchymistickall vanitie, and study of long Life, with precepts and huge bookes of both, I omit. The founders forsooth of these Sciences haue gone body and soule to Heauen. The making of Siluer hath made many spend their siluer, wits and credit, cheated by professing Artists; and the great Magistrates (few in *Pequin* free) are taken vp with the other Study; some shortning their life to make it longer. They write of one of their Kings which had procured such a potion of immortalitie, whom a friend of his was not able to dissuade from that conceit, enraged, by his sudden snatching & drinking his prepared potion: which he seeking by death to reuenge, the other answered, how can I be killed, if this draught cause immortalitie? and if I may, then haue I freed thee of this errour.
- Child-killing.** Touching the *China* Sects, I read in their Bookes, that the *Chinois* from the beginning worshipped one God, which they call the King of Heauen, or by another Name *Heauen and Earth*. Beneath this Deitie, they worshipped diuers tutelare Spirits of Mountaynes, Riuer, and of the foure parts of the world. In all actions they held Reason to bee obeyed, which light of Reason they confessed they had from Heauen. Of that supream Deitie and his administering Spirits, they neuer had such monstrous conceits as the *Romans*, *Greekes*, *Egyptians*, whence the *Iesuites* hope that many of them in the law of Nature were saued. Their Sects are reckoned three: The first of the Learned, the second of *Sciequia*, the third *Lauch*. One of these is professed by all
- Pittilesse pitie.** Which
- Transmigration of soules.**
- Selfe slayers.**
- Eunuches.**
- Whip-killing.**
- Slauiish feare.**
- Kings kindred.**
- China suspitions.**
- Strangers condemned.**
- Souldiers base.**
- Studies of Alchymie and long life.**
- Chap. 10.**
- China Gods.**
- What pitie is it that Lutherans and Caluists may not as well be saued without the Pope, as these Idolaters without God and Christ, and worshipping that, which by Nature is not God?

which vs their Characters. That of the *Learned*, is most proper to *China* and most ancient, and all their *Learned* learn it in the course of their studies. *Confutius* is the Prince thereof. This Sect hath no Idols, worships one God, beleeuing all things to bee conserved by his providence. They worship in inferiour sort the Spirits. The best of them teach nothing of the Creation : rewards and punishments, they confine in this life to a mans selfe or his posteritie. Of the immortalitie of the Soule they seeme to make no doubt, for they speake of the deceased living in Heauen, but of Hell they make no mention. The later *Learned* deny both, with the soules immortalitie : yet some say, that the soules of good men are corroborated with vertue and made able to hold out, others dying with the body.

The principall opinion seemeth borrowed of the Idoll Sect, five hundred yeeres agoe ; which holds that this whole Vniuerse consists of one matter, and that the Creatures are as so many members of this huge body, so that euery one may attayne to the similitude of God being one with him ; which we confute out of their owne ancient Authors. Though the *Literate* acknowledge one supream Deitie, yet they erect no Temple to him, nor any other place proper to his Worship, nor any Priests, persons or rites peculiar, nor haue precepts thereof, nor any which prescribe, or punisheth defect of Holies ; nor any which priuately or publikely recite or sing ought to him. Yea they affirme, that the Office of Sacrificing to the King of Heauen and his worship belongs to the King : and if any should take on him that Office, hee should vsurpe the Kings, and be thereby a Traytor. For this purpose, the King hath two stately Temples in both Royall Cities, one dedicated to the *Heauen*, the other to the *Earth* : in which sometime hee vsed to Sacrifice, but now in his place certayne Magistrates haue succeeded, which there sacrifice many Oxen and Sheepe, with many Rites. To the *Spirits* of Mountaynes, Riuer, and of the foure Regions of the world, onely the chiefe Magistrates Sacrifice, nor are the people admitted thereto. The precepts of this Law are containd in the *Tetrabiblion* and five Bookes of *Doctrines* ; nor are any other Bookes allowed, but onely some Commentaries thereon. Nothing in this Sect is more of note then their yeerely *Obits*, or parentations to their deceased Parents, common to all from the King to the meanest, obseruing their dead Ancestrie as if they were living. Neither yet doe they suppose that they eate of the meate which is set them, or need it, but they haue no better meane to expresse their loue.

The *Literate* haue a costly Temple to *Confutius* in euery Citie, by Law appointed, in that place where the *Schoole* is, and adjoyning to the Magistrates Palace, which is set ouer the Bachelors or Graduates of the first degree. In a principall place of that Temple his Image is erected, or else his Name in golden Cubitall letters, written in a curious Table. Hither the Magistrates assemble euery New-moone, and Full, also the Bachelors, with wonted kneelings, Odours and Wax-lights, to acknowledge their Master. On his Birth-day and on other set times, they offer festiuall Dishes, thankfully confessing his learned workes, whence they haue attained their Degrees and Offices, but pray not to him nor looke for ought from him ; but as is obserued of their dead Parents. Other Temples also are, seene of the same Sect to the *Tutelare Spirits* of each Citie, and to the Magistracie of each Tribunall, wherein they solemnly binde themselves by solempne Oathes, to obserue Law and Iustice, when they first enter into their Office. In these they offer Dishes and Odours, but in differing Worship : for in these they acknowledge, there is a Diuine power to punish the perjurious, and reward the good. The scope of this *Literate Sect*, is the peace and good of the Common-wealth, and of Families, and of each persons ; their precepts agreeing with Nature and Christianitie. Five Relations or Societies are obserued by them, comprehending all duties of humanitie ; of Father and Child, of Husband and Wife, of Master and Seruant, of elder and younger Brethren, of Fellowes and Equals. They condemne Single life, permit Polygamie, and in their Bookes largely explaine that precept of *Charitie*, to doe to another as a man would be done to. They deny this to bee a Sect, but a certayne Academie instituted for the government of the Common-wealth ; and because it prescribes not, nor prohibiteth any thing touching the Life to come, many adjoyne the other two Sects to this.

The second Sect is called *Siequia* or *Omitese*, and by the *Iaponians*, *Sciacca* and *Amidaby*. Both haue the same Characters, and the same *Totoqui* or Law. It came to the *Chinois* from the West, brought from the Kingdome of *Thienscio* or *Scinto*, now called *Indostan*, betwixt *Indus* and *Ganges*, about the yeere of Christ 65. It is written that the King of *China*, warned in a Dreame, sent Legats thither, which brought Bookes and Interpreters from thence, the Authors of them being dead. And therefore I see not how truly the *Iaponians* affirme that *Sciacca* and *Amidaba* pierced thither, and were Native of *Siam*. The Authors of this Sect, haue taken some things out of our Philosophers. For they hold foure Elements, and manifold Worlds, and transmigration of Soules, and other things. Somewhat it seemes to acknowledge the *Trinitie* fabling of three Gods becomming one ; it acknowledgeth iust rewards to the good in Heauen, to the bad in Hell. It extols Single life, so as it may seeme to reject Marriage. They leaue house, and friends and trauell into diuers places Begging. The Rites of this prophane Sect, haue great affinitie with our (*Romish*) Ecclesiasticall : the Singings of men saying their seruice may seeme nothing to differ from our *Gregorian* ; they haue Images also in their Churches ; their Priests Garments are alto-

God supposed
the soule of the
world.

Persians had no
Temples.

Two Temples
Royall.
King high
Priest : Magi-
strates inferi-
our.

Obite.

Confutius Tem-
ple and Rites.

Temple of tu-
telar Spirits
Tribunall
Temple.
Oath of Magi-
strates.

Five combina-
tions.

Second Sect
began A.D. 65.

Democritians
Sythagorians

Likenesse of
Popish rites
and those of
China, in opi-
nion of Iesuites.

gether like ours, which with an Ecclesiasticall terme wee call, *Plunialia*. In their Service they often recite the name *Tolome*, which themselves confesse to be ignorant of. But they denie eternitie in their Heauen and Hell, ascribing a new birth after I know not what revolutions of time, in some other of their conceited Worlds, then and there to be penitentially purged; with other fooleries. They prohibite to eate of liuing creatures, but few impose on themselves this abstinence, and they finde easie absolution from this and other sinnes, if they giue to the Priests, who professe to deliuer from Hell by their Prayers or Recitations, whom they will.

This Sect came in at first with great applause, as clearly professing the Soules immortalitie: but nothing more disgraced it, then that that King and these Princes which first embraced it (which the *Literate* often object) died miserably with violent death, and publike losse and misfortune followed. By writing of many Bookes they haue entangled it in inextricable Labyrinths. The notes of Antiquity appeare in the multitude of their Temples, and most of them sumptuous: in which huge Monsters of Idols of Brasse, Marble, Wood, and Earth are seene; with Steeples adioyned of Stone or Bricke, and in them huge Bells, and other ornaments of great price.

Many and costly Temples, Steeples, Bells, Images. Their Priests many and miserable.

The Priests of this Sect are called *Osciami*, they shaued their head and beard, against the fashion of the Countrey: some trauell, as is said, some leade a very austere life in Mountaines and Caves, but the greatest part which amount to two or three millions, liue in Monasteries, sustayned with their antiently-giuen Reuenues, and Almes, and also by their owne industry. These Priests are accounted, and iustly, the most vile and vicious in the whole Kingdome, sprung of the basest plebeians, sold in their childhood to the elder *Osciami*, and of Slaues made Disciples, succeed their Masters in Office and Benefice, a course which they haue found for their propagation. For, few are found which voluntarily by desire of sanctitie doe adioyne themselves to those Monkes. Ignorance also and illiberall education makes them liker their Masters, few of them learning Letters or ciuill rites; and daily growing worse. And although they haue no wiues, they are much addicted to women, and cannot but by grievous penalties be kept from them.

Monasteries, Innes. Redemption of wilde creatures. See Pin: is Riner faire. Fasters.

The Colledges of the *Osciami* are diuided into diuers Stations, in euery of which is one perpetuall Administrator, to whom his seruants or as many as he brings vp, succede. They acknowledge no Superior in those Cells, but euery one in his owne Station builds as many Lodgings as he can (most of all places, in the Court) which after they let to strangers, so that they are rather Innes then Monasteries, as full of tumults as empty of deuotion. Although they bee of base esteeme, yet are they employed to Funerals and other Rites, by which wilde beasts, and fowles, and filhes are set at liberty, by the professors of this Sect with opinion of great merit. In this our age this Sect hath much reuiued, and many Temples are built and repaired, by Eunuches, Women, and the rude vulgar, and especially by the *Ciaicum*, or *Fasters*, which all their liues abstayne from Flesh, Fish, (Egges, and Milke) and worship a multitude of Idols with set prayers at home, and are by hire to be called to any other mans. Nunnes also obserue the same Monastical rules, being single and shaued; they call them Nunnes, nothing so many as the Monkes.

Nich, or Nuns. Third Sect. Lye of Lauzu.

The third Sect is called, *Lauzu*, deriued from a Philosopher which liued at the same time with *Confucius*, whom they fable to haue bene carried 80. yeeres in his parents wombe before he was borne, and therefore called, *Lauzu*, that is, the *Old Philosopher*. He left no Bookes of his Opinion, nor seemes to haue intended any new Sect, but certaine Sectaries, called *Tausa*, made him the head of their Sect after his death, and wrote diuers elegant Bookes gathered out of diuers Sects. These also liue single in their Monasteries, and buy disciples, base and wicked as the former. They weare their haire as the Lay-men, differing herein, that where they weare their haire tyed on a knot, these haue a Cap on the crowne of Wood. Some also are married, and say ouer their Holies in their owne houses. They say, that with other Idols they worship also the *Lord of Heauen*, whom yet they imagine Corporeall; and to haue suffered many things. They tell, that the King of Heauen which now reigneth, is called *Ciam*, and he which before ruled was named *Leu*. This *Leu* came one day to the Earth riding on a white Dragon, and *Ciam* a Wizard enter-tayned him with a Feast, where whiles *Leu* was eating, *Ciam* gat vp on the white Dragon, and was carried to Heauen, and excluded *Leu* from that souerainty; only he obtayned of this new King, that he might rule ouer a certaine Mountaine in his Kingdome, where they say he still liueth: thus confessing (as the *Greekes* of *Ioue*) themselves to worship an Usurper and Traitor. Besides this Deity of *Heauen*, they acknowledge three others, one of which they say, *Lauzu* is, hauing some dreame also, as the former of the Trinitie.

Leu Legend.

See before of Leu Hill, neere the great Lake.

They also speake of places of rewards and punishments, but differing from the former: for they promise a Paradise for soule and body together, and haue Images of some in their Temples which haue so gone thither. To obtayne this, they prescribe certaine exercises of sitting in diuers postures, set Prayers, Medicines by which the life is lengthned, if not made immortall. Their Priests exorcise Deuils, and driue them out of houses, by painting horrible shapes of them in yellow Paper on the walls, and making horrible cries as if themselves were become Deuils. They arrogate also to bring downe or to stay Raines, and other publike and priuate fortunes, most impudent impostors, either Lyars or Magicians. They assist the Kings sacrifices in those Temples of *Heauen* and *Earth* (thereby acquiring much authority) being Masters of the Musike therein: and

Way to fooles Paradise.

and are called to Funerals, to which they goe in precious vestments with diuers muscull Instruments, making a pompous-procession shoue thorow the streets. The like pompes they vse at the streets ends on certaine times, hired by the dwellers.

They haue a Prelate called *Ciam*; which dignity he transmitted to his posterity 1000. yeeres since by hereditary successions, and seemeth to haue taken beginning from a Magician which liued in a Caue of *Quiam* Prouince, where his posterity still continueth. Their Prelate liueth most commonly at *Pequin*, obserued by the King, and admitted into the inmost Palace to consecrate and hallow the Roomes suspected to bee haunted by ill spirits. Hee is carried in an open Chaire, and with other pompe competent to the chiefe Magistrates, and is allowed by the King a great Reuenue. But I haue learned of a Conuert that these Prelates now are so ignorant that they know not their owne Charmes and Rites. Hee hath no power ouer the people, but the *Tan* (Priests) and their Monasteries, many of which are also Alchimyists. These three Sects haue diuersified themselves into 300. in seeming, daily encreasing and growing worse and worse. *Humou* ordained that these three Lawes should be kept for the good of the Kingdome, onely the *Literate* to rule; whence it comes that they seeke not to ruine each other. The Kings make vse of them all for their purposes, often repairing the old, and building new Temples. The Kings wiues are more prone to the Idoll Sect, and maintayne whole Monasteries without the Palace, and buy their Prayers with Almes. The Idols are not onely in Temples in this Kingdome, but in priuate houses in peculiar places, in streets, ships, Palaces, they are the first things you see, and yet put they little confidence in them. Their wisest men seeke to mixe all three Sects together, and to whiles they embrace all, are of none, and proue *Atheists*.

Ciam Prelate.

Multiplication of Sects.

§. V I.

Of Strangers, and forraigne Religions in China.

Now inhospitall the *Chinois* are to Strangers, we haue in part heard, neither permitting egress to the Natiues, nor ingresse to Aliens except in three respects. The first, such as come to pay their annuall Tributes. The second, such as pretending honour and tribute, come (as wee haue heard) from the West with seeming tribute, a colour to their gaine by merchandise. The third, such as in admiration of the *Chinian* vertues and learning, come thither (as the Queene of *Sheba* to *Salomon*) to learne the same, which is the *Iesuites* pretence: but these must here fixe their habitation, nor may be suffered to returne; such is their ialousie, of discouering their mysteries to others. And this made the *Iesuites*, after so long stay, free from feare of expulsion, which yet since complaine of persecution. But it may not be known, that they haue any intelligence or commerce with strangers: & therefore the *Iesuites*, which haue obtayned two so great priuiledges, the Eunuches Palace for their residence, and the imployment in correcting the *China* Kalender, both by Royall approbation; yet could not obtayne leaue to goe into the Prouince of *Canton*, though with Mathematicall pretexts for that Kalender-busines, to obserue longitudes and latitudes of places, because they were said to be Countrymen to those of *Macao*. Yea, a *Colao*, or Counsellor of State, was deprived, for sending a message to a bordering King; a tempest of libelling complaints thundring and showing against him therefore. In the bordering Prouinces they set narrow watch at Custom-houses, Bridges, and in the very Riues, by ships of warre thereto appointed. But if they be once gotten into the inner parts of the Kingdome, there are no such Officers, nor searches. Neither may any stranger passe out of the Kingdome, after once entring, without the Kings licence. The *Iesuites* steale their ingresse and egress by meanes of the *Portugals*, which had the Towne of *Macao* assigned them by the *Chinois*, for trafficke. These come vsually twice a yeere to the chiefe Citie of the Prouince of *Canton*, which is not called *Quantum*, or *Canton*, (the name of the Prouince) but *Quam cen*. All the day time they haue free entrance in the Citie about their merchandise, but must lie on shipboord at night. In the midst of the Riuer there is a little Iland, and therein a Temple, in which they are allowed their Catholike deuotions. There by Boat did they prouide to steale in or out of the Countrey. The *Mahumetans* that come in by land, if they stay nine yeeres (as is obserued) may neuer return home againe. Of these there are now many thousand Families in *China*, dispersed into the most of the Prouinces and chiefe Cities. They haue there their Temples very sumptuous, and their Circumcision. But as farre as I could euer learne, they neither teach, nor care to teach, others their deuotions, but are vnskilfull of the *Saracens* Tenents, and are contemned of the *Chinois*. It seems, that their comming in was in the time that the *Tartars* reigned here, which since haue increased, and after so long continuance, are not held in suspicion, as other strangers. Some say, after the fourth generation they are reputed as Natiues: yea, they are admitted to the studies of Learning, Degrees, and Magistracy, as well as the *Chinois*. But most of these, thus dignified, relinquish their former superstition, retayning nothing thereof, but abstinence from Swines flesh, which rather by Nature, then for Religion, they abhorre.

This is also testified by *Monf.* de *Monfart*.

Many *Mahumetans* in *China*

Christians.

Touching *Christians* in *China*, there is not so great certainty. Certaine *Mogores* told *Riccius* of some in the *Xensian* Prouince, in the North parts of *China*, at a place called *Xucheo*, which were white, bearded, vied Bells, worshipped *Isa*, that is, *Iesus*, and *Marie*, and honoured the Crucifixe; their Priests married, which cured diseases without medicines. A *Iew* at *Pequin* gaue more full intelligence, that at *Caisumfu*, and at *Linco*, in the Prouince of *Sciantium*, and in the Prouince of *Sciensi*, there liued certaine Strangers, whose Ancestours had come out of forraigne parts, which worshipped the Crosse which the *Chinois* expresse by the Character of Ten) and made the signe thereof with the finger on their meate and drinke. They also made the same signe with Inke on the foreheads of their children, to preserue them from misfortunes. A *Iesuite* also saw, in the hands of an Antiquarie, a Bell, with a Church and Crosse thereon grauen, circumscribed with *Greeke* letters. The *Iew* also reported that those Crosse-worshippers had the same doctrine in their prayers which the *Iewes* held: this the *Iesuites* interpreted of the *Psalter* common to them both. Hee affirmed that there were many of them in the Northerne Prouinces, which so flourished in Letters and Armes, that they grew suspicious to the *Chinois*, which hee thought was caused by the *Saracens* some sixty yeeres before. The Magistrates were so incensed hereby, that they for feare were dispersed, some turning *Iewes*; some *Saracens*; others *Idolaters*: and their Temples were also conuerted into Idolatrous Temples, one of which he mentioned in his Countrey. Euer since they hide their profession, and when the *Iesuites* sent one of their Conuerts to make enquire, he could learne of none: which they thought proceeded from their feare, taking him for a Spie sent from the Magistrates.

See sup. in Pinto. 269.

See sup. pag. 115

Siam.

Chaisamfu.
Iew at Pequin
his report:

Israelites dispersion.

Iewes at Hamcheu.

Pentateuch.
Want of prickes

Decay of Iudaisme.

All these Sects the *Chinois* call, *Hoei*, the *Iewes* distinguished by their refusing to eate the new or leg; the *Saracens*, Swines flesh; the *Christians*, by refusing to feed on round-hoofed beasts, Asses, Horses, Mules which all both *Chinois*, *Saracens*, and *Iewes* doe there feed on. The *Saracens* called the *Christians* also *Isai*, as before; and *Terzai*, which is a name giuen in *Persia* to the *Armenian Christians* (as an *Armenian* affirmed to *Riccius*) whence hee coniectured, that these *Christians* came out of *Armenia*. And by the report of *Haiton* the *Armenian*, which sayth, their King came to the Great *Can* of *Cathay* (which wee haue before obserued, at least the best parts thereof, to be the North parts of *China*) to perswade him and his to become *Christians*; which in great part also hee affected, besides other *Christians* there reported to bee, by *Paulus*; and those of *Sarnau*, subiect to the Great *Can*, mentioned by *Vertomannus*, which seeme to be neere these in *China*. The *Malabar Christians* haue *Chaldee* memorials of *China*, conuerted by Saint *Thomas*; and their Metropolitan hath his style of all *India* and *China*.

A certaine *Iew* at *Pequin* hearing of the *Iesuites* there, came to them to see and conferre with them, imagining them to be *Iewes*. This *Iew* was borne at *Chaisamfu*, the Mother-citie of the Prouince *Honan*, his name was *Ngai*, his countenance not resembling the *Chinois*; hee neglecting *Iudaisme*, had addicted himselfe to the *China* studies, and now came to *Pequin* to the examination, in hope of proceeding Doctor. There did hee enter the *Iesuites* Houle, professing that he was of their Law and Religion. *Ricci* leads him into the Chappell, where on the Altar stood the Image of the Virgin, *Iesus*, and *Iohn Baptist*, kneeling; which he taking to be the Images of *Rebecca* and her Twins, did worship vnto them, contrary (he said) to their custome. The Images of the Euangelists he supposed to be so many of *Iacobs* sonnes. But vpon further questioning, the *Iesuite* perceiued that he was a professor of the Law of *Moses*: he confessed himselfe an *Israelite*, and knew not the name of *Iew*; so that it seemed, the dispersion of the ten Tribes had pierced thus farre. Seeing the *Hebrew* Bible, hee knew the Letters, but could not reade them. He told them that in *Chaisamfu* were ten or twelue Families of *Israelites*, and a faire Synagogue, which had lately cost them ten thousand Crownes; therein the *Pentateuch* in Rolls, which had bin with great veneration preserued siue or six hundred yeeres. In *Hamcheu* the chiefe Citie of *Chequian*, hee affirmed, were many more Families with their Synagogue; many also in other places but without Synagogues, and by degrees wearing out: his pronounciation of *Hebrew* names differed from ours, as *Herusoloim*, *Moscia*; for *Messia*, *Ierusalem*. His Brother, hee said, was skilfull in the *Hebrew*; which he in affection to the *China* preferment had neglected; and therefore was hardly censured by the Ruler of the Synagogue.

To this Citie did *Ricci* send one of his to enquire, who found those reports true, which also copied the beginnings and endings of their Bookes, which they compared, and found to agree with their owne *Pentateuch*, sauing that they wanted prickes or points. He wrote also in *China* Characters to the Ruler of their Synagogue, that hee had the rest of the Bookes of the Old Testament, and other Bookes of the New, which contayned the acts of the *Messias*, being already come. The Ruler doubted, saying, that he would not come till ten thousand yeeres were expired. Hee also promised, that because hee had heard much good of him, if hee would come thither, and abstaine from Swines flesh, they would make him Ruler of their Synagogue. After this, three *Iewes* came from thence to *Pequin*, and were almost perswaded to become *Christians*. These complained, that through ignorance of the *Hebrew*, their Religion decayed, and that they were likely all of them in a short time to become *Saracens* or *Ethnikes*. The old Archisynagogue, was now dead, his sonne a young man succeeded in place, but ignorant of their Law

Law. And that their *Jewish* Religion was indeed languishing, appeared by this, that they both worshipped the Popish Images, and complained that in their Synagogue and priuate houses they had none. They were offended that they were forbidden the eating of any creature, which themselves had not killed, which had they obserued in this Iourney had cost them their liues. Their wiues and neighbours esteemed Circumcision of their Infants on the eighth day a cruell thing, which they could be willing to alter, with acceptation of the *Christian* Law, nor would much stand about Swines flesh.

As for the *Christian* Religion thither carried by the *Iesuites*, you haue heard the whole substance of their owne large Histories; I meane not of Miracles, and other like stufte and stuffings, but the meanes of conuaying the Gospel to the *Chinois*, which are merchandise, money, & gifts, Mathematiks, Memorative-art, Morality, which to *China* Couetousnes and Curiosity with their conforming to *Confutius* Ethikes, and *China* Literature, Habite, Names and officious Rites, were good Orators, and made way with much adoe to that little which is done; a mutuall exchange in many things, of *Romish* for *Chinois* Beades, Shauing, Vests, Songs, Mumimus, Tapers, Censers, Images, Legends, Monkes, Nunnes, Processions, Pilgrimages, Monasteries, Altars, hee and shee Saints, and other things innumerable pertayning rather to *bodily exercise* which *1.Tim.4.8.* profiteth little, then to *Godlinesse*, or *God-likenesse*, who being a Spirit, requireth men to worship *10.4.23,24.* him in spirit and truth; and by foolishnesse of preaching saue them that beleue, not by wisdom of words, in elegant writings, and those more of Arts then Christianity. The great Doctor of the *1.Cor.1.21,27.* Gentiles tooke another course, not with excellency of words, sayth he, or wisdom; yea, hee esteemed to know nothing among the learned Corinthians but Iesus Christ and him crucified: neither stood *1.Cor.2.1,2,3.* his word in the enticing speech of mans wisdom, but in playne euidence of the Spirit; not the wisdom of the World, but the wisdom of God in a myserie, &c. Which I speake not as denying the seruice of Arts to Diuinity, but of Diuinity in manner to Arts, where the profession is not as of a Tent-maker to liue that he may preach, but as of an *European* Philosopher, where *Hagar* domineereth, and *Sara* at some times whispers a little, and except in Images and Shewes scarcely shewes her selfe, as more fully appeareth in the fore-going History. But would God any Arts or any Preachers may occasion the opening of their eyes, which were wont to bragge of two eyes, and say *Europeans* had but one, when as they haue but this one naturall eye, and in spirituall things are blinde: and would God the *Chinois* might as generally acknowledge themselves thankfull to *Iesuiticall* labours in professing the Gospell, as I doe here my selfe for this Historicall light of *China*. *Haiton, c.1.*

§. VII.

The Map of China, taken out of a China Map, printed with China Characters, illustrated with Notes, for the vnderstanding thereof.

THe originall Map, whence this present was taken and contracted, was by Captaine *Saris* (whose industrie and acts haue both heere and elswhere enriched this worke) gotten at *Bantam* of a *Chinesse*, in taking a distresse for debts owing to the *English* Merchants; who seeing him carefull to conuay away a Boxe, was the more carefull to apprehend it, and therein found this Map, which another *Chinesse* lodged at his house, lately come from *China*, had brought with him. The greatnesse of the danger at home (if knowne) made him earnestly begge for that which was on the other side as earnestly desired and kept. Master *Hakluyt* procured it of the Captaine, professing his intent to giue it to Prince *Henry* of glorious memory, who being suddenly aduanced to a higher view in Heauen, and Master *Hakluyt* following, this Map came to my hand, who sought to expresse my loue to the publike in communicating what I could thereof. For it being in *China* Characters (which I thinke none in *England*, if any in *Europe*, vnderstands) I could not wholly giue it, when I giue it; no man being able to receiue, what he can no way conceiue. *Tom.1. l.4. c.1. c.2. c.3.*

And as in greatest things our little vnderstandings easier apprehend negations then affirmations, and can better tell what they are not, then what they are; so this Map easily tells at first, euen without Commentaries, the comments and conceits of our Geographers, *Ortelius*, *Mer-cator*, *Hondius*, and whatsoeuer other our Authors of Maps, and Globes, who all haue heerein fayled, giuing nothing lesse then *China* in their *China*; whether wee regard the generall figure and shape thereof, or the particular Riuers, Hills, Prouinces, Wall, Latitude, and if wee beleue the *Iesuites* Longitude also. They present it in forme somewhat like a Harpe, whereas it is almost foure square; they make Hills, Riuers, Lakes, Ilands, (*Coray* also for one, which is part of the Continent) Cities, Prouinces, euery thing out of due place. Whose industry I commend; but industry guided by fanisie, and without light, is but the blind leading the blind, or like a feeled vnmanaged Horse, the more spurred, the more ready to carrie his Rider into precipices, or out of the way at least. Our Geographers haue indeed payd the *Chinois* in their owne Coine: *Benefit of this Map in contrasting others.*

for they, as before yee haue read, knew nothing in manner of the other parts of the World, and expresse them as fansifully in their Maps; and wee likewise knowing nothing of them, haue entertayned, and beene entertayned with *Fansi-maps*, in stead of those of *China*. As therefore by Sir *Thomas Roes* honourable industry wee haue giuen you *Indus* and *India* before, which no Geographer before had done (they all bringing *Indus* thorow *Cambaia*, and some seeking for *Ganges* at *Canton* in *China*) so here we giue you a true *China*, the *Chinois* themselves being our Guides, and the *Iesuites* their both Examiners and Interpreters.

The Originall is about foure foot one way, and almost fife foot the other, whereof a yard and some foure inches square is the Map it selfe; the rest are *China* Discourses touching the sayd Map in their Characters and Lines (running downward, and beginning at the right hand to bee read, after their manner) which are heere omitted, as not vnderstood. Yet haue wee some vnderstanding (as where wee see a man farre off, whom we know to bee a man, and can obserue his habit, gesture, motion, though wee see not the proper complexion of his face) by that which *Pantoia* hath told vs before; namely, that those *China* Characters contayne all the Tributes of each Prouince, yea the number of Houses and perions in the same. And in the Map (of which wee haue giuen an extract) hee sayth the *Rounds* and *Squares* are Cities and Townes of principall note all walled; adding that the Riuer is distinctly delineated; and the great Lines are boundaries of Prouinces, (wee haue heere expresse them after our manner in little prickes,) the lesser expresse the chiefe Cities Iurisdiction. Ours hath no such lesse Lines, but those mentioned *Rounds* and *Squares*, which perhaps hee meaneth; for therein are many others in Characters, without such lines round or square, and therefore as I suppose without Iurisdiction; and in this extract wee haue left them out, because we exactly knew not their meaning, and perhaps sometimes are Cities, sometimes Castles or Townes, or Hills, or some other thing: and silence seemed better, then labour to expresse an vknowne Character, or boldnesse to expresse our owne folly or to occasion others, deceiuing and being deceiued. These *Rounds* and *Squares* also haue their Characters in them, and those greater *Squares* with Crosses, haue, some three others foure Characters.

Besides *Pantogia*, another hath helped further to the particular vnderstanding, namely our famous Countryman Master *Candish*, who in his voyage about the Globe, brought home certayne references taken out of the Map of *China*, neere which hee sayled, and it seemes by some skilfull of the Languages both of *China* and *Portugall*, had the same interpreted to him. That the Prouinces beare other names then in our Map or discourse is no wonder; for both the *Chinois* themselves in diuers Prouinces speake diuers languages, and in all haue the Court language besides the peculiar: and the *China* Characters are the same to many Nations, each of which reads them into his owne language, dialect and appellation. Thus what one Prouince calleth *Languyn* (wanting the *N*.) by diueritie of Dialect, is else-where called *Nanquin*; *Pequin*, *Paquin*, and *Puckin*; yea, by other language *Taybin*, and *Cambalu*, and *Suntien*, or *Citie of Heaven*. I durst not interpret all, chu sing rather to giue an vncertayne truth, then to hazard a certayne error. Master *Candishes* Notes are these.

* Perhaps this is *Seiansi*.
n These leagues seeme doubtful.
Pequin.

o This note of degrees is false, if the *Iesuits* be true: and I thinke rather the guesse of the *Portugall* Interpreter, then that there was any such note in the Map. For the *Chinois* were scarcely to good Cosmographers to obserue degrees.

p *Seiantum*.
q *Honan*.
r Or *Quichew*.
Nannuin.

1 The Prouince of *Cansas* * hath 4. great Cities, and 20. small Cities, and 77. Townes and Castles: it contayeth in length 55. leagues: it hath 362000. Houses of great men that pay Tribute and 13900. men of Warre, and hath 47000. Horses which are the Kings, kept for his defence.

2 The great City of *Paquin* where the King doth lye, hath belonging to it 8. great Cities, and 18. small Cities, with 118. Townes and Castles, it hath 418789. Houses of great men which pay Tribute: it hath Horsemen for the War, 258100. this City is in the latitude of 35. degrees to the North-wards, being there as cold as it is vially in *Flanders*.

3 The Prouince of *Soyebin* hath 7. great Cities, and 16. small, with 12. Townes and Castles, and one great Citie, to which many repayre to fight against the *Tartars*: it hath () leagues in length, and hath 164118. great Houses which pay Tribute, and 96000. men of War.

4 The Prouince of *Santo p* hath 6. great Cities, and 14. small, with 90. Townes and Castles; it is 82. leagues long, and hath 77555. great Houses which pay Tribute: 63808. horsemen, and 31000. footmen of War.

5 The Prouince of *Oyman* q hath 7. great Cities, and 14. small, with 90. Townes and Castles; being 470. leagues long, and 132958. great Houses that pay Tribute, 82800. men of Warre. Out of this Prouince commeth Copper, Quick-silver, and Black-lead.

6 The Prouince of *Cutchew* hath 8. great Cities, and 12. small; and 83. Townes which make Armour to fight with the *Iewes* which do inhabit beyond *Cauchin-china*: it is 100. leagues broad, and hath 32920. Horsemen and Footmen with 405670. great Houses which pay Tribute 60 whereof the men of War are payed.

7 The Prouince of *Languyn* hath 14. great Cities, and 17. small, and 95. Townes and Castles: it is 120. leagues ouer, and hath 962818. great Houses which pay Tribute: it hath in it 208900. men of Warre. Whereof there are 52500. *Tartar* Horsemen that take wages.

8 The Prouince of *Vquam* hath 14. great Cities and 19. small, 150. Townes and Castles, and is 210. leagues broad; and 53161. Houses that pay Tribute: and 71600. men of Warre.

9 The Prouince of *Som* hath 7. great Cities, and 11. small, and 105. Townes and Castles; and is 200. leagues broad: and hath Houses that pay Tribute 139567. and men of Warre 345632.

10 The Prouince of *Essiram* hath 11. great Cities, and 75. small, and 80. Townes and Castles, and is 440. leagues broad, and hath great Houses that doe pay Tribute 1242135. and 339000. men of Warre.

11 This Lake lyeth behind *Siam*, and before *Champa*, and doth joyne with the *Lappians*, and from thence commeth all the water that serueth the Kingdome of *China*: and the *Indians* and the *Chinians* doe report this Lake to be the whole World, and so they paint the Sea, the Moone and the Stars within it.

12 The Prouince of *Lansay*, hath 13. Cities and a chiefe Citie, and 73. Townes and Castles, and is 260. leagues broad, and hath great Houses that pay Tribute 1393629. and 12700. men of Warre.

13 The Prouince *Cuansa* hath 12. great Cities, 45. small, and 51. Townes and Castles, it is 260. leagues broad, and hath great Houses that pay Tribute 1306390. and men of Warre, both Horsemen and Footmen 100100.

14 The Prouince of *Vanam* hath 14. great Cities, and 36. small, and 34. Townes and Castles, and is 88. leagues broad, and hath great Houses that pay Tribute, 589296. and 15100. men of Warre.

15 The Prouince of *Fuguien* hath eight great Cities, and one principall Citie, and 54. Townes and Castles, and two great Cities of Garrison to keepe watch vpon the *Japons*, and is 200. leagues broad, and hath 5009532. great Houses that pay Tribute, and 4003225. men of the Kings Guard.

16 The Prouince of *Canton* hath 40. great Cities, and seuen small, and 77. Townes and Castles; and a Citie that putteth forth hundreds of ships for the keeping of *Canchin-china*, and is 380. leagues in breadth, and hath 483383. great Houses which pay Tribute, and 39400. men of Warre.

17 The Prouince of *Enam* hath seuen great Cities and 13. small, and 90. Townes and Castles: and is 88. leagues broad, and hath 589296. great Houses that pay Tribute, and 15100. Souldiers.

The *Spanish* Friers of the *Philippinas*, as *Mendoza* recordeth, thus out of the *China* Bookes relate the names of the Prouinces, *Pagnia*, *Foquien*, *Olam*, *Sinsay*, *Sisuan*, *Tolanchia*, *Cansay*, *Oquiam*, *Ancheo*, *Honan*, *Xanton*, *Quichen*, *Chequean*, *Susuan* and *Saxi*; tenne of which are seated on the Sea-coast. He also addes that *Pagnia* or *Pequin* hath forty seuen Cities (stiled *Fu*) and one hundred and fiftie others termed *Chen*. *Canton* hath thirtie seuen of the one, and one hundred and ninetie of the other, and so proceedeth with somewhat differing account, reckoning in all five hundred ninety one Cities entituled *Fu*, and 1593. of the *Chen* Cities, which he makes Townes: whereas the Iesuits haue taught vs that *Fu* is the Title of a Region or Shire, in each Prouince, which are sub-diuided into *Cen* and *Hien*, those the more, these the lesse principall, but yet equall to our Cities, as before is obserued.

Againe, in a Dialogue printed at *Macao*, in the Confines of *China*, 1590. by the *Portugals*, these Prouinces are thus reckoned, Sixe vpon the Sea, *Coantum*, *Foquien*, *Chequiam*, *Nanquin*, *Xantum*, *Paguin*; the other nine In-land Prouinces, *Quiansi*, *Huquam*, *Honam*, *Xiens*, *Xansi*, *Su-chuon*, *Queichen*, *Iunan*, *Coansi*. *Perera* reckons them thus, *Fuquien* in which *Cinceo* is the best knowne City; *Cantan*, *Chequeam*, *Xutiansu*, *Chelim*, *Quianci*, *Quicin*, *Quanci*, *Confu*, *Vrnan*, *Sichina*, &c. all which diuersity proceedeth partly from ignorance, partly from different Language and Dialect in the expounding these Characters. And it must needs be so, the *Chinois* wanting vse of, and Characters to expresse *b. d. r.* and all their Characters being of things not Letters; in proper names is very great difficulty to expresse ours in their Characters, or theirs in our Letters; insomuch that one Iesuite doth not perfectly agree with another, nay, often differs from himselfe, as in *Iansen*, *Tamcen*, *Hiancen*, for their great Riuer which *Polo* calls *Quian*; and *Chi*, and *Ci*, and *Qui* I find often confounded in their syllables, as also *x* and *sci*, as *Xauchin*, *Sciachin*, and the like. Yea, such is the difficulty, that the Iesuits can scarcely deuise to expresse in *China* Characters, the forme of Baptisme, to put the *Latine* words thereof, into *China* Characters, that Baptisme might vniformely bee administred after the *Romish* Rite, as themselves confesse.

Touching their Souldiers, I thought good, to adde this note for their Peeces whose Barrels *Pantoia* sayth, are but a span long, that Captayne *Saris* beeing asked told mee, hee saw many of them, and they were as long as Pistols, but the Cocke such as makes them of little seruice.

I haue added these Pictures of a Man and Woman of *China*, not by ghesse, but out of certayne in *China* Pictures made also in *China* in very good Colours, but with Arte meane enough, fine cloth inserted in strong *Indian* Paper; of which Captayne *Saris* communicated many to me.

Their

Lacus Constellationum.

Trig. Epist.
Note of Souldiers Peeces.
Pantoia mistaken, perhaps the Printers fault.
Pictures.

Prouinces and
their names.
* Three or 4.
to the South-
west.
Degrees.

Quian.
* Mandeuile &
others speake
of the irregulari-
tie of Cara-
moran.

P. Pil. 4. c. 12.
S. 2.

Their little Eyes and Noses, long Hayre bound vp in knots, womens feete wrapped vp, long wide-sleeued Garments, Fannes, &c. I haue (taking diuers parts out of diuers) presented to thee. A taste of the *China* Characters thou hast in the Title. That of *Ricinus* I haue added from the Iesuits, in thanks for his great paines, and to shew the habit of the head, &c.

The names of the Prouinces I haue hunted out of the Iesuites Iourneyes and other Relations. In the most I am sure I am right, in the other * you haue my coniecture; for neyther know we their Characters, nor haue any giuen vs a particular Geography or Chorography, but only the names of the Prouinces. I haue added names also to some Cities and Riuer of principall note. As for the truth of the Map I finde well to agree with the Iesuites Iourneyes; but it hath not *European* Art, it being neyther graduated, nor Hills, nor Woods, or other differing places presented to the view; only hauing Characters, Lines, Lakes, and Riuer. I haue aduentured to adde Degrees to helpe such Readers as cannot doe it better themselves, following the Iesuits prescripts in generall, although I cannot but maruell at that longitude, so farre differing from the generall opinion, and could almost doubt, that herein these *Portugals* are minding that diuision agreed on betwixt the *Spaniards* and them, which hath anciently caused such contentions, and wherein you haue read some Offices of the Iesuits in these *China* Discourses. But I will not contend, where themselves speake faintly.

Now for *Quian* which *Polo* hath mentioned, as the greatest Riuer in the world (it is here called *Iansu*, or *Hiansu*, or *Yansu*, that is, the *Sonne of the Sea*, and *Iansuchian*) and another called *Caramoran* (*Cara* signifieth blacke, and this great Northerne Riuer is alway thicke and troubled) and their Marriage by Art, is here viewed; and more then two hundred Cities (one of *Polos* Wonders) communicating their Merchandizes by that *Quian*, or *Chian*, as they now terme it *Iansuchian*, *chian* signifying the chiefe Riuer. For the name *Cathay* to bee giuen by the *Tartars* to *China*, *Goez* his Iourney hath made it out of doubt; also that *Pequin* is *Cambalu*, that is, the *Citie of the King*. I doe conceiue that *Polos* *Mangi* was the nine Southerne Prouinces of *China*; the Northerly before conquered was knowne by the name of *Cathay*; a name by the *Tartars* giuen to diuers Countreyes, as *Cara Catay* and *Catay Calay* and Great *Catay*. This Great *Catay* is *China*.

Polo and other Authors speake of *Cathay* and *Mangi* as two; perhaps the *Tartars* so accounting them; the one, to wit, the North parts being formerly subject to them, and called by their ancient name, the other called *Mangi* in contempt; as the *Romanes* called the subiect *Britaines* of this Iland by their former name, and the others *Picts* and *Barbarians*; and as our Ancestors called those *Britons* which withstood them *Walsh* or *Welch* in a kind of disgrace. Nay still the Northerne *Chinois* call the Southerne *Mangies*, that is, *rude* or *barbarous*, as the Iesuites haue taught vs. But neither *Cathay*, nor *Mangi*, was then the name which they assumed, but was giuen them by the *Tartars*, as *China* is a name vknowne to them now. If any will find no other *Cambalu*, nor *Cathay* but *Pequin* and *China*, I will not contend, though my Reasons elsewhere giuen out of *Polo*, and *Chaggi Memet*, and others, with the former Relations of *Pinto* and *Albacen*, make me scrupulous, and still to beleue some greater Prince or *Can* with his *Cambalu* or Court in the more Northerly parts of *Asia*, then the Iesuits could learne of; which the *China* ieaousie, admitting no entercourse of Strangers, and the many quarrelling *Tartar* Princes in the way haue concealed from vs hitherto.

The great blacke space on the North-west hath in the Originall certayne Characters in it which expresse it: whether it intendeth Mountayns which their Art could no better expresse, and the Riuer thence running may import; or that sandy Desert on the North-west, I cannot so well determine. The Iesuits say, that *ab occasu qui Aquiloni vicinior est, conterminus visitur arena sitientis ager, qui multorum dierum penuria aduenarum exercitus ab Sinarum Regno aut deterret, aut sepelit*. I rather thinke that it is *Cara Catay* or *Blacke Catay*, before often mentioned, both Mountaynous, and Desert, and perhaps coloured blackish, as the name intimates, by black sands, or as health grounds with vs: it was the first *Tartarian* Conquest, and beginning of the greatest greatnesse which this World hath yeelded; the Countrey before of *Presbyter Ioannes Asiaticus*.

The wall is in this forme in the original, not in the Picture made vp of Mountaynes, wherein I thinke they had not art to imitate Nature; the Art in the whole Map much resembling our old Maps, of wooden prints, saue that I see not one Mountaine presented in swelling fashion to the Eye. The Ilands are very many with their Characters, but poorely delineated, their names he re omitted for their vncertainties; so little (and yet how much more then any other) doe wee giue you of *China*, till Time giue vs more. The degrees are not so perfectly accommodated to the Map, by reason that we must at once follow the *Chinian* Map which had no degrees (nor could their Art without degrees giue euery place his iust longitude or latitude) and the Iesuits Rules: yet we haue comne somewhat neere, as may be seene. Other things appeare in the History.

CHAP. VIII.

A continuation of the Jesuits Acts and Observations in China till Ricci's
his death and some yeares after. Of Hanceu or Quinsay.

An Extract of MONEARTS

travell.

Hus having with Pantogias eyes taken some view of the Kings Palace, and with Ricci's of their whole Gouvernement; I hold it fit not to leave this China Apostle (so Ricci is called) till wee have seene some fruits of his labours vntill and after his death. He tels vs that three dayes after they had bene shut vp in the Palace of Strangers as yee haue read, they were brought forth into the Kings Palace to performe the wonted Rites to the Kings Throne. This is done in a large and glorious Court or Porch, where 30000. men might be containd; at the end whereof is a high Chamber, vnder which by five great doores is a passage to the Kings Lodgings; in that Chamber is the Kings Throne, where anciently he sate to heare and dispatch busineses and Embassages, and to receiue the Rites of Magistrates, rendring thanks for their Preferments. But in the present solitarinesse of the King, those Rites are done to the Empty Throne, many there gratulating the King every day. In this Court, enuironed with stately Workes, 3000. Souldiers watch euery night, besides others watching in Towres without, a stones cast from one another. In each of the five Gates is an Elephant, which with the Souldiers goe forth when it is day: and those are admitted which come to gratulate the King. These come in a peculiar Habit of Red, with an Iuory Table in their hand to couer * their mouth, and exhibit their kneelings and bowings to the Throne, as they are taught by Officers of Rites or Masters of Ceremonies: one crying out to that purpose at the performance of each gesture. The Gouvernour of Strangers having shut them vp, first petitioned the King sharply against Mathan the Eunuch and them, but seeing no answer, he petitioned more gently but would haue them sent from Pequim; which the King liked not, yet without Petition from the Magistrates would not detain them. The Eunuches also laboured their stay for feare the Clockes should miscarry beyond their skill. The Kings Mother hearing of a selfe-striking bell sent for it, and the King sent it, but to prevent her asking it, caused the Wheelles to be loosed, so that not seeing the vse, she sent it againe.

When the Ritvall Magistrates could get no answer to their Petitions, for not touching their stay at Pequim; the Praefect sent to Ricci that he would make a Petition to giue him leaue to stay there in pretence of Sicknesse and Physicke, which hee did, and the other presently answered, giuing him libertie to hyre a House; continuing also his former allowance, with foure seruants to bring it euery fifth day, (Flesh, Salt, Rice, Wine, Hearbs, Wood,) and another seruant in continuall attendance: so that now they recouered libertie and credit. The Eunuches also told them of the Kings approbation of their stay; and they had out of the Treasurie eight Crownes a moneth, which their goeth much further then heere: and the Captayne of Strangers by open Sentence gaue them full libertie. One of the Colai, and then the onely, became their great friend, with his Sonne, after some European Presents, which hee bountifully rewarded: likewise the supreme President of the Court of Magistrates, and other of the Grands, besides the Eunuches of the Palace, and some of the Queenes and Royall family. Amongst others was Fumochan a great man, who for withstanding the Eunuches capacitie in Vquam Prouince, was depriued, whipped, and three yeeres Imprisoned; but by others honored with Temples, Odours, Images, and Bookes in prayse of him, as a Saint, and the King wearied by multitude of Petitions for him, granted him againe his libertie. Also Lingoson a great Magistrate and Mathematician as they accounted, became Ricci's Scholler, and was baptised Leo, borne at Hanceu, the chiefe Citie of Cechian, 50 of which afterward.

Yet had Ricci a great enemy of a great Learned man of Hanlin Colledge, who in zeale of the Idol-sect had put away his Wife, and professed himselfe one of their Votaries or Shauelings; drew many Disciples after him, and writ many Bookes against the Literate Sect; and writ also against Ricci's bookes. One of the Kings Admonishers accused him to the King by Petition, and the King rescribng seuerely, hee slue himselfe: yea, the King ordayned, that if the Magistrates would become Apostata shauelings, they should leaue their Robes and get them to the Deserts; many accordingly chusing rather to leaue their Offices, then their Idols. One Thacon was so famous, that the chiefe Queene daily worshipped his habit, (hauing no other meane of entertainment) and so proud that hee sent to Ricci to come and visite him, with the rites of kneeling. 60 But on occasion of search for a Libell against the King, hee was found guiltie of writing ill of the King, for not professing Idols, and of ill vsage to the Kings Mother, for which he was Whipped so, that before they could adde bonds, hee dyed. One which by torments confessed himselfe author of the Libell, had 1600. gobbets plucked from his flesh and then beheaded, a Death most (for the diuision of the body) abominable to the Chinois.

Ricci's Expedition
on. 16. 13.

Atrium.

Kings Throne
reuerenced
and guarded.

Elephants.

* See the like
sup. 23.
Rites to the
Throne.

Kings politike
pictie.

Their libertie
and allowance

Fumochan.

One of Hanlin
Colledge turneth
Idol-
Priest.

Thacon a fa-
mous infama-
mous Priest.

In

Xaucum resi-
dence.
Hoaquan a
three eyed
Monster.

Portugall cu-
stomes odious
to *Chinois*.

Fasts and pro-
cessions.

Locus vnlucki-
nesse.

Seueritie.

Hollanders take
a *Portugall* ship
Hell Passport.
Inferni directo-
riums.

Chiutaiso Bap-
tised.

Iesuiticall vp-
rore.

The *Iesuite*
Martinez whip-
ped to death.

Traitors.

Scianhai in
Nanquin Pro-
vince descri-
bed.

In the *Xaucan* Residence some stirre happened, whiles they brought to the *Iesuits* house their Idoll *Hoaquan*, made with three Eyes, one in his forehead (for though the *Chinois* haue no Idols representing any formes but humane, yet they admit Monsters) as their God of Eye-sight, for whom they intended to build him a Temple, and carryed him from house to house a begging to that purpose; the *Iesuits* refusing to giue them. Rumours also of *Mathans* detayning the Pre-
sents were soone apprehended; as likewise certayne Stage-players which comming from *Amacao*, set forth in Pictures those things which the *Chinois* hated in the *Portugals*, as their short Garments (seeming to them ridiculous) praying on Beads by men in Temples, with Swords girded to them, kneeling on one knee; their quarrels one with another and combats, Women going with Men in company, and the like; a Magistrate also accused the *Iesuits* to the *Taulis*, who spake for them and visited them. It happened also that by occasion of a great Drought, Processions and Fasts were commanded, and the Shambles shut vp, the Gouvernour and people in diuers places appointed thereto, begging rayne with their bowings; and when this preuayled not, they brought an Idoll out of the Suburbs, called *Locu*, which was carryed about, adored, offered too, with no better successe. Hereupon they consulted a Witch, which sayd the *Quoayn* or Goddesse was angry, that her backe was daily scorched (spoken of the Conuerts burning their Idols) which caused some conspiracie, quenched with the *Taulis* fauour and the rayne following. At *Nanquin* one borne at *Scianhai*, and first pronounced Licentiat in the examination 1597. was Baptised by the name of *Paulus*, who conuerted his whole Family. Anno 1604. hee was made Doctor, amongst three hundred and eight, of which number foure and twentie were chosen of *Hanlin* Colledge; after the *China* course of best Writing, of which hee was the fourth: this Choise of foure and twentie is but for probationers, for at the most after long try-
als by the *Colai*, but twelue or fiftene are set in possession, in which examinations hee was still a principall.

I thought to adde this by the way, that *Ligotfun* a learned friend of the *Iesuits*, had beene put from his great place into I know not what pettie Office, for too light demeanour and too fre-
quent Chesse-play, which continued three yeeres. The *Hollanders* much impouerished the *Por-
tugals* by taking the *Iapan* Ship of *Amacao*, the fewell of the *Iesuits* beneficence. At *Nancian* they Conuerted three of the Blood royall, Baptised by the names of *Melchior*, *Gasper*, *Baltba-
sar*, and their Mother a woman much addicted to Idols, and obseruing the *China* Fast; who sent them a Charter, called the Directorie of Hell, which the Shaueling Impostors had sold her, written to the Infernall King, to giue her good entertaynement, and remit her punishment. The *Iesuits* exchanged their Images for her Idols, and their Ecclesiasticall Fast for that *Pegan*.

At *Nanquin*, *Chiutaiso* was baptised by the name of *Ignatius*, striking the ground foure times first with his forehead, and reciting the profession of his Faith, which hee deliuered in writing to the Fathers; the contents of which and of *Paulus*, are expressed in our Author. The *Hollanders* sought entrance into *China*, to bee admitted Trade in *Fuquien* Prouince, but were denyed not-
withstanding both promises and threats. Feare of them made the *Portugals* at *Amacao* begin to build a Tower and to fortifie. But a quarrell falling betwixt a Regular, and a Secular Priest, one fleeing to the *Iesuits* Rector for refuge, there grew such a combustion that the *Chinois* fled to their Countrey, perswaded that *Catanens* then there intended to get the Kingdome, whereof hee had such expence; at *Canton* was such terrour, that aboue one thousand Houses without the walls were pulled downe, the Gates toward *Amacao* filled vp with Lime and Stones, all commerce with *Amacaons* prohibited, great Watch kept; *Francis Martinez* betrayed by a false brother a Conuert, as a Spie, was twice so Whipped that hee dyed soone after the stripes, as hee was en-
tering the Prison. At *Nanquin* three thousand were found, Anno 1606. to haue conspired the Death of the Magistrates, and to invade the ancient Treasuries. Those which were taken were put in those Pillorie boards, which force them to stand till their Legges rot, some of them hol-
ding out a Fortnight, as was thought by bribing the Executioners: the suspicion hereof was by some cast on the *Iesuits*. Two Guides or Fraternities were erected of *China* Conuerts.

Ziu Paulus the learned Conuert, being to leaue his place for three yeeres, to mourne for his Father at *Scianhai* his natie Towne, he obtayned *Catanens* to bee sent thither with him, where hee stayed two yeeres. This is one of the meanest sorts of Cities which they call *Hien*, one hundred fortie and foure *Italian* myles from *Nanquin*, and in that Prouince, in twentie nine Degrees, ouer against *Corai* and the *Iaponian* Ilands, within a little of the Easterne Sea. The name *Scianhai*, signifieth on the Sea; and it is fortified with Garrisons and a Fleet against the *Ia-
ponians*, being a passage with a good winde of foure and twentie houres sayle. The walls are two myles compasse, the Suburbs contayne as many Houses as the Citie; so that there are numbred fortie thousand Households (by this you may measure the frequencie of great Cities,) the Territorie is an euen Playne, and so cultivated that they seeme a Citie of Gardens, full also of Villages, Hamlets, Towers, contayning twentie thousand Families in this Townes iurisdiction, there be-
ing in that Circuit 300000. men. This Iurisdiction alone, payeth to the King the yeerely value of 150000. Golden Crownes, in the weight of Silver, and asmuch in Rice, in all 300000. (whence the incredible reuenues of this Crowne appeare also credible) the Ground being fertile of
Cotton

Cotton, whereof there are reckoned 200000. Weauers, *Pequin* and other parts being hence furnished with Cloathes. There are many good wits and Students, a good Ayre, and they lue long, eightie, ninetie, and a hundred yeeres.

Wee are now come to the Death of Father *Riccius* (the Author of our Iesuiticall Discourse of *China* hitherto; occasioned by multitude of businell that yeere, five thousand Magistrates coming to visite the King, and five thousand others standing for their Doctorship, of which about three hundred onely are chosen. Wearyed with his Ecclesiasticall Fastis also and labour of building a Church, hee fell sicke and dyed, May 11. 1610. hauing much propagated the Gospell by his writings, and furthered it by his Mathematickes. For all Sects haue beene there more encreased by Writing then Preaching. Hee dyed leauing much sorrow to his friends and care also in that *China* scrupulositie, how and where to interre him. It was the counsell of their friends, to put vp a Petition to the King, whereupon they resolued, and *Pantogia* by Doctor *Leos* helpe, thus Petitioned in behalfe of *Riccius* his Corps. *I* James Pantogia, subiect of the Kingdomes of the great West, Offer a Supplication in behalfe of another Forrainger now deceased. *I* humbly beseech your great Clemencie for a place of Buriall, that your Royall beneficence may extend to all, euen Strangers of remotest Regions. *I* James Pantogia am a Stranger of a most remote Kingdome, but mooued with the vertue and fame of your most Noble Kingdome, haue in three yeeres sayle, with much trouble, passed hither aboue sixe thousand leagues. In the eight and twentieth yeere of Vanlie, (for so, as wee, they account their yeeres by the Kings raigne) in the twelfth Moone, *I*, with Matthew *Riccius*, came into your Court; where wee presented some gifts, and haue since beene sustayned at the Kings charge. The nine and twentieth yeere of Vanlie, in the first Moone, we Petitioned your Maiestie for a place of residence, and haue many yeeres enioyed the Royall bountie. In the eight and thirtieth yeere of Vanlie, the eighteenth day of the third Moone, *Riccius* dyed. *I*, a Client of the Kingdome of the great West, remaine a fit subiect of pitie. The returne into our Countrey is long, &c. And *I* now, after so many yeares stay, suppose that wee may bee numbred to the people which followeth your Royall Chariot, that your Clemencie, like that of *Yao*, may not contayne it selfe in the Kingdome of *China* alone, &c. So proceeds he to set forth the good parts of *Riccius*, and with a long supplication to begge a place of Buryall, some Field, or part of a Temple; and hee, with his fellowes, should obserue their wonted Prayers to the Lord of Heauen, for thousands of yeeres to him and his Mother. This Libell was written with peculiar forme, Characters, Seales; many Rites herein necessarily obserued. Before any bee offered to the King, it must bee viewed of some Magistrate; and they got this to bee allowed by one which is Master of Requests, which sent it presently to the King. They must also haue many Copies thereof, to shew to those Magistrates, to whom it appertaines; which they did: one of them affirming, That *Riccius* deserued a Temple also, with his Image to bee there set vp. This message hee sent them by another: for when they fauour a cause, they shew great strangeness. The King commonly answers the third day (except hee mislike, for then he suppresseth) and sends it to the Magistrate that had presented it, who shewes which of the fixe is the peculiar Court, which iudgeth of these things: This being sent to the *Ritnall Tribunal*. Their answer is sent to the King within a Moneth (which there is a short space) and repeating the Petition *verbatim*, and the Kings command to the peculiar Office, answers what the Law sayth in that case, and concludes the Petition to bee agreeing to Iustice, and earnestly pleades and sues for confirmation. The King sends this answers to the *Colao*, which subscribed his approbation; which being sent againe to the King, hee subscribed with his owne hand *Xi*, that is *Fiat*, or bee it done, which the third day after was deliuered them.

The *Iesuites* hauing so speedie and prosperous successe, bethought of gratifying their friends, which had furthered this designe with Dyals, especially to the *Colao*, which vsed *Pantogia* very kindly and writ to the Gouvernour of *Pequin* to looke out a place fitting. Three or foure were offered to their choyse, one of which much pleased them.

It was aboue a quarter of a myle from one of the Citie gates, built by an Eunuch, who now was condemned for some crime; and left his Palace which hee had heere builded, with the expence of aboue foureteene thousand Duckats (which in *China* is a great summe, in that cheapnesse of all things, farre beyond *European* computation) should fall into the hands of spoylers (the goods of Eunuches in this Kingdome, vially becoming his which first can catch them) hee consecrated his Palace, and made it a Temple, maintayning therein one Priest. Such Palaces many of the Magistrates haue neere to the Cities, as retyring places and *Tusculanes* for their Muses. The portraiture of this whole House, with the Garden, and other appurtenances, *Trigantius* hath set forth in Picture; being after the *China* building, with the doore Southwards, and so running a great length into the North, with foure great Halls one beyond another; in the middle parts, and on each side, Chambers and other Roomes; beyond all the Garden, the pillars of Timber bearing vp the rooffe; the walls and pauement of Bricke. The outmost of these Halls was conuerted into a Temple or Idoll-Chappell, in which was a great Altar of Stone and Bricke cunningly fretted, paynted red (a colour forbidden to priuate Houses) and vpon the middest thereof sate a huge Monster of Earth, gilded from top to toe, of massie quantitie. The *Chinois* call it *Ti cam*, the God (as they fable) of the Earth & Treasures, as *Pluto* in the Poets.

He was a King of old, accounted a Saint.

Place assigned to the *Iesuites*.

Spoylers spoiled.

Chappell of *Ti cam* the *Chinois* *Pluto*.

In

H's Image or
Idoll.

Devils & Hell.
Minos, Eacus,
Rhadamanthus
here haue two
other affeſſors.
μετεμψυχοις
Ballances like
those in diuers
Legends, as of
S. Francis, in
M. Paris, &c.
Stix.
Elysian fields.

In his hand was a Scepter, on his head a Crowne, not vnlike those vsed by our Kings. On each side stood foure ministers of the same matter: on both sides of the Roome two great Tables, and on each of them five Kings, or great Officers of Hell. On both the wals were painted the same Officers, or Iudges, sitting on their seuerall Tribunals, giuing sentence on wicked men, euery one according to the condition of his Court. Before them stood many Devils, more terribly formed then with vs. The paines of Hell also were so deciphered, that could not but strike terror to the beholders; some rosted in yron Beds, some fryed in scalding Oyle, some cut in pieces, or diuided in the middle or torne of Dogges, or otherwise tortured. The first of those Iudges examined the faults, which they said hee saw in a certayne Glasse. Those which hee found guiltie, were sent to the other Iudges, according to the qualitie of the crimes. One of these was Iudge in Cases of *Transmigration*, which sent the soules of cruell men into Tygres; of vncleane persons, into Swine, and the like: or if their crimes were smaller, into the poorer sort. There was a great Ballance; in one of the Scales, a man laden with sinnes; in the other, one of their Hypocriticall Prayer-bookes, which counterpoysed the other Scale, and freed the Sinner. There ranne through the midst of Hell a discoloured Riuer, which carried away many. For ouer it were two Bridges, one of Gold, the other of Siluer; by which, those passed ouer, which had beene deuout Idolaters, carrying in their hands Ensignes of the same: these were guided by the Priests, which led them through the midst of Hell to faire and pleasant Groues and Gardens. In another part were painted the Dungeons of Hell, with horrible Serpents, Flames, Devils. To the Brazen Gates thereof there comes an Idolatrous Priest, which in despite of all the Devils deliueis his Mother from those flames. There was no infernall punishment painted, but had such an Inscription: *He which shall pray to such an Idoll a thousand times, shall bee free from this punishment.* The Iesuites beat the Earthen Idols to dust, and burnt those of wood, wherein the *Chinese* Conuerts were the forwarder, because the Countrey custome is to fill the hollow bellies of these Images with deuoted Money or Jewels. They demolished the Altar and playstred ouer the Pictures, and in place thereof erected the Image of Christ. No priuate man may erect a Temple by Law, which yet the mighty Eunuchs transgresse.

* The Iesuites
say, that the
Chinois may-
taine their I-
dolatries, say-
ing they wor-
ship not the
Idoll, but God
thereby repre-
sented, &c.
Trigant.

A little before this exchange of Idols into Images (after their distinction, and a * silly one it is) some tooke their last leaue of *Ticam*: one kneeling and bidding it fare-well; another chafing, said; *Thou masse of Dung and Earth, if thou hast no power to maintayne thy Temple and thy selfe, what helpe may I looke for at thy hand? Neither art thou worthy of any honour at mine.* Others said, that this had sometime borne the name of some other Idoll, and therefore was auenged for that change.

Prince and his
Mother disre-
spectful.

Long life-stu-
dy cruel short-
ner of life.
Dry winters.

Ricinus, hauing thus taken possession of *China* by his dead bodie, and liuing name, wee shall briefly out of the Iesuits Epistles adde some later accidents, and so leaue our *China* Discourses, which if they haue seemed tedious and troublesome, remember that *China* is both excessiue-ly rituall, and also inhospitall to Strangers; and I haue but imitated my subject, in long and wearisome entertaynement. These tell vs of the Kings vnkindnesse to his Heire, proclaymed, as yee haue seene against his will, fearfully allowing him necessary sustenance, nor permitting his Mother at her death to be mourned for with wonted Rites. He is indeuout, his Mother egregiously Superstitious, mayntayning many Priests, erecting or repaying Temples, that it is a Prouerbe, *In the Court the Priests, in the Prouinces are Magistrates obserued.* In that their studie of long life One had beene so mad, that he being a Licentiate, bought children whom secretly he killed, of their blood making compositions for that purpose; which comming to light by one of his Concubines, he was put to a deserued death, three thousand pieces of flesh first cut from him.

In their Winter is greatest scarcity of water in the Rivers, and many shelues then cause many shipwrackes. As they want *b. d. r.* so they end no word in any other Consonant but *m.* and *n.* The *China* Conuerts are very zealous in selfe-whipping penance, and fasting, altered from their forme to the Ecclesiasticall, which is hard to them accustomed to eate thrice a day: Their Priests vse Beads, mumbling thereby their Deuotions and many things alike. They built a Church at *Nanquin*, Anno 1611.

Chequian some-
times the Im-
periall Pro-
uince.

The Prouince of *Chequian* yeelds only to the two Royall, *Nanquin* and *Pequin*, beeing more excellent then any of the rest. Neither hath it lost other Prouinciall Ornaments howsoeuer it hath lost the seat of the *China* Empire, but is still the best of thirteene. On the East it is washed with the Sea, which the winds fauouring admit passage to *Japan* in foure and twentie houres: on the West it confineth with the Prouinces of *Nanquin* and *Kiamsi* (or *Chiansi*) on the South with *Fuquian*: to the North is *Xanto* (or *Sciantum*.) It hath twelue Cities of principall note, which are the heads of sixtie three lesse; besides innumerable Townes, Castles, Villages. The soile is the most fertile of the Kingdome pleasantly interlaced with Riuers, many of them produced by Art in imitation of Nature, in commodiounesse no whit inferiour, yeelding a spectacle of amaze-ment to the amused Posteritic, how humane force could effect such wonders. These Riuers for further commoditie are towred with innumerable Bridges of huge massie stones arising into diuers Arches, like to the *European* workmanship. You haue alreadye *Almeidas* Epistle of his and *Rogers* going into this Prouince, to *Xao Him*, whence soone after they returned. The *Chinois* haue a Pro-

a Prouerbe of *Hamceu* the Metropolis, and of *Suceu*, *thien xam*, *thien tham*, *ti xam Su ham*, that which in *Heauen* is the *Hall of Heauen* (*laetea via*, as he else-where interprets it) that on *Earth* *Suceu* and *Hamceu*. The Countrey so aboundeth with Mulberry-trees and Silke-wormes, that *China*, *Iapon* and *India* are thence furnished. Ten Vests of Silke are there cheaper, then in our Countrey one of cloth. *Hamceu* stands from *Nanquin* South-eastward nine dayes Journey, almost in thirtie degrees elevation: about three dayes Journey from *Scianbai*, where *Catanetus* was, who with *Trigantius* our Author were sent thither by *Leos* procurement. They went from *Nanquin* by the River *Iansu* first, and then into hand-made Rivers, Cities, Townes, Villages, so frequent in the way, that nothing seemes in the whole Kingdome more populous. Mid-way, where *Nanquin* and *Chequian* Prouinces joynes is that famous *Suceu*, seated in the Continent, and seeming yet the Daughter of the Sea, like another *Venice*, but more happie with her fresh waters: the Ports so frequent, and ships so many, as if the whole shipping of the Kingdome were thither comne to some Faires, which yet are in succession perpetuall. When the Fathers were comne hither, the *Chinois* by I know not what rumour were conceited that their *Foe* or Gods were comne thither in Visitation. And a Magistrate sent to *Leo* about it, to know if, and how, hee might visit them.

See sup. p. 343.

But to leaue their Fooleries, let vs take view of their Citie. *Hamceu* is the chiefe Citie of this Prouince: yea, in all this Kingdome, lesse perhaps somewhat in compasse of walles then *Nanquin*, but better peopled: no place in the Citie emptie, nor occupied with Gardens, but all builded, and all the Buildings almost with diuers Stories, which in other Cities of *China* is not vsuall. The Inhabitants are so many, and the Tribute so much, that the Iesuites durst not relate that which hereof they had heard by graue testimonie, for the incredibilitie: the description would aske a whole Volume. The chiefe street is almost halfe a dayes Journey in length, and cannot be lesse then admirable. For whereas the *Chinois* vse to erect triumphall Arches, as Monuments, to wel-deseruing Magistrates, and Ornaments to their Cities; this one street hath at least three hundred such (besides very many others in other parts of the Citie) of massie stones and exceeding curious Workmanship, that if the Houses on both sides yeelded the like splendor, the World could not shew such a spectacle. But they occupie it all with shops, and build the most magnificence of their Houses inwards, and yet those not like the *European* Palaces.

Hamceu, *Ham-chen*, or *Hancen*.

There is also a Lake close to the Citie, which the eye can scarcely measure, which sliding into a Valley encompassing, embossed with diuers Hillocks, hath giuen occasion to Art to shew her vtmost in the adorning the same, beautifying all those spacious bankes with Houses, Gardens, Groues; a very Labyrinth to the bewitched eyes, not knowing whereat most in this Maze to bee most amazed, wherein most to delight. And in delights doe they spend their dayes, filling the Lake with Vessels, furnished with Feasts, Spectacles and Playes on the water. There is a pleasant Hill in the middle of the Citie, whereon is a faire Towre or Steeple, where they measure their houres by a strange deuice. Out of huge Vessels water droppeth from one to another, the lowest being very large, in the middle whereof is perpendicularly rayfed a Rule, distinguished with houre-spaces, which by the ascent or descent of the water, diuide the rising and declining day, and declare the houres: euery halfe houre some men appointed by Tables with Cubitall Letters, to giue notice of the time to all men. From this Hill is a prospect ouer all the Citie. All the streets being set with Trees, make shew of pleasant Gardens. It is so full of Rivers, Lakes, Rils, Ponds, both in the Citie and Subnrbs, as if a man would frame a *Platonick* Idea of elegancie to his minde. The Idoll Temples are many and stately, which Idolatry where it is wanting in *China*, hath a worse Successor, Atheisme.

The Lake.
See the Map.

Let vs stay awhile and gaze (for where haue you such an Object?) Is not *Quinsay* (whilome the Royall Seat of the Kings of *Mangi*, as *Venetius* recorderh, supposed by our Moderne Geographers to be swallowed vp with some Earth-quake, or in *Bellona's* all-consuming belly) here rayfed vp from the Graue? The Lake situate on the one side, (so *Paulus* reports of *Quinsay*) the Name *Quinsay* signifying the Citie of Heauen, and this called a Heauenly Paradise by the *Chinois*; and *Han* signifies *Laetea via*, in Heauen; and *Cen*, perfect: yea, *Quinsay*, or as *O-doricus* calls it *Canasia*, and *Han* or *Chancu*, not so disagreeing in sound, as different Dialects are wont: the excellencie being chiefe Citie in the Kingdom, and this Prouince sometimes Royal, as *Pequin* now and *Nanquin* are: the situation, South-east from *Cinczianfu*, five and twentie miles from the Sea: the high Houses, and Shops vnderneath: the exceeding Trade, Reuenue, Passimes by water, multitudes, fairenesse, and length of the streets; all so conspiring to prooue this *Han* or *Hamceu* to be that *Quinsay*, of *Paulus*. True it is, that *Quinsay* was then greater, beeing as *Venetius* saith, one hundred miles about: But the euerting of that *Farsur* and his Family, then reigning, the diuerting of the Court to *Cambalu* by the *Tartars*, and after to *Nanquin* by *Ham-ven*, and neuer returning hither, might lessen the same. And might not warres, in that long siege by the *Tartars*, in the recovery thereof by the *Chinois*, easily circumscribe her superfluitie? Besides, who knoweth whether all this huge Lake might bee containd in that account of *Paulus*, still compassed about with Buildings? Or before those Warres, the Lake it selfe might (as *Suceu* now is) be builded on; which Time and Warre hath consumed; nor since the remooue of the Court

Quinsay, *ciuitas cali*.

See it described, sup. 98.

b *Hada una bandavna lago*, &c.

c That which is before said almost 2. daies journey, is to be vnderstood of the *Chinois* iourneies, which make a slow passage, sometime but 6. myles a day.

were so necessarie. *Mandeuill* mentions Warres at *Quinsay* in his time; *Nicolo di Conti* (which was heere about the yeere 1440.) sayth, *Quinsay* was in his time new built, of thirtie miles compasse.

Thien sin sup.
314. *Thien* lig-
nifieth *Heauen*.
* See pag. 338.

But that *Quinsay* of *Conti* and *Abacen*, is perhaps *Thien sin*, being (as they lay it) neerer *Cambalu*. I confesse, much may bee sayd for *Nanquin* to finde *Quinsay* there, and I have given such a note * vpon it, to incite industrious search, because it was the Ancient royall Chamber: Neither could I finde any other Royall Citie but *Pequin*, in *Ricinus* or other Writers, till *Trigantius* later Epistles intimated, that the *Chequian* Province hath beene sometimes Imperiall; which I conceiue to bee that time of *Farfur* mentioned by *Polo*, and *Hancen* his *Quinsay*.

Anno 1618. *Trigantius* writes of Persecution in *China*, raised by an Idolotrous Magistrate in *Nanquin*, and effected by bribes, which hath caused the *Iesuites* to bee sent thence: but because our intelligence is little, wee will leaue them heere (as much as lyeth in our power) and visite some of the other Northerne people; hauing first given you a brieue view of a *Frenchmans* trauell, *Monsieur de Monfart*, who hauing trauelled thorow the *Indies*, saluted *Canton* in *China*, and *Cauchinchina*; whose knowledge therefore could not bee so solid, as the *Iesuites*, nor yet is so contemptible that it should vtterly bee forgotten. Wee will therefore present his Seruice as a *French Page*, and one attending the *Iesuites* Grauitie, and thus as it were bearing their trayne.

Macao.

From *Malaca* I went to *Macao*, (neere a moneths trauell) which is a Citie scituat on the Sea coast, at the foote of a great Mountayne, where in times past the *Portugals* had a great Fort, and to this day, there bee yet many that dwell there. This is the entrance into *China*, but the place is of no great importance; they are *Gentiles*, and there the Inhabitants begin to bee faire complexioned.

Cauchinchina.

Thence I trauelled two moneths to the *Cochinchines*, finding nothing by the way worthy of note; no not so much as necessaries, so that wee were fayne to carrie our Victuals with vs, the greatest part of the way. They are Subiects to the King of *China*, but sometimes they rebell and make Warre against him; And there is great number of *Christians* among them.

Christians.
Calamba for
Beades.

Their Kings treasure consisteth in a certayne kinde of Wood, called *Calamba*: for which the *Portugals* pay one hundred Crownes a pound, to make *Pater-nosters* with. It is of a mixt colour, with blacke and yellow veynes; the better sort of it is moyst, so that being cut it expellerh a kinde of fat oylie liquour. It groweth out of a certayne Tree, which they fell and let it lye a while a putrifying: then they bruiſe it, and within the same, they finde this kinde of Wood, like many hard knots. They are a very white people, because there it begins to bee cold, low of Stature, flat Nosed, and little Eyed, with a very few hayres on their Chins, and Mustachoes: none at all on their Cheekes; the hayre of the Head they weare long like Women, tyed vp with a blacke silke hayre-lace, and weare a flat Cap vpon them. They weare Cloath breeches made very leuell, and a short Robe about them, like a Master of the chamber of Accounts.

Huge Serpents

There are found a kinde of Serpents that will swallow vp a whole Stagge; two Friers assured me that traelling in that Countrey, together with sixteene other men, through a Fennie-marsh, about the dawning of the day, they met to their seeming, a great Tree lying along the ground, the boughes being lopped off, vpon which they all began to sit downe and rest themselves: but no sooner were they sate, but that which they tooke for a Tree, fiercely rowled it selfe from vnder them, and left them all to picke strawes on the ground; for indeed this was one of those Serpents.

Wild Beasts:
this of Lions
is doubtfull.

Their custome is (as they say) to put themselves in ambush among the boughes of a Tree, and when they espie their prey to draw neere, bee it Man or Beast, they fall vpon him with open mouth and deuoure it. There are also store of *Lions*, *Leopards*, and *Tigers*: and there the Fruits begin to resemble those of these parts: but the Fruit, which aboue all others aboundeth there, is the *Mirabolan*.

Canton in *China*.

This is not the
principall Ci-
tie, except, of
that Province,
and for trauel-
ling further, he
speakes true
of ordinarie
courses; but o-
ther accidents
and the Art Li-
berall of the
Fathers haue
some of Ours

Thence I sent forwards to *Canton*, the principall Citie of all *China*, (some three Moneths trauell distant) beyond which there is no passage, say any body what hee will to the contrary; for neuer any man proceeded further, except (as they say) sixe *Iesuites*, who dwelled twentie yeeres at *Canton*, as well to learne the Language perfectly, as to let their hayre to grow long; after the Countrey manner, of whom there was neuer since heard any newes; nor is their hope euer to see their returne. That people is very white, and apparelled as is abouesayd; they are likewise *Gentiles*, and worship the same Image with three heads. Their Women of the better sort, and qualitie which are able to liue of their owne without working, neuer goe out of their houses but as they are carried in a Chayre. And to that effect, from their Infancie, they put their feete into certayne wooden Slippers, to make them stump-footed and impotent; in so much that they haue found admittance, as in the former Relations is seene. This testimonie touching *Iesuites* is worth the noting: For which vpon great offers could not finde meane to enter *China*, haue held that none haue bene there, much

much as they are not able to goe : the reason they alleadge for it, is, that Women were made to no other end, then to keepe at home.

The *Christians* are not permitted to lye within the Citie, but as soone as Night approaches they must retire themselves to their Ships, being lawfull for them to Traffique wheresoeuer they please by Day-light. And for their traffique, what rarities soeuer there bee throughout all *China*, are to bee had in this Citie; which are diligently brought thither, to wit, great store of cloath of Gold and Silke, Cabinets, wrought Vessels, Venus shells, Masse gold, and many other things. They will exchange or barter Gold for twice as much waight in Siluer; for they haue no coyned money, for when they would buy any thing, they carrie with them a piece of Gold, and will cut off as much as they intend to bestow on what they take. They make carued Images of Siluer, which they erect heere and there through the Streets, and no body dares touch them.

The Citie is gouerned by foure Rulers, and each one hath his Gouernment, or Circuit apart, seclused from each other : those of one quarter dare not goe and labour in another, and those which cause themselves to bee carryed, from one part to another, must change their Bearers when they come to the Gate of the next circuit : those Gates are opened eury morning, and shut eury night, vnlesse there bee any complaint made of some misdemeanour, committed within the Circuit : for then they shut them suddenly, or if they bee shut, they open them not, till the offender be found. The King bestowes these commands on those who are best Learned. This is a most faire Citie, and well built, very neare as bigge as *Paris*, but there the Houses are arched, and nothing neare so high. There is so much Sugar in that Countrey, that it is by them very little set by, yet is Silke in farre more great abundance, but withall more course then ours, by reason of their store, being so great as they are constrained to make it abroad in the Fields, on the very Trees, in this wise; when the Wormes are hatched, (whereof the Egges are farre greater then ours.) They obserue what quantitie of Wormes each Tree will bee able to feede, then they lay so many on it, leauing them there without any more adoe, except it bee to gather the cods, when they are ready to bee spunne, which is done as they gather Apricocks : for indeed a farre off they appeare to bee so, and is a very fine sight to behold : they vse a strange kinde of Fishing with Cormorants. They tie their neckes a little aboue their stomackes, lest

Silkes and
Silke-wormes.

See Polo, Pere-
ra, &c. of this
Fishing.

they should deuour the Fish they take : then comming to their Master, hee pulleth it alive, out of their throates : Likewise for water Fowle, they make vse of great Bottles with two holes, which they leaue floating vp and downe the water a good while, to acquaint the Fowles therewith : then some fellowes will wade vp to the necke in the water, thrusting their heads into those Bottles, and hauling a bagge vnderneath, come as neere the Fowle as they will, taking them with their hands, without the rest being afraid of it.

Filing.

the name
without all
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two Rivers o
my of Russia
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Black. The
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VOYAGES AND DISCOVERIES OF THE NORTH PARTS OF THE WORLD, BY LAND AND SEA, IN ASIA, EUROPE, THE POLARE REGIONS, AND IN THE NORTH-WEST OF AMERICA.

THE THIRD BOOKE.

CHAP. I.

A Treatise of Russia and the adjoining Regions, written by Doctor GILES FLITCHER * Lord Ambassadour from the late Queene, Ever-glorious ELIZABETH, to THEODORE then Emperour of Russia A. D. 1588.

* I haue in some places contracted, in others mollified the biting or more bitter stile, which the Author vseth of the Russian Government; that I might doe good at home, without harme abroad.

Chap. I.

The description of the Countrey of Russia, with the breadth, length, and Names of the Shires.

Strabo in his 7. booke of Geogr.



The Countrey of Russia was sometimes called *Sarmatia*. It changed the Name (as some doe suppose) for that it was parted into diuers small, and yet absolute Governments, not depending, nor being subject the one to the other. For *Russe* in that tongue doth signifie, as much as to *Part*, or *Divide*. The *Russe* reporteth that foure Brethren, *Trubor*, *Rurico*, *Sinees*, and *Varinus*, diuided among them the North parts of the Countrey. Likewise that the South parts were possessed by foure other, *Kio*, *Scieko*, *Choranus*, their and sister *Libeda*: each calling his Territorie after his owne Name. Of this partition it was called *Russia*, about the yeere from Christ 860. As for the conjecture which I finde in some Cosmographers, that the *Russe* Nation borrowed the name of the people called *Roxellani*, and were the very same Nation with them, it is without all good probabilitie, both in respect of the Etymologie of the word (which is very farre fetcht) and especially for the seate and dwelling of that people, which was betwixt the two Rivers of *Tanais* and *Boristhenes*, as *Strabo* reporteth, quite another way from the Countrey of *Russia*.

When it bare the name of *Sarmatia*, it was diuided into two chiefe parts: the *White*, and the *Blacke*. The *White Sarmatia*, was all that part that lyeth towards the North, and on the side of *Liesland*: as the Prouinces now called *Dunya*, *Vagha*, *Vstik*, *Vologda*, *Cargapolia*, *Nonogradia*, &c. whereof *Nonograd velica* was the Metropolitane, or chiefe Citie. *Blacke Sarmatia* was all that Countrey that lyeth Southward, towards the *Euxin* or *Black Sea*: as the Dukedome of *Volodemer*, of *Mosko*, *Rezan*, &c. Some haue thought that the name of *Sarmatia* was first taken from one *Sarmates*, whom *Moses* and *Iosephus* call *Asarmathes*, Sonne to *Ioktan*, and nephew to *Heber*, of the posteritie of *Sem*. But this seemeth to bee nothing but a conjecture taken out of the likenesse

The borders
of Russia.

The Shires of
Russia.

The Provinces
or Countries
got by Con-
quest.

The breadth
and length of
the Country.

Chap. 2.
Of the Soyle
and Climate.

Difference of
Russia in diffe-
rent seasons.

The Cold of
Russia.

of the name *Asarmathes*. For the dwelling of all *Ioktans* posteritie is described by *Moses*, to have bene betwixt *Mescha* or *Masius*, (an Hill of the *Amonites*) and *Sephace*, neare to the River *Euphrates*. Which maketh it very unlikely, that *Asarmathes* should plant any Colonies so farre off, int the North and North-west Countries. It is bounded Northward by the *Lappes*, and the North Ocean. On the South-side by the *Tartars*, called *Chrimis*. Eastward they haue the *Naigai-an Tartar*, that possesseth all the Countrey on the East side of *Volgha*, towards the *Caspian Sea*. On the West and South-west border, lie *Lituania*, *Liuonia* and *Polonia*.

The whole Countrey being now reduced vnder the Government of one, containeth these chiefe Prouinces or Shires. *Volodemer* (which beareth the first place in the Emperours stile, because their House came of the Dukes of that Countrey,) *Mosko*, *Nisnogrod*, *Plesko*, *Smolensko*, *Novogrod velica* (or *Novogrod* of the low Countrey) *Rostone*, *Tarnslane*, *Bealozer*, *Bezan*, *Dnyna*, *Corgapolia*, *Meschora*, *Vagha*, *Vstugha*, *Ghaletsa*. These are the naturall Shires pertaining to *Russia*, but farre greater and larger then the Shires of *England*, though not so well peopled. The other Countries or Prouinces, which the *Russe* Emperours haue gotten perforce added of late to their other Dominion, are these which follow, *Twerra*, *Toughoria*, *Permia*, *Vadska*, *Boulghoria*, *Chernigo*, *Ondoria*, *Obdoria*, *Condora*, with a great part of *Siberia*: where the people though they bee not naturall *Russes*, yet obey the Emperour of *Russia*, and are ruled by the Lawes of his Countrey, paying customes and taxes, as his owne people doe. Besides these hee hath vnder him the Kingdomes of *Cazan* and *Astracan*, gotten by Conquest not long since. As for all his possessions in *Lituania*, (to the number of thirtie great Townes and more,) with *Narne* and *Dorp* in *Liuonia*, they are quite gone, being surprised of late yeeres by the Kings of *Poland* and *Sweden*. These Shires and Prouinces are reduced all into foure *Iurisdictions*, which they call *Chetfyds* (that is) *Tetrarchies*, or *Fourth-parts*. Whereof wee are to speake in the Title or Chapter, concerning the Prouinces, and their manner of Government.

The whole Countrey is of great length and breadth. From the North to the South (if you measure from *Cola* to *Astracan* which bendeth somewhat Eastward) it reacheth in length about foure thousand two hundred and sixtie verst, or myles. Notwithstanding, the Emperour of *Russia* hath more territorie Northward, farre beyond *Cola* vnto the River of *Tromschua*, that runneth a thousand verst, well nigh beyond *Pechinga*, neere to *Wardhouse*, but not intire nor clearly limited, by reason of the Kings of *Sweden* and *Denmarke*, that haue diuers Townes there, as well as the *Russe*, plotted together the one with the other: euery one of them clayming the whole of those North parts, as his owne right. The breadth (if you goe from that part of his Territorie that lyeth farthest Westward on the *Narne* side, to the parts of *Siberia* Eastward, where the Emperour hath his Garrisons) is foure thousand and foure hundred verst, or thereabouts. A Verst (by their reckoning) is one thousand paces, yet lesse by one quarter then an *Englishe* myle. If the whole dominion of the *Russe* Emperour were all habitable, and peopled in all places, as it is in some, hee would either hardly hold it all within one Regiment, or bee ouer mightie for all his neighbour Princes,

The Soyle of the Countrey for the most part is of a sleight sandie mold, yet very much different one place from another, for they yeld of such things as grow out of the earth. The Country Northwards, towards the parts of Saint *Nicholas* & *Cola*, and North-east towards *Siberia*, is all very barren, and full of desert Woods by reason of the Clymate, and extremitie of the cold in Winter time. So likewise along the River *Volgha*, betwixt the Countries of *Cazan*, and *Astracan*; where (notwithstanding the Soyle is very fruitfull) it is all vnhabited, sauing that vpon the River *Volgha* on the West side, the Emperour hath some few Castles with Garrisons in them. This hapneth by meanes of the *Chrim Tartar*, that will neither himselfe plant Townes to dwell there, (liuing a wilde and vagrant life) nor suffer the *Russe* (that is farre off with the strength of his Countrey) to people those parts. From *Volagda* (which lyeth almost one thousand seuen hundred verst from the Port of Saint *Nicholas*) downe towards *Mosko*, and so towards the South part that bordereth vpon the *Chrim*, (which containeth the like space of one thousand seuen hundred verst, or thereabouts) is a very fruitfull and pleasant Countrey, yeelding Pasture, and Corne, with Woods and water in very great plentie. The like is betwixt *Rezan* (that lyeth South-east from *Mosko*) to *Novograd* and *Volsko*, that reach farthest towards the North-west. So betwixt *Mosko*, and *Smolensko* (that lyeth South-west towards *Lituania*) is a very fruitfull and pleasant soyle. The whole Countrey differeth very much from it selfe, by reason of the yeere: so that a man would maruaile to see the great alteration and difference betwixt the Winter and the Summer in *Russia*. The whole Countrey in the Winter lyeth vnder Snow, which falleth continually, and is sometime of a yard or two thicke, but greater towards the North. The Rivers and other waters are all frozen vp, a yard or more thicke, how swift or broad fouer they bee: and this continueth commonly fise Moneths, viz. from the beginning of Nouember, till towards the end of March, what time the Snow beginneth to melt. So that it would breed a frost in a man to looke abroad at that time, and see the winter face of that Countrey. The sharpnesse of the ayre you may judge of by this: for that water dropped downe or cast

cast vp into the ayre, congealeth into Ice before it come to the ground. In the extremitie of Winter, if you hold a Pewter dish or pot in your hand, or any other metall (except in some chamber where their warme Stoues bee) your fingers will freeze fast vnto it, and draw of the skinn at the parting. When you passe out of a warme roome into a cold, you shall sensibly feele your breath to waxe starke, and euen stifeling with the cold, as you draw it in and out. Diuers not onely that trauell abroad, but in the very Markets, and streets of their Townes, are mortally pinched and killed withall: so that you shall see many drop downe in the Streets, many Trauelers brought into the Townes sitting dead and stiffe in their Sleds. Diuers lose their Noses, the tippes of their Eares, and the balls of their Cheekes, their Toes, Feete, &c. Many times when (the winter is very hard and extreame) the Beares and Wolves issue by troupes out of the woods driuen by hunger, and enter the Villages, tearing and rauening all they can finde: so that the Inhabitants are faine to flee for safegard of their liues. And yet in the Summer time you shall see such a new hew and face of a Countrey, the Woods (for the most part which are all of Firre and Birch) so fresh and so sweet, the Pastures and Meadowes so greene and well growne, (and that vpon the sudden) such varietie of Flowers, such noyse of Birds, (specially of Nightingales, that seeme to be more loud and of a more variable note then in other Countries) that a man shall not lightly trauell in a more pleasant Countrey.

And this fresh and speedy growth of the Spring there, seemeth to proceed from the benefit of the Snow: which all the Winter time being spred ouer the whole Countrey as a white robe, and keeping it warme from the rigour of the Frost, in the Spring time (when the Sunne waxeth warme, and dissolueth it into water) doth so thoroughly drench and soake the ground, that is somewhat of a sleight and sandie mold, and then shineth so hotly vpon it againe, that it draweth the Hearbs and Plants forth in great plentie and varietie, in a very short time. As the Winter exceedeth in cold, so the Summer inclineth to ouermuch heate, specially in the moneths of Iune, Iuly, and August, being much warmer then the summer ayre in England.

The Countrey throughout, is very well watred with Springs, Rivers, and Oзераes or Lakes. Wherein the prouidence of God is to bee noted, for that much of the Countrey being so farre inland, as that some part lyeth a thousand myles and more euery way from any Sea, yet it is serued with faire Rivers, and that in very great number, that emptying themselues one into another, runne all into the Sea. Their Lakes are many and large, some of sixtie, eightie, a hundred, and two hundred myles long, with breadth proportionate.

The chiefe Rivers are these, 1. *Volgha*, that hath his head or spring at the roote of an Alder-tree, about two hundred verst above *Taruslane*, and groweth so bigge by the increafe of other Rivers by that time it commeth thither, that it is broad an *English* myle and more, and so runneth into the *Caspian* Sea, about two thousand and eight hundred verst or myles of length.

The next is *Boristhenes* (now called *Neper*) that diuideth the Countrey from *Lituania*, and falleth into the *Euxin* Sea.

The third *Tanaïs* or *Don*, (the ancient bounder betwixt *Europe* and *Asia*) that taketh his head out of *Rezan* *Ozera*, and so running through the Countrey of the *Chrim Tartars*, falleth into the great Sea lake, or meare, (called *Maoris*) by the Citie of *Azon*. By this River (as the *Russe* reporteth) you may passe from their Citie *Mosko* to *Constantinople*, and so into all those parts of the world by water, drawing your Boate (as their manner is) ouer a little *Isthmus* or narrow flippe of land, a few versts ouerthwart. Which was prooued not long since by an Ambassadour sent to *Constantinople*, who passed the River of *Moskua*, and so into another called *Ocka*, whence he drew his Boate ouer into *Tanaïs*, and thence passed the whole way by water.

The fourth is called *Dunya*, many hundred myles long, that falleth Northward into the Bay of Saint *Nicholas*, and hath great Alabastrer rockes on the bankes towards the Sea side.

The fifth *Duna*, that emptyeth into the *Baltick* Sea by the Towne *Riga*.

The sixt *Onega*, that falleth into the Bay at *Solouetsko* ninety Verst from the Port of *S. Nicholas*. This River below the Towne *Cargopolia* meeteth with the River *Volock*, that falleth into the *Finland* Sea by the Towne *Tama*. So that from the Port of *S. Nicholas* into the *Finland* Sea, and so into the Sound, you may passe all by water, as hath beene cryed by the *Russes*.

The seuenth *Suchana*, that floweth into *Dunya*, and so into the North-sea.

The eighth *Ocka*, that fetcheth his Head from the Borders of the *Chrim*, and streameth into *Volgha*.

The ninth *Moskua*, that runneth thorow the Citie *Mosko*, and giueth it the name.

There is *Wichida* also a very large and long River that riseth out of *Permia*, and falleth into *Volgha*. All these are Rivers of very large streames, the least to bee compared to the *Thames* in bignesse, and in length far more, besides diuers other. The Pole at *Mosko*, is fiftie five degrees ten minutes. At the Port of Saint *Nicholas* towards the North sixty three degrees and fifty minutes.

For kinds of fruits, they haue Apples, Peares, Plummes, Cheries, Red and Blacke, (but the Black wild) a Deene like a Muske Milian, but more sweet & pleasant, Cucumbers and Goords (which they call *Arboufe*) Raspes, Strawberries, and Hurtiberries, with many other Berries in

M. Cole Minister to Sir Ierome Bowes told me of a lickorish fellow, which taking a Pewter dish of some sweet sawce from his Masters Table in the next room, licked it, and payd the skin of his tongue for that sweet taste: a sower sawce to sweet sawcincle.

The case altered.
Effect of snow.

Russia well watered.

The chiefe Rivers of Russia.

Chap. 3.
The Native Commodities of the Countrey.

great quantitie in euery Wood and Hedge. Their kinds of Graine are Wheate, Rie, Barley, Oates, Pease, Buckway, Psnytha, that in taste is somewhat like to Rice. Of all these Graines the Countrey yeeldeth very sufficient with an ouer-plus quantitie, so that Wheate is sold sometime for two Alteens or tenne pence sterling the *Chefsird* which maketh almost three English Bushels.

Rye. Their Rye is sowed before the Winter, all their other Graine in the Spring-time, and for the most part in May. The *Permians* and some other that dwell farre North, and in Desart places, are serued from the parts that lye more South-ward, and are forced to make Bread sometimes of a kind of Roote called *Vaghnoy* and of the middle rine of the Firre-tree. If there bee any Dearth (as they accounted this last yeere, Anno 1588. Wheat and Rye being at thirteene Alteens, or five shillings five pence sterling the *Chefsird*) the fault is rather in the practice of their Nobilitie that vse to engrosse it, then in the Countrey it selfe. The Natiue Commodities of the Countrey (wherewith they serue both their owne turnes, and send much abroad to the great enriching of the Emperour, and his people) are many and substantiall. First, Furses of all sorts. Where in the prouidence of God is to bee noted, that prouideth a naturall remedy for them, to helpe the naturall inconuenience of their Countrey by the cold of the Climate. Their chiefe Furs are these, Blaque Fox, Sables, Lufernes, Dunne Fox, Martrones, Gurnestalles or Armins, Lasets or Miniuer, Beuer, Wuluerins, the Skin of a great Water Rat that smelleth naturally like Muske, Calaber or Gray Squirrell, Red Squirrell, Red and White Foxe. Besides the great quantitie spent within the Countrey (the people being clad all in Furs the whole Winter) there are transported out of the Countrey some yeares by the Merchants of *Turkie*, *Persia*, *Bougharia*, *Georgia*, *Armenia*, and some other of Christendome to the value of foure or five hundred thousand Rubels, as I haue heard of the Merchants. The best Sable Fur groweth in the Countrey of *Pechora*, *Mongorskoj* and *Obdorskoj*, the worser sort in *Siberia*, *Perm*, and other places. The Blaque Fox and Red come out of *Siberia*, White and Dunne from *Pechora*, whence also come the white Wolfe, and white Beare Skin. The best Wuluerin also thence and from *Perm*. The best Martrons are from *Siberia*, *Cadam*, *Morum*, *Perm*, and *Cazan*. Lyfens, Mineuer, and Armins, the best are out of *Gallets*, and *Onglites*, many from *Novogrod*, and *Perm*. The Beauer of the best sort breedeth in *Murmanskey* by *Cola*. Other common Furses, and most of these kinds grow in many, and some in all parts of the Countrey.

2. Waxe. The second Commodity is of Waxe, whereof hath beene shipped in forraine Countreyes (as I haue heard it reported by those that best know it) the summe of fiftie thousand Pood yearely, euery Pood contayning fortie pound, but now about tenne thousand Pood a yeare.

3. Honey. The third is their Honey, whereof besides an exceeding great quantitie spent in their ordinary Drinckes (which is *Mead* of all sorts) and their other vles, some good quantitie is carried out of the Countrey. The chiefe increafe of Honey is in *Mordua* and *Cadam* neere to the *Chermissen Tartar*: much out of *Senerskoj*, *Bezan*, *Morum*, *Cazan*, *Dorogobose*, and *Vasma*.

4. Tallow. Fourthly, of Tallow they asoord a great weight for transportation: not only for that their Countrey hath very much good ground apt for Pasturage of cattell, but also by reason of their many Lents and other Fastes: and partly, because their greater men vse much Waxe for their Lights, the poorer and meaner sort Birch dried in their Stoues, and cut into long shiuers, which they call *Luchineos*. Of Tallow there hath beene shipped out of the Realme a few yeares since about one hundred thousand Pood yearely, now not past thirty thousand or thereabouts. The best yeeld of Tallow is in the parts and Territories of *Smolensko*, *Taruslane*, *Onglits*, *Novogrod*, and *Vologda*, *Olser*, and *Gorodetskey*.

5. Hide. Another principall Commodity is their Losh and Cow-hide. Their Losh or Buffe-hide is very faire and large. Their Bull and Cow-hide (for Oxen they make none, neither yet Weather) is of a small size. There hath beene transported by Merchants strangers some yeeres, one hundred thousand Hides. Now it is decreased to thirty thousand or thereabouts. Besides great store of Goats Skins, whereof great numbers are shipped out of the Countrey. The largest kind of Losh or Buffe breedeth about *Rostoue*, *Wichida*, *Novogrod*, *Morum*, and *Perm*. The lesler sort within the Kingdome of *Cazan*.

6. Trane Oyle. An other very great and principall Commodity is their Trane-oyle, drawne out of the Seal-fish. Where it will not be impertinent to shew the manner of their hunting the Seale, which they make this Oyle of: which is in this sort. Towards the end of Summer (before the Frost beginne) they goe downe with their Boats into the Bay of Saint *Nicholas*, to a Cape called *Cusconesse* or *Foxnose*, where they leaue their Boats till the next Spring-tyde. When the Sunne waxeth warme toward the Spring, and yet the Ice not melted within the Bay, they returne thither againe. Then drawing their Boats ouer the Sea Ice, they vse them for Houses to rest and lodge in. There are commonly about seuentene or eightene Fleete of them, of great large Boats, which diuide themselues into diuers companies, five or sixe Boats in a consort.

They that first find the haunt, fire a Beacon, which they carrie with them for the nonce. Which being espied by the other companies, by such among them as are appointed of purpose, they

The chiefe commodities of the Countrey.
1. Furre.
2. Waxe.
3. Honey.
4. Tallow.
5. Hide.
6. Trane Oyle.
The manner of hunting the Seale-fish.

they come all together and compasse the Seales round about in a Ring, that lye Sunning themselves together vpon the Ice, commonly foure or fve thousand in a shoale, and so they inuade them euery man with his Club in his hand. If they hit them on the Nose, they are soone killed. If on the sides or backe they beare out the blow, and many times so catch and hold downe the Club with their Teeth by mayne force, that the partie is forced to call for helpe to his fellowes.

The manner of the Seales is, when they see themselves beset, to gather all close together in a throng or plumbe, to sway downe the Ice, and to breake it (if they can) which so bendeth the Ice, that many times it taketh the Sea-water vpon it, and maketh the Hunters to wade a foot or more deepe. After the slaughter, when they haue killed what they can they fall to sharing euery Boat his part in equall portions: and so they flay them, taking from the body the Skin, and the Lard or Fat with all that cleaueth to the Skin. This they take with them, leauing the bodies behind, and so goe to shoare. Where they digge Pits in the ground of a fathome and an halfe deepe, or there about, and so taking the Fat or Lard off from the Skin, they throw it into the Pit, and cast in among it hot burning stones to melt it withall. The vppermost and purest is sold and vsed to oyle Wooll for Cloth, the grosser (that is of a red colour) they sell to make Sope.

Likewise Ickary or Cauery, a great quantity is made vpon the Riuer of *Volgha*, out of the fish called *Bellougina*, the *Sturgeon*, the *Seueriga* and the *Sterledey*. Whereof the most part is shipped by *French* and *Netherlandish* Merchants for *Italy* and *Spaine*, some by *English* Merchants.

The next is of *Flaxe* and *Hempe*, whereof there hath bene shipped (as I haue heard Merchants lay) at the Port of *Narue* a great part of one hundred ships small and great yeerely. Now not past fve. The reason of this abating and decrease of this and other Commodities, that were wont to bee transported in a greater quantitie, is the shutting vp of the Port of the *Narue* towards the *Finland* Sea, which now is in the hands and possession of the *Sweaden*. Likewise the stopping of the passage ouer-land by the way of *Smolensko*, and *Plotsko*, by reason of their Warres with the *Polonian*, which causeth the people to bee lesse prouident in mayntayning and gathering these and the like Commodities, for that they lacke Sales. Partly also for that the Merchants and *Mousicks* (for so they call the common sort of people) are very much discouraged by many heauy and intollerable exactions, that of late time haue bene imposed vpon them: no man accounting that which he hath to be sure his owne. And therefore regard not to lay vp any thing, or to haue it before hand, for that it causeth them many times to be fleeced and spoyled, not only of their goods, but also of their liues. For the growth of *Flaxe* the Prouince of *Volska*, and the Countrey about is the chiefe and only place. For *Hempe* *Smolensko*, *Dorogobose* and *Vasna*.

The Countrey besides maketh great store of Salt. Their best Salt is made at *Stararouse* in very great quantitie, where they haue great store of Salt-wells, about two hundred and fiftie verst from the Sea. At *Astracan* Salt is made naturally by the Sea-water, that casteth it vp into great Hills, and so it is digged downe, and carryed away by the Merchants and other that will fetch it from thence. They pay to the Emperour for acknowledgement or custome three pence *Russe* vpon euery hundred weight. Besides these two, they make Sale in many other places of the Realme, as in *Perm*, *Wichida*, *Totma*, *Kenitsma*, *Solouetske*, *Ocona*, *Bombassey*, and *Nonecks* all out of Salt-pits, saue at *Solouetskey*, which lyeth nere to the Sea.

Likewise of Tarre they make a great quantitie out of their Fiere-trees in the Countrey of *Dunya* and *Smolensko*, whereof much is sent abroad. Besides these (which are all good and substantiall Commodities) they haue diuers other of smaller account, that are naturall and proper to that Countrey: as the fish tooth (which they call *Ribazuba* which is vsed both among themselves and the *Persians* and *Bongharians*, that fetch it from thence for Beads, Knives, and Sword-hafts of Noblemen, and Gentlemen, and for diuers other vses. Some vse the powder of it against poyson, as the *Vnicorne* Horne. The fish that weareth it is called a *Morie*, and is caught about *Pechora*. These fish teeth some of them, are almost two foot of length, and weigh eleuen or twelue pound a-piece.

In the Prouince of *Corelia*, and about the Riuer *Dunya* towards the North Sea, there groweth a soft Roocke which they call *Slude*. This they cut into pieces, and so teare it into thin flakes, which naturall it is apt for and so vse it for Glasse-lan thornes and such like. It giueth both inwards and outwards a cleerer light then Glasse, and for this respect is better then eyther Glasse or Horne: for that it neyther breaketh like Glasse, nor yet will burne like the Lanthorne. Salt-peeter they make in many places, as at *Onglives*, *Taruslaue* and *Vstug*, and some small store of Brimstone vpon the Riuer *Volgha*, but want skill to refine it.

Their Iron is somewhat brittle, but a great weight of it is made in *Corelia*, *Cargapolia*, and *Vstug* *Thotesna*. Other Myne they haue none growing within the Realme.

Their beasts of strange kinds are the Losh, the Ollen, the wilde Horse, the Beare, the Wolue-ring or wood Dogge, the Lyferne, the Beauer, the Sable, the Matron, the blacke and dunne Foxe, the white Beare towards the Sea coast of *Pechora*, the Gurnstale, the Laser, or Minener.

The y

7. Ickary.

8. Hempe and flaxe.

9. Salt.

10. Tarre.

11. Ribazuba.

12. Slude.

13. Salt peeter and Brimstone.

14. Iron.

The strange beasts, fish, foule, &c. that breed in *Russia*.

They haue a kind of Squirrell that hath growing on the pinion of the shoulder bone, a long tuft of haire, much like vnto feathers, with a far broader tayle then haue any other Squirrels, which they moue and shake as they leape from tree to tree, much like vnto a wing. They skife a large space, and seeme for to flie withall, and therefore they call them *Letach Vechshe*, that is, the flying Squirrels. Their Hares and Squirrels in Summer are of the same colour with ours, in Winter the Hare changeth her coate into milke white, the Squirrell into gray, whereof commeth the *Calabar*.

Deare Horses: They haue fallow Deere, the Roe Bucke, and Goats very great store. Their Horses are but small, but very swift and hard, they trauell them vnshod both Winter and Summer, without all regard of pace. Their Sheepe are but small, and beare course and harsh wooll. Of Fowle, they haue diuers of the principall kinds: First, great store of Hawkes; the Eagle, the Gerfaulcon, the Slightfaulcon, the Goshawke, the Tassell, the Sparhawke, &c. But the principall Hawke that breedeth in the Countrey, is counted the Gerfaulcon.

Sheepe. I haue seene some of them in England breed twice a yeere; the Ram hath foure hornes, &c.

Of other Fowles their principall kinds are the Swanne tame and wilde, (whereof they haue great store) the Storke, the Crane, the Tedder, of the colour of a Feasant, but farre bigger and liueth in the Firre woods. Of Feasant and Partridge they haue very great plenty. An Owle there is of a very great bignesse, more vgly to behold then the Owles of this Countrey, with a broad face, and eares much like vnto a man.

Fresh-water fish.

For fresh water Fish, besides the common sorts (as Carpe, Pike, Pearch, Tench, Roach, &c.) they haue diuers kinds very good and delicate: as the Bellouga, or Bellougina of foure or fiew elnes long, the Ostrina or Sturgeon, the Seueriga, and Sterledy somewhat in fashion and taste like to the Sturgeon, but not so thicke or long. These foure kinds of fish breed in the *Volgha*, and are caught in great plenty, and serued thence into the whole Realme for a great food. Of the Roes of these foure kinds they make very great store of Icary or Caueary, as was said before. They haue besides these that breed in the *Volgha*, a fish called the *Ribabela*, or white Salmon, which they account more delicate then they doe the red Salmon, whereof also they haue exceeding great plenty in the Riuer Northward, as in *Dunya* the Riuer of *Cola*, &c. In the *Ozera* or Lake neere a Towne called *Perislaue*, not farre from the *Mosko*, they haue a small fish which they call the fresh Herring, of the fashion, and somewhat of the taste of a Sea-herring. Their chiefe Townes for fish are, *Taruslaue*, *Bealoxera*, *Nonograd*, *Astracan*, and *Cazan*: which all yeeld a large Custome to the Emperour every yeere for their trades of fishing, which they practise in Summer, but send it frozen in the Winter time into all parts of the Realme.

Chap. 4.
The chiefe Cities of Russia.

Mosko.

Berosus, a suspected author, or rather that which now beareth his name.

The chiefe Cities of Russia are, *Mosko*, *Nonograd*, *Rostoue*, *Volodomer*, *Plesco*, *Smolensko*, *Iaruslaue*, *Perislaue*, *Nonograd*, *Vologda*, *Ustinck*, *Golmigrœ*, *Cazan*, *Astracan*, *Cargapolin*, *Columna*.

The Citie of *Mosko* is supposed to bee of great antiquitie, though the first Founder bee vnknewne to the *Russe*. It seemeth to haue taken the name from the Riuer that runneth on the one side of the Towne. *Berosus* the *Chaldean* in his fifth Booke telleth that *Nimrod* (whom other profane Stories call *Saturne*) sent *Assyrium*, *Medus*, *Moscos*, and *Magog* into *Asia* to plant Colonies there, and that *Moscos* planted both in *Asia* and *Europe*. Which may make some probability, that the Citie, or rather the Riuer whereon it is built, tooke the denomination from this *Moscos*: the rather because of the climate or situation, which is in the very farthest part and list of *Europe*, bordering vpon *Asia*. The Citie was much enlarged by one *Euan* or *Iohn*, sonne to *Daniel*, that first changed his title of Duke into King: though that honour continued not to his posteritie: the rather because he was inuested into it by the Popes Legate, who at that time was *Innocentius* the fourth, about the yeere 1246. which was very much misliked by the *Russe* people, being then a part of the Eastern or *Greeke* Church. Since that time the name of this Citie hath growne more famous, and better knowne to the World: insomuch that not only the Province, but the whole Countrey of *Russia* is termed by some by the name of *Mosconia*, the Metropolitane Citie. The forme of this Citie is in a manner round, with three strong walls, circulating the one within the other, and streets lying betweene, whereof the inmost wall, and the buildings closed within it (lying safest as the heart within the bodie, fenced and watred with the Riuer *Moskua*, that runneth close by it) is all accounted the Emperours Castle. The number of houses (as I haue heard) through the whole Citie (being reckoned by the Emperour a little before it was fired by the *Chrim*) was 41500, in all. Since the *Tartar* besieged and fired the Towne (which was in the yeere 1571.) there lieth waste of it a great bredth of ground, which before was well set and planted with buildings, specially that part on the South side of *Moskua*, built not long before by *Basilus* the Emperour for his Garrison of Souldiers, to whom he gaue priuiledge to drinke Mede, and Beere at the drie or prohibited times, when other *Russes* may drinke nothing but water, and for that cause called this new Citie by the name of *Naloi*, that is, *Skinke* or *powre in*. So that now the Citie of *Mosko* is not much bigger then the Citie of *London*. The next in greatnesse, and in a manner as large, is the Citie *Nonograde*: where was committed (as the *Russe* sayth) the memorable warre so much spoken of in Stories of the *Scythian*.

Mosko fired.

Nonograd.

thian seruants, that tooke Armes against their masters: which they report in this sort: *vz.* That the *Boiars* or Gentlemen of *Novograde* and the Territorie about (which onely are Souldiers after the discipline of those Countries) had warre with the *Tartars*: Which being well performed and ended by them, they returned homewards. Where they vnderstood by the way, that their *Cholopys* or Bondslaves whom they left at home, had in their absence possessed their Townes, Lands, Houses, Wiues, and all. At which newes being somewhat amazed, and yet disdayning the villanie of their seruants, they made the more speed home: and so not farre from *Novograde* met them in warlike manner marching against them. Whereupon aduising what was best to be done, they agreed all to set vpon them with no other shew of weapon but with their Horse whips (which as their manner is, euery man rideth withall) to put them in remembrance of their seruile condition, thereby to terrifie them, and abate their courage. And so marching on, and lashing altogether with their whips in their hands they gaue the onser. Which seemed so terrible in the eares of their villaines, and stroke such a sense into them of the smart of the whip which they had felt before, that they fled altogether like Sheeppe before the Driners. In memory of this victory the *Novogradians* euery since haue stamped their Coine (which they call a *dingoe Novogrodskoy*, currant thorow all *Russia*) with the figure of a Horse-man shaking a whip aloft in his hand. These two Cities exceed the rest in greatnesse. For strength their chiefe Townes are, *Volsko*, *Smolensko*, *Cazan*, and *Astracan*, as lying vpon the borders. But for situation *Iarusslaue* farre exceedeth the rest. For besides the commodities that the soyle yeeldeth of Pasture and Corne, it lieth vpon the famous Riuer *Volga*, and looketh ouer it from a high banke very faire and stately to behold: whereof the Towne taketh the name. For *Iarusslaue* in that Tongue signifieth as much as a faire or famous Banke. In this Towne (as may be ghesed by the name) dwelt the *Russe King Vladimir*, surnamed *Iarusslaue*, that married the daughter of *Harald King of England*, by mediation of *Sueno the Dane*, as is noted in the *Danish Storie* about the yeere 1067.

The other Townes haue nothing that is greatly memorable, save many ruines within their walls. Which sheweth the decrease of the *Russe* People, vnder this gouernment. The streets of their Cities and Townes in stead of paving, are planked with Firre trees, plained and layd uen close the one to the other. Their houses are of wood without any lime or stone, built very close and warme with Firre trees plained and piled one vpon another. They are fastned together with dents or notches at euery corner, and so clasped fast together. Betwixt the trees or timber they thrust in mosse (whereof they gather plenty in their Woods, to keepe out the aire. Euery house hath a paire of staires that lead vp into the chambers out of the yard or street after the *Scottish* manner. This building seemeth farre better for their Countrey, then that of stone and bricke: as being colder and more dampish then their wooden houses, specially of Firre, that is a dry and warme wood. Whereof the prouidence of God hath giuen them such store, as that you may build a faire house for twentie or thirtie Rubbels, or little more, where wood is most scant. The greatest inconuenience of their wooden building is the aptnesse for firing, which happeneth very oft, and in very fearefull sort, by reason of the driness and fatnesse of the Firre, that being once fired, burneth like a Torch, and is hardly quenched till all bee burnt vp.

The sur-name of the Imperiall house of *Russia*, is called *Beala*. It tooke the originall (as is supposed) from the Kings of *Hungarie*. Which may seeme the more probable, for that the *Hungarian* Kings many yeeres agoe haue borne that name: as appeareth by *Bonsinius* and other Stories written of that Countrey. For about the yeere 1059. mention is made of one *Beala* that succeeded his brother *Andreas*, who reduced the *Hungarians* to the *Christian* Faith from whence they were fallen by *Atheisme* and *Turkish* perswasion before. The second of that name was called *Beala the blind*, after whom succeeded diuers of the same name.

That their Ancestry came not of the *Russe* Nation, *Iuan vasilowich* father to this Emperour, would many times boast, disdayning (as should seeme) to haue his progenie deriued from the *Russe* blood. As namely to an *Englishman* his Gold-smith, that had receiued Bullion of him to make certaine Plate: whom the Emperour commanded to looke well to his weight. For my *Russes* (said he) are theenes all. Whereat the Workeman looking vpon the Emperour, began to smile. The Emperour being of quick conceit, charged him to tell him what hee smiled at. If your Maiestie will pardon mee (quoth the Gold-smith) I will tell you. Your Highnesse said, that the *Russes* were all theenes, and forgot in the meane while that your selfe was a *Russe*. I thought so (quoth the Emperour) but thou art deceived. For I am no *Russe*, my Ancestors were *Germanes*. (for so they account of the *Hungarians* to bee part of the *Germane* Nation, though indeed they come of the *Hunnes*. That inuaded those Countries, and rested in those parts of *Pannonia*, now called *Hungarie*.)

meanes to recouer themselves, and perhaps either by *Hungarian* affinitie with their Princes, or taking a Prince from *Hungarie* then assisted with *Germanes*, they began to recouer of that *Tartarian* disease, whereof still some Symtomes remayne.

How

Pleasant Historic.

Like lips, like lettuce.

Iarusslaue.

The manner of Russe building.

Chap. 5. Of the house or stocke of the Russe Emperour.

The house Beala not natural Russe. See sup. 56. where the Tartars destroyed these Countreyes then called Bulgaria maior, many fled into Hungarie: and after Bathus death, both Hungarie and this Bulgaria had better

The advancement of the house of Beala.

* *Viz. A. D.*
1588.
Since the Scerpt hath been in diuers Families, with manifold combustions.

The Emperor vnfortunatly killed his son.

We haue since had two which haue assumed to be this *Demetrius*, and haue obtrayned the State; thereof and of their liues dispossessed as Counterfeits.

Chap. 6.
Of the manner of crowning or inauguration of the Russe Emperours.

How they aspired to the Dukedome of *Volodemer* (which was their first degree, and ingrafting into *Russia*) and whether it were by Conquest, or by Marriage, or by what other meanes, I could not learne any certainty among them. That from these beginnings of a small Dukedome (that bare notwithstanding an absolute gouernment with it, as at that time did also the other Shires or Prouinces of *Russia*) this house of *Beala* spred it selfe forth, and aspired by degrees to the Monarchie of the whole Countrey, is a thing well knowne, and of very late memorie. The chiefe of that House that advanced the Stocke, and enlarged their Dominions, were the three last that raigned before this Emperour, to wit, *Iuan Basileu*, and *Iuan* father to the other that raigneth at this time. Whereof the first that tooke vnto him the name and title of Emperour, was *Basileu* father to *Iuan*, and grandfather to this man. For before that time they were contented to be called great Dukes of *Mosko*. What hath beene done by either of these three, and how much they haue added to their first estate by Conquest or otherwise, may bee seene in the Chapter of their Colonies, or Purchases perforce. For the continuance of the race, this House of *Beala* at this present * is in like case as are many of the greatest Houses of *Christendome*, *vz.* the whole Stocke and Race concluded in one, two, or some few of the Bloud. For besides the Emperour that now is, who hath no child (neither is like euer to haue, for ought that may bee conjectured by the constitution of his body, and the barrenesse of his wife after so many yeeres marriage) there is but one more, *vz.* a child of sixe or seuen yeeres old, in whom resteth all the hope of the succession, and the posteritie of that House. As for the other brother that was eldest of the three, and of the best towardnesse, he died of a blow giuen him by his father vpon the head in his furie with his walking staffe, or (as some say) of a thrust with the prong of it driuen deepe into his head. That he meant him no such mortall harme when hee gaue him the blow, may appeare by his mourning and passion after his sonnes death, which neuer left him till it brought him to the graue. Wherein may be marked the iustice of God, that punished his delight in shedding of bloud with this murder of his sonne by his owne hand, and so ended his dayes and tyrannie together, with the murthering of himselfe by extreme griefe, for this his vn-happie and vnnaturall fact.

The Emperours younger brother of sixe or seuen yeeres old (as was said before) is kept in a remote place from the *Mosko*, vnder the tuition of his mother and her kindred, of the House of the *Nagaies*: yet not safe (as I haue heard) from attempts of making away by practice of some that aspire to the succession, if this Emperour die without any issue. The Nurle that tasted before him of certaine meat (as I haue heard) died presently. That hee is naturall sonne to *Iuan Vasilowich*, the *Russe* People warrant it, by the fathers qualitie that beginneth to appeare already in his tender yeeres. Hee is delighted (they say) to see Sheepe and other cattell killed, and to looke on their throats while they are bleeding (which commonly children are afraid to behold) and to beate Geese and Hennes with a staffe till he see them lie dead. Besides these of the male kind, there is a Widow, that hath right in the succession, Sister to the old Emperour, and Aunt to this man, sometime Wife to *Magnus* Duke of *Holst*, Brother to the King of *Denmarke*, by whom she had one daughter. This woman since the death of her Husband hath beene allured againe into *Russia*, by some that loue the succession better then her selfe, which appeareth by the sequele. For her selfe with her daughter, so soone as they were returned into *Russia*, were thrust into a Nunnerie, where her daughter died this last yeere while I was in the Countrey, of no naturall disease as was supposed. The mother remayneth still in the Nunnerie, where (as I haue heard) she bewayleth her selfe, and curseth the time when she returned into *Russia*, enticed with the hope of marriage, and other faire promises in the Emperours name. Thus it standeth with the Imperiall Stocke of *Russia*, of the House of *Beala*, which is like to determine in those that now are, and to make a conuersion of the *Russe* estate. If it be into a gouernment of some better temper, and milder constitution, it will be happie for the poore people that are now oppressed with intolerable seruitude.

The solemnities vsed at the *Russe* Emperours Coronation, are on this manner. In the great Church of *Precheffe* (or our Ladie) within the Emperours Castle is erected a Stage, whereon standeth a Serine that beareth vpon it the Imperiall Cap and Robe of very rich stuffe. When the day of the Inauguration is come, there resort thither, first the Patriarch with the Metropolitans, Arch-bishops, Bishops, Abbots, and Priors, all richly clad in their Pontificalibus. Then enter the Deacons with the Quier of Singers. Who so soone as the Emperour setteth foot into the Church, beginne to sing: *Many yeeres may liue noble Theodore Iuanowich, &c.* Whereunto the Patriarch and Metropolitane with the rest of the Clergie, answer with a certaine Hymne, in forme of a Prayer, singing it all together with a great noise. The Hymne being ended, the Patriarch with the Emperour mount vp the Stage, where standeth a Seat ready for the Emperour. Whereupon the Patriarch willet him to sit downe, and then placing himselfe by him vpon another Seate provided for that purpose, boweth downe his head towards the ground, and sayeth this Prayer: *Oh Lord God King of Kings, Lord of Lords, which by thy Prophet Samuel didst choose thy seruant Dauid, and anoynt him for King ouer thy People Israel, heare now our Prayers, and looke from*

from thy Sanctuaries upon this thy Servant Theodore, whom thou hast chosen and exalted for King over these thy holy Nations; anoint him with the oyle of gladnesse, protect him by thy power, but upon his head a Crowne of Gold and precious Stones, give him length of dayes, place him in the Seat of Iustice, strengthen his arms, make subject unto him all the barbarous Nations. Let thy feare bee in his whole heart, turne him from all errour, and shew him the salvation of thy holy and universall Church, that hee may iudge thy people with Iustice; and protect the children of the poore, and finally attayne everlasting life. This Prayer he speaketh with a lowe voyce, and then pronounceth a lowd: All prayse and power to God the Father, the Sonne, and the Holy Ghost. The Prayer being ended, he commandeth certayne Abbots to reach the Imperiall Robe and Cap: which is done very decently, and with great Solemnitie, the Patriarch withall pronouncing aloud: Peace be unto all. And so he beginneth another Prayer to this effect: Bow your selves together with us, and pray to him that reigneth over all. Preserve him (oh Lord) under thy holy protection, keepe him that hee may doe good and holy things, let Iustice shine forth in his dayes, that we may live quietly without strife and malice. This is pronounced somewhat softly by the Patriarch, whereto hee addeth againe aloud: Thou art the King of the whole World, and the Saviour of our soules, to thee the Father, Sonne, and Holy Ghost, bee all prayse for ever and ever. Amen. Then putting on the Robe and the Cap, hee blesseth the Emperour with the signe of the Crosse: saying withall, in the Name of the Father, the Sonne, and the Holy Ghost.

The like is done by the Metropolitans, Archbishops, and Bishops: who all in their order come to the Chaire, and one after another blesse the Emperour with their two fore-fingers. Then is said by the Patriarch another Prayer, that beginneth: O most holy Virgin Mother of God, &c. After which a Deacon pronounceth with an high lowd voyce: Many yeeres to Noble Theodore, good, honourable, belov'd of God, great Duke of Volodemer of Mosko, Emperour, and Monarch of all Russia, &c. Whereto the other Priests and Deacons that stand somewhat farre off by the Altar or Table, answer singing, Many yeeres, many yeeres, to the Noble Theodore. The same Note is taken vp by the Priests and Deacons, that are placed at the right and left side of the Church, and then altogether, they chaunt and thunder out, singing: Many yeeres to the Noble Theodore, good, honourable, belov'd of God, great Duke of Volodemer, Mosko, Emperour of all Russia, &c. These Solemnities being ended, first cometh the Patriarch with the Metropolitans, Archbishops, and Bishops, then the Nobilitie, and the whole Companie in their order, to doe homage to the Emperour, bending downe their heads, and knocking them at his feet to the very ground.

The Soile wherewith hee is invested at his Coronation, runneth after this manner. Theodore Iuanowich, by the grace of God, great Lord and Emperour of all Russia, great Duke of Volodemer, Mosko, and Nouograd, King of Cazan, King of Astracan, Lord of Plesko, and great Duke of Smolensko, of Twerria, Ioughoria, Permia, Vadska, Bulghoria, and others, Lord and great Duke of Nouograd, of the Low Countrey, of Chernigo, Rezin, Polotskoy, Rostoue, Yaroslaukey, Bealozera, Liefland, Oudoria, Obdoria, and Condensa, Commander of all Siberia, and of the North parts, and Lord of many other Countreyes, &c.

This stile containeth in it all the Emperours Prouinces, and setteth forth his greatness. And therefore they haue a great delight and pride in it, forcing not onely there owne people but also Strangers (that haue any matter to deliuer to the Emperour by Speech or writing) to repeat the whole forme from the beginning to the end. Which breedeth much canill, and sometimes quarrell betwixt them and the Tartar, and Poland Ambassadors: who refuse to call him Czar, that is Emperour, and to repeat the other parts of his long Stile. My selfe, when I had audience of the Emperour, thought good to salute him onely with thus much, viz. Emperour of all Russia, great Duke of Volodemer, Mosko, and Nouograd, King of Cazan, King of Astracan. The rest I omitted of purpose, because I knew they gloried, to haue their Stile appear to be of a larger Volume then the Queenes of England. But this was taken in so ill part, that the Chancellor (who then attended the Emperour, with the rest of the Nobilitie) with a lowd chafing voyce called still vpon me to say out the rest. Whereto I answered, that the Emperours Stile was very long, and could not so well be remembered by Strangers, that I had repeated so much of it, as might shew that I gaue honour to the rest, &c. But all would not serue till I commanded my Interpreter to say it all out.

The manner of their Government is much after the Turkish fashion: which they seeme to imitate as neere as the Countrey, and reach of their capacities in Politike Affaires will giue them leaue to doe.

The State and forme of their Government seemeth to apply all to the behoofe of the Prince, and that after a most open manner: as may appeare by the Sophismata, or secrets of their Government afterwards set downe, as well for the keeping of the Nobilitie and Commons in an vnder proportion, and farre vneuen ballance in their feuerall degrees, as also in their Impositions and Exactions, without any regard of Nobilitie or People: farther then it giueth the Nobilitie a kind of libertie, to exact vpon the Commons and baser sort of People in all parts

Chap. 7.
The State or
forme of their
Government.
The Russe Go-
uernment ty-
rannicall.

Gauill-kind
giue-all-kind
tenure.
Absolute So-
uerieigntie.

of the Realme wherefoeuer they come, specially in the place where their Lands lye, or where they are appointed by the Emperour to gouerne vnder him: Also to the Commons some small contentment, in that they passe ouer their Lands by discent of Inheritance to whether Sonne they will: which commonly they doe after our *Gauill kind*, and dispose of their goods by gift or Testament without any controllment.

Concerning the principall points and matters of State, wherein the Souereignetic consisteth (as the making and annulling of publike Lawes, the making of Magistrates, power to make Warre or League with any Forreine State, to execute or to pardon life, with the right of Appale in all matters, both Ciuill and Criminal) they doe so wholly and absolutely pertayne to the Emperour, and his Councell vnder him, as that he may be said to be both the Souereigne Commander, and the Executioner of all these. For as touching any Law or publike Order of the Realme, it is euer determined of before any publike Assembly or Parliament be summoned. Where besides his Councell, hee hath none other to consult with him of such matters as are concluded before hand, but onely a few Bishops, Abbots, and Friers: to make aduantage of the peoples Superstitions, euen against themselves, which thinke all to be holy and just, that passeth with content of their Bishops and Clergie men, whatsoeuer it be. For which purpose the Emperours are content to make much of the corrupt state of the Church, as now it is among them, and to nourish the same by extraordinary fauours, and Immunities to the Bishops Seas, Abbeyes and Frieries: as knowing Superstition and false Religion best to agree with a Tyrannicall State, and to be a speciall meanes to vphold and maintayne the same.

Magistracies.

Secondly, as touching the publike Offices and Magistracies of the Realme, there is none hereditarie, neyther any so great nor so little in that Countrey, but the bestowing of it is done immediately by the Emperour himselfe. Inso much that the very *Diacks*, or Clerkes in euery head Towne, are for the most part assigned by himselfe. Notwithstanding, the Emperour that now is (the better to entend his Deuotions) referreth all such matters pertayning to the State, wholly to the ordering of his Wiues Brother, the Lord *Borris Federowich Godonoe*.

He succeeded
him.
Jurisdiction.

Thirdly, the like is to be said of the Jurisdiction concerning matters Iudiciall, specially such as concerne life and death. Wherein there is none that hath any authoritie or publike Jurisdiction that goeth by Discent, or is held by Charter, but all at the appointment and pleasure of the Emperour, and the same practised by the Iudges with such awe and restraint, as that they dare not determine vpon any speciall matter, but must referre the same wholly, vp to the *Moske* to the Emperours Councell. To shew his Souereignie over the liues of his Subjects, the late Emperour *Iuan Vasilowich* in his walkes or progresse, if he had misliked the face or person of any man whom he met by the way, or that looked vpon him, would command his head to be strooke off. Which was presently done, and the head cast before him.

Iuan Vasilowich
cruell.

Appales and
Pardons.

Fourthly, for the Souereigne Appale, and giuing of Pardons in Criminall Matters to such as are conuicted, it is wholly at the pleasure and grace of the Emperour. Wherein also the Emperesse that now is, being a woman of great Clemencie, and withall delighting to deale in publike Affaires of the Realme, (the rather to supply the defect of her Husband) doth behaue her selfe after an absolute manner, giuing out pardon (specially on her birth day and other solemne times) in her owne name, by open Proclamation, without any mention at all of the Emperour. Some there haue beene of late of the ancient Nobilitie, that haue held diuers Prouinces by right of Inheritance, with an absolute Authoritie and Jurisdiction ouer them, to order and determine all matters within their owne Precinct without all Appale, or controllment of the Emperour. But this was all annulled and wrung cleane from them by *Iuan Vasilowich* Father to this Emperour.

Ancient No-
bilitie.

Chap. 8.
The manner
of holding
the Parlia-
ments.
The States of
Parliament.

Their highest Court of publike consultation for matter of State, is called the *Zabore*, that is, the *Publike Assembly*. The states and degrees of persons, that are present at their Parliaments, are these in order. 1. The Emperour himselfe. 2. Some of his Nobilitie about the number of twenty being all of his Councell. 3. Certayne of the Clergie-men, &c. about the same number. As for Burghers or other to represent the Comminaltie, they haue no place there: the people beeing of no better account with them then as seruants or bond-slaves that are to obey, not to make Lawes, nor to know any thing of publike matters before they are concluded.

The order of
the summons
or assembling.

The Court of Parliament (called *Zabore*) is held in this manner. The Emperour causeth to be summoned such of his Nobilitie as himselfe thinketh meete, being (as was said) all of his Councell: together with the Patriarch, who calleth his Clergie, to wit, the two Metropolitans, the two Archbishops, with such Bishops, Abbots, and Friers as are of best account and reputation among them. When they are all assembled at the Emperours Court, the day is intimated when the Session shall beginne. Which commonly is vpon some Friday, for the Religion of that day.

Friday respect.

When the day is come, the Clergie-men assemble before at the time and place appointed, which is called the *Stollie*. And when the Emperour commeth attended by his Nobilitie, they arise all, and meete him in an out-roome, following their Patriarch, who blesseth the Emperour with

with his two fore-fingers, laying them on his fore-head, and the sides of his face, and then kisseth him on the right side of his brest. So they passe on into their Parliament House, where they sit in this order. The Emperour is enthronized on the one side of the Chamber. In the next place not farre from him at a small square Table (that giueth roome to twelue persons or thereabouts) sitteth the Patriarch with the Metropolitans and Bishops, and certayne of the principall Nobilitie of the Emperours Councell, together with two *Diacks* or Secretaries. (called *Dumoy dyakey*) that enact that which passeth. The rest place themselves on benches round about the Roome, euery man in his ranke after his degree. Then is there propounded by one of the Secretaries (who representeth the *Speaker*) the cause of their Assembly, and the principall matters that they are to consider of. For to propound Bills what euery man thinketh good for the publike benefit (as the manner is in *England*) the *Russe* Parliament alloweth no such custome, nor liberty to subjects.

The points being opened, the Patriarch with his Clergie-men haue the Prerogative to be first asked their vote, or opinion, what they thinke of the points propounded by the Secretaries. Whereto they answere in order, according to their degrees, but all in one forme without any Discourse: as hauing learned their Lesson before, that serueth their turnes at all Parliaments alike, whatsoeuer is propounded. Commonly it is to this effect. *That the Emperour and his Councell are of great wisdom and experience, touching the Policies and publike Affaires of the Realme, and furre better able to iudge what is profitable for the Common-wealth, then they are, which attend upon the service of God only, and matters of Religion. And therefore it may please them to proceed. That instead of their aduise, they will aide them with their Prayers, as their duties and vocations doe require, &c.* To this or like effect hauing made their Answers euery man in his course, vp standeth some Abbot or Frier more bold then the rest (yet appointed before-hand as a matter of forme) and desireth the Emperour it would please his Majestie to command to be deliuered vnto them what his Majesties own iudgement and determinate pleasure is, as touching those matters propounded by his *Deiack*.

Whereto is replied by the said Secretarie in the Emperours name. *That his Highnesse with those of his Noble Councell, upon good and sound aduise haue found the matters proposed to be very good and necessary for the Common-wealth of his Realme. Notwithstanding, forasmuch as they are Religious men, and know what is right, his Majestie requirerh their godly Opinions, yea, and their Censures too, for the approuing or correcting of the said Propositions. And therefore desireth them again to speake their minds freely. And if they shall like to giue their consents, that then the matters may passe to a full conclusion.*

Hereunto when the Clergie-men haue giuen their consents (which they vse to doe without any great pausing) they take their leaues with blessing of the Emperour: who bringeth the Patriarch on his way to farre as the next Roome, and so returneth to his Seat, till all be made ready for his returne homeward. The Acts that thus are passed by the *Zabore* or Parliament, the *Deiackes* or Secretaries draw into a forme of Proclamation, which they send abroad into euery Province, and head Towne of the Realme, to be published there by the Dukes and *Diackes*, or Secretaries of those places. The Session of Parliament being fully ended, the Emperour inuitteth the Clergie-men to a solemne Dinner. And so they depart euery man to his home.

The degrees of persons or Estates of *Russia* (besides the Soueraigne State or Emperour himselfe) are these in their order. 1. The Nobility which is of foure sorts. Whereof the chiefe for Birth, Authority, and Reuennue are called the *Vdelney Knazey*, that is, *The exempt or priuiledged Dukes*. These held sometime a feuerall iurisdiction, and absolute Authoritie within their Precincts, much like vnto the States or Nobles of *Germany*. But afterwards (reseruing their Rights vpon composition) they yielded themselves to this House of *Beula*, when it beganne to waxe mightie, and to enlarge it selfe by ouer-matching their Neighbours. Onely they were bound to serue the Emperour in his Warres with a certayne number of Horse. But the late Emperour *Ivan Vasilowich* Father to this Prince, being a man of high spirit, and suball in his kind meaning to reduce his Gouvernement into a more strict forme, began by degrees to clip off their greatnesse, and to bring it downe to a lesser proportion: till in the end he made them not onely his Vassals, but his *Kolophey*, that is, his very Villaines or Bond-slaves. For so they terme and write themselves in any publike Instrument or priuate Petition which they make to the Emperour. So that now they hold their Authorities, Lands, Liues, and all at the Emperours pleasure as the rest do.

The meanes and practice whereby hee wrought this to effect against those, and other of the Nobility (so well as I could note out of the report of his doings) were these, and such like. First, he cast priuate emulations among them about prerogative of their Titles and Dignities. Wherein hee vsed to set on the inferiours, to prefer or equall themselves to those that were accounted to be of the Nobler Houses. Where hee made his aduantage of their malice and contentions, the one against the other, by receiuing deified matter, and accusations of secret practice and Conspiracies to bee intended against his Person and State. And so hauing singled out the greatest of them, and cut them off with the good liking of the rest, hee fell at last to open practice, by forcing of the other to yeeld their Rights vnto him.

Their discourse
at Parliament,

Chap. 9.

Of the Nobilitie, and by what meanes it is kept in an vnder proportion agreeable to that State. The *Vdelney Knazey* chiefe of the Nobilitie.

Names of the Nobles of the *Russe* Nobilitie.

The faction of
Oppressini and
Zemsky deui-
sed by the Em-
perour.

2. Hee diuided his subiects into two parts or factions by a generall Schisme. The one part he called the *Oppressini* or *Select men*. These were such of the Nobility and Gentry as he took to his owne part, to protect and maintayne them as his faithfull subiects. The other he called *Zemsky*, or the *Commons*. The *Zemsky* contayned the base and vulgar sort, with such Noblemen and Gentlemen as he meant to cut off, as suspected to mislike his Gouvernement, and to haue a meaning to practise against him. Wherein he provided that the *Oppressini* for number and qualitie of Valure, Money, Armour, &c. farre exceeded the other of the *Zemsky* side, whom he put (as it were) from vnder his protection: so that if any of them were spoyled or killed by those of the *Oppressini*, (which he accounted of his owne part) there was no amends to bee sought for by way of publike Iustice, or by complaint to the Emperour.

The whole number of both parts was orderly registred and kept in a Booke: so that every man knew who was a *Zemsky* man, and who of the *Oppressini*. And this libertie of the one part to spoile and kill the other without any helpe of Magistrate, or Law (that continued seven yeeres) enriched that side, and the Emperours Treasury, and wrought that withall which hee intended by this practise, viz. to take out of the way such of the Nobilitie, as himselfe misliked; whereof were slaine within one weeke to the number of three hundred within the Citie of *Mosko*.

This mischieuous practice of making a generall Schisme, and publike diuision among the subiects of his whole Realme, proceeded (as should seeme) from an extreame doubt, and desperate feare, which he had conceined of most of his Nobilitie, and Gentlemen of his Realme, in his Wars with the *Polonian* and *Chrim Tartar*. What time he grew into a vehement suspicion (conceined of the ill successe of his Affaires) that they practised Treason with the *Polonian* and *Chrim*. Whereupon he executed some, and deuised this way to be rid of the rest.

Pomestnoy
tenure.

3. Hauiug thus pulled them and seased all their Inheritance, Lands, Priuiledges, &c. saue some very small part which hee left to their name, hee gaue them other Lands of the tenour of *Pomestnoy* (as they call it) that are held at the Emperours pleasure, lying far of in another Countrey, and so remooued them into other of his Prouinces, where they might haue neyther fauour, nor authority, not being Natiue nor well knowne there. So that now these of the chiefe Nobility (called *Vdelney Knazey*) are equalled with the rest: saue that in the opinion and fauour of the people they are of more account, and keepe still the Prerogative of their place in all their publike meetings.

Their practice to keepe downe these Houses from rising againe and recouering their dignities are these, and such like. First, many of their Heires are kept vnmarried perforce, that the stocke may dye with them. Some are sent into *Siberia*, *Cazan* and *Astracan*, vnder pretence of seruice, and there either made away, or else fast clapped vp. Some are put into Abbeyes, and sheare themselues Friars by pretence of a Vow to be made voluntary, and of their owne accord, but indeed forced vnto it by feare, vpon some pretenced crime objected against them. Where they are so guarded by some of speciall trust, and the Couent it selfe (vpon whose head it standeth that they make no escape) as that they haue no hope but to end their liues there. Of this kind there are many of very great Nobilitie. These and such like wayes begunne by the Emperour *Iuan Paskowich* are still practised by the *Godonoies*, who being aduanced by the Marriage of the Empreffe their Kinswoman, rule both the Emperour, and his Realme (specially *Borris Federowich Godonoe*, Brother to the Empreffe) and endeauour by all meanes to cut off, or keepe downe all of the best and ancientest Nobilitie. Whereof diuers already they haue taken away, whom they thought likeliest to make head against them and to hinder their purpose, as *Knez Andreas Guraken Bulgarkoe*, a man of great birth and authoritie in the Countrey. The like they haue done with *Peter Gollauini* (whom they put into a Dungeon where hee ended his life) with *Knez Vasilie Vrywich Golloohen*, with *Andrien Iuanowich Suskoy*, accounted among them for a man of a great wisdom. So this last yeere was killed in a Monastery (whither they had thrust him) one *Knez Iuan Petro-wich Suskoy* a man of great valour, and seruice in that Countrey: who about five or sixe yeeres since, bare out the siege of the Citie *Vosko*, made by *Stephan Batore* King of *Polonia*, with one hundred thousand men, and repulsed him very valiantly, with great honour to himselfe, and his Countrey, and disgrace to the *Polonian*. Also *Micheta Romanowich* Vncle to the Emperour by the Mothers side, was supposed to haue dyed of Poyson, or some like practice.

Names of the
greatest Hou-
ses of the Russe
Nobilitie.

The Names of these families of greatest Nobilitie are these in their order. The first is of *Knez Volodemer*, which resteth at this time in one Daughter a widow, and without Children (mentioned before) sometime wife to *Hartock Magnus* Brother to the King of *Denmarke*, now closed within a Nunnerie. The second *Knez Metheleskey*, thrust into a Frierie, and his onely Sonne kept from marriage, to decay the house. The third *Glimskoy*. But one left of his house, and hee without children saue one Daughter. The fourth *Suskoy*, whereof there are foure Brethren young men, and vnmarried all. The fifth *Huberskoy*. Of this House are foure liuing. The sixth *Bulgaloj*, now called *Guletschey* house, whereof are five liuing, but youths all. The seuenth *Vorallinskoy*. Two left of that stocke. The eighth *Odgoskey*, two. The ninth *Tellerskoy*, one. The tenth *Taytone*, three. These are the Names of the chiefe Families, called *Vdelney Knazj*: that in effect haue

haue lost all now, saue the very name it selfe, and fauour of the people, which is like one day to restore them againe, if any be left.

The second degree of Nobilitie is of the *Boiarents*. These are such as the Emperour honoureth (besides their Nobilitie) with the title of Counsellors. The reuenue of these two sorts of their Nobles that riseth out of their Land assigned them by the Emperour, and held at his pleasure (for of their owne Inheritance there is little left them, as was sayd before) is about a thousand Marcks a yeere: besides Pension which they receiue of the Emperour for their seruice in his Warres, to the summe of seuen hundred Rubbels a yeere, and none about that summe.

The second degree of Nobilitie.

But in this number the Lord *Borris Federowich Godenoe* is not to bee reckoned, that is like a *Transcendent*, and in no such predicament with the rest, being the Emperours Brother in law, his Protector for direction, for Command and authoritie Emperour of *Russia*. His yeerely reuenue in Land and Pension, amounteth to the summe of 93700. Rubbels and more, as appeareth by the particulars. Hee hath of inheritance (which himselfe hath augmented in *Vasma Dorogobose*, fixe thousand Rubbels a yeere. For his office of *Connick*, or Master of the Horle twelue thousand Rubbels or Marcks, raised out of the *Conasne Sloboday*, or the liberties pertayning to that Office, which are certayne Lands and Townes neere about the *Mosco*. Besides, all the meadow and pasture ground on both sides the banke of the Riuer *Mosko*, thirtie verst vp the streame, and fortie verst downwards. For his pension of the Emperour (besides the other for his Office) fiftene thousand Rubbels. Out of the Prouince or Shire of *Vagha*, there is giuen him for a peculiar exempted out of the *Chetfird* of *Posolskoy*, two and thirtie thousand Rubbels, besides a rent of Furses. Out of *Rezan* and *Sener*, (another peculiar) thirtie thousand Rubbels. Out of *Oster* and *Turiack* another exempt place eight thousand Rubbels. For rent of Bath-stoaves and Bathing-houses without the walls of *Mosko*, fiftene hundred Rubbels. Besides his *Pomest*, or Lands which hee holdeth at the Emperours pleasure, which farre exceedeth the proportion of land allotted to the rest of the Nobilitie.

Lord Borris after this Emperour.

One other there is, of the house of *Glinkoy*, that dispendeth in Land and Pension about fortie thousand Rubbels yeerely. Which hee is suffered to enioy, because he hath married *Borris* his wifes Sister, being himselfe very simple and almost a naturall. The ordering of him and his Lands are committed to *Borris*.

In the third ranke are the *Voyanodey*, or such Nobles as are, or haue bene Generals in the Emperours warres. Which deliuer the honour of their Title to their posterities also: who take their place above the other Dukes and Nobles, that are not of the two former sorts, viz. of the *Vdelney knazey*, nor of the *Boiarents*.

The third sort of Nobilitie.

These three degrees of their Nobilitie, (to wit) the *Vdelney knazey*, the *Boiarents*, and the *Voyanodey*, haue the addition of *Vich*, put vnto their surname, as *Borris Federowich*, &c. which is a note of Honour that the rest may not vsurpe. And in case it bee not added in the naming of them, they may sue the *Bestchest* or penaltie of dishonour vpon them, that otherwise shall tearme them.

Title Vich.

The fourth and lowest degree of Nobilitie with them, is of such as beare the name of *Knazey* or Dukes, but come of the younger Brothers of those chiefe Houses, through many discent, and haue no inheritance of their owne, saue the bare name or title of Duke onely. For their order is to deliuer their names and titles of their Dignities ouer to all their Children alike, whatsoever else they leaue them. So that the Sonnes of a *Voyanodey* or Generall in the field, are called *Voyanodey*, though they neuer saw the field, and the Sonnes of a *Knez* or Duke, are called *Knazey*, though they haue not one groat of inheritance or liuelyhood to maintayne themselves withall. Of this sort there are so many, that the plentie maketh them cheape: so that you shall see Dukes glad to serue a meane man for five or sixe Rubbels or Marcks a yeere, and yet they will stand highly vpon their *Bestchest* or reputation of their Honours. And these are their seuerall degrees of Nobilitie.

The second degree of persons, is of their *Sina Boiarskey*, or the sonnes of Gentlemen: which all are preferred, and hold that Name by their seruice in the Emperours warres, being Souldiers by their very stocke and birth. To which order are referred their *Dyacks* or Secretaries, that serue the Emperour in euery head Towne, being joyned in Commission with the Dukes of that place.

The second degree of persons.

The last are their Commons, whom they call *Mousicks*. In which number they reckon their Merchants, and their common Artificers. The very lowest and basest sort of this kinde (which are held in no degree) are their Countrey people, whom they call *Christianeis*. Of the *Sina Boiarskey* (which are all Souldiers) wee are to see in the description of their Forces, and Militarie provisions. Concerning their *Mousicks*, what their condition and behaviour is, in the Title or Chapter Of the Common people.

The third degree.

The whole Countrey of *Russia* (as was sayd before) is diuided into foure parts, which they call *Chetfirds*, or *Tetrarchies*. Euery *Chetfird* containeth diuers Shires, and is annexed to a seuerall Office, whereof it takes the name. The first *Chetfird* or *Tetrarchie*, beareth the name of

Chap. 10. Of the Government of their Prouinces and Shires.

The foure,
Chetfirds.

Pofoskoy Chetfird, or the Iurisdiction of the office of Ambassages, and at this time is vnder the chiefe Secretarie and officer of the Ambassages, called *Andreas Schalcalone*. The standing fee or stipend that hee receiueth yeerely of the Emperour for this seruice, is one hundred Rubbels or Marcks.

The second is called the *Roseradney Chetfird*, because it is proper to the *Roserade* or high Constable. At this time it pertayneth by vertue of Office to *Basilie Schalcalone*, Brother to the Chancellour, but it is executed by one *Zapon Abramone*. His pension is an hundred Rubbels yeerely.

The third is the *Chetfird of Pomestnoy*, as pertayning to that Office. This keepeth a Register of all Lands giuen by the Emperour for seruice to his Noblemen, Gentlemen and others, giueth out and taketh in all Assurances for them. The officer at this time is called *Eleazar Wellusgine*. His stipend is five hundred Rubbels a yeere.

The fourth is called *Cassauskoy Dworets*, as being appropriate to the Office that hath the iurisdiction of the Kingdomes of *Cazan* and *Astracan*, with the other Townes lying vpon the *Volgha*, now ordered by one *Druzhine Pemeleone*, a man of very speciall account among them, for his wisdom and promptnesse in matters of policie. His pension is one hundred and fiftie Rubbels a yeere.

From these *Chetfirds* or *Tetrarchies* is exempted the Emperours inheritance or *Pochin* (as they call it) for that it pertayned from ancient time to the House of *Beala*, which is the surname of the Imperiall blood. This standeth of sixe and thirtie Townes with their bounds or Territories. Besides diuers peculiar Iurisdctions, which are likewise deducted out of those *Chetfirds*, as the Shire of *Vagha* (belonging to the Lord *Borrisse Federonich Godonoe*) and such like.

These are the chiefe Gouvernours or Officers of the Prouinces, not resident at their charge abroad, but attending the Emperour whither soeuer hee goeth, and carrying their Offices about with them, which for the most part they hold at *Mosko*, as the Emperours chiefe seate.

The parts and practice of these foure Offices, is to receiue all Complaints and Actions whatsoever, that are brought out of their seuerall *Chetfirds* and Quarters, and to informe them to the Emperours Councell. Likewise to send direction againe to those that are vnder them, in their sayd Prouinces, for all matters giuen in charge by the Emperour and his Councell, to bee done or put in execution within their Precincts.

For the ordering of euery particular Prouince of these foure *Chetfirds*, there is appointed one of these Dukes, which were reckoned before in the lowest degree of their Nobilitie, which are resident in the head Townes of the sayd Prouinces. Whereof euery one hath joynd with him in Commission a *Djack* or Secretarie to assist him or rather to direct him. For in the executing of their Commission, the *Djack* doth all.

The Commis-
sion of the
Dukes or Pre-
sidents of
Shires.

The parts of their Commission are these in effect. First, to heare and determine in all ciuill matters within their Precinct. To which purpose they haue vnder them certayne Officers, as *Gubnoy Starets* or Coronets, who besides the tryall of selfe Murders, are to attach Fellons: and the *Soudia* or vnder Iustices, who themselues also may heare and determine in all matters of the same nature, among the Countrey people of their owne Wards or Bayliwickes: but so that in case either partie dissent, they may appeale, and goe further to the Duke and *Djack* that reside within the head Towne. From whom also they may remooue the matter to the higher Court at *Mosko*, of the Emperours Councell, where lye all appeales. They haue vnder them also *Sotskoy Starets*, that is Aldermen, or Bayliffes of the Hundreds.

Secondly, in all criminall matters, as Theft, Murder, Treason, &c. they haue authoritie to apprehend, to examine and to imprison the malefactor, and so hauing receiued perfect euidence and information of the cause, they are to send it ready drawne and orderly digested vp to the *Mosko*, to the Officer of the *Chetfird*, whereunto that Prouince is annexed: by whom it is referred and propounded to the Emperours Councell. But to determine in any matter criminall, or to doe execution vpon the partie offending, is more then their Commission will allow them to doe.

Thirdly, if there bee any publike seruice to be done within that Prouince, (as the publishing of any Law, or common order, by way of Proclamation, collecting of taxes and impositions for the Emperour, mustering of Souldiers, and sending them forth at the day, and to the place assigned by the Emperour or his Councell) all these and such like pertayne to their charge.

Dukes and Dy-
acks: many of
them vniust
oppressors, and
Spunges pres-
sed againe.

These Dukes and *Djacks* are appointed to their place by the Emperour himselfe, and are changed ordinarily at euery yeeres end, except vpon some speciall liking or sute, the time bee prorogued for a yeere or two more. They are men of themselues of no credit, nor fauour with the people where they gouerne, being neither borne, nor brought vp among them, nor yet hauing inheritance of their owne there, or else where. Onely of the Emperour they haue for that seruice an hundred Marcks a yeere, hee that hath most, some fiftie, some but thirtie. Which maketh them more suspected and odious to the people, because being so bare, and comming fresh and hungry vpon them lightly euery yeere, they racke and spoyle them without due regard of Iustice or Conscience. Which is easily tollerated by the chiefe Officers of the *Chetfirds*, to the end they may spoyle them againe, and haue a better bootie when they call them to account: which

which commonly they doe at the end of their seruice, making an aduantage of their iniustice and oppression ouer the poore people. There are few of them but they come to the *Pudkey* or Whip when their time is ended, which themselves for the most part doe make account of. And therefore they furnish themselves with all the spoyle they can for the time of their Government, that they may haue for both turnes, as well for the Emperour and Lord of the *Chetfird*, as to reserve some good part for themselves.

They that are appointed to gouerne abroad, are men of this qualitie: saue that in the foure border Townes that are of greatest importance, are set men of more speciall valour and trust, two in euery Towne. Whereof one is euer of the Emperours priue Counsell. These foure border Townes are, *Smolensko*, *Volsko*, *Novogrod*, and *Cazan*, whereof three lie towards the *Polonian* and *Sweden*, one bordereth farre off vpon the *Chrim Tartar*. These haue larger commission then the other Dukes of the Prouinces that I spake of before, and may doe execution in criminall matters. Which is thought behoofull for the Common-wealth: for incident occasions that may happen vpon the borders that are farre off, and may not stay for direction, about euery occurrent and particular matter from the Emperour and his Counsell. They are changed euery yeere (except as before) and haue for their stipend 700. Rubbels a yeere he that hath most: some haue but 400. Many of these places that are of greatest importance, and almost the whole Countrey is managed at this time, by the *Godonoos* and their Clients.

The Cite of *Mosko* (that is the Emperours Seat) is gouerned altogether by the Emperours Counsell. All matters there both ciuill and criminall, are heard and determined in the seuerall Courts, held by some of the said Counsell, that reside there all the yeere long.

Onely for their ordinary matters (as Buildings, Reparations, keeping of their Streets decent and cleane, Collections, leuying of Taxes, Impositions and such like) are appointed, two Gentlemen, and two *Dyacks* or Secretaries, who hold a Court together for the ordering of such matters. This is called the *Zemsky* house. If any Townes-man suspect his seruant of theft or like matter, hither he may bring him to haue him examined vpon the *Pudkey*, or other torture. Besides these two Gentlemen, and Secretaries that order the whole Cite, there are *Starusts* or Aldermen for euery seuerall Companie. The Alderman hath his *Sorskey* or Constable, and the Constable hath certaine *Decetskeys* or Decurions vnder him, which haue the ouersight of ten households a piece, whereby euery disorder is sooner spied, and the common seruice hath the quicker dispatch. The whole number of Citizens poore and rich are reduced into Companies. The chiefe Officers (as the *Dyacks* and Gentlemen) are appointed by the Emperour himselfe, the *Starust* by the Gentlemen and *Dyacks*, the *Sorskey* by the *Starust* or Alderman, and the *Decetskeys* by the Constables.

This manner of gouernment of their Prouinces and Townes, if it were as well set for the giuing of iustice indifferently to all sorts, as it is to preuent innovations, by keeping of the Nobility within order, and the Commons in subiection, it might seeme in that kind to be no bad nor vnpolitike way, for the contayning of so large a Common-wealth, of that breadth and length as is the Kingdome of *Russia*. But the oppression and slavery is so open, and so great, that a man would maruell, how the Nobilitie and People should suffer themselves to be brought vnder it, while they had any meanes to auoide and repulse it: or being so strengthened as it is at this present, how the Emperours themselves can be content to practise the same, with so open iniustice and oppression of their Subiects, being themselves of a *Christian* profession: By this it appeareth how hard a matter it were to alter the state of the *Russe* Government, as now it standeth.

The gouernment of Mosko.

An hard matter to alter the State of Russia.

The Emperours of *Russia* giue the name of Counsellour to diuers of their chiefe Nobilitie, rather for honours sake, then for any vse they make of them about their matters of State. These are called *Boiaren*s without any addition, and may be called, *Counsellours at large*. For they are seldome or neuer called to any publike consultation. They which are of his speciall and priue Counsell indeed (whom he vseth daily and ordinarily for all publike matters pertaining to the State) haue the addition of *Dumnoy*, and are named *Dumnoy boiaren*, or *Lords of the Counsell*, their Office or Sitting *Boastua dumna*.

Chap. II. Of the Emperours Counsell.

Their names at this present are these in their order. First, *Knez Feoder Ioanowich Metchisslofskey*. 2. *Knez Iuan Michailowich Glnskoy*. 3. *Knez Vasilie Iuanowich Suskoy Scopin*. (These three are accounted to be of greater birth then wisdom, taken in (as may seeme) for that end, rather to furnish the place with their honours and presence, then with their aduice or counsell.) 4. *Knez Vasilie Iuanowich Suskoy*, thought to be more wise then the other of hisname. 5. *Knez Feoder Michailowich*. 6. *Knez Michoia Romanowich Trowbetskoy*. 7. *Knez Timophy Romanowich Trowbetskoy*. 8. *Knez Andriew Gregorowich Curakine*. 9. *Knez Demetrie Iuanowich Forestine*. 10. *Knez Feoder Iuanowich Forestine*. 11. *Bodan Iuanowich Sabarone*. 12. *Knez Iuan Vasilowich*. 13. *Knez Feoder Demetritowich Shestinoue*. 14. *Knez Feoder Michailowich Troyconione*. 15. *Iuan Buterlyney*. 16. *Demetrie Iuanowich Godonoe*. 17. *Borrise Federowich Godonoe*, brother to the Emperesse. 18. *Stephan Vasilowich Godonoe*. 19. *Gregorie Vasilowich Godonoe*. 20. *Iuan Vasilowich*.

The number and names of the Counsellours of State.

Vasilowich Godonoe. 21. Feoder Sheremiton. 22. Andriew Petrowich Clefhenina. 23. Ignatio Petrowich Tatistone. 24. Romain Michailowich Pena. 25. Demenshoy Iuanowich Cheremissen. 26. Romain Vasilowich Alferione. 27. Andriew Shalcalone. 28. Vasilie Shalcalone. 29. Eleazar Wellusgin. 30. Drezheen Penteleoue. 31. Zapon Abramoue.

Four Secretaries.

The foure last of these are called *Dumny deiakey* or *Lord-Secretaries*. These are all of the Emperours priuie Counsell, though but few of them are called to any consultation, for that all matters are aduised and determined vpon by *Borris Federowich Godonoe* brother to the Emperesse, with some five or sixe more whom it pleaseth him to call. If they come, they are rather to heare, then to giue counsell, and doe so demeane themselves. The matters occurrent which are of State done within the Realme, are informed them at their sittings by the Lords of the foure *Chetfirds*, or *Tetrarchies*. Whereof mention is made in the Chapter concerning the Government of their Prouinces. Who bring in all such Letters as they receiue from the *Dukes*, *Dyacks*, *Captaines*, and other Officers of the Citie and Castles pertayning to their seuerall Quarter or *Chetfird*, with other aduertisements, and informe the Counsell of them.

The like is done by the chiefe Officer of euery seuerall Office of Record: who may come into the Counsell-chamber, and informe them, as occasion incident to his Office doth require. Besides matters of State, they consider of many priuate Causes, informed by way of supplication in very great numbers. Whereof some they entertayne and determine, as the Cause or meanes can procure fauour. Some they send to the Offices whereto they pertayne by common course of Law. Their ordinary dayes for their sitting are, Mondayes, Wednesdayes, and Fridayes. Their time of meeting is commonly seuen of the clocke in the morning. If there bee any extraordinary occasion that requireth consultation on some other day, they haue warning by the Clerke of the Counsell, called *Dorofey Bushew*, who receiueth order from the *Roserad*, or High Conftable of the Realme, to call them together at the time appointed.

Chap. 12.
Of the Emperours Customs and other Reuenues.
The Offices of Receit.
The Steward Receiuer of the Crowne-land Rents.

FOR the receiuing of Customes, and other Rents belonging to the Crowne, there are appointed diuers Vnder-officers, which deliuer ouer the same into the head Treasurie. The first is, the Office of *Dmoertsona* or *Steward of the household*. The second is, the Office of the *Chetfirds*, which I comprehend vnder one, though it be diuided into foure seuerall parts, as was said before. The third is called, *Busha Prechode*, or the great Income.

As touching the first, which is the Office of the *Steward*, it receiue all the Rents of the Emperours Inheritance, or *Crowne-land*, which they call, *Vochin*. The *Vochin* or *Crown-land* containeth in it sixe and thirtie Townes with the Territories or Hundreds belonging vnto them. Whereof the chiefe that yeeld the greatest Rents are these: *Alexandrisca*, *Corelska*, *Ofer*, *Slobodey*, *Danielska*, *Moisalskoy*, *Chara*, *Sametska*, *Strataraufe*, *Bransone*, &c. The Inhabitants or Tenants of these and the other Townes, pay some Rent money, some other Rent duties (called *Obrokey*) as certaine *Chetfirds* or measures of Graine, Wheat, Rye, Barley, Oats, &c. or of other victuall, as Oxen, Sheepe, Swannes, Geese, Hares, Hennes, wilde Fowle, Fish, Hay, Wood, Hony, &c. Some are bound to sowe for the Emperours prouision certaine acres of ground, and to make the Corne ready for his vse: hauing for it an allowance of certaine acres of ground for their owne proper vse.

This prouision for the household, specially of Graine serued in by the Tenants, is a great deale more then is spent in his house, or in other allowance serued out in liuery, or for the Emperours honour, called *Schalouaney*: for which vse there is bestowed very much, both in Graine and other Victuall. This surplus of prouision is sold by the Steward to the best hand, and runneth into the Emperours Treasurie.

In the time of *Iuan Vasilowich* father to this Emperour (who kept a more Princely and bountifull house then the Emperour now doth) this ouerplus of Graine, and other incomes into the Stewards Office, yeelded to his Treasurie not past 60000. Rubbels yeerely, but riseth now by good husbanding of the Steward *Gregory Vasilowich Godonoe*, to 230000. Rubbels a yeere. And thus by the meanes of the Emperesse, and her kindred, specially (*Borris Federowich Godonoe*) that account it all their owne that runneth into the Emperours Treasurie. Much of this surplusage that riseth out of the Rent prouision, is employed to the payment of the wages of his household Officers, which are very many attending at home, and purueying abroad.

The Office of Chetfird.
Tagla and Podat.

The second Office of Receit, called the *Chetfirds*, (being diuided into foure seuerall parts, as before was said) hath foure head Officers: which besides the ordering and government of the Shires containd within their seuerall *Chetfirds*, haue this also as a part of their Office, to receiue the *Tagla* and *Podat* belonging to the Emperour, that riseth out of the foure *Chetfirds* or Quarters. The *Tagla* is a yearly Rent or Imposition raised vpon euery *Wite* or measure of Graine, that groweth within the Land, gathered by sworne men, and brought into the Office. The *Wite* containeth sixtie *Chetfirds*. Euery *Chetfird* is three Bushels *English*, or little lesse. The *Podat* is an ordinary Rent of money imposed vpon euery Soake, or Hundred within the whole Realme.

This *Tagla* and *Podat* bring in yeerely to the Offices of the *Chetfirds* a great summe of money:

as may appeare by the particulars heere set downe. The Towne and Pronince of *Volsko* pay yeerely for *Tagla* and *Podat* about 18000. Rubbels. *Novogrod* 35000. Rubbels. *Torshocke* and *Oster* 8000. Rubbels. *Razan* 30000. Rubbels. *Morum* 12000. Rubbels. *Colmigroe* and *Dny-na* 8000. Rubbels. *Vologda* 12000. Rubbels. *Cazan* 18000. Rubbels. *Vsting* 30000. Rubbels. *Rostone* 30000. Rubbels. The Citie of *Mosko* 40000. Rubbels. *Sibierskoy* 20000. Rubbels. *Castrone* 12000. Rubbels. The totall amounteth to 400000. Rubbels, or Markes 2 yeere, which is brought in yeerely the first of September, that is reckoned by them the first day of the yeere:

The third (that is called the *Bulsha Prechod*, or great Income) receiveth all the Customes that are gathered out of all the principall Townes and Cities within the whole Realme. Besides the fees and other duties which rise out of diuers smaller Offices, which are all brought into this Office of *Bulsha Prechod*. The Townes of most trade, that doe yeeld greatest Custome, are these here set downe. *Mosko*, *Smolensko*, *Volsko*, *Novogrod Velica*, *Strararouse*, *Torshocke*, *Oster*, *Yaruslane*, *Castrone*, *Nesna Novogrod*, *Cazan*, *Vologda*. This Custome out of the great Townes is therefore more certaine, and easie to bee reckoned, because it is set and rated precisely what they shall pay for the Custome of the yeere. Which needs must bee paid into the said Office, though they receive not so much. If it fall out to be more, it runneth all into the Emperours aduantage.

The Custome at *Mosko* for euery yeere, is 12000. Rubbels. The Custome of *Smolensko* 8000. *Volsko* 12000. Rubbels. *Novogrod velica* 6000. Rubbels. *Strararouse* by Salt and other commodities 18000. Rubbels. *Torshock* 800. Rubbels. *Oster* 700. Rubbels. *Yaruslane* 1200. Rubbels. *Castrone* 1800. Rubbels. *Nesna Novogrod* 7000. Rubbels. *Cazan* 11000. Rubbels. *Vologda* 2000. Rubbels. The Custome of the rest that are Townes of trade, is sometimes more, sometimes lesse, as their trafficke and dealings with commodities to and fro, falleth out for the yeere.

This may bee said for certaine, that the three Tables of Receipts belonging to this Office of *Bulsha Prechod*, when they receive least, account for thus much, *vz.* The first table, 160000. Rubbels. The second table, 90000. Rubbels. The third 70000. Rubbels. So that there cometh into the Office of *Bulsha Prechod*, at the least reckoning (as appeareth by their Bookes of Customes) out of these and other Townes, and maketh the summe of 340000. Rubbles a yeere. Besides this Custome out of the Townes of trade, there is received by this Office of *Bulsha Prechod*, the yeerely Rent of the common Bath-stoues, and Cabacks or drinking houses, which payntayne to the Emperour. Which (though it be vncertaine for the iust summe, yet because it is certaine, and an ordinary matter, that the *Russe* will bathe himselfe as well within as without) yeeldeth a large Rent to the Emperours Treasurie.

There is besides, a certaine Mulf or Penaltie that groweth to the Emperour out of euery Iudgement or Sentence, that passeth in any of this Courts of Record in all Ciuill matters. This Penaltie or Mulf is twentie *Dingoes* or Pence vpon euery Rubbel or Marke, and so ten in the hundred. Which is paid by the partie that is conuict by Law. He hath besides for euery name contayned in the Writs that passe out of these Courts, five *Alteens*. An *Alteene* is five pence sterling, or thereabouts. This is made good out of the Office, whence the Writ is taken forth. Thence it goeth to the Office that keepeth the lesser Seale, where it payeth as much more to the Emperours use. This riseth commonly to three thousand Rubbels a yeere, or thereabouts. Farther also out of the Office of *Roisbonia*, where all felonies are tryed, is received for the Emperour the halfe part of Felons goods, the other halfe goeth the one part to the Informer, the other to the Officers.

All this is brought into the Office of *Bulsha Prechod*, or *Great income*. Besides the ouerplus or remainder that is saued out of the Land-rents allotted to diuers other Offices: as namely, to the Office called *Roserade*, which hath Lands and Rents assigned vnto it to pay the yeerely salaries of the Souldiers, or Horsemen, that are kept still in pay. Which in time of peace, when they rest at home not employed in any seruice, is commonly cut off and paid them by halfe, sometimes not the halfe: so that the remainder out of the *Roserade* Office that is layd into the Emperours treasurie, commeth for the most part euery yeere to 250000. Rubbels.

In like sort (though not so much) is brought in the surplus out of the *Strelletskey* Offices which hath proper Lands for the payment of the *Strelsey* men or Gunners, as well those at *Mosko*, that are of the Emperours Guard (12000. in ordinary) as on the borders, and other garrison Towns and Castles. Likewise out of the Office of *Prechase*, *Shisnoy Nemshoy*, which hath set allowance of Lands to mainrayne the forraigne mercenary Souldiers, as *Poles*, *Sweadens*, *Dutches*, *Scots*, &c. So out of the Office of *Pusharskoy*, (which hath Lands and Rents allowed for the prouision of munition, great Ordnance, Powder, Shot, Saltpeter, Brimstone, Lead, and such like) there is left somewhat at the yeeres end, that runneth into the Treasurie. All these bring into the Office of *Bulsha Prechod* that which remayneth in their hand at the yeeres end. Whence it is deliuered into the Emperours Treasurie. So that the whole summe that groweth to this Office of *Bulsha Prechod*, or the great Income (as appeareth by the Bookes of the said Office) amounteth to 800000. Rubbels a yeere, or thereabouts.

Yeere begins with September.

The Office of *Bulsha Prechod* or great Income.

The Emperours Custome.

The whole receipt of the *Bulsha Prechod* or great Income.

Rents out of the Iudiciall Offices. Mulf or fines.

The Emperours
treasure house
within his Ca-
stle of Mosko.

All these Offices, to wit, the Office of the Steward, the foure *Chetfirds*, and the *Bulsha Prechod* deliuer in their receipts to the head treasure, that lyeth within the Emperours house or Castle at the *Mosko*. Where lye all his Moneys, Jewels, Crownes, Scepters, Plate, and such like, the Chests, Hutches, and Bags being signed by the Emperours, themselves with their owne seale. Though at this time the *L. Borris Federowich Godonoe*, his seale and ouer-sight supplieth for the Emperour, as in all other things. The vnder Officer at this time is one *Stepan Vasilowich Godonoe*, Cousin germane to the said *Borris*, who hath two Clerkes allowed to serue vnder him in the Office.

The sum of the
Emperours rent
money.

The sum that
groweth to the
Emperours Treas-
ury in money
onely, for euery
yeere.

1. Out of the Stewards Office about the expence of his
house 23000. Rubbels.
2. Out of the foure Chetfirds for Soake and Head
money, 400000. Rubbels.
3. Out of the Bulsha Prechod Office, or great Income,
for Custome and other Rents, 800000. Rubbels.

Sum 1430000. Rub-
bels cleere, besides all
charges for his house
and ordinary falleries
of his Souldiers other-
wise discharged.

But besides this reuenue that is paid all in money to the Emperours treasure, he receiveth yeerely in Furres, and other duties to a great value out of *Siberia*, *Pechora*, *Permia*, and other places, which are sold or batted away for other forraigne commodities to the *Turkish*, *Persian*, *Armenian*, *Georgian* and *Bougharian* Merchants, that trade within his Countries, besides others of *Christendome*. What it maketh in the whole (though the value cannot bee set downe precisely, as being a thing casuall as the commoditie may be got) it may be ghesse'd by that which was gathered the last yeere out of *Siberia* for the Emperours Custome, *vz.* 466. Timber of Sables, fine Timber of Martrones, 180. blacke Foxes, besides other commodities.

To these may be added their seizures, and confiscations vpon such as are in displeasure, which riseth to a great summe, besides other their extraordinary Impositions, and exactions done vpon their Officers, Monasteries, &c. not for any apparant necessitie, or vse of the Prince, or Commonwealth, but of will and custome: yet with some pretence of policie. To this purpose this by-word was vsed by the late Emperour *Iuan Vasilowich*: That his people were like to his beard. The finer shauen, the thicker it would grow. Or like sheepe, that must needs bee shorne once a yeere at the least: to keepe them from being ouer-laden with their wooll.

Vnderstand
these politike
courses of the
times when the
Author writ.
Gods chastise-
ment hath since
beene heavy to
sweep such illa
from among
them.

MEanes seruing to which purpose were to preuent no extortions, exactions, or briberies whatsoeuer, done vpon the Commons by their Dukes, *Diacks*, or other Officers in their Prouinces: but to suffer them to goe on till their time be expired, and to sucke themselves full. Then to call them to the *Praueush* (or whip) for their behauiour, and to beat out of them all, or the most part of the bootie, (as the Honey from the Bee) which they haue wrung from the Commons, and to turne it into the Emperours Treasury, but neuer any thing backe againe to the right owners, how great or euident soeuer the iniurie be. To this end the needie Dukes, and *Diacks*, that are sent into their Prouinces, serue the turne very well; being changed so often (to wit) once a yeere: where in respect of their owne, and the qualitie of the people (as before was said) they might be continued for some longertime, without all feare of innoation. For com-
ming still fresh vpon the Commons, they sucke more eagerly: like *Tiberius* the Emperours Flies, that came new fill vpon an old sore. To whom he was wont to compare his *Prators*, and other Prouinciall Officers.

2. Yet they did make of these Officers (that haue robbed their people) sometimes a publike example, if any be more notorious then the rest: the Emperour thus seeming to mislike the oppressions done to his people, and transferring the fault to his ill Officers. As among diuers other, was done by the late Emperour *Iuan Vasilowich* to a *Diack* in one of his Prouinces: that (besides many other extortions and briberies) had taken a goose readie dressed full of money. The man was brought to the Market-place in *Mosko*. The Emperour himselfe present made an Oration. *These, good people, are they that would eat you vp like bread, &c.* Then asked he his *Po-
lachies* or Executioners, who could cut vp a Goose, and commanded one of them first to cut off his legs about the midst of the shin, then the armes about his elbowes (asking him still if *Goose-
flesh were good meat*) in the end to chop off his head: that hee might haue the right fashion of a Goose readie dressed.

3. They make an open shew of want, when any great Taxe or Imposition is towards. As was done by this Emperour *Theodore Iuanowich*, by the aduice of some about him at the begin-
ning of his raigne: when being left very rich (as was thought) by his father, he sold most of his Plate, and stamped some into Coyne: that he might seeme to want money. Whereupon present-
ly out came a Taxation.

4. They suffer their subiects to giue freely to the Monasteries (which for their superstition
very many doe, specially in their last Wills) and to lay vp their money and substance in them, to keepe it more safe. Which all is permitted them without any restraint or prouiso, as was and
is in some Countries of *Christendome*. Whereby their Monasteries grow to exceeding great
wealth. This they doe to haue the money of the Realme better stored together, and more rea-
dic

die for their hand, when they list to take it. Which many times is done without any noyse: the Friars being content rather to part from somewhat (as the increase groweth) then to lose all at once. Which they were made to doubt of in the other Emperours dayes.

To this end *Iuan Vasilowich* late Emperour vsed a very strange practise, that few Princes would haue done in their greatest extremities. Hee resigned his Kingdome to one *Velica Knez Simeon*, the Emperours sonne of *Cazan*: as though hee meant to draw himselfe from all publike doings to a quiet priuate life. Towards the end of the yeere, he caused this new King to call in all Charters granted to Bishopricks, and Monasteries, which they had enioyed many hundred yeeres before. Which were all cancelled. This done (as in dislike of the fact & of the mis-gouernment of the new King) hee resumed his Scepter, and so was content (as in fauour to the Church and Religious men) that they should renew their Charters, and take them of himselfe: reseruing and annexing to the Crowne so much of their lands, as himselfe thought good.

By this practise he wrung from the Bishopricks and Monasteries (besides the lands which he annexed to the Crowne) an huge masse of money. From some fortie, from some fiftie, from some an hundred thousand Rubbels. And this as well for the increase of his Treasury; as to abate the ill opinion of his hard gouernment, by a shew of worse in another man. Wherein his strange spirit is to be noted: that being hated of his subiects (as himselfe knew well enough) yet should venture such a practise to set another in his saddle, that might haue rid away with his horse, while himselfe walked by on foot.

5. They send their Messengers into the Prouinces or Shires, where the speciall commodities of their Countrey grow, as Furrer, Wax, Honey, &c. There to forestall and ingrosse sometime one whole commoditie, sometime two or more, taking them at small prices what themselves list, and selling them againe at an excessive rate to their owne Merchants, and to Merchants strangers. If they refuse to buy them, then to force them vnto it. The like is done when any commoditie either natiue or forraine (as Cloth of Gold, Broad-cloth, &c.) thus engrossed by the Emperour, and receiued into his treasury happeneth to decay, or marre by long lying, or some other casualtie. Which is forced vpon the Merchants to be bought by them at the Emperours price, whether they will or no. This last yeere of 1589. was engrossed all the Wax of the Countrey: so that none might deale with that commoditie, but the Emperour onely.

6. To take vp and engrosse in like sort sometime forraine commodities (as Silkes, Cloth, Lead, Pearle, &c. brought into his Realme by *Turkish* Merchants, *Armenians*, *Bogharians*, *Poles*, *English*, and other. And then to force his Merchants to buy them of his Officers at his owne price.

7. They make a Monopoly for the time of such commodities as are paid him for Rent, or Custome, and to inhaunce the price of them, as Furrer, Corne, Wood, &c. What time none must sell of the same kinde of commoditie, till the Emperours be all sold. By this meanes he maketh of his Rent, Corne, and other prouision of victuall (as before was said) about 200000. Rubbels or Markes a yeere. Of his Rent, Wood, Hay, &c. 30000. Rubbels, or thereabouts.

8. In euery great Towne of his Realme hee hath a *Caback* or other drinking house, where is sold *Aqua-vita* (which they call *Russe Wine*) Mead, Beere, &c. Out of these hee receiueth Rent that amounteth to a great summe of money. Some yeeld 800. some 900. some a 1000. some 2000. or 3000. Rubbels a yeere. Wherein besides the base and dishonourable meanes to encrease his treasury, many foule faults are committed. The poore Labouring man, and Artificer, many times spendeth all from his wife and children. Some vse to lay in twentie, thirtie, fortie Rubbels, or more into the *Caback*, and vow themselves to the pot, till all that be spent. And this (as he will say) for the honour of *Hospodare*, or the Emperour. You shall haue many there that haue drunke all away to the very skin, and so walke naked (whom they call *Naga*.) While they are in the *Caback*, none may call them forth whatsoeuer cause there be, because he hindereth the Emperours reuenue.

9. Some of his *Boiars*, or Nobles of his Court, (whom he vseth vpon trust) that haue houses in the *Mosko*, faine themselves robbed: Then they send for the *Zemsky* men, or Aldermen of the Citie, and command them to finde out the robbery: In default of not finding it, praeue or cease the Citie for their misgouernment in 8000. 9000. or 10000. Rubbels at a time. This is many times practised.

10. In these exactions to shew their Soueraigntie, sometime they haue beene vsed very plaine, and yet strange cauillations. As was that of *Iuan Vasilowich*, father to this Emperour, after this sort. He sent into *Permia* for certaine loads of Cedar wood, wherof he knew that none grew in that Countrey. The inhabitants returned answer they could finde none there. Whereupon hee seized their Countrey in 12000. Rubbels, as if they concealed the commoditie of purpose. Againe, he sent to the Citie of *Mosko* to prouide for him a *Colpack*, or measure full of liue Fleas for a medicine. They returned answer that the thing was impossible. And if they could get them, yet they could not measure them, for leaping out. Whereupon hee praeued, or beat out of their shins 7000. Rubbels for a Mulet. By like cauillation hee extorted for his Nobilitie 30000. Rubbels, because he missed of his game, when hee went a hunting for the Hare:

A strange practise to get money.

These times in the Countrey.

Of the Countrey.

The Countrey.

The Countrey.

25

as if their hunting and murthering of Hares had beene the cause of it. Which the Nobilitie (as the manner is) *Praued* presently againe vpon the *Mousicks*, or common people of the Countrey.

Chap. 13.
Of the state of
the Common-
naltie, or vul-
gar sort of the
people in the
Countrey of
Russia.
The servile
and miserable
estate of the
Russe people.

Miserie of
those times,
manners and
men.

THE condition of the Commons and vulgar sort of people, may partly bee vnderstood by that which already hath beene sayd concerning the manner of their Gouernment, and the state of the Nobilitie, with the ordering of their Prouinces, and chiefe Townes of the Land. And first touching their libertie how it standeth with them, it may appeare by this: that they are reckoned in no degree at all, nor haue any suffrage nor place in their *Zabore*, or high Court of Parliament, where their Lawes and publike Orders are concluded vpon. Again into what servile condition their libertie is brought, not onely to the Prince, but to the Nobles, and Gentlemen of the Countrey (who themselves also are but servile, specially of late yeeres) it may further appeare by their owne acknowledgments in their supplications, and other writings to any of the Nobles or chiefe Officers of the Emperours. Wherein they name and subscribe themselves *Kolophay*, that is, their Villaines, or Bond-slaves: as they of the Nobilitie doe vnto the Emperour. This may truly bee sayd of them, that there is no servant nor bond-slave more awed by his Master, nor kept downe in a more servile subjection, then the poore people are, and that vniuersally, not onely by the Emperour, but by his Nobilitie chiefe Officers and Souldiers. So that when a poore *Mousick* meeteth with any of them vpon the high way, hee must turne himselfe about, as not daring to looke him on the face, and fall downe with knocking of his head to the very ground, as he doth vnto his Idoll.

Secondly, concerning the Lands, goods, and other possessions of the Commons, they answer the Name and lye *Common* indeed, without any fence against the rapine and spoyle, not onely of the highest, but of his Nobilitie, Officers, and Souldiers. Besides the Taxes, Customs, Seazures, and other publike exactions done vpon them by the Emperour, they are so racked and pulled by the Nobles, Officers, and Messengers, sent abroad by the Emperour in his publike affayres, specially in the *Tammes* (as they call them) and thorow faire Townes, that you shall haue many Villages and Townes of halfe a mile, and a mile long, stand all vnhabited: the people being fled all into other places, by reason of the extreame viage, and exactions done vpon them. So that in the way towards *Mosko*, betwixt *Vologda* and *Taruslaneley* (which is two nineties after their reckoning, little more then an hundred miles *Englysh*) there are in sight fiftie *Dariemes* or Villages at the least, some halfe a mile, some a mile long (that stand vacant) and desolate without any inhabitant. The like is in all other places of the Realme, as is sayd by those that haue better travelled the Countrey then my selfe had time, or occasion to doe.

The great oppression ouer the poore Commons, made them to haue no courage in following their Trades: for the more they haue, the more danger they are in, not onely of their goods, but of their liues also. And if they haue any thing, they conceale it all they can, sometimes conueying it into Monasteries, sometimes hiding it vnder the ground, and in Woods, as men are wont to doe where they are in feare of forraigne inuasion. Insomuch that many times you shall see them afraid to bee knowne to any *Boiuren* or Gentleman, of such commodities as they haue to sell. I haue seene them sometimes when they haue layd open their Commodities for a liking (as their principall Furrers and such like) to looke still behinde them, and towards euery doore: as men in some feare, that looked to bee set vpon, and surprised by some Enemie. Whereof asking the cause, I found it to bee this, that they haue doubted least some Nobleman or *Sinaboiarskey* of the Emperour had beene in company, and so layd a trayne for them to pray vpon their Commodities perforce.

This made the people (though otherwise hardened to beare any toyle) to giue themselves much to Idleness and Drinking: as passing for no more, then from hand to mouth. And hereof it cometh that the Commodities of *Russia* (as was sayd before) as Waxe, Tallow, Hides, Flax, Hempe, &c. grow and goe abroad in farre lesse plentie then they were wont to doe: because the people being oppressed and spoyled of their gettings, are discouraged from their labours. Yet this one thing is much to bee noted, that in all this oppression there were three brethren Merchants, of late that traded together with one Stocke in common, that were found to bee worth 300000. Rubbels in money, besides Lands, Cattels, and other Commodities. Which may partly be imputed to their dwellings farre off from the eye of the Court, viz. in *Wichida*, one thousand miles from *Mosko* and more. The same are sayd by those that knew them, to haue set on worke all the yeere long ten thousand men in making of Salt, carriages by Cart, and Boat, hewing of Wood and such like: besides fife thousand Bond-slaves at the least, to inhabite and till their Land. They had also their Physicians, Surgeons, Apothecaries, and all manner of Artificers of *Douches* and others, belonging vnto them. They are sayd to haue payed to the Emperour for Customs, to the summe of three and twentie thousand Rubbels a yeere, (for which cause they were suffered to enioy their Trade) besides the maintayning of certayne Garrisons on the borders of *Siberia*, which were neare vnto them. Wherein the Emperour was content to vse their purse, till such time as they had got ground in *Siberia*, and made it habitable, by burning and cutting downe Woods, from *Wichida* to *Perm*, about one thousand verst, and then tooke it all away from them.

Rich Russian
Merchants.

them perforce. But this in the end being enuyed and disdayned, as a matter not standing with their policie, to haue any so great, specially a *Monsick*, the Emperour began first to pull from them by pieces, sometimes twentie thousand Rubbels at a time, sometime more: till in the end their Sonnes that now are, are well eased of their Stocke, and haue but small part of their Fathers substance: the rest being drawne all into the Emperours treasure. Their names were *Iacone*, *Gregorie*, and *Simon*, the Sonnes of *Onyka*.

For the qualitie of their people otherwise, though there seemeth to bee in them some aptnesse to receiue any Art (as appeareth by the naturall wits in the men, and very children) yet they excell in no kinde of common Art, much lesse in any learning, or literall kinde of knowledge: which they are kept from of purpose, as they are also from all military practice: that they may bee fitter for the seruile condition, wherein now they are, and haue neither reason, nor valour to attempt innouation. For this purpose also they are kept from travelling, that they may learne nothing, nor see the fashions of other Countries abroad. You shall seldome see a *Russe* a traveller, except hee bee with some Embassadour, or that hee make an escape out of his Countrey. Which hardly he can doe, by reason of the borders that are watched so narrowly, and the punishment for any such attempt, which is death, if hee bee taken, and all his goods confiscate. Onely they learne to write, and to read, and that very few of them. Neither doe they suffer any stranger willingly to come into their Realme out of any ciuill Countrey, for the same cause, farther then necessitie of vttering their commodities, and taking in of foraine doth enforce them to doe.

And therefore this yeere 1589. they consulted about the remouing of all Merchants strangers to the border Townes, to abide and haue their residence there, and to bee more wary in admitting other strangers heereafter into the Inland parts of the Realme. For the same purpose also they are kept within the bounds of their degree by the Lawes of their Countrey: so that the sonne of a *Monsick*, Artificer, or Husbandman, is euer a *Monsick*, Artificer, &c. and hath no meanes to aspire any higher: except, hauing learned to write and reade, hee attayne to the preferment of a Priest, or *Dyack*. Their Language is all one with the *Slauonian*, which is thought to haue bene deriued from the *Russe* Tongue, rather then the *Russe* from the *Slauonian*. For the People called *Sclani*, are knowne to haue had their beginning out of *Sarmatia*, and to haue learned themselves of their Conquest *Sclanos*, (that is) Famous or Glorious, of the word *Sclana*, which in the *Russe* and *Slauonian* Tongue signifieth as much as *Glorie*, or *Fame*. Though afterwards being subdued and trod vpon by diuers Nations, the *Italians*, their Neighbours, haue turned the word to a contrary signification, and terme every Seruant or Peasant by the name of *Sclane*, as did the *Romans* by the *Getes* and *Syrians*, for the same reason. The *Russe* Character or Letter is no other then the *Greeke*, somewhat distorted.

Concerning their Trades, Diet, apparell, and such like, it is to be noted in a seuerall Chapter of their priuate behauiour. This order that bindeth every man to keepe his ranke, and seuerall degree, wherein his fore-fathers liued before him, is more meet to keepe the Subiects in a seruile subiection, and so apt for this and like Commonwealths, then to aduance any vertue, or to breed any rare or excellent qualitie in Nobilitie or Commons: as hauing no further reward nor preferment, whereunto they may bend their endeauours, and employ themselves to aduance their estate, but rather procuring more danger to themselves, the more they excell in any noble or principall qualitie.

Their Courts of Ciuill Iustice for matters of Contract, and other of like sort, are of three kinds, the one being subiect vnto the other by way of appeale. The lowest Court (that seemeth to be appointed for some ease to the Subiects) is the Office of the *Gubnoy Starust*, that signifieth an Alderman, and of the *Sotskoy Starust*, or Bayliffe of the Soake or Hundred, whereof I spake before in the ordering of the Prouinces. These may end matters among their neighbours within their Soake, or seuerall Hundred, where they are appointed vnder the Dukes and *Dyacks* of the Prouinces, to whom the parties may remoue their matter, if they cannot be agreed by the said *Gubnoy*, or *Sotskoy Starust*.

The second is kept in the head Townes of euery Prouince or Shire, by the said Dukes and *Dyacks*, that are Deputies to the foure Lords of the *Chetsfirds* (as before was said.) From these Courts they may appeale, and remoue their Suits to the chiefe Court, that is kept at the *Mosko*, where are resident the Officers of the foure *Chetsfirds*. These are the chiefe Iustices or Iudges, euery of them in all Ciuill matters that grow within their seuerall *Chetsfird* or Quarter, and may be either commenced originally before them, or prosecuted out of the inferiour Courts of the Shires by way of appeale.

Their commencing, and proceeding in Ciuill actions is on this manner. First, the Plaintiff putteth vp his Supplication, wherein he declareth the effect of his Cause, or wrong done vnto him. Whereupon is granted vnto him a *Wepis*, or Warrant, which he deliuereth to the *Prastane*, or Sergeant, to doe the arrest vpon the partie whom hee meaneth to implead. Who vpon the

Russes not permitted to travel.

The ielousie of the Emperour concerning his states.

Slauonia and the Language.

Chap. 14. Of their publicke Iustice, and manner of proceeding in Ciuill, and Criminall matters. Courts of Ciuill Iustice three. The Dukes and Dyacks Court. The high Court of Mosko.

Their manner of proceeding in Ciuill matters.

arrest, is to put in Sureties to answer the day appointed, or else standeth at the Sergeants deuotion, to be kept safe by such meanes as he thinketh good.

The Segeants are many, and excell for their hard and cruell dealing towards their prisoners; commonly they clap Irons vpon them, as many as they can beare, to wring out of them some larger fees. Though it be but for fixe pence, you shall see them goe with Chaines on their legs armes, and necke. When they come before the Iudge, the Plaintiffe beginneth to declare his matter after the contents of his Supplication. As for Attorneys, Counsellors, Procurators, and Advocates, to plead their Cause for them, they haue no such order, but euery man is to tell his owne tale, and plead for himselfe as well as he can.

Ending of
controuersies
by kissing the
Crosse.

If they haue any witnesse or other euidence, they produce it before the Iudge. If they haue none, or if the truth of the Cause cannot so well bee discerned by the plea, or euidence on both parts: then the Iudge asketh either partie (which hee thinketh good, Plaintiffe or Defendant) whether hee will *kisse the Crosse*, vpon that which hee auoucheth, or denyeth. Hee that taketh the Crosse (being so offered by the Iudge) is accounted cleare, and carrieth away the matter. This Ceremonie is not done within the Court, or Office, but the partie is carried to the Church by an Officer, and there the Ceremonie is done: the money in the meane while hanging vpon a naile, or else lying at the Idols feet, ready to be deliuered to the partie, as soone as he hath kissed the Crosse before the said Idoll.

Iudgement
by lot.

This kissing of the Crosse (called *Creusina chelonania*) is as their corporall Oath, and accounted with them a very holy thing, which no man will dare to violate, or prophane with a false allegation. If both parties offer to kisse the Crosse in a contradictorie matter, then they draw Lots. The better Lot is supposed to haue the right, and beareth away the matter. So the partie conuicted is adiudged to pay the debt or penaltie whatsoeuer, and withall to pay the Emperours fees, which is twentie pence vpon euery Marke, as before hath beene noted.

Shin-beating.

When the matter is thus ended, the partie conuicted is deliuered to the Sergeant, who hath a Writ for his warrant out of the Office, to carrie him to the *Pranenst* or *Righter of Iustice*, if presently he pay not the money, or content not the partie. This *Pranenst* or *Righter*, is a place neere to the Office: where such as haue sentence passed against them, and refuse to pay that which is adiudged, are beaten with great cudgels on the shinnes, and calues of their legs. Euery fore-noone from eight to eleuen, they are set on the *Pranenst*, and beate in this sort till the money bee payd. The after-noone and night time, they are kept in chaines by the Sergeant: except they put in sufficient Sureties for their appearance at the *Pranenst* at the houre appointed. You shall see fortie or fiftie stand together on the *Pranenst* all on a rew, and their shinnes thus becudgelled, and beasted euery morning with a piteous crye. If after a yeeres standing on the *Pranenst*, the partie will not, or lacke wherewithall to satisfie his creditor, it is lawfull for him to sell his wife, and children, either outright, or for a certaine terme of yeeres. And if the price of them doe not amount to the full payment, the Creditor may take them to be his bond-slaves, for yeeres, or for euer, according as the value of the debt requireth.

Terrible terms

Such kind of Suits as lacke direct euidence, or stand vpon coniectures and circumstances to be weighed by the Iudge, draw of great length, and yeeld great aduantage to the Iudge, and Officers. If the Suit be vpon a Bond, or Bill, they haue for the most part good and speedy iustice. Their Bonds or Bills are drawne in a very plaine sort, after this tenour. *I Iuan Vasiole haue borrowed of Alphonsse Dementio, the summe of one hundred Rubbels of going money of Mosko, from the Kresheua (or hallowing of the water) untill the Saburney Voskresheua (or Counsell Sunday) without interest. And if this money rest unpaid after that day, then hee shall giue interest vpon the said money, after the common rate, as it goeth among the people, vz. for euery five the sixt Rubbell. Vpon this there are Witnesses, Micheta Sydronesky, &c. Subscribed. This Bill haue I written Gabriel Iacouelefni, in the yeere 7096. The Witnesses, and Debter (if hee can write) endorse their names on the backside of the Bill. Other signing, or sealing haue they none.*

The forme of
Russe Bills or
Bonds.

Proceeding in
Criminall
matters.

When any is taken for a matter of Crime (as Treason, Murder, Theft, and such like) he is first brought to the Duke and *Diack*, that are for the Prouince where the partie is attached, by whom hee is examined. The manner of examination in such cases, is all by torture, as scourging with whips made of sinowes, or whitleather (called the *Pudkey*) as big as a mans finger, which giueth a sore lash, and entreth into the flesh; or by tying to a Spit and roasting at the fire; sometimes by breaking and wresting one of their ribs with a paire of hot Tongs, or cutting their flesh vnder the nayles, and such like.

Pudkey whip-
ping.

Roasting.

The examination thus taken with all the proofes, and euidences that can bee alleaged against the partie, it is sent vp to the *Mosko*, to the Lord of the *Chetfird* or Fourth part, vnder whom the Prouince is, and by him is presented to the Counsell-table, to be read and sentenced there, where onely Iudgement is giuen in matter of life and death, and that by euidence vpon information, though they neuer saw nor heard the partie who is kept still in prison where the fact was committed, and neuer lent vp to the place where hee is tryed. If they finde the partie guilty,

guilty, they giue Sentence of death according to the qualitie of the fact : which is sent downe by the Lord of the *Chetfird*, to the Duke and *Diack* to bee put in execution. The Prisoner is carried to the place of execution with his hands bound, and a Waxe candle burning held betwixt his fingers.

Their Capitall punishments are hanging, heading, knocking on the head, drowning, putting vnder the Ice, setting on a stake, and such like. But for the most part, the Prisoners that are condemned in Summer, are kept for the Winter, to be knockt in the head, and put vnder the Ice. This is to bee vnderstood of common persons. For theft, and murder, If they bee committed vpon a poore *Mousick* by one of Nobilitie are not lightly punished, nor yet is hee called to any account for it. Their reason is, because they are accounted their *Kolophy*, or Bond-slaves. If by some *Sinaboiarskey*, or Gentleman Souldier, a murder or theft bee committed, peradventure hee shall bee imprisoned at the Emperours pleasure. If the manner of the fact be very notorious, hee is whipped perchance, and this is commonly all the punishment that is inflicted vpon them.

If a man kill his owne seruant, little or nothing is said vnto him, for the same reason : because hee is accounted to be his *Kolophy*, or Bond-slave, and so to haue right ouer his very head. The most is some small mulct to the Emperour, if the partie bee rich : and so the quarrell is made rather against the purse, then against the iniustice. They haue no written Law, saue onely a small Booke that contayneth the time and manner of their sitting, order in proceeding, and such other Iudiciall formes and circumstances, but nothing to direct them to giue Sentence vpon right or wrong. Their onely Law is their *Speaking Law*, that is, the pleasure of the Prince, and of his Magistrates and Officers.

The Souldiers of *Russia* are called *Sinaboiarskey*, or the Sonnes of Gentlemen : because they are all of that degree, by vertue of their military profession. For euery Souldier in *Russia* is a Gentleman, and none are Gentlemen but onely the Souldiers, that take it by discent from their Ancestors : so that the sonne of a Gentleman (which is borne a Souldier) is euer a Gentleman, and a Souldier withall, and professeth nothing else but military matters. When they are of yeeres able to beare Armes, they come to the Office of *Roserade*, or *Great Constable*, and there present themselves : who entretch their names, and alloteth them certaine Lands to maintaine their charges, for the most part of the same that their fathers enioyed. For the Lands assigned to maintayne the Armie, are euer certaine, annexed to this Office without improuing, or detra-cting one foot. But that if the Emperour haue sufficient in wages, the roomes being full so farre as the Land doeth extend already, they are many times deferred, and haue nothing allowed them, except some one portion of the Land be diuided into two. Which is a cause of great disorder within that Countrey : When a Souldier that hath many children, shall haue sometimes but one entertayned in the Emperours pay. So that the rest hauing nothing, are forced to liue by vniust and wicked shifts, that tend to the hurt and oppression of the *Mousicke*, or common sort of people. This inconuenience groweth by maintayning his forces in a continuall succession. The whole number of his Souldiers in continuall pay, is this : First, he hath of his *Dworaney*, that is, Pensioners, or Guard of his person, to the number of 15000. Horsemen, with their Captaines and other Officers, that are alwaies in a readinesse.

Of these fiftene thousand Horsemen, there are three sorts or degrees, which differ as well in estimation, as in wages, one degree from another. The first sort of them is called, *Dworaney Bulshey*, or the companie of head Pensioners, that haue, some 100. some 80. Rubbels a yeere, and none vnder 70. The second sort are called, *Seredney Dworaney*, or the middle ranke of Pensioners : these haue 60. or 50. Rubbels by the yeere, none vnder 40. The third and lowest sort are, the *Dyta Boiarskey*, that is, the lowe Pensioners : their salarie is 30. Rubbels a yeere, for him that hath most ; some haue but 25. some 20. none vnder 12. Whereof the halfe part is payd them at the *Mosko*, the other halfe in the field by the General, when they haue any warres, and are employed in seruice. When they receiue their whole pay, it amounteth to 55000. Rubb. by the yeere.

And this is their wages, besides lands allotted to euery one of them, both to the greater and the lesse, according to their degrees. Whereof he that hath least, hath to yeeld him 20. Rubbels or Markes by the yeere. Besides these 15000. Horsemen, that are of better choise (as being the Emperours owne Guard when himselfe goeth to the warres, not vnlike the *Roman* Souldiers called *Pretorians*) are 110. men of speciall account for their Nobilitie, and trust, which are chosen by the Emperour, and haue their names registred, that find among them for the Emperours warres, to the number of 65000. Horsemen, with all necessaries meet for the warres of the *Russe* manner.

To this end they haue yeerely allowance made by the Emperour for themselves, and their Companies, to the summe of 40000. Rubbels. And these 65000. are to repaire to the field euery yeere on the borders towards the *Chrim Tartar*, (except they bee appointed for some other seruice) whether there bee warres with the *Tartars*, or not. This might seeme peradventure

Executions.

Rituall (not right-all) Booke.

Chap. 15.

Their forces for the warres, with the chiefs Officers and salaries. The onely Gentlemen. Souldiers by birth and inheritance.

Emperours Guard.

Degrees of Horsemen.
1. *Pretorians*, or such as attend the Emperours person, 15000.

Two other troupes to the number of 65000.

Horsemen in
continuall pay
80000.

somewhat dangerous for some State, to haue so great forces vnder the command of Noblemen, to assemble euery yeere to one certaine place. But the matter is so vsed, as that no danger can grow to the Emperour, or his State by this meanes. First, Because these Noblemen are many, to wit, 110. in all, and changed by the Emperour so oft as hee thinketh good. Secondly, Because they haue their liuings of the Emperour, being otherwise but of very small Reuenue, and receiue this yeerely pay of 40000. Rubbels, when it is presently to be paid forth againe to the Souldiers that are vnder them. Thirdly, Because for the most part they are about the Emperours person, being of his Counsell, either speciall, or at large. Fourthly, They are rather as Pay-masters, then Captaines to their Companies, themselues not going forth ordinarily to the warres, saue when some of them are appointed by speciall order from the Emperour himselfe. So the whole number of Horsemen that are euer in a readinesse, and in continuall pay, are 80000. a few more or lesse.

Footmen in
continuall pay
12000.

If he haue need of a greater number (which seldome falleth out) then hee entertayneth of those *Sinaboiarskey*, that are out of pay, so many as he needeth: and if yet he want of his number, hee giueth charge to his Noblemen, that hold Lands of him, to bring into the field euery man a proportionable number of his seruants (called *Kolophey*, such as till his Lands) with their furniture, according to the iust number that hee intendeth to make. Which, the seruice being done, presently lay in their weapons, and returne to their seruite occupations againe.

Strangers
mercenaries
in pay 4300.

Of Footmen that are in continuall pay, he hath to the number of 12000. all Gunners, called *Strelsey*. Whereof 5000. are to attend about the Citie of *Mosko*, or any other place where the Emperour shall abide, and 2000. (which are called *Stremaney*, *Strelsey*, or Gunners at the Stirrop) about his owne person at the very Court or house where himselfe lodgeth. The rest are placed in his garrison Townes, till there be occasion to haue them in the field, and receiue for their salarie or stipend euery man seuen Rubbels a yeere, besides twelue measures, a peece of Rye, and Oats. Of mercenary Souldiers, that are strangers (whom they call *Nimfscoy*) they haue at this time 4300. of *Polonians*: of *Chirchasses* (that are vnder the *Polonians*) about 4000. whereof 3500. are abroad in his Garrisons: of *Dutches* and *Scots*, about 150: of *Greekes*, *Turkes*, *Danes*, and *Sweadens*, all in one band, 100. or thereabouts. But these they vse only vpon the *Tartar* side, and against the *Siberians*: as they doe the *Tartar* Souldiers (whom they hire sometimes, but onely for the present) on the other side against the *Polonian* and *Sweaden*: thinking it best policy so to vse their seruice vpon the contrary border.

The chiefe
Captaines or
Leaders.
1. The *Voianod*
or Generall.

The chiefe Captaines or Leaders of these forces, according to their names and degrees, are these which follow. First, the *Voyanodey Bulshaia*, that is, the *Great Captaine*, or *Lieutenant generall* vnder the Emperour. This commonly is one of the foure houses of the chiefe Nobilitie of the Land: but so chosen otherwise, as that he is of small valour or practice in Martiall matters, being thought to serue that turne so much the better, if he bring no other parts with him saue the countenance of his Nobilitie, to bee liked of by the Souldiers for that, and nothing else. For in this point they are very warie, that these two, to wit, Nobilitie and Power, meet not both in one, specially if they see wisdom withall, or aptnesse for policie.

2. Lieutenant
generall.

Their great *Voianod* or Generall at this present in their warres, is commonly one of these foure, *Knez Feoder Iuanowich Methistoskey*, *Knez Iuan Michailowich Glinkoy*, *Cherechaskoy*, and *Trowbetskoy*, all of great Nobilitie, but of very simple qualitie otherwise: though in *Glinkoy* (as they say) there is somewhat more then in the rest. To make vp this defect in the *Voianod* or Generall, there is some other ioyned with him as Lieutenant generall, of farre lesse Nobilitie, but of more valour and experience in the warres then he, who ordereth all things that the other countenanceth. At this time their principall man, and most vsed in their warres, is one *Knez Demetrie Iuanowich Forestine*, an antient and expert Captaine, and one that hath done great seruice (as they say) against the *Tartar*, and *Polonian*. Next vnder the *Voianod* and his Lieutenant generall, are foure other, that haue the marshalling of the whole Armie diuided among them, and may be called the Marshalls of the field.

3. Marshalls of
the field, foure.

4. Marshalls
Deputies 8.

Euery man hath his quarter, or fourth part vnder him: whereof the first is called, the *Prana Polskoy*, or Right wing. The second is, the *Lenoy Polskoy*, or Left wing. The third is, *Rusnoy Polskoy*, or The broken band, because out of this there are chosen to send abroad vpon any sudden exploit, or to make a rescue or supply, as occasion doth require. The fourth, *Storeshonoy Polskoy*, or The warding band. Euery one of these foure Marshalls haue two other vnder them (eight in all) that twice euery weeke at the least must muster and traine their seuerall wings or bands, and hold and giue iustice for all faults and disorders committed in the Campe.

5. Coronels
Vnder-captaines.

6. Masters of
the Artillerie.

And these eight are commonly chosen out of the hundred and ten (which I spake of before) that receiue and deliuer the pay to the Souldiers. Vnder these eight are diuers other Captaines, as the *Gul anoy*, Captaines of thousands, five hundreds, and hundreds. The *Petyde Seiskoy*, or Captaines of fifties; and the *Decetskies*, or Captaines of tennes.

Besides the *Voianoda*, or Generall of the Armie, (spoken of before) they haue two other that beare the name of *Voianoda*: whereof one is the Master of the great Ordnance (called *Naradna Voianoda*) who hath diuers Vnder-officers, necessary for that seruice. The other is called, the

Voianoda

Voianoda Gulanoy, or the *Walking Captayne*, that hath allowed him 1000: good Horsemen of principall choice, to range and lpye abroad, and hath the charge of the running Castle, which we are to speake of in the Chapter following. All these Captaynes, and men of charge must once every day resort to the *Bulsha Voianoda*, or *Generall of the Armie*, to know his pleasure, and to informe him if there be any requisite matter pertayning to their Office.

The walking
Captayne.

When Wars are towards (which they faile not of lightly every yeere with the *Tartar*, and many times with the *Polonian* and *Sweden*, (the foure Lords of the *Chetfids* send forth their Summons in the Emperours name, to all the Dukes and *Dyacks* of the Prouinces, to be proclaymed in the head Townes of euery Shire: that all the *Sinaboiarskey*, or Sonnes of Gentlemen make their repayre to such a border where the Seruice is to be done, at such a place, and by such a day, and there present themselves to such and such Captaynes. When they come to the place assigned them in the Summons or Proclamation, their names are taken by certayne Officers that haue Commission for that purpose from the *Roserade*, or *High Constable*, as Clerkes of the Bands.

chap. 16.
Of their mustering, and leuying of forces, manner of Armour, and prouision of victuall for the Warres.
Their order for mustering.

If any make default and faile at the day, he is mulcted, and punished very seuerely. As for the Generall and other chiefe Captaynes, they are sent thither from the Emperours owne hand, with such Commission and charge as he thinketh behoofefull for the present seruice. When the Souldiers are assembled, they are reduced into their Bands, and Companies, vnder their seuerall Captaynes of tens, fifties, hundreds, thousands, &c. and these Bands into foure *Polskeis* or *Legions* (but of farre greater numbers then the *Romane* Legions were) vnder their foure great Leaders, which also haue the authoritie of Marshals of the field (as was laid before.)

Concerning their Armour they are but slightly appointed. The common Horse-man hath nothing else but his Bow in his Case vnder his right arme, and his Quiver and Sword hanging on the left side: except some few that beare a Case of Dagges, or a Iaueling, or short Staffe along their Horse side. The vnder Captaynes will haue commonly some piece of Armour besides, as a shirt of Male, or such like. The Generall with the other chiefe Captaynes and men of Nobility, will haue their Horse very richly furnished, their Saddles of Cloth of Gold, their Bridles faire bossed and tasselled with Gold, and Silke frindge, bestudded with Pearle and Precious Stones, themselves in very faire Armour, which they call *Bullatnoy*, made of faire shining Steele, yet couered commonly with Cloth of Gold, and edged round about with Armine Furre, his Steele Helmet on his head of a very great price, his Sword, Bow, and Arrowes at his side, his Speare in his hand, with another Helmet, and his *Shesta pera*, or Horse-mans Scepter carried before him. Their Swords, Bowes, and Arrowes are of the *Turkish* fashion. They practise like the *Tartar* to shoot forwards and backwards, as they flye and retyre.

The Horse-
mans Furni-
ture.

The *Strelsey* or Footman hath nothing but his Peece in his hand, his striking Hatchet at his backe, and his Sword by his side. The stocke of his Peece is not made Calecuier wise, but with a plaine and strait stocke (some-what like a Fowling-peece) the Barrell is rudely and vnartificially made, very heauie, yet shooteth but a very small Bullet. As for their prouision of victuall, all, the Emperour alloweth none, either for Captayne, or Souldier, neyther prouideth any for them except peraduenture some Corne for their Money. Every man is to bring sufficient for himselfe to serue his tarne for foure moneths, and if need require to giue order for more to be brought vnto him to the Campe from his Tenant that tilleth his Land, or some other place. One great helpe they haue, that for Lodging and Dyet every *Russe* is prepared to be a Souldier before-hand. Though the cheife Captaynes and others of account carry Tents with them after the fashion of ours with some better prouision of victuall then the rest. They bring with them commonly into the Campe for victuall a kind of dryed Bread (which they call *Sucharie*) with some store of Meale, which they temper with water, and so make it into a Ball, or small lumpe of dowe, called *Tollockno*. And this they eate raw in stead of Bread. Their Meate is Bacon, or some other flesh or fish dryed, after the *Dutch* manner. If the *Russe* Souldier were as hardie to execute an Enterprize, as he is hard to beare out toyle and trauell, or were otherwise as apt and well trayned for the Warres, as he is indifferent for his Lodging and Dyet, hee would farre exceed the Souldiers of our parts. Whereas now he is farre meaner of courage and execution in any Warlike seruice. Which commeth partly of his seruile condition, that will not suffer any great courage or valour to grow in him: Partly for lacke of due honour and reward, which hee hath no great hope of whatsoeuer seruice or execution hee doe.

Shooting for-
ward and
backward.
The footmans
Furniture.
Prouision of
victuall.

Prouisions.

Honos aliz attesi

The *Russe* trusteth rather to his number, then to the valour of his Souldiers, or good ordering of his Forces. Their marching or leading is without all order, save that the fore *Polskey* or *Legions*, (whereinto their Armie is diuided) keepe themselves seuerall vnder their Ensignes, and so thrust all on together in a hurrie, as they are directed by their Generall. Their Ensigne is the Image of Saint George. The *Bulsha Dworaney* or chiefe Horse-men, haue every man a small Drumme of Braffe at his Saddle-bow, which hee striketh when hee giueth the charge, or onser.

Chap. 17.
Of their marching, charging, and other Martiall Discipline.
George-ensigne.
Horse-mens Drummes.

The horsemans
manner of
charging.

They haue Drummes besides of a huge bignesse, which they carrie with them vpon a board layd on foure Horses, that are sparred together with Chaines, euery Drumme hauing eight strikers, or Drummers, besides Trumpets and Shawmes, which they sound after a wild manner, much different from ours. When they giue any charge or make any inuasion, they make a great hallow or shoute altogether, as loude as they can, which with the sound of their Trumpets, Shawmes, and Drummes, maketh a confused and horrible noyse. So they set on first discharging their Arrowes, then dealing with their Swords, which they vse in a brauery to shake, and brandish ouer their heads, before they come to strokes.

The footmans
charge.

Their Footmen (because otherise they want order in leading) are commonly placed in some ambush or place of aduantage, where they may most annoy the enemy, with least hurt to themselves. If it be a set battell, or if any great inuasion be made vpon the Russe borders by the Tartar, they are set with in the running or mouing Castle (called *Beza*, or *Gulay gorod*) which is carried about with them by the *Voianoda gulauoy* (or the walking Generall) whom I spake of before. This walking or mouing Castle is so framed, that it may be set vp in length (as occasion doth require) the space of one, two, three, foure, fve, sixe, or seuen miles: for so long it will reach. It is nothing elie but a double wall of wood to defend them on both sides behind and before, with a space of three yards or thereabouts betwixt the two sides: so that they may stand within it, and haue roome enough to charge and discharge their pieces, and to vse their other weapons. It is closed at both ends, and made with loope-holes on either side, to lay out the nose of their Peece, or to push forth any other weapon. It is carryed with the Armie wheresoeuer it goeth, being taken into pieces, and so layed on Carts sparred together, and drawne by Horse that are not seene, by reason that they are couered with their carriage as with a shelve or pent-house. When it is brought to the place where it is to be vsed (which is deuised and chosen out before by the walking *Voianoda*) it is planted so much as the present vse requireth, sometime a mile long, sometimes two, sometimes three, or more: which is soone done without the helpe of any Carpenter, or Instrument: because the Timber is so framed to claspe together one piece within another: as is easily vnderstood by those that know the manner of the Russe building.

The walking
Castle.

In this Castle standeth their shot well fenced for aduantage, specially against the Tartar, that bringeth no Ordnance, nor other weapon into the field with him, saue his Sword, and Bow and Arrowes. They haue also within it diuers field Peeces, which they vse as occasion doth require. Of Peeces for the field they carrie no great store, when they warre against the Tartar: but when they deale with the *Polonian* (of whose forces they make more account) they goe better furnished with all kind of Munition, and other necessarie prouisions. It is thought that no Prince of Christendome hath better store of Munition, then the Russe Emperour. And it may partly appeare by the Artillerie House at *Mosko*, where are of all sorts of great Ordnance, all Brasse Peeces, very faire, to an exceeding great number.

Store of Mu-
nition.

The Russe Souldier is thought to be better at his defence within some Castle, or Towne, then he is abroad at a set pitched field. Which is euery noted in the practice of his Wars, and namely, at the siege of *Uolsko*, about eight yeares since: where he repulsed the *Polonian King Stepan Batore*, with his whole Armie of 100000. men, and forced him in the end to giue ouer his siege, with the losse of many of his best Captaynes and Souldiers. But in a set field the Russe is noted to haue euery the worse of the *Polonian*, and *Sweden*.

Reward for
valour.

If any behaue himselfe more valiantly then the rest, or doe any speciall piece of seruice, the Emperour sendeth him a piece of Gold, stamped with the Image of Saint George on Horseback. Which they hang on their sleeues, and set in their Caps. And this is accounted the greatest honour they can receiue, for any seruice they doe.

Chap. 18.
Of their Colo-
nies, an main-
rayning of
their conquests
or purchases
by force.

The Russe Emperours of late yeeres haue very much enlarged their Dominions and Territories. Their first Conquest after the Dukedome of *Mosko*, (for before that time they were but Dukes of *Volodomer*, as before was said) was the Citie, and Dukedome of *Novograd* on the West, and North-west side: which was no small enlargement of their Dominion, and strengthening to them for the winning of the rest. This was done by *Iuan* great Grand-father to *Theodore* now Emperour, about the yeere 1480. The same began likewise to encroach vpon the Countreyes of *Lituania*, and *Lithonia*, but the Conquest onely intended, and attempted by him vpon some part of those Countreyes, was pursued and performed by his Sonne *Basileus*, who first won the Citie and Dukedome of *Plesko*, afterwards the Citie and Dukedome of *Smolensko*, and many other faire Townes, with a large Territory belonging vnto them, about the yeere 1514. These Victories against the *Lettoes* or *Lithuanians* in the time of *Alexander* their Duke, hee atchieued rather by aduantage of ciuill Dissentions and Treasons among themselves, then by any great policie, or force of his owne. But all this was lost againe by his Sonne *Iuan Vasilowich*, about eight or nine yeeres past, vpon composition with the *Polonian King Stepan Batore*: whereunto he was forced by the aduantages which the Pole had then of him, by reason of the foyle hee had giuen him before, and the disquietnesse of his owne State at home. Onely the Russe Emperour, at this time hath left him on that side his Countrey, the Citie of *Smolensko*, *Vitobsko*, *Cheringo*, and *Beala gorod* in *Lithuania*. In *Lithonia*, not a Towne, nor one foot of ground. When

When *Basileus* first conquered those Countreyes, he suffered the Natives to keepe their Possessions, and to inhabit all their Townes, onely paying him a Tribute, vnder the Government of his *Russe* Captaynes. But by their Conspiracies and Attempts not long after, hee was taught to deale more surely with them. And so comming vpon them the second time, hee killed and carryed away with him, three parts of foure, which hee gaue or sold to the *Tartars* that serued him in those Wars, and in stead of them placed there his *Russes*, so many as might ouer-match the rest, with certayne Garrisons of strength besides, wherein notwithstanding this ouer-sight was committed, for that (taking away with him the Vp-land, or Countrey people that should haue tilled the ground, and might easily haue bene kept in order without any danger, by other good policies) he was driuen afterwards many yeeres together to victual the Countrey (especially the great Towne) out of his owne Countrey of *Russia*, the soyle lying there in the meane-while waste, and vntilled.

The like fell out at the Port of *Narue* in *Liesland*, where his Sonne *Iuan Vasilowich* deuised to build a Towne, and a Castle on the other side the Riuer (called *Inangorod*) to keepe the Towne and Countrey in subjection. The Castle hee caused to bee so built, and fortified, that it was thought to be inuincible. And when it was finished, for reward to the Architect (that was a *Polonian*) he put out both his eyes, to make him vnable to build the like againe. But hauing left the Natives all within their owne Countrey, without abating their number or strength, the Towne and Castle not long after was betrayed, and surrendered againe to the King of *Sweden*.

On the South-east side they haue got the Kingdomes of *Cazan* and *Astracan*. These were wonne from the *Tartar*, by the late Emperour *Iuan Vasilowich*, Father to the Emperour that now is: the one about thirty five, the other about thirty three yeeres agoe. North-ward out of the Countrey of *Siberia*, he hath layed vnto his Realme a great breadth and length of ground, from *Wichida* to the Riuer of *Obba*, about 1000. miles space: so that he is bold to write himselfe now, *The great Commander of Siberia*.

The Countreyes likewise of *Permia*, and *Pechora*, are a diuers People and Language from the *Russe*, ouercome not long since, and that rather by threatning, and shaking of the Sword, then by any actuall force: as being a weake and naked people, without meanes to resist.

30 Their Neighbours with whom they haue greatest dealings and intercourse, both in Peace and Warre, are first the *Tartar*: Secondly, the *Polonian* whom the *Russe* calleth *Laches*, noting the first Author or Founder of the Nation, who was called *Laches* or *Leches*, whereunto is added *Pol*, which signifieth *People*, and so is made *Polaches*, that is, the *People or Posteritie of Laches*: which the *Latines* after their manner of writing call *Polanos*. The third are the *Swedes*. The *Polonians* and *Swedes* are better knowne to these parts of *Europe*, then are the *Tartars* that are farther off from vs (as being of *Asia*) and diuided into many Tribes, different both in name, and gouernment one from another. The greatest and mightiest of them is the *Chrim Tartar*, (whom some call the *Great Cham*) that lyeth South, and South-east ward from *Russia*, and doth most annoy the Countrey by often Inuasions, commonly once euery yeere, sometimes 40 entering very farre within the In-land parts.

In the yeere 1571. he came as farre as the Citie of *Mosko*, with an Armie of 200000. men, without any battell, or resistance at all, for that the *Russe* Emperour (then *Iuan Vasilowich*) leading forth his Armie to encounter with him, marched a wrong way: but as it was thought of very purpose, as not daring to aduenture the field, by reason that he doubted his Nobilitie, and chiefe Captaynes, of a meaning to betray him to the *Tartar*.

The Citie he tooke not, but fired the Suburbs, which by reason of the buildings (which is all of Wood without any Stone, Bricke, or Lime, saue certayne out Roomes) kindled so quickly, and went on with such rage, as that it consumed the greatest part of the Citie almost within the space of foure houres, being of thirty miles or more of compasse. Then might you haue seene 50 a lamentable Spectacle: besides the huge and mightie flame of the Citie all on light fire, the people burning in their houses and streets, but most of all of such as laboured to passe out of the Gates farthest from the Enemy, where meeting together in a mighty throng, and so pressing euery man to preuent another, wedged themselves so fast within the Gate, and streets neere vnto it, as that three Rankes walked one vpon the others head, the vppermost treading downe those that were lower: so that there perished at that time (as was said) by the fire and the presse, the number of 80000. people, or more.

The *Chrim* thus hauing fired the Citie, and fed his eyes with the sight of it all of a light flame, returned with his Armie, and sent to the *Russe* Emperour a Knife (as was sayd) to sticke himselfe withall: obrayding this losse, and his desperate case, as not daring either to meete his Enemy in the field, nor to trust his Friends or Subjects at home. The principall cause of this continuall quarrell, betwixt the *Russe* and the *Chrim*, is for the right of certayne border parts claimed by the *Tartar*, but possessed by the *Russe*. The *Tartar* alleadgeth, that besides *Astracan* and *Cazan*, (that are the ancient possession of the East *Tartar*) the whole Countrey from his bounds North and Westward, so farre as the Citie of *Mosko*, and *Mosko* it selfe, pertayneth to his right.

Which

Lithuania

Narue

The Deuillie was.

Permia and Pechora.

Chap. 19.
Of the Tartars and other borderers to the countrey of Russia, with whom they haue most to doe in war and peace.
The Polonians called Laches by the Russe.
The Chrim Tartar.
The firing of Mosko by the Chrim Tartars in the yeere 1571.

Homage done
by the Russe to
the Chrim Tar-
tar.
See the first
booke of Ba-
thay and of the
Tartars Con-
quests.

Which seemeth to haue beene true by the report of the *Russes* themselves, that tell of a certayne homage that was done by the *Russe* Emperour every yeere, to the great *Chrim* or *Cham*, the *Russe* Emperour standing on foote and feeding the *Chrim*s Horse, (himselfe sitting on his backe) with Oates out of his owne Cap, in stead of a Boll or Manger, and that within the Castle of *Mosko*. And this homage (they say) was done till the time of *Basileus* Grandfather to this man. Who surprizing the *Chrim* Emperour by a stratagem, done by one of his Nobilitie (called *Iuan Demetrowich Belschey*) was content with this Ransome, viz. with the changing of this homage into a Tribute of Furies: which afterwards also was denyed to bee payed by this Emperours Father.

Hereupon they continue the quarrell, the *Russe* defending his Countrey, and that which hee hath wonne, the *Chrim Tartar* inuading him once or twice every yeere, sometime about Whitson-tide, but oftner in Haruest. What time if the Great *Cham* or *Chrim* come in his owne person, hee bringeth with him a great Armie of 100000. or 200000. men. Otherwise they make short and sudden roads into the Countrey with lesser numbers, running about the list of the border as wilde Geese flie, inuading and retiring where they see aduantage.

The manner of
the Tartars
fight, and Ar-
mour.

Their common practice (being very populous) is to make diuers Armies, and so drawing the *Russe* to one, or two places of the frontiers, to inuade at some other place, that is left without defence. Their manner of Fight, or ordering of their forces, is much after the *Russe* manner, (spoken of before) saue that they are all Horse-men, and carrie nothing else but a Bow, a sheafe of Arrowes, & a falcon Sword after the *Turkish* fashion. They are very expert horse-men, and vse to shoote as readily backward as forward. Some will haue a horse-mans staffe like to a bore Speare, besides their other weapons. The common Souldier, hath no other Armour then his ordinary Apparell, viz. a blacke Sheepes skinne with the wooll-side outward in the day time, and inward in the night time, with a Cap of the same. But their *Morseys* or Noblemen imitate the *Turke*, both in Apparell and Armour. When they are to passe ouer a Riuer with their Armie, they tie three or foure Horses together, and taking long poles or pieces of wood, binde them fast to the tayles of their Horse: so sitting on the Poles they driue their Horse ouer. At handie strokes (when they come to joyne battell) they are accounted farre better men then the *Russe* people, fierce by nature, but more hardie and bloudie, by continuall practice of Warre: as men knowing no Arts of Peace, nor any ciuill practice.

Apparell.

Morseys or
Morseis.

The subtiltie
of the Tartar.

Yet their subtiltie is more then may seeme to agree with their barbarous condition. By reason they are practised to inuade continually, and to rob their neighbours that border about them, they are very pregnant, and ready witted to deuise Stratagems vpon the sudden, for their better aduantage. As in their warre against *Beala* the fourth King of *Hungarie*, whom they inuaded with fife hundred thousand men, and obtayned against him a great victorie. Where among other, hauing slaine his Chancellor, called *Nicholas Schinick*, they found about him the Kings priuie Seale. Whereupon they deuised presently to countefeit Letters in the Kings name, to the Cities and Townes next about the place, where the Field was fought: with charge that in no case they should conuay themselves, and their goods out of their dwellings, where they might abide safely without all feare of danger, and not leaue the Countrey desolate to the possession of so vile and barbarous an Enemie, as was the *Tartar* Nation, tearming themselves in all reproachfull manner. For notwithstanding he had lost his carriages, with some few straglers that had marched disorderly, yet he doubted not but to recouer that losse, with the acceffe of a notable victory, if the sauage *Tartar* durst abide him in the field. To this purpose hauing written their Letters in the *Polish* Character, by certayne young men whom they tooke in the Field, and signed them with the Kings Seale, they dispatched them forth to all the Quarters of *Hungarie*, that lay neere about the place. Whereupon the *Ungarians*, that were now flying away with their goods, Wiues, and Children, vpon the rumour of the Kings ouerthrow, taking comfort of these counterfeited Letters, stayed at home. And so were made a prey, being surprized on the sudden by this huge number of these *Tartars*, that had compassed them about before they were aware.

When they besiege a Towne or Fort, they offer much Parley, and send many flattering messages to perswade a surrendrie: promising all things that the Inhabitants will require: but being once possessed of the place, they vse all manner of hostilitie and crueltie. This they doe vpon a rule they haue, viz. That Iustice is to bee practised but towards their owne. They encounter not lightly, but they haue some ambush, whereunto (hauing once shewed themselves, and made some short conflict) they retire, as repulsed for feare, and so draw the Enemie into it if they can. But the *Russe* being well acquainted with their practise, is more warie of them. When they come a Rousing with some small number, they set on Horsebacke counterfeited shapes of men, that their number may seeme greater.

Tartars resolu-
tion.

When they make any onset, their manner is to make a great showte, crying all out together, *Olla Billa, Olla Billa, God helpe vs, God helpe vs*. They contemne death so much, as that they choole rather to dye, then to yeeld to their Enemie, and are seene when they are slaine to bite the very weapon, when they are past striking, or helping of themselves. Wherein appeareth how different the *Tartar* is in his desperate courage from the *Russe* and *Turke*. For the *Russe* Souldier

Souldier if hee begin once to retire putteth all his safetie in his speedie flight. And if once he be taken by his enemy, hee neither defendeth himselfe, nor intreateth for his life, as reckoning straight to dye. The *Turke* commonly when hee is past hope of escaping, falleth to intreatie, and casteth away his weapon, offereth both his hands, and holdeth them vp, as it were to bee tyed: hoping to saue his life, by offering himselfe Bond-slave.

The chiefe bootie the *Tartars* seeke for in all their warres, is to get store of Captiues, specially young Boyes and Girles, whom they sell to the *Turkes*, or other their neighbours. To this purpose they take with them great Baskets made like Bakers panniers, to carrie them tenderly, and if any of them happen to tyre, or to bee sicke on the way, they dash him against the ground, or some Tree, and so leaue him dead: The Souldiers are not troubled with keeping the Captiues and other bootie, for hindering the execution of their warres, but they haue certayne bands that intend nothing else, appointed of purpose to receiue and keepe the Captiues and the other prey.

The *Russe* borders (being vsed to their inuasions, lightly euery yeere in the Summer) keepe few other Cattell on the border parts, saue Swine onely, which the *Tartar* will not touch, nor drue away with him: for that he is of the *Turkish* Religion, & will eate no Swines-flesh. Of Christ our Sauour they confesse as much as doth the *Turke* in his Alcaron, viz. That he came of the Angell *Gabriel*, and the Virgin *Marie*, that hee was a great Prophet, and shall bee the Iudge of the world at the last day. In other matters likewise, they are much ordered after the manner and direction of the *Turke*: hauing felt the *Turkish* forces when hee wonne from them *Azon* and *Cassa*, with some other Townes about the *Euxine*, or *Blacke Sea*, that were before tributaries to the *Chrim Tartar*. So that now the Emperour of the *Chrim* for the most part is chosen some one of the Nobilitie whom the *Turke* doth commend: whereby it is brought now to that passe, that the *Chrim Tartar* giueth to the *Turke* the tenth part of the spoyle, which hee getteth in his warres against the *Christians*.

Herein they differ from the *Turkish* Religion, for that they haue certayne Idoll puppets made of Silke or like stuffe, of the fashion of a man, which they fasten to the doore of their walking houses, to bee as *Ianusses*, or keepers of their house. And these Idols are made not by all, but by certayne Religious women, which they haue among them for that and like vses. They haue besides, the Image of their King or great *Cham* of an huge bignesse, which they erect at euerie stage, when the Armie marcheth: and this euery one must bend or bow vnto as hee passeth by it, bee he *Tartar*, or Stranger. They are much giuen to Witchcraft and ominous conjectures, vpon euery accident which they heare or see.

In making of Marriages, they haue no regard of alliance or consanguinitie. Only with his Mother, Sister, and Daughter, a man may not marrie, and though he take the woman into his house and accompanie with her, yet he accounteth her not for his Wife, till hee haue a Child by her. Then he beginneth to take a dowrie of her friends of Horse, Sheepe, Kine, &c. If shee be barren, after a certayne time hee turneth her home againe.

Vnder the Emperour they haue certayne Dukes, whom they call *Morseis* or *Dyuomorseis*: that rule ouer a certayne number of 10000. 20000. or 40000. a peece, which they call *Hoords*. When the Emperour hath any vse of them to serue in his warres, they are bound to come, and to bring with them their Souldiers to a certayne number, euery man with his two Horse at the least, the one to ride on, the other to kill, when it cometh to his turne to haue his Horse eate. For their chiefe victuall is Horse-flesh, which they eate without Bread, or any other thing with it. So that if a *Tartar* bee taken by a *Russe*, hee shall be sure lightly to finde a Horse-legge, or some other part of him at his saddle bow.

This last yeere when I was at the *Mosko*, came in one *Kiriach Morsey*, nephew to the Emperour of the *Chrim* that now is (whose Father was Emperour before) accompanied with three hundred *Tartars*, and his two Wives, whereof one was his Brothers widow. Where being entertained in very good sort after the *Russe* manner, hee had sent vnto his lodging for his welcome, to bee made ready for his Supper and his companies, two very large and fat Horses, ready flayed in a Sled. They preferre it before other flesh, because the meate is stronger (as they say) then Beefe, Mutton, and such like. And yet (which is maruell) though they serue all as Horse-men in the warres, and eate all of Horse-flesh, there are brought yeerely to the *Mosko* to bee exchanged for other Commodities, thirtie or fortie thousand *Tartar* Horse, which they call *Cones*. They keepe also great herds of Kine, and flockes of blacke Sheepe, rather for the Skinnies and Milke (which they carry with them in great bottles) then for the vse of the flesh, though sometimes they eate of it. Some vse they haue of Rice, Figges, and other fruits. They drinke Milke or warme Bloud, and for the most part card them both together. They vse sometimes as they trauell by the way, to let their Horse bloud in a veyne, and to drinke it warme, as it cometh from his body.

Townes they plant none, nor other standing buildings, but haue walking Houses which the *Latines* call *Veij*, built vpon wheelles like a Shepherds Cottage. These they draw with them whithersoouer they goe, driuing their Cattell with them. And when they come to their Stage or standing

Moueable Ci-
tie and Court.

standing place, they plant their Cart-houses very orderly in a ranke : and so make the forme of streets, and of a large Towne. And this is the manner of the Emperour himselfe, who hath no other seate of his Empire but an *Agora*, or Towne of wood, that moueth with him whitherfoeuer hee goeth. As for the fixed and standing building vsed in other Countries, they say they are vnwholsome and vnpleasant.

They begin to moue their Houses and Cattell in the Spring time, from the South part of their Countrey towards the North parts. And so driuing on till they haue grased all vp to the furthest part Northward, they returne backe againe towards their South Countrey (where they continue all the Winter) by ten or twelue miles a stage : in the meane while the grasse being sprung vp againe, to serue for their Cattell as they returne. From the border of the *Shalcan* towards the *Caspian* Sea, to the *Russe* frontiers, they haue a goodly Countrey, specially on the South and South-east parts, but lost for lacke of tillage.

Of money they haue no vse at all, and therefore preferre Brasse and Steele before other metals, specially Bullate, which they vse for Swords, Kniues, and other necessities. As for Gold and Siluer they neglect it of very purpose, (as they doe all tillage of their ground) to be more free for their wandring kinde of life, and to keepe their Countrey lesse subject to inuasions. Which giueth them great aduantage against all their neighbours, euer inuading, and neuer being inuaded.

Tartars per-
sons described.

For Person and Complexion, they haue broad and flat visages, of a tanned colour yellow and blacke, fierce and cruell lookes, thinne hayred vpon the vpper Lip, and a pit on the Chin, light and nimble Bodied, with short Legges, as if they were made naturally for Horse-men : whereto they practise themselues from their Child-hood, seldome going a foot about any businesse. Their Speech is very sudden and loude, speaking as it were out of a deepe hollow throat. When they Sing you would thinke a Cow lowed, or some great Bandogge howled. Their greatest exercise is Shooting, wherein they trayne vp their Children from their very infancie, not suffering them to eate, till they haue shot neere the marke within a certaine scantling.

Speech.
Song.
Shooting.

Diuers kindes
of Tartars.

The Nagay
Tartar the cru-
ellest.
The Chircasce
the ciuillest
Tartars.
The Cheremif-
sen Tartar.

There are diuers other Tartars that border vpon *Russia*, as the *Nagaies*, the *Cheremissens*, the *Morduites*, the *Chircasses*, and the *Shalcans*, which all differ in Name more then in Regiment, or other condition, from the *Chrim Tartar*, except the *Chircasses*, that border South-west towards *Lituania*, and are farre more ciuill then the rest of the Tartars, of a comely person, and of a stately behauiour, as applying themselues to the fashion of the *Polonian*. Some of them haue subjected themselues to the Kings of *Poland*, and professe *Christianitie*. The *Nagay* lyeth Eastward, and is reckoned for the best man of warre among all the Tartars, but very sauage and cruell about all the rest. The *Cheremisin Tartar*, that lyeth betwixt the *Russe* and the *Nagay*, are of two sorts, the *Luganoy* (that is of the valley) and the *Nagornay*, or of the hilly Countrey. These haue much troubled the Emperours of *Russia*. And therefore they are content now to buy Peace of them, vnder pretence of giuing a yeerely pension of *Russe* Commodities, to their *Morseis* or *Dy-uoymorseis*, that are chiefe of their Tribes. For which also they are bound to serue them in their warres, vnder certayne conditions. They are sayd to bee iust and true in their dealings : and for that cause they hate the *Russe* people, whom they account to bee double, and false in all their dealing. And therefore the common sort are very vnwilling to keepe agreement with them, but that they are kept in by their *Morseis*, or Dukes for their pensions sake.

The Morduit
Tartar the
most barba-
rous of the
rest.

The most rude and barbarous is counted the *Morduite Tartar*, that hath many selfe fashions, and strange kindes of behauiour, differing from the rest. For his Religion, though hee acknowledge one God, yet his manner is to worship for God, that liuing thing, that hee first meeteth in the morning, and to sweare by it all that whole day, whether it bee Horse, Dog, Cat, or whatsoever else it bee. When his friend dyeth, hee killeth his best Horse, and hauing flayed off the skinn, he carryeth it on high vpon a long pole, before the Corps to the place of Buriall. This he doth (as the *Russe* sayth) that his friend may haue a good horse to carrie him to Heauen : but it is likelier to declare his loue towards his dead friend, in that hee will haue to dye with him the best thing that hee hath.

Shalcan.

Derbent.

Next to the Kingdome of *Astracan*, that is the furthest part South-eastward of the *Russe* Dominion, lyeth the *Shalcan*, and the Countrey of *Media* : whither the *Russe* Merchants trade for raw Silkes, Syndon, Saphyon, Skinn, and other commodities. The chiefe Townes of *Media* where the *Russe* tradeth, are *Derbent* (built by *Alexander* the great, as the Inhabitants say) and *Zamachie*, where the staple is kept for raw Silkes. Their manner is, in the Spring time to reuiue the Silke-wormes (that lye dead all the Winter) by laying them in the warme Sunne, and (to hasten their quickning, that they may sooner goe to worke) to put them into bagges, and so to hang them vnder their Childrens armes. As for the Worme called *Chrimisin* (as wee call it *Chrimson*) that maketh coloured Silke, it is bred not in *Media*, but in *Affyria*. This trade to *Derbent* and *Samachie* for raw Silkes, and other commodities of that Countrey, as also in *Persia*, and *Bougharia*, downe the Riuer *Volgha*, and through the *Caspian* Sea, is permitted as well to the *Englishe*, as to the *Russe* Merchants, by the Emperours last Grant at my being there. Which hee accounteth for a very speciall fauour, and might proue indeed very beneficiall to our *Englishe* Merchants, if the Trade were well and orderly vsed.

The

The whole Nation of the *Tartars* are utterly void of all Learning, and without written Law. Yet certayne rules they haue which they hold by tradition, common to all the *Hoords* for the practice of their life. Which are of this sort. First, To obey their Emperour and other Magistrates, whatsoener they command about the publike Service. Secondly, Except for the publike behoofe, every man to bee free and out of Contralement. Thirdly, No private man to possesse any Lands, but the whole Countrey to bee as a Common. Fourthly, To neglect all daintinesse and varietie of Meates, and to content themselves with that which commeth next to hand, for more hardnesse, and readinesse in the executing of their Affaires. Fifthly, To weare any base Attire, and to patch their Cloathes, whether there bee any need or not: that when there is need, it bee no shame to weare a patcht Coate. Sixthly, To take or steal from any Stranger whatsoener they can get, as being Enemies to all men, save to such as will submit themselves to them. Seventhly, Towards their owne Hoord and Nation, to bee true in word and deed. Eighthly, To suffer no Stranger to come within the Realme, if any doe, the same to bee Bond-slave to him that first taketh him, except such Merchants and other, as haue the Tartar Bull or Passport about them.

Tartars general Rules.

The *Permians* and *Samoits* that lye from *Russia*, North and North-east, are thought likewise to haue taken their beginning from the *Tartar* kinde. And it may partly be ghesied by the fashion of their Countenance, as hauing all broad and flat faces, as the *Tartars* haue, except the *Chircasses*. The *Permians* are accounted for a very ancient people. They are now subject to the *Russe*. They liue by Hunting and trading with their Furtres, as doth also the *Samoys*, that dwelleth more towards the North Sea. The *Samoys* hath his name (as the *Russe* saith) of Eating himselfe: as if in times past, they liued as the *Cannibals*, eating one another. Which they make more probable, because at this time they eate all kinde of raw flesh, whatsoeuer it bee, euen the very Carrion that lyeth in the ditch. But as the *Samoits* themselves will say, they were called *Samoie*, that is, of themselves, as though they were *Indigine*, or people bred vpon that very soyle, that neuer changed their seate from one place to another, as most Nations haue done. They are subject at this time to the Emperour of *Russia*.

Chap. 20. Of the Permians, Samoits, and Lappes. The Permians.

I talked with certaine of them, and finde that they acknowledge one God: but represent him by such things as they haue most vse and good by. And therefore they worship the Sunne, the Moon, the Loth, and such like. As for the *Stora Baba*, or the *Golden hagge*, (which I haue read in some Maps, and descriptions of these Countreys, to bee an Idoll after the forme of an old Woman), that being demanded by the Priest, giueth them certaine Oracles, concerning the successe and euent of things, I found it to bee but a very fable. Onely in the Prouince of *Obdoria* vpon the Sea side, neere to the mouth of the great Riuer *Obba*, there is a Rocke, which naturally (being somewhat helped by imagination) may seeme to beare the shape of a ragged Woman with a Child in her armes, (as the Rocke by the North cape the shape of a Frier) where the *Obdorian Samoits* vse much to resort, by reason of the comoditie of the place for Fishing: and there sometime (as their manner is) conceiue, and practice their Sorceries, and ominous conjecturings about the good, or bad speed of their Iourneyes, Fishings, Huntings, and such like.

The Samoits Religion. Stora Baba of the Golden Hag.

They are clad in Seale-skinnes, with the hayrie side outwards downe as low as the knees, with their Breeches and Netherstocks of the same, both men and women. They are all Blacke hayred, naturally bearded. And therefore the Men are hardly discerned from the Women by their looks: save that the Women weare a locke of hayre downe along both their eares. They liue in a manner a wilde and a sauage life, roving still from one place of the Countrey to another, without any propertie of House or Land more to one then to another. Their leader or director in euery Companie, is their *Papa* or Priest.

The Samoits habite and behauiour.

On the North side of *Russia* next to *Corelia*, lyeth the Countrey of *Lappia*, which reacheth in length from the furthest point Northward, (towards the North cape) to the furthest part South-east (which the *Russe* calleth *Sweetnesse* or Holy nose, the *English* men *Cape-grace*) about three hundred and fortie five verst or miles. From *Sweetnesse* to *Candelox*, by the way of *Versaga* (which measureth the breadth of that Countrey) is ninetie miles or thereabouts. The whole Countrey in a manner is either Lakes or Mountaines, which towards the Sea side are called *Tondra*, because they are all of hard and craggie Rocke, but the inland parts are well furnished with Woods, that grow on the hills sides, the lakes lying betweene. Their dyet is very bare and simple. Bread they haue none, but feed onely vpon Fish and Fowle. They are subject to the Emperour of *Russia*, and the two Kings of *Sweden* and *Denmarke*: which all exact Tribute and Customs of them (as was sayd before) but the Emperour of *Russia* beareth the greatest hand ouer them, and exact of them farre more then the rest. The opinion is that they were first termed *Lappes*, of their brieue and short speach. The *Russe* diuideth the whole Nation of the *Lappes* into two sorts. The one they call *Nowremanskoy Lapy*, that is, the *Norwegian Lappes*: because they bee of the *Danish* Religion. For the *Danes* and *Norwegians*, they account for one people. The other that haue no Religion at all, but liue as brute and Heathenish people, without God in the world, they call *Dikoy Lopy*, or the wilde *Lappes*.

The Lappes.

No Bread.

Wilde Lappes.

The whole Nation is utterly vnlearned, hauing not so much as the vse of any Alphabet, or Letter

Witches.

Letter among them. For practice of Witch-craft and Sorcerie, they passe all Nations in the the World. Though for the inchanting of ships that sayle along their Coast (as I haue heard it reported) and their giuing of winds good to their friends, and contrary to other, whom they meane to hurt by tying of certayne knots vpon a Rope (somewhat like to the Tale of *Aolus* his wind-bag) is a very Fable, deuised (as may seeme) by themselves, to terrifie Saylers for coming neere their Coast. Their Weapons are the Long-bow, and Hand-gunne, wherein they excell, as well for quicknesse to charge and discharge, as for neernesse at the Marke, by reason of their continuall practice (whereto they are forced) of shooting at wild-fowle. Their manner is in Summer time to come downe in great companies to the Sea-side, to *Wardbuse*, *Cola*, *Kegor*, and the Bay of *Vedagoba*, and there to fish for Cod, Salmon, and But-fish, which they sell to the *Russes*, *Danes*, and *Norwegians*, and now of late to the *English* men that trade thither with Cloth, which they exchange with the *Lappes* and *Corelians*, for their Fish, Oyle, and Furres, whereof also they haue some store. They hold their Mart at *Cola*, on Saint *Peter's* day, what time the Captayne of *Wardbuse* (that is Resiant there for the King of *Denmarke*) must be present, or at least send his Deputie to set prices vpon their Stock-fish, Trane-oyle, Furres, and other Commodities: as also the *Russe* Emperours Customer, or Tribute taker, to receiue his Custome, which is euer payed before any thing can be bought, or sold. When their fishing is done, their manner is to draw their Carbasses, or Boats on shoare, and there to leaue them with the Keele turned vpwards, till the next Spring-tyde. Their trauell too and fro is vpon Sleds, drawne by the *Olen* Deere: which they vse to turne a grazing all the Summertime, in an Iland called *Kilden* (of a very good Soyle compared with other parts of that Countrey) and towards the Winter time, when the Snow beginneth to fall, they fetch them home againe, for the vse of their Sled.

wardbuse.

Cola.

Sleds drawne
with Deere.

Chap. 21.
Of their Ec-
clesiasticall
state, with
their Church
Officers.

Concerning the Government of their Church, it is framed altogether after the manner of the *Greeke*: as being a part of that Church, and neuer acknowledging the Iurisdiction of the *Latine* Church, vsurped by the Pope. That I may keepe a better measure in describing their Ceremonies, then they in the vsing them (wherein they are infinite) I will note briefly: First, what Ecclesiasticall Degrees, or Offices they haue with the Iurisdiction, and practice of them. Secondly, what Doctrine they hold in matter of Religion. Thirdly, what Lyturgie, or forme of Service they vse in their Churches, with the manner of their administering the Sacraments. Fourthly, what other strange Ceremonies, and Superstitious Deuotions are vsed among them.

The Church
Officers.

Their Offices, or Degrees of Church-men, are as many in number, and the same in a manner both in name and degree, that were in the *Westerne* Churches. First, they haue their *Patriarch*, then their *Metropolitans*, their *Archbishops*, their *Vladikes*, or *Bishops*, their *Protropes* or *Arch-priests*, their *Deacons*, *Priers*, *Monks*, *Nunnes*, and *Eremites*.

The Patriarch.

Patriarch of
Sio, or Chio.

Their *Patriarch*, or chiefe Director in matter of Religion vntill this last yeere, was of the Citie of *Constantinople* (whom they called the *Patriarch* of *Sio*) because being driuen by the *Turke* out of *Constantinople* (the Seate of his Empire) he remoued to the Ile *Sio*, sometimes called *Chio*, and there placed his Patriarchiall See. So that the Emperours, and Clergie of *Russia*, were wont yeerely to send Gifts thither, and to acknowledge a Spirituall kind of homage, and subiection due to him, and to that Church. Which custome they haue held (as it seemeth) euer since they professed the Christian Religion. Which how long it hath bin I could not wel learne, for that they haue no Story or Monument of Antiquitie (that I could heare of) to shew what hath beene done in times past within their Countrey, concerning either Church, or Common-wealth matters. Onely I heare a report among them, that about three hundred yeers since, there was a Marriage betwixt the Emperour of *Constantinople*, and the Kings Daughter of that Countrey: who at the first denyed to joyne his Daughter in Mariage with the *Greeke* Emperour, because he was of the Christian Religion. Which agreeth well with that I find in the Story of *Laonicus Chalcondylas* concerning *Turkish* Affaires in his fourth Booke: where hee speaketh of such a Marriage betwixt *John* the *Greeke* Emperour, and the Kings Daughter of *Sarmatia*. And this argueth out of their owne report, that at that time they had not receiued the Christian Religion: as also that they were converted to the Faith, and withall peruered at the very same time, receiuing the Doctrine of the Gospell, corrupted with Superstitions euen at the first when they tooke it from the *Greeke* Church, which it selfe then was degenerate, and corrupted with many Superstitions, and foule Errours, both in Doctrine and Discipline: as may appeare by the Story of *Nicephorus Gregoras*, in his eighth and ninth Bookes. But as touching the time of their Conuersion to the Christian Faith, I suppose rather that it is mistaken by the *Russe*, for that which I find in the *Polonian* Story, the second Booke the third Chapter: where is said that about the yeere 990, *Vladomirus* Duke of *Russia*, married one *Anne* Sister to *Basilus*, and *Constantinus* Brothers, and Emperours of *Constantinople*. Whereupon the *Russe* receiued the Faith and Profession of Christ. Which though it be somewhat more ancient then the time noted before out of the *Russe* Report, yet it falleth out all to one reckoning, touching this point, viz. in what truth and

fin.

sinceritie of Doctrine the *Russe* received the first stampe of Religion : for asmuch as the *Greeke* Church at that time also was many wayes infected with error and superstition.

At my being there, the yeere 1588. came vnto the *Mosko* the Patriarch of *Constantinople*, or *Sio* (called *Hieronimo* being banished as some sayd) by the *Turke*, as some other reported by the *Greeke* Clergie deprivied. The Emperour being giuen altogether to superstitious deuotions, gaue him great entertaynement. Before his comming to *Mosko*, hee had beene in *Italy* with the Pope, as was reported there by some of his company. His arrand was to consult with the Emperour concerning these points. First, about a League to passe betwixt him and the King of *Spaine*, as the meetest Prince to joyne with him in opposition against the *Turke*. To which purpose also Ambassages had passed betwixt the *Russe* and the *Persian*. Likewise from the *Georgians* to the Emperour of *Russia*, to joyne league together, for the inuading of the *Turke* on all sides of his Dominion : taking the aduantage of the simple qualitie of the *Turke* that now is. This treatie was helped forward by the Emperours Ambasadour of *Almayne*, sent at the same time to sollicite an inuasion vpon the parts of *Polonia*, that lye towards *Rusland*, and to borrow money of the *Russe* Emperour, to pursue the warre for his Brother *Maximilian*, against the *Swedens* sonne, now King of *Poland*. But this consultation concerning a league betwixt the *Russe* and the *Spaniard*, (which was in some forwardnesse at my comming to *Mosko*, and already one appointed for Ambassage into *Spaine*) was marred by meanes of the ouerthrow giuen to the *Spanish* King by her Majestie, the Queene of *England*, this last yeere. Which made the *Russe* Emperour and his Councell, to giue a sadder countenance to the *English* Ambasadour at that time : for that they were disappointed of so good a policie, as was this conjunction supposed to bee betwixt them and the *Spanish*.

His second purpose (whereto the first serued as an introduction) was in reuenge of the *Turke* and the *Greeke* Clergie, that had thrust him from his seate, to treat with them about the reducing of the *Russe* Church vnder the Pope of *Rome*. Wherein it may seeme that comming lately from *Rome*, hee was set on by the Pope, who hath attempted the same many times before, though all in vaine : and namely the time of the late Emperour *Inan Vasilowich*, by one *Anthony* his Legate. But thought this belike a farre better meane to obtayne his purpose by treatie and mediation of their owne Patriarch. But this not succeeding, the Patriarch fell to a third point of treatie, concerning the resignation of his Patriarchship, and translation of the Sea from *Constantinople* or *Sio*, to the Citie of *Mosko*. Which was so well liked, and entertayned by the Emperour (as a matter of high Religion and policie) that no other treatie (specially of forraigne Ambassages) could bee heard or regarded, till that matter was concluded.

The reason wherewith the Patriarch perswaded the translating of his Sea to the Citie of *Mosko*, were these in effect. First, for that the Sea of the Patriarch was vnder the *Turke*, that is enemie to the Faith. And therefore to bee remooued into some other Countrey of *Christian* profession. Secondly, because the *Russe* Church was the onely naturall daughter of the *Greeke* at this time, and holdeth the same Doctrine and Ceremonies with it : the rest being all subject to the *Turke*, and fallen away from the right profession. Wherein the subtil *Greeke* to make the better market of his broken ware, aduanced the honour that would grow to the Emperour, and his Countrey : to haue the Patriarchs Seat translated into the chiefe Citie, and seate of his Empire. As for the right of translating the Sea, and appointing his Successour, hee made no doubt of it, but that it pertayned wholly to himselfe.

So the Emperour and his Councell, with the principall of his Clergie, being assembled at the *Mosko*, it was determined that the Metropolit of *Mosko*, should become Patriarch of the whole *Greeke* Church, and haue the same full Authoritie and Iurisdiction that pertayned before to the Patriarch of *Constantinople*, or *Sio*. And that it might bee done with more order and solemnitie, the five and twentieth of Ianuarie, 1588. the *Greeke* Patriarch accompanied with the *Russe* Clergie, went to the great Church of *Precheste*, or our Ladie, within the Emperours Castle (hauing first wandred thorow the whole Citie in manner of a Procession, and blessing the people with his two fingers) where hee made an Oration, and deliuered his resignation in an Instrument of writing, and so layed downe his Patriarchicall staffe. Which was presently received by the Metropolit of *Mosko*, and diuers other ceremonies vsed about the Inauguration of this new Patriarch.

The day was holden very solempne by the people of the Citie, who were commanded to forbear their workes, and to attend this solemnitie. The great Patriarch that day was honoured with rich Presents sent him from the Emperour and Empreffe, of Plate, cloath of Gold, Furres, &c. carried with great pompe thorow the streets of *Mosko*, and at his departing received many gifts more, both from the Emperour, Nobilitie, and Clergie. Thus the Patriarchship of *Constantinople*, or *Sio*, (which hath continued since the Councell of *Nice*) is now translated to *Mosko*, or they made beleue that they haue a Patriarch with the same right and Authoritie that the other had. Wherein the subtil *Greeke* hath made good aduantage of their Superstition, and is now gone away with a rich bootie into *Poland*, whither their Patriarchship be currant or not.

The matter is not vnlike to make some Schisme betwixt the *Greeke* and *Russe* Church, if the

The translation of the Patriarchicall sea from *Constantinople* or *Sio*, to *Mosko*.

The Patriarchship of *Constantinople* translated to *Mosko*.

* As they doe
and euer since
haue done;

Kalender pre-
tence.

The Patri-
archs Iurisdic-
tion.

Two Metropo-
lites.

Four Arch-
bishops.

Six Bishops.

Ecclesiasticall
Iurisdiction.

Their Gentle-
men commis-
saries.

The Church
reuenue.

Russe hold his Patriarchship that hee hath so well payed for, and the *Greekes* Elect another withall, as * likely they will, whether this man were banished by the *Turke*, or depriued by order of his owne Clergie. Which might happen to giue aduantage to the Pope, and to bring ouer the *Russe* Church to the Sea of *Rome*, (to which end peradventure hee deuised this Stratagem, and cast in this matter of Schisme among them) but that the Emperours of *Russia* know well enough, by the example of other *Christian* Princes, what inconuenience would grow to their State and Countrey, by subjecting themselves to the *Romish* Sea. To which end the late Emperour *Iuan Vasilowich*, was very inquisitiue of the Popes authoritie ouer the Princes of *Christendome*, and sent one of very purpose to *Rome*, to behold the order and behauiour of his Court.

With this Patriarch *Hieronymo*, was driuen out at the same time by the great *Turke*, one *Demetrio* Archbishop of *Larissa*: who is now in *England*, and pretendeth the same cause of their banishment by the *Turke*, (to wit) their not admitting of the Popes new Kalender, for the alteration of the yeere. Which how vnllikely it is, may appeare by these Circumstances. First, because there is no such affection, nor friendly respect betwixt the Pope and the *Turke*, as that hee should banish a Subject for not obeying the Popes ordinance, specially in a matter of some sequel for the alteration of Times within his owne Countries. Secondly, for that hee maketh no such scruple in deducting of times, and keeping of a iust and precise account from the Incarnation of *Christ*: whom hee doth not acknowledge otherwise then I noted before. Thirdly, for that the sayd Patriarch is now at *Naples* in *Italy*, where it may be ghesed he would not haue gone within the Popes reach, and so neere to his nose, if hee had beene banished for opposing himselfe against the Popes Decree.

This office of Patriarchship now translated to *Mosko*, beareth a superiour Authoritie ouer all the Churches, not onely of *Russia*, and other the Emperours Dominions, but thorow out all the Churches of *Christendome*, that were before vnder the Patriarch of *Constantinople*, or *Sio*: or at least the *Russe* Patriarch imagineth himselfe to haue the same authoritie. Hee hath vnder him as his proper Diocese the Prouince of *Mosko*, besides other peculiars. His Court or Office is kept at the *Mosko*.

Before the creation of this new Patriarch, they had but one *Metropolit*, that was called the *Metropolit* of *Mosko*. Now for more state to their Church, and new Patriarch, they haue two *Metropolitans*, the one of *Nonogrod uelica*, the other of *Rostone*. Their office is to receiue of the Patriarch such Ecclesiasticall orders, as hee thinketh good, and to deliuer the charge of them ouer to the Archbishops: besides the ordering of their owne Diocese.

Their Archbishops are foure: of *Smolensko*, *Cazen*, *Volsko*, and *Vologda*. The parts of their office is all one with the *Metropolitans*: saue that they haue an vnder Iurisdiction, as Suffraganes to the *Metropolitans*, & Superiors to the Bishops. The next are the *Vladiks* or Bishops, that are but fixe in all: of *Crutitska*, of *Rezan*, of *Oiser* and *Torshock*, of *Collomenska*, of *Volodemer*, of *Susdalla*. These haue euery one a very large Diocese: as diuiding the rest of the whole Countrey among them.

The matters pertayning to the Ecclesiasticall iurisdiction of the *Metropolitans*, Archbishops, and Bishops, are the same in a manner that are vsed by the Clergie in other parts of *Christendome*. For besides their authoritie ouer the Clergie, and ordering such matters as are meere Ecclesiasticall, their iurisdiction extendeth to all Testamentarie causes, matters of Marriage, and Diuorcements, some Pleas of iniuries, &c. To which purpose also they haue their Officials, or Commissaries (which they call *Boiaren Vladuskey*) that are Lay-men of the degree of Dukes, or Gentlemen, that keepe their Courts and execute their Iurisdiction. Which besides their other oppressions ouer the common people, raigne ouer the Priests: as the Dukes and *Djacks* doe ouer the poore people, within their Precincts. As for the Archbishop or Bishop himselfe, hee beareth no sway in deciding those causes, that are brought into his Court. But if hee would moderate any matter, he must doe it by intreatie with his Gentleman Officiall. The reason is, because these *Boiarskey*, or Gentlemen officials, are not appointed by the Bishops, but by the Emperour himselfe, or his Councell, and are to giue account of their doings to none but to them. If the Bishop can intreat at his admission to haue the choice of his owne Officiall, it is accounted for a speciall great fauour. But to speake it as it is, the Clergie of *Russia*, aswell concerning their Lands and reuenues, as their Authoritie and Iurisdiction, are altogether ordered and ouer-ruled by the Emperour and his Councell, and haue so much, and no more of both as their pleasure doth permit them. They haue also there Assistants or seuerall Counsels (as they call them) of certayne Priests that are of that Diocese, residing within their Cathedrall Cities, to the number of foure and twentie a peece. These aduise with them, about the speciall and necessarie matters belonging to their charge.

Concerning their Rents and Reuenues to maintayne their dignities, it is somewhat large. The Patriarchs yeerely rents out of his Lands (besides other fees) is about 3000. Rubbels or Marcks. The *Metropolitans* and Archbishops, about 2500. The Bishops, some 1000. some 800. some 500. &c. They haue had some of them (as I haue heard say) ten or twelue thousand Rubbels a yeere: as had the *Metropolit* of *Nonogrod*.

Their

Their Habit or Apparell (when they shew themselves in their Pontificalibus after their solemnest manner is a Mitre on their heads after the Popish fashion, set with Pearle and Precious Stone, a Coape on their backs, commonly of Cloth of Gold, embroydered with Pearle, and a Crosiers Staffe in their hands, layed ouer all with Plate of Siluer double gilt, with a Crosse or Shepherds Crooke at the vpper end of it. Their ordinary habit otherwise when they ride or goe abroad, is a Hood on their heads of blacke colour, that hangeth downe their backs, and standeth out like a Bon-grace before. Their vpper Garment (which they call *Reis*) is a Gowne or Mantell of blacke Damaske, with many Lifts or Gards of white Sattin layed vpon it, euery Gard about two fingers broad, and their Crosiers staffe carried before them. Themselues follow after, blessing the people with their two fore-fingers, with a maruelous grace.

The Election, and appointing of the Bishops and the rest, pertayneth wholly to the Emperour himselfe. They are chosen euer out of the Monasteries: so that there is no Bishop, Arch-bishop, nor Metropolitane, but hath bene a Monke, or Frier before. And by that reason they are, and must all bee vnmarried men, for their Vow of Chastitie when they were first shorne. When the Emperour hath appointed whom he thinketh good, hee is inuested in the Cathedrall Church of his Diocese, with many Ceremonies, much after the manner of the Popish Inauguration. They haue also their Deanes, and their Arch-deacons.

As for preaching the Word of God, or any teaching, or exhorting such as are vnder them, they neither vse it, nor haue any skill of it: the whole Clergie being vtterly vnlarned both for other knowledge, and in the Word of God. Onely their manner is twice euery yeere, viz. the first of September (which is the first day of their yeere) and on Saint *John Baptists* day, to make an ordinary speech to the people, euery Metropolitane, Arch-bishop, and Bishop, in his Catherall Church, to this or like effect: That if any bee in malice towards his Neighbour, hee shall leaue off his malice: if any haue thought of Treason or Rebellion against his Prince, hee beware of such practice: if hee haue not kept his Fasts, and Vowes, nor done his other Duties to the holy Church, hee shall amend that fault, &c. And this is a matter of forme with them, vttered in as many words, and no more, in a manner, then I haue heere set downe. Yet the matter is done with that Grace and Solemnitie, in a Pulpit of purpose set vp for this one Act, as if hee were to discourse at large of the whole substance of Diuinitie. At the *Mosko* the Emperour himselfe is euer present at this Solemne Exhortation.

As themselues are void of all manner of Learning, so are they wary to keepe out all meanes that might bring any in: as fearing to haue their ignorance and vngodlinesse discovered. To that purpose they haue perswaded the Emperors, that it would breed Innoation, and sow danger to their State, to haue any nouelty of Learning come within the Realme. Wherein they say but truth, for that a man of spirit and vnderstanding, helped by Learning and liberall Education, can hardly indure a tyrannicall Government. Some yeeres past in the other Emperours time, there came a Presse and Letters out of *Polonia*, to the Citie of *Mosko*, where a Printing House was set vp, with great liking and allowance of the Emperour himselfe. But not long after, the house was set on fire in the night time, and the Presse and Letters quite burnt vp, as was thought by the procurement of the Clergie-men.

Their Priests (whom they call *Papae*) are made by the Bishops, without any great tryall for worthinesse of gifts, before they admit them, or Ceremonies in their admission: saue that their heads are shorne (not shauen, for that they like not) about an hand breadth or more in the crowne, and that place anointed with Oyle by the Bishop: who in his admission putteth vpon the Priest, first his Surplesse, and then setteth a white Crosse on his brest of Silke, or some other matter, which he is to weare eight dayes, and no more: and so giueth him authoritie to say and sing in the Church, and to administer the Sacraments.

They are men vtterly vnlarned, which is no maruell, for as much as their Makers, the Bishops themselues (as before was said) are cleere of that qualitie, and make no farther vse at all of any kind of Learning, no not of the Scriptures themselues, saue to reade and to sing them. Their ordinary charge and function is to say the Lyturgie, to administer the Sacraments after their manner, to keepe and decke their Idols, and to doe the other Ceremonies vsuall in their Churches. Their number is great because their Townes are parted into many small Parishes, without any discretion for diuiding them into competent numbers of Households, and people for a iust Congregation: as the manner in all places where the meanes is neglected, for increasing of knowledge, and instruction towards God. Which cannot well be had, where by meanes of an vnequall partition of the people, and Parishes, there followeth a want and vnequalitie of stipend for a sufficient Ministry.

For their Priests, it is lawfull to marry for the first time. But if the first Wife dye, a second he cannot take, but he must lose his Priest-hood, and his living withall. The reason they make out of that place of Saint *Paul* to *Timothy* 1.3.2. not well vnderstood, thinking that to bee spoken of diuers Wiues successufully, that the Apostle speaketh of at one and the same time. If hee

The Election of Bishops.

The learning and exercise of the Russe Clergie.

Priests.

The Russe Priests can marry but once.

will needs marrie againe after his first wife is dead, he is no longer called *Papa*, but *Rospapa*, or *Priest quondam*. This maketh the Priests to make much of their Wiues, who are accounted as the Matrones, and of best reputation among the women of the Parish.

For the stipend of the Priest, their manner is not to pay him any tenths of Corne, or ought else: but he must stand at the deuotion of the people of his Parish, and make vp the Incommes towards his maintenance, so well as hee can, by Offerings, Shrifts, Mariages, Burials, Dirges, and Prayers for the dead and the liuing (which they call *Molinta*.) For besides their publike Seruice within their Churches, their manner is for euery priuate man to haue a Prayer said for him by the Priest, vpon any occasion of businesse whatsoeuer, whether he ride, goe, faile, plough, or whatsoeuer else he doth. Which is not framed according to the occasion of his businesse, but at randome, being some of their ordinary and vsuall Church-prayers. And this is thought to bee more holy, and effectuell, if it be repeated by the Priests mouth, rather then by his owne. They haue a custome, besides to solemnize the Saints day, that is, Patrone to their Church once euery yeere. What time all their Neighbours of their Countrey and Parishes about, come in to haue Prayers said to that Saint for themselues, and their friends: and so make an Offering to the Priest for his paines. This Offering may yeeld them some ten pounds a yeere, more or lesse, as the Patrone or Saint of that Church is of credit and estimation among them: The manner is on this day (which they keepe Anniversarie for the Priest, to hire diuers of his Neighbour Priests to helpe him: as hauing more Dishes to dresse for the Saint, then he can well turne his hand vnto. They vse besides to visit their Parishioners houses, with Holy Water, and Perfume, commonly once a quarter: and so hauing sprinkled, and bencensed the goodman and his Wife, with the rest of their household, and household-stuffe, they receiue some Deuotion or lesse, as the man is of abilitie. This and the rest layd altogether, may make vp for the Priest towards his mayntenance, about thirty or forty Rubbels a yeere: whereof he payeth the tenth part to the Bishop of the Diocesse.

The Priests
maintenance.

Their Priests
attyre.

The *Papa* or Priest is knowne by his long Tufts of Haire, hanging downe by his Eares, his Gowne with a broad Cape, and a walking staffe in his hand. For the rest of his Habit, hee is apparelled like the common sort. When he sayth the *Lyturgie* or Seruice, within the Church, hee hath on him his Surplesse, and sometimes his Coape, if the day bee more Solemne. They haue besides their *Papae* or Priests, their *Chernapapae* (as they call them) that is, *Black Priests*: that may keepe their Benefices, though they be admitted Friers withall within some Monastrie. They seeme to be the very same that were called Regular Priests in the Popish Church. Vnder the Priest, is a Deacon in euery Church, that doth nothing but the Office of a Parish Clerke. As for their *Protopapae*, or Arch-priests, and their Arch-deacons (that are next in election to be their *Protopapas*) they serue onely in the Cathedrall Churches.

Friers.

Of Friers they haue an infinite rabble farre greater then in any other Countrey, where Popery is professed. Euery Citie, and good part of the Countrey, swarmeth full of them. For they haue wrought (as the Popish Friers did by their Superstition and Hypocrisie) that if any part of the Realme be better and sweeter then other, there standeth a Friery or a Monastery dedicated to some Saint.

The number of them is so much the greater, not onely for that it is augmented by the Superstition of the Countrey, but because the Friers life is the safest from the Oppressions, and Exactions, that fall vpon the Commons. Which causeth many to put on the Friers Weed, as the best Armour to beare off such blowes. Besides such as are voluntary, there are diuers that are forced to shire themselues Friers, vpon some displeasure. These are for the most part of the chiefe Nobility: Diuers take the Monasteries as a place of Sanctuary, and there become Friers, to auoyde some punishment, that they had deserued by the Lawes of the Realme. For if hee get a Monastery ouer his head, and there put on a Coole before hee bee attached, it is a protection to him for euer against any Law, for what crime soeuer: except it be for Treason. But this *Promise* goeth withall, that no man commeth there, (except such as are commanded by the Emperour to be receiued) but he giueth them Lands, or bringeth his stocke with him, and putteth it into the common Treasury. Some bring 1000. Rubbels, and some more. None is admitted vnder three or foure hundred.

Their manner
of shiring
Friers.

The manner of their Admission is after this sort. First, the Abbot strippeth him of all his Secular or ordinary Apparell. Then he putteth vpon him next to his skinne, a white flannell shirt, with a long Garment ouer it downe to the ground, girded vnto him with a broad Leather Belt. His vpper-most Garment is a Weed of *Garras*, or *Say*, for colour and fashion, much like to the vpper Weed of a Chimney-sweeper. Then is his crowne shorne a hand breadth, or more close to the very skinne, and these, or like words pronounced by the Abbot, whiles hee clippeth his haire: *As these haire are clipped of, and taken from thy head; so now we take thee, and separate thee cleane from the World, and worldly things, &c.* This done, hee anointeth his crowne with Oyle, and putteth on his Coole: and so taketh him in among the Fraternitie. They vow perpetuall Chastitie, and Abstinence from flesh.

Besides, their Lands (that are very great) they are the greatest Merchants in the whole Coun-

Countrey, and deale for all manner of Commodities. Some of their Monasteries dispend in Lands, one thousand, or two thousand Rubbels a yeere. There is one Abbey called *Troits*, that hath in Lands and Fees, the summe of 100000. Rubbels, or Markes a yeere. It is built in manner of a Castle, walled round about, with great Ordnance planted on the wall, and containeth within it a large breadth of ground, and great varietie of building. There are of Friers within it, (besides their Officers, and other Seruants) about seuen hundred. The Empreffe that now is, hath many Vowes to Saint *Sergius*, that is Patrone there: to intreate him to make her fruitfull, as hauing no children by the Emperour her Husband. Lightly euery yeere thee goeth on Pilgrimage to him from the *Mosko*, on foot, about eighty *English* miles, with fve or fixe thousand women attending vpon her, all in blue Liveries, and foure thousand Souldiers for her Guard. But Saint *Sergius* hath not yet heard her Prayers, though (they say) hee hath a speciall gift and facultie that way.

What Learning there is among their Friers, may be knowne by their Bishops, that are the choice men out of all their Monasteries. I talked with one of them at the Citie of *Vologda*, where (to try his skill) I offered him a *Russe* Testament, and turned him to the first Chapter of Saint *Matthews* Gospell. Where hee beganne to reade in very good order. I asked him first what part of Scripture it was, that he had read? he answered, that he could not well tell. How many Euangelists there were in the New Testament? He said he knew not. How many Apostles there were? He thought there were twelue. How he should be saued? Whereunto he answered me with a piece of *Russe* Doctrine, that he knew not whether he should be saued, or no: but if God would *Poshallouate* him, or gratifie him so much, as to saue him, so it was, he would bee glad of it: if not, what remedy. I asked him, why hee shoare himselfe a Frier? Hee answered, because he would eate his Bread with peace. This is the Learning of the Friers of *Russia*, which though it be not to be measured by one, yet partly it may bee ghesed by the ignorance of this man, what is in the rest.

They haue also many Nunneries, whereof some may admit none but Noblemens Widowes, and Daughters, when the Emperour meaneth to keepe them vnmarried, from continuing the bloud or stocke, which if he would haue extinguished. To speake of the life of their Friers, and Nunnes, it needs not, to those that know the hypocrisie, and vncleannesse of that Cloyster-brood. The *Russe* himselfe (though otherwise addicted to all Superstition) speaketh so fouly of it, that it must needs gaine silence of any modest man.

Besides these, they haue certayne *Eremites*, (whom they call *Holy men*) that are like to those *Gymnosophists*, for their life and behauiour: though farre vnlike for their Knowledge, and Learning. They vse to goe starke naked, saue a clout about their middle, with their haire hanging long, and wildly about their shoulders, and many of them with an Iron collar, or chaine about their neckes, or midst, even in the very extremitie of Winter. These they take as Prophets, and men of great Holinesse, giuing them a liberty to speake what they list, without any controlment, though it bee of the very highest himselfe. So that if hee reprooue any openly, in what sort soeuer, they answere nothing, but that it is *Pro gratum*, that is, for their sinnes. And if any of them take some piece of sale ware from any mans shop, as he passeth by, to giue where he list, hee thinketh himselfe much beloued of God, and much beholding to the holy Man, for taking it in that sort.

Of this kind there are not many, because it is a very hard and cold Profession, to goe naked in *Russia*, specially in Winter. Among other at this time, they haue one at *Mosko*, that walketh naked about the streets, and inueigheth commonly against the State, and Gouvernement, especially against the *Godones*, that are thought at this time to be great Oppressors of that Commonwealth. Another there was, that dyed not many yeeres agoe (whom they called *Basileo*) that would take vpon him to reprove the old Emperour, for all his crueltie, and oppressions, done towards his people. His body they haue translated of late into a sumptuous Church, neere the Emperours House in *Mosko*, and haue canonized him for a Saint. Many Miracles he doth there (for so the Friers make the people to beleue) and many Offerings are made vnto him, not only by the people, but by the chiefe Nobilitie, and the Emperour, and Empreffe themselves, which visit that Church with great Deuotion. But this last yeere, at my being at *Mosko*, this Saint had ill lucke in working his Miracles. For a lame man that had his limmes restored (as it was pretended by him) was charged by a woman that was familiar with him (beeing then fallen out) that he halted but in the day time, and could leape merrily when hee came home at night. And that he had intended this matter fixe yeeres before. Now hee is put into a Monastery, and there rayleth vpon the Friers, that hired him to haue this counterfeit Miracle practised vpon him. Besides this disgrace, a little before my comming from thence, there were eight slaine within his Church by fire in a Thunder. Which caused his Bels (that were tingling before all day and night long as in triumph of the Miracles wrought by *Basileo* their Saint) to ring somewhat softer, and hath wrought no little discredit to this Miracle-worker. There was another of great account at *Plesko*, (called *Nichola* of *Plesko*) that did much good, when this Emperours Father came to sacke the Towne, vpon suspicion of their reuolting and Rebellion against him. The Em-

The Friers Learning.

Nunneries.

Eremites.

Strange hardnesse.

Basileo the Eremite.

Lame Miracle.

Nichola the Eremite.

perous,

perour, after he had saluted the Eremite, at his lodging, sent him a reward. And the Holy man to requite the Emperour, sent him a piece of raw Flesh, being then their Lent time. Which the Emperour seeing, bid one to tell him, that he marvelled that the Holy man would offer him flesh to eate in the Lent, when it was forbidden by order of holy Church. And doth *Enasko* (which is as much to say, as Iacke) thinke (quoth *Nicola*) that it is vnlawfull to eate a piece of beasts flesh in Lent and not to eate vp so much mans flesh, as he hath done already. So threatening the Emperour with a prophecy of some hard aduenture to come vpon him, except he left murdring of his people, and departed the Towne: he saued a great many mens liues at that time.

This maketh the people to like very well of them, because they are as Pasquils, to note their great mens faults, that no man else dare speake of. Yet it falleth out sometime, that for this rude libertie, which they take vpon them, after a counterfeite manner, by imitation of Prophets, they are made away in secret: as was one or two of them, in the last Emperours time, for being ouer-bold in speaking against his government.

Chap. 22.
Of their Ly-
turgie, or form
of Church-
seruice, and
their manner
of admini-
string the Sa-
craments.
Their morn-
ing Seruice.

THeir morning Seruice they call, *Zaotrana*, that is, *Mattins*. It is done in this order. The Priest entred into the Church with his Deacon following him. And when he is come to the middle of the Church, he beginneth to say with a loude voyce: *Blaſaney Vladika* (that is) *Blesse vs heauenly Pastor*: meaning of *Christ*. Then hee addeth, *In the name of the Father, and of the Sonne, and of the holy Ghost, one very God in Trinitie*: and *Aspody pomelui*, or, *Lord haue mercy vpon vs*, *Lord haue mercy vpon vs*, *Lord haue mercy vpon vs*: repeated three times. This done, he marcheth on towards the Chancell, or *Sanctum Sanctorum*, (as they vse to call it) and so entred into the *Scharſuey Dwere*, or the *Heauenly Doore*: which no man may enter into, but the Priest onely. Where standing at the Altar, or Table (set neere to the vpper wall of the Chancell) he sayeth the Lords Prayer, and then againe *Aspody pomelui*, or, *Lord haue mercy vpon vs*, *Lord haue mercy vpon vs*, &c. pronounced twelue times. Then praised be the *Trinitie*, the *Father*, the *Sonne*, and *holy Ghost*, for ever and ever. Whereto the Deacons, and People say, *Amen*. Next after, the Priest addeth the Psalmes for that day, and beginneth with, *O come let vs worship, and fall downe before the Lord*, &c. and therewithall himselfe, with the Deacons, and People, all turne themselues towards their Idols, or Images, that hang on the wall, and crossing themselues, bow downe three times, knocking their heads to the very ground. After this, he readeth the *Ten Commandements*, and *Athanasius Creed*, out of the *Seruice Booke*.

Legend.

This being done, the Deacon that standeth without the *Heauenly Doore*, or Chancell, readeth a piece of a Legend, out of a written Booke, (for they haue it not in Print) of some Saints life, miracles, &c. This is diuided into many parts, for every day in the yeere, and is read by them with a plaine singing note, not vnlike to the Popish tune, when they sung their Gospels. After all this (which reacheth to an houre and an halfe, or two houres of length) he addeth certaine set Collects, or Prayers vpon that which he hath read out of the Legend before: and so endeth his Seruice. All this while stand burning before their Idols, a great many of Waxe candles, (whereof some are of the bignesse of a mans waste) vowed, or enioyned by penance, vpon the people of the Parish.

Candles.

Compline.

About nine of the clocke in the morning, they haue another Seruice, called *Obeidna*, (or *Compline*) much after the order of the Popish Seruice, that bare that name: If it be some High or Festiuall day, they furnish their Seruice beside, with *Blessed bee the Lord God of Israel*, &c. and *Wee praise thee, O God*, &c. sung with a more solemne and curious note.

Their euening Seruice.

Their euening Seruice, is called *Vecherna*, where the Priest beginneth with *Blaſaney Vladika*, as he did in the morning, and with the Psalmes appointed for the *Vecherna*. Which being read, he singeth, *My soule doeth magnifie the Lord*, &c. And then the Priest, Deacons, and People, all with one voice, sing, *Aspody pomelui*, or, *Lord haue mercy vpon vs*, thirty times together. Whereunto the Boyes that are in the Church, answere all with one voice, rolling it vp so fast, as their lips can goe: *Verij, Verij, Verij, Verij*, or, *Praise, Praise, Praise*, &c. thirty times together, with a very strange noise. Then is read by the Priest, and vpon the Holidayes sung, the first Psalme: *Blessed is the man*, &c. And in the end of it, is added, *Alleluia*, repeated ten times. The next in order is some part of the Gospell read by the Priest, which hee endeth with *Alleluia* repeated three times. And so hauing said a Collect in remembrance of the Saint of that day, hee endeth his euening Seruice. All this while the Priest standeth aboue at the Altar, or high Table, within the Chancell, or *Sanctum Sanctorum*, whence hee neuer moueth all the Seruice time. The Deacon, or Deacons (which are many in their Cathedrall Churches) stand without the Chancell by the *Scharſuey Dwere*, or *Heauenly Doore*: for within they may not be seene all the Seruice time, though otherwise their Office is to sweepe and keepe it, and to set vp the Waxe candles before their Idols. The people stand together the whole Seruice time in the body of the Church, and some in the Church Porch, for Piew, or Seat they haue none within their Churches.

The manner
of the Russe
Baptisme.

The Sacrament of Baptisme they administer after this manner. The child is brought vnto the Church (and this is done within eight dayes after it is borne) if it bee the child of some Noble-

Nobleman, it is brought with great pompe in a rich Sled or Wagon, with Chaires and Cushions of cloth of Gold, and such like sumptuous shew of their best furniture. When they are come to the Church, the Priest standeth ready to receiue the child within the Church Porch, with his Tub of water by him. And then beginneth to declare vnto them, that they haue brought a little Infidell to be made a Christian, &c. This ended, he teacheth the Witneses (that are two or three) in a certaine set forme out of his Booke, what their dutie is in bringing vp the child after he is baptised, *vz.* That he must be taught to know God, and Christ the Sauour. And because God is of great maiestie, and wee must not presume to come vnto him without Mediators (as the manner is when we make any suit to an Emperour, or great Prince) therefore they must teach him what Saints are the best, and chiefe Mediators, &c. This done, he commandeth the Deuill in the name of God after a coniuring manner, to come out of the water: and so after certaine Prayers he plungeth the child thrise ouer head and eares. For this they hold to bee a point necessary, that no part of the child be vndipped in the water.

The words that beare with them the forme of Baptisme vttered by the Priest, when he dip-
peth in the child, are the very same that are prescribed in the Gospell, and vsed by vs, *vz.* In the name of the Father, and of the Sonne, and of the holy Ghost. For that they should alter the forme of the words, and say, *by the holy Ghost*, (as I haue heard that they did) following certaine Heretikes of the Greeke Church, I found to be vnttrue, as well by report of them that haue beene often at their Baptismes, as by their Booke of *Lyturgie* it selfe, wherein the order of Baptisme is precisely set downe.

When the childe is baptised, the Priest layeth Oyle and Salt tempered together vpon the forehead, and both sides of his face, and then vpon his mouth, drawing it along with his finger ouer the childs lips (as did the Popish Priests) saying withall certaine Prayers to this effect: that God will make him a good Christian, &c. all this is done in the Church Porch. Then is the child (as being now made a Christian, and meet to be receiued within the Church Doore) carried into the Church, the Priest going before, and there he is presented to the chiefe Idoll of the Church, being layd on a Cushion before the feet of the Image, by it (as by the Mediator) to be commended vnto God. If the child be sicke, or weake (specially in the Winter) they vse to make the water luke warme. After Baptisme the manner is to cut off the haire from the childs head, and hauing wrapped it within a piece of Waxe to lay it vp as a Relique or Monument in a secret place of the Church.

This is the manner of their Baptisme, which they account to be the best and perfecte forme. As they doe all other parts of their Religion, receiued (as they say) by tradition from the best Church, meaning the Greeke. And therefore they will take great paines to make a Profelyte, or Conuert, either of an Infidell, or of a forreine Christian, by rebaptising him after the *Russe* manner. When they take any *Tartar* prisoner, commonly they will offer him life, with condition to be baptised. And yet they perswade very few of them to redeeme their life so: because of the naturall hatred the *Tartar* beareth to the *Russe*, and the opinion he hath of his fashood, and iniustice. The yeere after *Mosko* was fired by the *Chrim Tartar*, there was taken a *Diuoymorsey*, one of the chiefe in that exploit with three hundred *Tartars* more: who had all their liues offered them if they would be baptised after the *Russe* manner. Which they refused all to doe, with many reproches against those that perswaded them. And so being carried to the Riuer *Mosko* (that runneth through the Citie) they were all baptised after a violent manner: being thrust downe with a knock on the head into the water, through an hole made in the Ice for that purpose. Of *Lieslanders* that are captiues, there are many that take on them this second *Russe* Baptisme to get more libertie, and somewhat besides towards their liuing, which the Emperour ordinarily vseth to giue them.

Of *Englishmen* since they frequented the Countrey there was neuer any found, that so much forgot God, his Faith, and Countrey, as that he would be content to be baptised *Russe*, for any respect of feare, preferment, or other meanes whatsoeuer: saue onely *Richard Relph*, that following before an vngodly trade, by keeping a *Caback* (against the order of the Countrey) and being put off from that trade, and spoiled by the Emperours Officers of that which he had, entered himselfe this last yeere into the *Russe* Profession: and so was rebaptised, liuing now as much an Idolater, as before he was a Rioter, and vnthrifty person.

Such as thus receiue the *Russe* Baptisme, are first carried into some Monasterie to bee instructed there in the doctrine and ceremonies of the Church. Where they vse these ceremonies. First, they put him into a new and fresh sute of apparell, made after the *Russe* fashion, and set a Coronet, or (in Summer) a Garland vpon his head. Then they anoint his head with Oyle, and put a Waxe candle light into his hand: and so pray ouer him foure times a day, the space of seuen dayes. All this while he is to abstaine from flesh, and white meats. The seuen dayes being ended, he is purified and washed in a Bath-stoue, and so the eight day hee is brought into the Church, where he is taught by the Friers how to behaue himselfe in presence of their Idols, by ducking downe, knocking of the head, crossing himselfe, and such like gestures, which are the greatest part of the *Russe* Religion.

Oyle and Salt

Presented.

Cutting off
haire.

Profelyte
paines.

Tartars choose
to die rather
then turne
Christians.

Rebaptising.

The

The admini-
string of the
Lords Supper.
Confession.

Communion
in both kinds.

The Sacrament of the Lords Supper they receiue but once a yeere, in their great Lent time, a little before Easter. Three at the most are admitted at one time, and neuer aboue. The manner of their communicating, is thus. First, they confesse themselves of all their sinnes to the Priest (whom they call) their ghostly Father. Then they come to the Church, and are called vp to the Communion Table, that standeth like an Altar, a little remoued from the vpper end of the Church, after the *Dutch* manner. Heere first they are asked of the Priest, *whether they bee cleane or no*, that is, whether they haue neuer a sinne behind that they left vnconfessed. If they answer, *No*, they are taken to the Table. Where the Priest beginneth with certayne vsuall Prayers, the Communicants standing in the meane while with their armes folded one within another, like *Penitentiaries* or Mourners. When these prayers are ended, the Priest taketh a Spooone and filleth it full of claret Wine. Then hee putteth into it a small piece of Bread, and tempereth them both together: and so deliuereth them in the spooone to the Communicants, that stand in order, speaking the vsuall words of the Sacrament. *Eate this, &c. Drink this, &c.* both at one time without any pause.

After that hee deliuereth them againe Bread by it selfe, and then Wine carded together with a little warme water, to represent Bloud more rightly (as they thinke) and the water withall, that flowed out of the side of Christ. Whiles this is in doing the Communicants vnfold their armes. And then folding them againe, follow the Priest thrice round about the Communion table, and so returne to their places againe. Where hauing sayd certayne other prayers, hee dismisseth the Communicants, with charge to bee merrie, and to cheere vp themselves for the seuen dayes next following. Which being ended, hee enioyneth them to fast for it as long time after. Which they vse to obserue with very great deuotion, eating nothing else but Bread and Salt, except a little Cabbage, and some other Herbe or Root, with water or quasse Mead for their drinke.

This is their manner of administering the Sacraments. Wherein what they differ from the institution of Christ, and what Ceremonies they haue added of their owne, or rather borrowed of the *Greekes*, may easily bee noted.

Chap. 23.
Of the Do-
ctrine of the
Russe Church,
& what errors
it holdeth.
1. Their disal-
lowing of cer-
taine parts of
the Canonical
Scriptures.

THEIR chiefest errors in matter of Faith I finde to bee these. First, concerning the Word of God it selfe they will not read publicly certayne Bookes of the Canonall Scripture, as the bookes of *Moses*: specially the foure last, *Exodus*, *Leuiticus*, *Numeri*, and *Deuteronomie*, which they say are all made disauthenticque, and put out of vse by the comming of Christ: as not able to discerne the difference betwixt the *Morall* and the *Ceremoniall Law*. The bookes of the *Prophets* they allow of, but reade them not publicly in their Churches, for the same reason: because they were but directers vnto Christ, and proper (as they say) to the Nation of the *Iewes*. Onely the Booke of *Psalmes* they haue in great estimation, and sing and say them daily in their Churches. Of the New Testament they allow and reade all, except the *Revelation*: which therefore they reade not (though they allow it) because they vnderstand it not, neither haue the like occasion, to know the fulfilling of the Prophecies contayned within it, concerning especially the Apostacie of the *Antichristian Church*, as haue the Westerne Churches. Notwithstanding, they haue had their *Antichrists* of the *Greeke Church*, and may finde their owne falling off, and the punishments for it by the *Turkish* inuasion in the Prophecies of that Booke.

2. Traditions
equall to the
holy Scripture.

Secondly, (which is the fountayne of the rest of all their corruptions both in Doctrine and Ceremonies) they hold with the Papists, that their Church *Traditions* are of equall authoritie with the written Word of God. Wherein they preferre themselves before other Churches: affirming that they haue the true and right Traditions, deliuered by the Apostles to the *Greeke Church*, and so vnto them.

3. The Church
to haue soue-
raigne autho-
ritie in inter-
preting the
Scriptures.

Thirdly, that the Church (meaning the *Greeke*, and specially the Patriarch and his Synod, as the head of the rest) hauing a soueraine Authoritie to interpret the Scriptures, and that all are bound to hold that Interpretation, as sound and authenticque.

4. The holy
Ghost to pro-
ceed from the
Father onely.
5. Christ not
sole Mediator
of intercession
Saint Nicolas
his 300. Angels

Fourthly, concerning the Diuine nature and the three Persons, in the one substance of God, that the holy Ghost proceedeth from the Father onely, and not from the Sonne.

Images.

Fifthly, about the office of Christ, they hold many foule errors, and the same almost as doth the *Popish Church*: namely, that hee is the sole Mediatour of redemption, but not of intercession. Their chiefe reason (if they bee talked withall) for defence of this error, is that vnapt and foolish comparison, betwixt God, and a Monarch or Prince of this world, that must bee sued vnto by Mediatours about him: wherein they giue speciall preferment to some aboue others, as to the blessed *Virgin* whom they call *Procheste*, or vndeiled, and Saint *Nicolas*, whom they call *Scora pomosnick*, or the *Speedy helper*, and say, that hee hath three hundred Angels of the chiefest appointed by God to attend vpon him. This hath brought them to an horrible excesse of Idolatrie, after the grossest and prophanest manner, giuing vnto their Images all religious worship of Prayer, Thankesgiuing, Offerings and Adoration, with prostrating and knocking their heads to the ground before them, as to God himselfe. Which because they doe to the Picture, not to the portraiture of the Saint, they say they worship not an Idoll, but the Saint in his Image, and so of-
fend

send not God : forgetting the Commandement of God, that forbiddeth to make the Image or likenesse of any thing, for any Religious worship, or vse whatsoeuer. Their Church walls are verie full of them, richly hanged and set foorth with Pearle and Stone, vpon the smooth Table. Though some also they haue embossed, that sticke from the board almost an inch outwards. They call them *Cbudonodites*, or their *Miracle workers* : and when they prouide them to set vp in their Churches, in no case they may say, that they haue *bought* the Image, but *Exchanged money for it*.

Sixtly, for the meanes of Iustification, they agree with the *Papists*, that it is not by Faith onely apprehending Christ, but by their Workes also. And that *Opus operatum*, or the worke for the worke sake, must needs please God. And therefore they are all in their *numbers* of Prayers, Fasts, Vowes, and Offerings to Saints, Almes deeds, Crossings and such like, and carrie their numbring Beads about with them continually, as well the Emperour and his Nobilitie, as the common people, not onely in the Church, but in all other publike places, specially at any set or solemne meeting, as in their Fasts, law Courts, common Consultations, entertaynment of Ambassadors, and such like.

Seuenthly, they say with the *Papists*, that no man can bee assured of his saluation, till the sentence be passed at the day of Iudgement.

Eightly, they vse auricular Confession, and thinke they are purged by the very action from so many sinnes, as they confesse by name, and in particular to the Priest.

Ninthly, they hold three Sacraments, of *Baptisme*, the *Lords Supper*, and the *last Anointing* or *Unction*. Yet concerning their Sacrament of extreame Vnction, they hold it not so necessarie to saluation as they doe Baptisme, but thinke it a great curse and punishment of God, if any dye without it.

Tenthly, they thinke there is a necessitie of Baptisme, and that all are condemned that dye without it.

Eleuenth, they rebaptise as many *Christians* (not being of the *Greeke Church*) as they conuert to their *Russe* profession : because they are diuided from the true Church, which is the *Greeke*, as they say.

Twelfth, they make a difference of Meates and Drinkes, accounting the vse of one to be more holy then of another. And therefore in their set Fasts they forbear to eate flesh, and white meates (as wee call them) after the manner of the Popish superstition : which they obserue so strictly, and with such blinde deuotion, as that they will rather die, then eate one bit of Flesh, Egges or such like, for the health of their bodies in their extreame sicknesse.

Thirteenth, they hold Marriage to bee vnlawfull for all the Clergie men, except the Priests onely, and for them also after the first Wife, as was sayd before. Neither doe they well allow of it in Lay-men after the second marriage. Which is a pretence now vsed against the Emperours onely Brother, a childe of fixe yeeres old : who therefore is not Prayed for in their Churches, (as their manner is otherwise for the Princes blood) because hee was borne of the fixt marriage, and so not legitimate. This charge was giuen to the Priests by the Emperour himselfe, by procurement of the *Godones* : who make him beleue, that it is a good policie to turne away the liking of the people from the next successour.

Many other false opinions they haue in matter of Religion. But these are the chiefe, which they hold, partly by meanes of their traditions (which they haue receiued from the *Greeke Church*) but specially by ignorance of the holy Scriptures. Which notwithstanding they haue in the *Polonian* tongue, (that is all one with theirs some few words excepted) yet few of them reade them with that godly care which they ought to doe : neither haue they (if they would) Bookes sufficient of the old and new Testament for the common people, but of their *Lyturgie* onely, or Booke of common seruice, whereof there are great numbers. Which notwithstanding it is not to bee doubted, but that hauing the Word of God in some sort (though without the ordinarie meanes to attaine to a true sense and vnderstanding of it) God hath also his number among them. As may partly appeare by that which a *Russe* at *Mosko* sayd in secret to one of my Seruants, speaking against their Images and other superstitions : That God had giuen vnto *England* light to day, and might giue it to morrow (if hee pleased) to them.

As for any Inquisition or proceeding against men for matter of Religion, I could heare of none : saue a few yeeres since against one man and his wife, who were kept in a close Prison the space of eight and twentie yeeres, till they were ouer-growne into a deformed fashion, for their hayre, nayles, colour of countenance, and such like, and in the end were burned at *Mosko*, in a small House set on fire. The cause was kept secret, but like it was for some part of truth in matter of Religion : though the people were made to beleue by the Priests and Friars, that they held some great and damnable Heresie.

The manner of making and solemnizing their Marriages, is different from the manner of other Countries. The man (though hee neuer saw the woman before) is not permitted to haue any sight of her all the time of his wooing : which hee doth not by himselfe, but by his Mother

6. Iustification by workes.

7. Saluation vncertaine.

8. Auricular confession.

9. Three Sacraments.

10. All damned that die without Baptisme.

11. Anabaptisme.

12. Difference of meates.

13. Marriage for some persons vnlawfull.

Inquisition.

Chap. 24. Of the manner of solemnizing their Marriages.

Mother or some other ancient woman of his kinne or acquaintance. When the liking is taken (as well by the Parents as by the parties themselves, for without the knowledge and consent of the Parents, the contract is not lawfull) the Fathers on both sides, or such as are to them in stead of Fathers, with their other chiefe friends, haue a meeting and conference about the dowrie, which is commonly very large after the abilitie of the parents: so that you shall haue a *Market man* (as they call them) giue a thousand Rubbels, or more with his Daughter.

The manner
of indowment
for Wiues.

As for the man it is neuer required of him, nor standeth with their custome to make any joyn-ter in recompence of the dowrie. But in case hee haue a Child by his Wife, shee enioyeth a third deale after his deceale. If he haue two Children by her or more, she is to haue a courtesie more, at the discretion of the husband. If the husband depart without issue by his wife, shee is returned home to her friends without any thing at all, saue onely her dowrie: if the husband leaue so much behind him in goods. When the agreement is made concerning the dowrie, they signe Bonds one to the other, as well for the payment of the dowrie, as the performing of the Marriage by a certayne day. If the woman were neuer married before, her Father and friends are bound besides to assure her a Maiden. Which breedeth many brabbles and quarrels at Law, if the man take any conceit concerning the behaviour and honestie of his wife.

Thus the contract being made, the parties begin to send tokens the one to the other, the Woman first, then afterwards the Man, but yet see not one another till the Marriage bee solemnized. On the Eue before the marriage day, the Bride is carryed in a *Collimago*, or Coach, or in a Sled (if it bee winter) to the Bridegroomes house, with her marriage Apparell and Bedstead with her, which they are to lye in. For this is euer provided by the Bride, and is commonly verie faire, with much cost bestowed vpon it. Heere she is accompanied all that night by her Mother and other women: but not welcommed, nor once seene by the Bridegroome himselfe.

Ceremonies
in Marriages.

When the time is come to haue the marriage solemnized, the Bride hath put vpon her a kinde of Hood, made of fine Knit-worke or Lawne, that couereth her head, and all her body downe to the middle. And so accompanied with her friends, and the Bridegroome with his, they goe to Church all on Horsebacke, though the Church be neare hand, and themselves but of very meane degree. The words of contract and other ceremonies in solemnizing the Marriage, are much after the order, and with the same words that are vsed with vs: with a Ring also giuen to the Bride. Which being put on, and the words of contract pronounced: the Brides hand is deliuered into the hand of the Bridegroome, which standeth all this while on the one side of the Altar or Table, and the Bride on the other. So the marriage knot being knit by the Priest, the Bride commeth to the Bridegroome (standing at the end of the altar or table) and falleth downe at his feet, knocking her Head vpon his Shooe, in token of her subjection and obedience. And the Bridegroome againe, casteth the lappe of his Gowne or vpper garment ouer the Bride, in token of his dutie to protect and cherish her.

Ring.

Then the Bridegroome and Bride, standing both together at the Tables end, commeth first the Father and the other friends of the Bride, and bow themselves downe low to the Bridegroome: and so likewise his friends bow themselves to the Bride, in token of affinitie and loue euer after betwixt the two kindreds. And withall, the Father of the Bridegroome offereth to the Priest a loafe of Bread, who deliuereth it straight againe to the Father and other friends of the Bride, with attestation before God and their Idols, that hee deliuer the dowrie wholly and truly at the day appointed, and hold loue euer after, one kindred with another. Whereupon they breake the Loafe into pieces, and eate of it, to testifie their true and sincere meanings, for performing of that charge, and thenceforth to become as graines of one Loafe, or men of one Table.

Loafe.

These ceremonies being ended, the Bridegroome taketh the Bride by the hand, and so they goe on together with their friends after them towards the Church porch. Where meet them certaine with pots and cups in their hands, with Mead and *Russe* Wine. Whereof the Bridegroome taketh first a Charke, or little cup full in his hand, and drinketh to the Bride: who opening her Hood or Vale below, and putting the Cup to her mouth vnderneath it (for being seene of the Bridegroome) pledgeth him againe. Thus returning all together from the Church, the Bridegroome goeth not home to his owne, but to his Fathers house, and shee likewise to hers, where either entertayne their friends apart. At the entring into the House, they vse to fling Corne out of the windowes vpon the Bridegroome and Bride, in token of plentie and fruitfulnessse to bee with them euer after.

Corne.

When the Eueuing is come, the Bride is brought to the Bridegroomes Fathers house, and there lodgeth that night, with her Vayle or couer still ouer her head. All that night she may not speake one word (for that charge shee receiueth by tradition from her Mother, and other Matrons her friends) that the Bridegroome must neither heare, nor see her, till the day after the marriage. Neither three dayes after, may she bee heard to speake, saue certaine few words at the Table in a set forme, with great manners and reuerence to the Bridegroome. If shee behaue herselfe otherwise, it is a great prejudice to her credit and life euer after: and will highly bee disliked of the Bridegroome himselfe.

Silence.

After

After the third day, they depart to their owne, and make a Feast to both their friends together. The marriage day, and the whole time of their festiuall, the Bridegroom hath the honour to be called *Moloday Knez*, or young Duke, and the Bride *Moloday Knezay*, or young Dutchesse.

In living with their wiues, they shew themselves to be but of a barbarous condition: vsing them as seruants, rather then wiues. Except the Noble-women, which are, or seeme to bee of more estimation with their husbands, then the rest of meaner sort. They haue this foule abuse, contrary to good order, and the Word of God it selfe, that vpon dislike of his wife, or other cause whatsoeuer, the man may goe into a Monastrie and shire himselfe a Frier, by presence of deuotion: and so leaue his wife to shift for her selfe so well as shee can.

THe other Ceremonies of their Church, are many in number: especially, the abuse about the signe of the Crosse, which they set vp in their high wayes, in the tops of their Churches, and in euery doore of their houses, signing themselves continually with it on their foreheads & breasts with great deuotion, as they will seeme by their outward gesture. Which were lesse offence, if they gaue not withall that religious reuerence and worship vnto it, which is due to God onely, and vsed the dumbe shew, and signing of it instead of thanksgiuing, and of all other duties which they owe vnto God. When they rise in the morning, they goe commonly in the sight of some steeple that hath a Crosse on the top; and so bowing themselves towards the Crosse, signe themselves withall on their foreheads and breasts. And this is their thanksgiuing to God for their nights rest, without any word speaking, except peradventure they say, *Aspody Pomeluy*, or *Lord haue mercie vpon vs*. When they sit downe to meate, and rise againe from it, the thanksgiuing to God, is the crossing of their foreheads and breasts. Except it be some few that adde peradventure a word or two of some ordinary prayer, impertinent to that purpose. When they are to giue an oath for the deciding of any controuersie at Law, they doe it by swearing by the Crosse, and kissing the feet of it, making it as God, whose name onely is to be vsed in such triall of Iustice. When they enter into any house (where euer there is an Idoll hanging on the wall) they signe themselves with the Crosse, and bow themselves to it. When they begin any worke, bee it little or much, they arme themselves first with the signe of the Crosse. And this commonly is all their prayer to God, for good speed of their businesse. And thus they serue God with crosses, after a crosse and vaine manner: notwithstanding what the Crosse of Christ is, nor the power of it. And yet they thinke all strangers Christians, to be no better then Turkes in comparison of themselves (and so they will say) because they bow not themselves when they meet with the Crosse, nor signe themselves with it, as the *Russe* manner is.

They haue Holy-water in like vse, and estimation, as the Popish Church hath. But heerein they exceed them, in that they doe not onely hollow their Holy-water stockes, and tubs full of water, but all the Riuer of the Countrey once euery yeere. At *Mosko* it is done with great pompe and solemnitie: the Emperour himselfe being present at it with all his Nobilitie, marching through the streets towards the Riuer of *Moskua*, in manner of Procession, in this order as followeth. First goe two Deacons, with banners in their hands, the one of *Precheste* (or our Lady) the other of Saint *Michael* fighting with his Dragon. Then follow after the rest of the Deacons, and the Priests of *Mosko*, two and two in a ranke, with Coaps on their backs, and their Idols at their breasts, carried with girdles or slings, made fast about their necks. Next the Priests come their Bishops in their Pontificalibus: then the Friers, Monkes, and Abbots: and after the Patriarches in very rich attire, with a Ball or Sphere on the top of his Myter, to signifie his vniuersalitie ouer that Church. Last commeth the Emperour with all his Nobilitie. The whole traine is of a mile long, or more. When they are come to the Riuer, a great hole is made in the Ice, where the Market is kept of a road and a halfe broad, with a Stage round about it to keepe off the presse. Then beginneth the Patriarch to say certaine prayers, and coniureth the Deuill to come out of the water: and so casting in Salt, and censing it with Frankincense, maketh the whole Riuer to become Holy-water. The morning before, all the people of *Mosko* vse to make crosses of chaulke ouer euery doore and window of their houses; least the Deuill being coniured out of the water, should flye into their houses.

When the Ceremonies are ended you shal see the black Guard of the Emperours house, & then the rest of the Towne, with their pailles and buckers to take off the hallowed water for drinke, and other vses. You shall also see the women dip in their children ouer head and eares, and many men and women leape into it, some naked, some with their clothes on, when some man would thinke his finger would freeze off, if he should but dip it into the water. When the men haue done, they bring their horse to the Riuer to drinke of the sanctified water, and so make them as holy as a horse. Their set day for the solempne action of hallowing their Riuer, is that we call *Twelfth-day*. The like is done by other Bishops in all parts of the Realme.

Their manner is also to giue it to their sicke in their greatest extremitie: thinking that it will either recouer them, or sanctifie them to God. Whereby they kill many, through their vnreasonable superstition, as did the Lord *Borris* his onely sonne, at my being at the *Mosko*: whom

chap. 25.
Of the other
Ceremonies
of the Russe
Church.
The signe of
the Crosse, how
it crosseth out
other deuoti-
ons.

Holy-water.
Hallowing of
Riuer.

Drinking of
Holy-water.

Cruell blind-
nesse of super-
stition.

he killed (as was said by the Physitians) by powring into him cold Holy-water, and presen-
ting him naked into the Church, to their Saint *Basileo*, in the cold of Winter in an extremitie of
sickenesse.

They haue an Image of Christ, which they call *Neruchi*, (which signifieth as much as *Made
without hands*) for so their Priests, and superstition withall perswadeth them it was. This in their
Processions they carry about with them on high vpon a pole, enclosed within a Pixe, made like a
Lanthorne, and doe reuerence to it as to a great myserie.

Brewing with
Holy-water.

At euery brewing their manner is likewise to bring a dish of their woort to the Priest with-
in the Church: which being hollowed by him, is powred into the brewing, and so giueth it
such a vertue, as when they drinke of it they are seldome sober. The like they doe with the first
fruits of their Corne in Haruest.

Palm-sunday.

They haue another Ceremony on Palm-sunday, of ancient tradition: what time the Pa-
triarch rideth through the *Mosko*, the Emperour himselfe holding his horse bridle, and the peo-
ple crying *Hosanna*, and spreading their vpper garments vnder his horse feet. The Emperour
hath of the Patriarch for his good seruice of that day two hundred Rubbels of standing pen-
sion. Another pageant they haue much like to this, the weeke before the Natiuitie of Christ:
when euery Bishop in his Cathedrall Church, setteth forth a shew of the three children in the
Ouen. Where the Angell is made to come flying from the roose of the Church, with great ad-
miracion of the lookers on, and many terrible flashes of fire are made with rosen, and gun-pow-
der, by the *Chaldeans* (as they call them) that run about the Towne all the twelue dayes, dis-
guised in their players coats, and make much good sport for the honor of the Bishops pageant.
At the *Mosko*, the Emperour himselfe, and the Empreffe neuer faile to be at it, though it be but
the same matter plaid euery yeere, without any new inuention at all.

Fasts.

Besides their fasts on Wednesdaies, and Fridaies throughout the whole yeere, (the one be-
cause they say Christ was sold on the Wednesday, the other because he suffered on the Friday)
they haue foure great Fasts or Lents euery yeere. The first, (which they call their great Lent)
is at the same time with ours. The second, about Mid-summer. The third, in Haruest time. The
fourth, about Hallontide: which they keepe not of pollicie, but of meere superstition. In their
great Lent, for the first weeke, they eat nothing but bread and salt, and drinke nothing but wa-
ter, neither meddle with any matter of their vocation, but intend their shriuing and fasting on-
ly. They haue also three *Vigils*, or *Wakes* in their great Lent, which they call *Stoiania* and the
last Friday their great *Vigil*, as they call it. What time the whole Parish must be present in the
Church, and watch from nine a clocke in the Euening, till sixe in the morning, all the while
standing, saue when they fall downe and knocke their heads to their Idols, which must bee an
hundred and seuentie times iust through the whole night.

Vigils.

Burialls.

About their burialls also, they haue many superstitious and prophane Ceremonies: as put-
ting within the finger of the corps, a letter to Saint *Nicolas*: whom they make their chiefe me-
diatour, and as it were the porter of heauen gates, as the Papists doe their *Peter*.

In Winter time, when all is couered with snow, and the ground so hard frozen, as that no spade
nor pick-axe can enter their manner is not to bury their dead, but to keepe the bodies (so ma-
ny as die all the Winter time) in an house, in the suburbs, or out-parts of the Towne, which
they call *Bobsedom*, that is, *Gods house*: where the dead bodies are pyled vp together, like bil-
lets on a woodstacke, as hard with the frost as a verie stone, till the Spring-tide come, and re-
solueth the frost: what time euerie man taketh his dead friend, and committeth him to the
ground.

Months minds

They haue besides their yeeres and moneths mindes for their friends departed. What time
they haue prayers said ouer the graue by the Priest: who hath a peny ordinary for his paines.
When any dieth, they haue ordinary women mourners, that come to lament for the dead par-
tie: and stand howling ouer the body after a prophane and heathenish manner (sometimes in
the house, sometimes bringing the body into the back-side, asking him what he wanted, and
what he meant to die. They bury their dead, as the party vied to goe, with coat, hose, bootes,
hat, and the rest of his apparell.

Many other vaine and superstitious Ceremonies they haue, which were long and tedious to
report. By these it may appeare how farre they are fallen from the true knowledge, and prac-
tice of Christian Religion, hauing exchanged the Word of God for their vaine Traditions, and
brought all to externall and ridiculous Ceremonies, without any regard of Spirit and Truth,
which God requireth in his true worship.

Chap. 26.
Of the Empe-
rours dome-
sticke, or pri-
uate behauior.

THE Emperours priuate behauior, so much as may be, or is meet to bee knowne, is after
this manner. Hee riseth commonly about foure a clock in the morning. After his appar-
relling and washing, in commeth his ghostly Father, or Priest of his chamber, which is named
in their tongue, *Oretz Dubouna*, with his Crosse in his hand, wherewith he blesteth him, laying
it first on his forehead, then vpon his cheekes, or sides of his face, and then offereth him the end
of it to kisse. This done, the Clerke of the Crosse (called *Chresby Deyack Profery*) bringeth
into

into his Chamber, a painted Image, representing the Saint for that day; for euery day with them hath his *seuerall Saint*, as it were the Patrone for that day. This hee placeth among the rest of his Image Gods, wherewithall his Chamber is decked, as thicke almost as the wall can beare, with Lampes and Waxe-candles burning before them. They are very costly and gorgeously decked with Pearle and Precious Stone. This Image being placed before him, the Emperour beginneth to crosse himselfe after the *Russe* manner; first, on the fore-head, then on both sides of his brest, with *Aspody Pomelay*, *Pomelay mena hospody*, *sacroy mena gresnick Syhodesna*: which is as much to say, as, *Helpe me, O Lord my God, Lord comfort me, defend and keepe me a Sinner from doing euill, &c.* This he directeth towards the Image, or Saint for that day, whom hee nameth in his Prayer, together with our Lady (whom they call *Precheste*) Saint *Nicholas*, or some other, to whom he beareth most deuotion, bowing himselfe prostrate vnto them, with knocking his head to the very ground. Thus he continueth the space of a quarter of an houre or thereabouts.

His priuate Prayer.

Then commeth againe the Ghostly Father or Chamber Priest, with a Siluer Bowle full of *Holy-water*, which they call in *Russe*, *Suera Uoda*, and a sprinkle of Basill (as they call it) in his hand: and so all to besprinkle first the Image Gods, and then the Emperour. This Holy-water is brought fresh euery day from the Monasteries, farre and neere sent to the Emperour from the Abbot or Prior, in the name of the Saint, that is Patrone of that Monastery, as a speciall token of good will from him.

These Deuotions being ended, he sendeth into the Empreffe, to aske whether she hath rested in health, &c. And after a little pawfes goeth himselfe to salute her in a middle Roome betwixt both their chambers. The Empreffe lyeth a-part from him, and keepeth not one chamber, nor Table with the Emperour ordinarily, saue vpon the Eue of their Lents, or common Fast: what time she is his ordinary Ghest at Bed and Boord. After their meeting in the morning, they goe together to their priuate Church or Chappell, where is said or sung a morning Seruice (called *Zaurna*) of an houre long or thereabouts. From the Church hee returneth home, and sitteth him downe in a great chamber, to be seene and saluted by his Nobilitie, such as are in fauour about the Court. If he haue to say to any of them, or they to him, then is the time. And this is ordinary, except his health, or some other occasion alter the custome.

The Emperour giueth precedence euery morning.

About nine in the morning, he goeth to another Church within his Castle: where is sung by Priests, and Choristers, the high Seruice (called *Obeadna*, or *Complin*) which commonly lasteth two houres: the Emperour in the meane-time talking commonly with some of his Councell, Nobilitie, or Captaynes, which haue to say to him, or he to them. And the Councell likewise conferre together among themselves, as if they were in their Councel-houle. This ended, he returneth home, and recreateth himselfe vntill it be Dinner time.

He is serued at his Table on this manner. First, euery Dish (as it is deliuered at the Dresser) is tasted by the Cooke, in the presence of the high Steward, or his Deputie. And so is receiued by the Gentlemen-wayters (called *Shilshy*) and by them carryed vp to the Emperours Table, the high Steward or his Deputie going before. There it is receiued by the Sewer (called *Erastnoy*) who giueth a taste of euery Dish to the Taster, and so placeth it before the Emperour. The number of his Dishes for his ordinary Seruice, is about seuentie: dressed somewhat grossly, with much Garlike, and Salt, much after the *Dutch* manner. When hee exceedeth vpon some occasion of the day, or entertainment of some Ambassadour, hee hath many more Dishes. The Seruice is sent vp by two Dishes at a time, or three at the most, that he may eate it warme, first the baked, then the Roast meats, and last the Broths. In his dining chamber is another Table: where sit the chiefe of his Nobility that are about his Court, and his Ghostly Father, or Chapleine. On the one side of the chamber standeth a Cubboord, or Table of Plate, very faire and rich, with a great Cisterne of Copper by it, full of Ice and Snow, wherein stand the Pots that serue for that meale. The Taster holdeth the cup that he drinketh in all Dinner time, and deliuereth it vnto him with a say, when he calleth for it. The manner is to make many Dishes out of the Seruice after it is set on the Table, and to send them to such Noblemen and Officers as the Emperour liketh best. And this is counted a great fauour and honour.

The Emperours Seruice at his Table.

After dinner he layeth him down to rest, where commonly he taketh three houres sleep, except he employ one of the houres to bathing, or boxing: And this custome for sleeping after Dinner, is an ordinary matter with him, as withall the *Russes*. After his sleep, he goeth to Euen-song (called *Vechirna*) and thence returning, for the most part recreateth himselfe with the Empreffe till Supper time, with Iesters and Dwarfes, men and women, that tumble before him, and sing many Songs after the *Russe* manner. This is his common recreation betwixt meales that he most delights in. One other speciall recreation, is the fight with wild Beares, which are caught in Pits or Nets, and are kept in barred Cages for that purpose, against the Emperour bee disposed to see the pastime. The fight with the Beare is on this sort. The man is turned into a Circle walled round about, where hee is to quite himselfe so well as hee can: for there is no way to flye out. When the Beare is turned loose, he commeth vpon him with open mouth; if at the first push he misse his ayme, so that the Beare come within him, hee is in great danger. But the wilde Beare

Beare bayting.

being very scarce, hath this quality, that giueth aduantage to the Hunter. His manner is, when he assayleth a man, to rise vp right on his two hinder-legs, and so to come roaring with open-mouth vpon him. And if the Hunter then can push right into the very brest of him betwixt his fore-legs (as commonly he will not misse) resting the other end of their Boare-speare at the side of his foot, and so keeping the Pike still towards the face of the Beare, hee speedeth him commonly at one blow. But many times these Hunters come short, and are either slaine, or miserably torne with the Teeth and Talents of the fierce Beast. If the partie quite himselfe well in this fight with the Beare, he is carried to drinke at the Emperours Sellar doore: where he drin-keth himselfe drunke for the honour of *Hespodare*. And this is his Reward for aduenturing his life, for the Emperours pleasure. To maintayne this pastime, the Emperour hath certayne Hunt-men that are appointed for that purpose to take the wild Beare. This is his recreation commonly on the holy dayes. Sometimes hee spendeth his time in looking vpon his Gold-smithes, and Jewellers, Taylors, Embroyderers, Painters, and such like, and so goeth to his Supper. When it draweth towards Bed-time, his Priest saith certayne Prayers: and then the Emperour blesteth and crosseth himselfe, as in the morning for a quarter of an houre or thereabouts, and so goeth to his Bed.

Emperour
Theodore de-
scribed.

The Emperour that now is (called *Theodore Iuanowich*) is for his person of a meane stature, some-what low and grosse, of a fallow complexion, and inclining to the Dropie, Hawke-nosed, vnsteady in his pace, by reason of some weaknesse of his limmes, heavy and vnactiue, yet commonly smiling almost to a laughter. For qualitie otherwise, simple and slow witted, but very gentle, and of an easie nature, quiet, mercifull, of no martiall disposition, nor greatly apt for matter of Policie, very Superstitious, and infinite that way. Besides his priuate Deuotions at home, he goeth euery weeke commonly on Pilgrimage, to some Monasterie or other that is neere hand. He is of thirtie foure yeeres old, or thereabouts, and hath reigned almost the space of six yeeres.

Pilgrimage.

chap. 27.
Of the Empe-
rours priuate, or
household Of-
ficers.
Master of the
Horse.

The chiefe Officers of the Emperours household, are these which follow. The first, is the Office of the *Boiaren Conesheua*, or Master of the Horse. Which containeth no more then is expressed by the name, that is, to be Ouer-seer of the Horse, and not *Magister Equitum*, or Master of the Horsemen. For he appointeth other for that Seruice, as occasion doth require (as before was said.) He that beareth that Office at this time, is *Borris Federowich Godonoe*, Brother to the Empreffe. Of Horse for Seruice in his Warres (besides other for his ordinary vles) he hath to the number of 10000. which are kept about *Mosko*.

The Lord
Steward.
The Lord
Treasurer.
Comptroller.
Chamberlaine
Tasters.
Harbengers.

The next is the Lord Steward of his household at this time, one *Gregorie Vasilowich Godonoe*. The third, is his Treasurer, that keepeth all his Moneyes, Jewels, Plate, &c. now called *Stepan Vasilowich Godonoe*. The fourth, his Comptroller, now *Andreas Petrowich Clesinine*. The fift, his Chamberlaine. He that attendeth that Office at this time, is called *Esstoma Bisabroza Pastelnichay*. The sixt, his Tasters, now *Theodore Alexandrowich*, and *Iuan Vasilowich Godonoe*. The seuenth, his Harbengers, which are three Noblemen, and diuers other Gentlemen that do the Office vnder them. These are his ordinary Officers, and Offices of the chiefeft account.

Gentlemen of
the Chamber.
The Guard.

Of Gentlemen, beside that wait about his Chamber, and Person (called *Shilsey Strapsey*) there are two hundred, all Noblemens Sonnes. His ordinary Guard is two thousand *Flagbutters*, ready with their Peeces charged, and their Match lighted, with other necessary Furniture, continually day and night: which come not within the house, but waite without in the Court or Yard where the Emperour is abiding. In night time there lodgeth next to his Bed-chamber, the chiefe Chamberlaine, with one or two more of best trust about him. A second chamber off, there lodge six other of like account, for their trust and faithfulness. In the third chamber lye certayne young Gentlemen, of these two hundred, called *Shilsey Strapsey*, that take their turne by forties euery night. There are Groomes besides that watch in their course, and lye at euery gate and doore of the Court, called *Esstopnick*.

Groomes.

The *Hag-butters* or Gunners, whereof there are two thousand (as was said before) watch about the Emperours Lodging, or Bed-chamber, by course two hundred and fiftie euery night, and two hundred and fiftie more in the Court-yard, and about the Treasure-house. His Court or house at the *Mosko*, is made Castle-wise, walled about with great store of faire Ordnance planted vpon the wall, and containeth a great breadth of ground within it, with many dwelling houses. Which are appointed for such as are knowne to be sure, and trustie to the Emperour.

chap. 28.
Of the priuate
behaviour, or
qualitie of the
Russe people.
Constitution
of their bodies.

The priuate behaiour and qualitie of the *Russe* people, may partly be vnderstood by that which hath beene sayd, concerning the publike State and vsage of the Countrey. As touching the naturall habit of their bodies, they are for the most part of a large size, and of very fleshy bodies: accounting it a grace to be somewhat grosse and burley, and therefore they nourish and spread their Beards, to haue them long and broad. But for the most part they are very vnweldy, and vnactiue withall. Which may bee thought to come partly of the Climate, and the numbnesse which they get by the cold in Winter, and partly of their Dyet that standeth

most

most of Roots, Onions, Garlike, Cabbage, and such like things that breed grosse humours, which they vse to eat alone, and with their other meates.

Their Dyet is rather much, then curious. At their Meales they beginne commonly with a *Chark*, or small cup of *Aqua-vita* (which they call *Russe Wine*) and then drinke not till towards the end of their Meales, taking it in largely, and all together with kissing one another at every pledge. And therefore after Dinner there is no talking with them, but every man goeth to his bench to take his after-noonnes sleepe, which is as ordinary with them as their nights rest. When they exceed, and haue varietie of Dishes, the first are their baked meates (for roast meates they vse little) and then their Broaths or Pottage. To drinke drunke, is an ordinary matter with them euery day in the Weeke. Their common Drinke is *Mead*, the poorer sort vse water, and a thin Drinke called *Quasse*, which is nothing else (as wee say) but water turned out of his wits, with a little Bran meashed with it.

This Dyet would breed in them many Diseases, but that they vse Bath-stoues, or Hot-houses in stead of all Physicke, commonly twice or thrice euery Weeke. All the Winter time, and almost the whole Summer, they heate their *Peaches*, which are made like the *Germane Bath-stoues*, and their *Postads* like Ovens, that so warme the House, that a stranger at the first shall hardly like of it. These two extremities, specially in the Winter of heate within their Houses, and of extreame cold without, together with their Dyet, maketh them of a darke and fallow complexion, their skinnies being tanned and parched both with cold and with heat: specially the women, that for the greater part are of farre worse complexions then the men. Whereof the cause I take to be their keeping within the Hot-houses, and busying themselves about the heating, and vsing of their Bath-stoues and *Peaches*.

The *Russe* because that he is vsed to both these extremities of heate and of cold, can beare them both a great deale more patiently then strangers can doe. You shall see them sometimes (to season their bodies) come out of their Bath-stoues all on a froth, and fuming as hote almost as a Pigge at a Spit, and presently to leape into the Riuer starke naked, or to powre cold water all ouer their bodies, and that in the coldest of all the Winter time. The women to mend the bad hue of their skinnies, vse to paint their faces with white and redde colours, so visibly that euery man may perceiue it. Which is made no matter, because it is common, and liked well by their Husbands: who make their Wiues and Daughters an ordinary allowance to buy them colours to paint their faces withall, and delight themselves much to see them of foule women to become such faire Images. This parcheth the skinne, and helpeth to deforme them when their painting is of.

They apparell themselves after the *Greeke* manner. The Nobleman's attyre is on this fashion. First, a *Tassia*, or little night cap on his head, that couereth little more then his crowne, commonly very rich, wrought of Silke and Gold Thread, and set with Pearle and Precious Stone. His head he keepeth shaven close to the very skin, except he be in some displeasure with the Emperour. Then he suffereth his haire to grow and hang downe vpon his shoulders, couering his face as vgly and deformedly as he can. Ouer the *Tassia* he weareth a wide Cap of blacke Foxe (which they account for the best Furre) with a *Tiara*, or long Bonnet put within it, standing vp like a *Persian* or *Babylonian* Hat. About his necke (which is seene all bare) is a Coller set with Pearle and Precious Stone, about three or foure-fingers broad. Next ouer his shirt (which is curiously wrought, because hee strippeth himselfe into it in the Sommer-time, while hee is within the house) is a *Shepon*, or light Garment of Silke made downe to the knees, buttoned before; and then a *Casian* or a close Goat buttoned, and girt to him with a *Persian* Girdle, whereat he hangs his Knives and Spooone. This commonly is of Cloth of Gold, and hangeth downe as low as his ankles. Ouer that he weareth a loose Garment of some rich Silke, furred and faced about with some Gold Lace, called a *Ferris*. Another ouer that of Chamblet, or like Stuffle called an *Alkabon*, sleeued and hanging low, and the Cape commonly brooched, and set all with Pearle. When he goeth abroad, he casteth ouer all these (which are but sleight, though they seeme to be many) another Garment called an *Honorakey*, like to the *Alkabon*, saue that it is made without a Coller for the necke. And this is commonly of fine Cloth, or Camels haire. His Buskins (which hee weareth in stead of Hose, with Linnen Folles vnder them in stead of Boot-hose) are made of a *Persian* Leather called *Saphian*, Embroydered with Pearle. His vpper Stocks commonly are of Cloth of Gold. When he goeth abroad, hee mounteth on Horse-backe, though it bee but to the next doore: which is the manner also of the *Boiarskey*, or Gentlemen.

The *Boiarskey*, or Gentlemans attyre is of the same fashion, but differeth in Stuffle: and yet he will haue his *Casian* or Vnder-coat sometimes of Cloth of Gold, the rest of Cloth or Silke.

The Noble woman (called *Chyna Boiarshena*) weareth on her head, first a Caull of some soft Silke (which is commonly called Red) and ouer it a Fruntlet, called *Obrosa*, of white colour. Ouer that her Cap (made after the Coife-fashion of Cloth of Gold) called *Shapka Zempska*, edged with some rich Furre, and set with Pearle and Stone. Though they haue of late begun to disdaine Embroydering with Pearle about their Caps, because the *Diacks*, and some Merchants Wiues haue taken vp the fashion. In their eares they weare Earrings (which they call

Their Dyet.

Drinking and kissing. Sleeping.

Bath-stoues

Extremities

Women-dawbers.

The Nobleman's attyre.

The Gentlemans apparell. The Noblewoman's attire.

Sargee) of two Inches or more compasse, the matter of Gold set with Rubies, or Saphires, or some like Precious Stone. In Sommer they goe often with Kerchiefs of fine white Lawne, or Cambricke, fastned vnder the chinne, with two long Tassels pendent. The Kerchiefe spotted and set thicke with rich Pearle. When they ride or goe abroad in raynie weather, they weare white Hats with coloured bands (called *Stapa Zemskoy*.) About their neckes they weare Collers of three or foure-fingers broad, set with rich Pearle and Precious Stone. Their vpper Garment is a loose Gowne called *Oposhen*, commonly of Scarlet, with wide loose sleeues, hanging downe to the ground buttoned before with great Gold Buttons, or at least Siluer and gilt, nigh as bigge as a Wal-nut. Which hath hanging ouer it fastned vnder the Cap, a large broad Cape of some rich Fur, that hangeth downe almost to the midst of their backes. Next vnder the *Oposhen* or vpper Garment, they weare another called a *Leitnick* that is made close before with great wide sleeues, the cuffe or halfe sleeue vp to the elbowes, commonly of Cloth of Gold: and vnder that a *Ferris Zemskoy*, which hangeth loose buttoned throughout to the very foot. On the hand wrefts they weare very faire Bracelets, about two fingers broad of Pearle and Precious Stone. They goe all in Buskins of White, Yellow, Blue, or some other coloured Leather, embroydered with Pearle. This is the attyre of the Noble-woman of *Russia*, when shee maketh the best shew of herselfe. The Gentlewomans apparell may differ in the Stoffe, but is all one for the making or fashion.

The *Monsicks*
or common
mans attire.

As for the poore *Monsick* and his Wife they goe poorely clad. The man with his *Odnoratkey*, or loose Gowne to the small of the legge, tyed together with a Lace before, of course white or blue cloth, with some *Shube* or long Waist-coat of Fur, or of Sheep-skinne vnder it, and his furred Cap, and Buskins. The poorer sort of them haue their *Odnoratkey*, or vpper Garment, made of Cowes haire. This is their Winter Habit. In the Sommer time, commonly they weare nothing but their shirts on their backes, and Buskins on their legs. The woman goeth in a red or blue Gowne, when she maketh the best shew, and with some warme *Shube* of Fur vnder it in the Winter time. But in the Sommer, nothing but two shirts (for so they call them) one ouer the other, whether they be within doores, or without. On their heads, they weare Caps of some coloured Stoffe, many of Veluet, or of Cloth of Gold: but for the most part Kerchiefs. Without Earrings of Siluer or some other Metall, and her Crosse about her neck, you shall see no *Russe* woman, be shee Wife, or Maide.

Their wits and
capacities.

As touching their behauiour, and qualitie, otherwise, they are of reasonable capacities, if they had those meanes that some other Nations haue to trayne vp their wits in good Nuture, and Learning. Which they might borrow of the *Polonians*, and other their Neighbours, but that they refuse it of a very selfe-pride, as accounting their owne fashions to be farre the best. Partly also (as I said before) for that their manner of bringing vp (void of all good Learning, and Ciuill behauiour) is thought by their *Gouernours* most agreeable to that State, and their manner of *Gouernment*. This causeth the *Emperours* to bee very wary for excluding of all Peregrinitie, that might alter their fashions. Which were lesse to bee disliked, if it set not a print into the very minds of his people. For as themselves are very hardly and cruelly dealt with all by their chiefe Magistrates, and other Superiours, so are they as cruell one against another, specially ouer their inferiours, and such as are vnder them. So that the basest and wretchedest *Christianoe* (as they call him) that stoopeth and croucheth like a Dogge to the Gentleman, and licketh vp the dust that lyeth at his feet, is an intollerable Tyrant, where hee hath the aduantage. By this meanes the whole Countrey is filled with Rapine, and Murder. They make no account of the life of a man. You shall haue a man robbed sometime in the very streets of their Townes, if he goe late in the Euening; and yet no man to come forth out of his doores to rescue him, though he heare him cry out. I will not speake of the strangenesse of the Murders, and other cruelties committed among them, that would scarcely be beleued to be done among men, specially such as professe themselves *Christians*.

Crueltie of the
Russe people.

The number of their vagrant and begging poore is almost infinite: that are so pinched with Famine and extreame need, as that they begge after a violent and desperate manner, with *Giue me and cut me, Giue me and kill me*; and such like Phrases. And yet it may be doubted whether is the greater, the Crueltie or Intemperancie that is vsed in that Countrey. I will not speake of it, because it is so foule and not to be named. The whole Countrey ouerfloweth with all sinne of that kind. And no maruell, as hauing no Law to restraine Whoredomes, Adulteries, and like vncleannesse of life.

Intemperancy.

As for the truth of his word, as some say, the *Russe* neither beleueeth any thing that another man speaketh, nor speaketh any thing himselfe worthy to be beleued. These qualities make them very odious to all their Neighbours, specially to the *Tartars*, that account themselves to be honest and just, in comparison of the *Russe*. It is supposed by some that doe well consider of the State of both Countries, that the offence they take at the *Russe* *Gouernment*, and their manner of behauiour, hath bene a great cause to keepe the *Tartar* still Heathenish, and to mislike as he doth of the *Christian* profession.

To

To the Reader.

I thought good here to give an account of my course. Having spent much time in that other World, so little known to This (Tartaria and China) that the parts least known might be made best known: I have come neerer home, to Russia, and her neighbours, the neerer, or Chrim Tartars, the Samoyeds, and others; whereof Doctor Fletchers Story being so elaborate (where, though the centre bee Russia, yet his circumference is more generall) and by men iudicious which haue in those parts enjoyed most honourable employment, and exactest intelligence, commended; I haue given him the first place. And if some terme bee mollified, or some few things omitted, it is not to defraud Thee of the Historie (which for substance is whole, as by perusall is found) but not to defraud our industrious Countrymen in their merchandizing mysterie, wherein some perhaps would hence seeke occasion of undermining. For like cause I haue given the next place to Captaine Edge, (the one our gowned Generall by Land, the other in his generall Historie also by Sea) as deserved by his ten yeeres Voyages, and his other Merits. As for the question of Willoughbies Land, I list not to dispute it; but I thinke, neither Hollander (as is also confessed by the French Booke, called, *The Historie of Spitzberghe* ^a on the Dutch behalfe) nor any other haue found any such Lands as his Storie describes, but some part of those which now with a generall name wee call, Greenland (howsoever the makers of Maps and Globes may create Lands and Islands at pleasure, especially in unknowne places) and the first settled, ordinary, and orderly Voyages for the Whale-killing, and the most for discoverie in those parts haue beene made by the English, their gaynes awakening the Hollander to that enterprize, and that also (as elsewhere in the World) by English guides. That which I most grieue at in this contention, is the detention of further discoverie to the Pole and beyond (where it is not likely to be colder then here, and at the Arctike circle: as in the Red Sea, Ormus, and the Countrey about Balsara on this side the Tropike, is found greater heat then under the Line it selfe) the desire of gayne every where causing debate, and consequently losse of the best gaine both in Earth and Heauen. Merchants might get the World, and giue vs the World better, if Charitie were their Needle; Grace, their Compas; Heauen, their Hauen, and if they would take their height by obseruing the Sunne of Righteousnesse in the Scripture-astrolabe, and sounding their depth by a Leading Faith, and not by a Leaden bottomlesse Couetousnesse: that is, if they would seeke the Kingdome of Heauen first, all things should bee added; they should finde World enough in the Indian, and Polare Worlds, and wee and they should arrive at better knowledge of the Creator and Creatures. And of all men (that I may a little further answere that Historie of Spitzberghe) I would be glad to see agreement betwixt the English and Dutch, both because I honour that Nation, as hath appeared in this whole worke of Voyages, in which and of which the Dutch are so great a part: and because in Region, Religion, Originall Nation, ingenious and ingenuous disposition, and (that which here brings both on our Stage) the glory of Navigation, they are so neere vs, and worthie to be honored. It is true that every where the English hath beene the elder Brother, a Doctor, and Doctor, to the Hollanders, in their Martiall feats at home, and Neptunian exploits abroad, (that I mention not their permitted wealthie fishing on the English shoare) whom had they followed with as true and due respect, as with happie successe; quarrels had not so distracted and distorted both sides. I appeale to Dutch ingenuitie, if ever they did any thing wholly New (but giue names) in remotest Navigations, without English lights. Columbus an Italian had the honour of finding America, and the Spaniards the happinesse. But for the North America, and the whole Northern New World, Cabota ^b borne or bred at least in England, was either Actor or Author. For the Dutch, I haue shewed, for the compassing of the World, and for the East Indies before, that our Drake, Candish, Mellis, Davis, Adams, &c. were their Fore-runners, Pilots, and Guides: Yea, their New-found Land Voyages, and all the Northerne coast of America were discovered by Sebastian Cabota, and other Englishmen. I adde their New Straights Southwards from those of Magelane were discovered before by Drake, as in the Map of Sir Francis Drakes Voyage presented to Queene Elizabeth, still hanging in His Maiesties Gallerie at White Hall, neere the Prinic Chamber, and by that Map wherein is Cabotas Picture, the first and great Columbus for the Northerne World) may be seene. In which Map, the South of the Magelane Straits is not a Continent, but many Islands, and the very same which they haue stiled in their Straits. Barneuels Islands had long before beene named by the most auspicate of Earthly Names, (and let themselves be Indges, with which the other is as little worthie to be mentioned, as a kind Mother, and an unkind Traitor. The Name Elizabeth ^c is expressed in golden Letters, with a golden Crowne, Garter, and Armes affixed: The words ascribed thereunto are these, Cum omnes ferē hanc partem Australem Continentem esse putent, pro certo sciunt Insulas esse Nauigantibus peruias, earumq; australissimam ELIZABETHAM à D. Francisco Draco Inuentore dictam esse. The same height of 57. degrees, and South-easterly situation from the Magelan Westerue Mouth giue further euidence.

60 And my learned friend Master Briggs told me, that he hath seene this plot of Drakes Voyage cut in

^a H. G. A. in confutation of the English assertion for Willoughby, sayth, *Il est bien vray que nos Mariniers n'ont trouue au dit lieu de 72. degrees aucun Pays.* 72. in Sir Hugh Willoughbies Booke perhaps was mistaken for 77. their figure of 7. and that of 2. in old writing, being very like each other, so that the last 7. with a little touch of the running Pen might appeare. 2. His hand, I am sure, is of the old fashion of that time, as appears by a Will I haue with his hand, and perhaps all of his hand. Some English Maps haue made an Island in that height where none is: and the Dutch Willbord Iles (which they say are eight in 73.) haue small likelihood: perhaps Sir Hugh Willoughbie might misreckon, by not knowing the variation of the Compas and Sea rules: which I take to be most likely,

and H. G. A. confesseth also. ^b Sebastian Cabota the English Columbus, sonne of Iohn a Venetian, bred heere, and Discoverer for Henry the Seuenth, of America; and first Gouvernour of the Moscouie Companie. ^c Sir F. Drake first finder of the S. Sreights, called Maues. In the said Map is Queene Elizabeths Picture, with Neptune yeelding his Trident, and Triton sounding her Fame, with these Verses, *Te Deus æquoreus donat Regina Trident, Et Triton laudeseffat ubique tuas.*

Siluer by a Dutchman (Michael Mercator, Nephew to Gerardus) many yeeres before Scouten or Maire intended that Voyage. As for Noua Zemla by Stephen Burrough, and others, long before discovered, they also haue giuen new names, which I enuie not: onely I feare a vā soli, and hate ingratitude both ours and theirs. But too much of this. Next to this more generall Discourse shall follow the Dutch Northerne Voyages, and the English North-easterne: after which wee will take a more complementall leaue of that Continent, and from thence visite the Northerly and North-westerne Discoveries; at once hunting for a New World and a New passage to This.

CHAP. II.

A brieffe Discoverie of the Northerne Discoveries of Seas, Coasts, and Countries, deliuered in order as they were hopefully begunne, and haue euer since happily bene continued by the singular industrie and charge of the Worshipfull Society of Muscouia Merchants of London, with the ten seuerall Voyages of Captaine THOMAS EDGE the Authour.

§. I.

Greenland first discovered by Sir HUGH WILLOUGHBIE: the Voyages of FROBISHER, PET and JACKMAN, DAVIS, the Dutch; First Morse and Whale-killing, with further Discoveries.

W. Gomericensis de Ducib. Nor-man.

HANS Townes.

Cathay, See l. 2. cap. 1. of this whole Voyage. 212.

** An errour in the latitude, the Land stands in 77.*



He Northerne parts of the World haue euer bene held to be *Officina Gentium & velut Vagina Nationum*; Natures Shop and Store-house of Men, better furnished then any other part of the Earth, and from whence those notable Inundations came first of the *Cymbrians* and *Teutons*, in the time of the antient *Romans*; and secondly of the *Gothes* and *Vandals* vnder *Attila*, to the confusion of things both Diuine and Humane in all the Southerne parts of *Europe*, as farre as Barbarisme could preuaile against Ciuilitie and Religion. For remedie whereof the Townes alongst the *Baltick* Sea entred into a confederacy vnder the names of the *Hans Townes*, and vndertooke the keeping of those Northerne people, and the securing of these Southerne Kingdomes from any the like ouerflowings, vpon such Priuiledges and Immunities as were granted and agreed vnto them by all the Southerne Princes, and according to such Lawes as were made and provided for the maintenance and strength of the said *Hans Townes*, amongst which the supreme and fundamentall Lawe was that none of these Nations so secured should haue trade or commerce in any parts beyond the *Baltike* Seas, to the end the barbarous people might not bee enabled thereby to practise or moue against the *Hans Townes*: which was the cause together also with the extremitie of cold, that those Northerne Seas were neuer looked vnto vntill the yeere 1553. At which time the trade of this Kingdome waxing cold and in decay, and the Merchants incited with the fame of the great masse of riches which the *Portugals* and *Spaniards* brought home yeerely from both the *Indies*, entred into a resolution, notwithstanding the prohibition of the *Hans Law* to discover the Northerne Seas, which so long had bene frozen and shut vp; and to see whether they could not afford a passage to *Cathay* and the *East Indies*, and accordingly provided three ships, and sent them forth vnder the command of Sir *Hugh Willoughbie*, Knight, who imbarqued himselfe in a ship called, the *Bona Esperança*, Admirall of that Voyage, with *Richard Chancellor* Captaine of the *Edward Bonaventure*, together with a third ship, called the *Bona Confidentia*. These three ships falling downe from *Ratcliffe*, the tenth of May in the foresaid yeere went on their Voyage, and proceeding as farre as the Cape of *Norway*, they were seuered by a tempest. *Chancellor* after he had stayed at Ward-house seuen dayes, expecting the Admirall and the other ships, according to a former appointment vpon any such casualtie, and hearing nothing of them, went on, and discovered the Bay of *Saint Nicolas*, and setled a trade there, which hath continued to these times.

Sir *Hugh Willoughbie* was driuen to the height of 72. * where hee fell vpon an Iland, now knowne by the name of *Willoughbie Land*, and lieth from *Sinam* (vpon the Continent of *Norway* East and by North an hundred and sixtie leagues or thereabouts, from thence he went North and North-west, and within eight dayes after he fell vpon a Land which lay West South-west, and East North-east, betweene 74. and 75. degrees of latitude, and plying Westward along by the

the Land, he was driven by the wind to put to Sea againe, vntill the wind came about. Then they made towards the Land againe, and bare with it, but finding that place vnfit for landing, they haled out againe, running along the Land sixteene leagues North-west, where they found a faire Bay, went on Land and found the place inhabited. From thence they put to Sea againe, runne alongst the coast for fortie leagues together, till at length they came to an anchor within two leagues of the shoare, where they landed, and found two or three good Harbours.

Afterwards they entred into the Hauen which ranne vp into the Maine about two leagues, where they remained for the space of a weeke vpon the maine Land. They found Beares, great Deere, Foxes, and other beasts. They sent out three men three dayes journey to the South-west, and three others also full West, all which returned after diuers dayes traouelling, and found no people nor any likelihood of habitation. And this is that Land which now is called Greenland, or King Iames his New-land, and is knowne to the *Hollanders* by the name of *Spatbergen*. Sir *Hugh Willoughbie* returned into *Lapland*, where he and his companie were frozen to death, in the Hauen called *Arzina*, neere *Kegor*.

The *Muscovia* Merchants hauing thus settled a trade in *Russia*, and being incorporated by the name of, The Merchants of *England*, for the discouerie of new trades, pursued their first resolutions for finding a way to *Cathay* by the North-east, and in the yeere 1556. sent out *Stephen Burrough*, for discouerie of the Riuer *Obb*, who proceeding forwards in that Voyage discovered the Riuer *Pechora*, the Streights of *Vaigats* and *Nonazembla*; went on shoare vpon the Iland of *Vaigats*, and vpon the North Continent of *Russia*; met with the *Samoeds*, obserued their manner of life, their Religion, their Sacrifices to their rude and ill shaped Idols; and the yeere being spent, returned into *Russia*.

The Companie hauing sought for the North-east passage, and finding such difficulties as are mentioned in their particular Iournals, resolved to make triall, if the North-west part could not afford a passage to the *Indies*, which was the first and maine scope of their Northerne Discoueries. And in the yeere 1576. they sent forth Sir *Martin Frobisher* with two Barkes, who coming into the height of 62. or thereabouts, found a great Inlet, now knowne by the name of *Frobishers Streights*, into which he put himselfe, and sayled sixtie leagues with a mayne Land on each side, and so for that yeere returned.

* See Hackl. 1. tom. 1. pag. 274.

The next yeere following he made a second Voyage to that place, purposely to lade himselfe with a kind of Oare, which the yeere before he had found there, and gaue hope by the colour to yeeld Gold, and being laden with some quantitie, returned.

The yeere following, being 1578. hauing made tryall here of that Oare, and finding it not to fall out according to his expectation, hee was furnished out to proceed in the further discouerie of those Streights, and entring into the same, made way so farre as hee thought fit, and then returned backe, hauing first taken possession thereof in the name of *Queene Elizabeth* of famous memorie, who called the place *Meta incognita*: he brought home some of the Natiues, and left some of his men there.

In the yeere 1580. the Companie sent out a second Voyage for the discouerie of the Riuer *Obb*, and thence to goe on to *Cathay*; furnishing forth two ships vnder the command of *Arthur Pet*, and *Charles Lackman*, who following their instructions, arriued at *Vaigats*, passed those Streights with a particular obseruation of those Ilands and places therein, plyed along the East part of *Nonazembla*, and the North of *Russia*, and the *Samoeds* Countrey, so farre as the Ice would giue them leaue, and finding no possibilitie of passage by reason of the Ice, returned backe in the latter end of the yeere. By this time the Voyage of *Saint Nicolas* was knowne, and become a beaten trade. And the Companie sent out yeerely thither ten or twelue ships, which returned freighted with the commodities of that Countrey.

In the yeere 1583. by the leaue and admittance of the *Mosconia* Companie, Sir *Humphrey Gilbert* went out for the discouerie of the North part of *Terra Florida*, came into the great Riuer called, *Saint Laurence* in *Canada*, tooke possession of the Countrey, settled the gouernment of the fishing there which is so well knowne in these times.

In the yeere 1585. Master *John Danis* was furnished out at *Dartmouth* with two Barkes, for the discouerie of the North-west, came into the height of 66. plyed along the coast, obserued the probabilitie of a passage, and in the end of the yeere returned.

In the yeere following, being 1586. hee went on againe in the further discouerie thereof, found a great Inlet betweene 55. and 56. of latitude, which gaue him great hope of a passage, traded with the people there, and so returned.

In the yeere 1587. hee made a third Voyage to those places, followed his course to the North and North-west, to the Latitude of 67. degrees, hauing the Continent (which hee called *America*) on the West side and *Groineland*, which hee named *Desolation* on the East, and going on the height of 86. degrees, the passage enlarged so that hee could not see the Westerne shoare. Thus he continued in the Latitude of 73. degrees in a great Sea free from Ice, of an vnmeasurable depth, but by the occasion of the departure of two Ships which were in company with him, which

1576.
Sir M. Frobisher
Hackl. tom. 3. 296
& seq.

1578.

1580.
Pet and Lack-
man. Hackl. 1. tom. 1. p. 445.

1583.
Sir H. Gilbert
Hackl. 1. tom. 3. p. 163.

1585.
Master Danis
Hackl. 1. tom. 3. p. 98.
& seq.

1586.

1587.

Greenland discovered by Sir *Hugh Willoughbie*. This Voyage was written by Sir *H. Will.* and found in his ship. In Iauarie after he was aliue, as appears by a Will of *Gab. Will.* his kinsman, subscribed by Sir *Hugh Willoughbie* which Will I now haue; and keepe as a Relike of that worthy discouerer and first finder of King Iames his New-land.

Fretum Danis.

which hee left Fishing at a place, he returned home. This passage continueth the Name and memorie of the first Discoverer, and is called *Fretum Danis*. And thus the Discoverie of the Northern Seas proceeded on from time to time, by the endeavour and charge of the *Musconia* Companie, vntill they had particularly discovered the Lands, Coasts, Ilands, Straights, Hauens, Bayes, Rivers and other places therein, and measured euery part thereof, by their often tracing to and fro: Together also with the obseruation of the Commodities and Aduantages, arising from euery part of the same, continuing euen vnto these times to haunt and frequent the parts which they had formerly found out; As by their yeerely Reportaries and Iournals may appeare, and that either without emulation or competition of any other Nation, that euer came into those parts or enterprised any Discoverie there vntill of late yeeres, as appeares by this that followeth.

Hak. Tom. 1.
pag. 297.

When *Richard Chancellor* had settled a trade with *Iehn Vasilowich* then Emperour of *Russia*, and his Ambassadors had bene here in *England*, to accomplish matters requisite for maintenance of the Amitie and Entercourse made and agreed vpon betwene these two Crownes; King *Philip*, Queene *Marie*, Dukes also at that time of *Burgundie*, and Soueraignes of all the *Netherlands*, made a grant of Priuiledge vnto the *Musconia* Merchants for the sole Trade of those Seas, prohibiting all others to haunt and frequent the same, without speciall Licence and consent of the sayd Companie: which grant of Priuiledge was accordingly enioyed without disturbance or interloping of the *Hollanders*, who out of obedience either to the Prohibition made by their Soueraigne, or for that they durst not aduenture into these Seas, did not any way attempt to bee seene or appeare there, either for Discoverie or trade of Merchandize, for the space of five and twentie yeeres, after the Port of *Saint Nicholas* was first Discovered and found out by the *English*. For the Company hauing as is aboue mentioned, made their first Discoverie in the yeere 1553. there was neuer heard of any *Netherlander* that frequented those Seas, vntill the yeere 1578. At which time they first began to come to *Cola*, and within a yeere or two after, one *John de Whale* a *Netherlander*, came to the Bay of *Saint Nicholas*, being drawne thither by the perswasion of some *English* for their better meane of Interloping, which was the first man of that Nation that euer was seene there. And this as is formerly noted was five and twentie yeeres after it was Discovered by the *Musconia* Merchants.

1594.
These Voiages
follow.

Afterwards the *Hollanders* crept in more and more, and in the yeere 1594. they made out foure Ships for Discoverie of the North-east passage to *China*, the Master Pylot whereof was *William Barrents*, these came vpon the Coast of *Novazembla* to the Latitude of 77. degrees, drew backe againe towards the Straights of *Vaigats*, and then returned giuing Names vnto some places and Promontories vpon that Land.

1595.

In the yeere 1595. They sent out a second Voyage, tracing the way through the Straights of *Vaigats* in the same steps, as *Pet* and *Iackman* had formerly passed, and so returned.

1596.

I haue by me a
French Storie
of Spitsbergh,
published 1613
by a Dutchman
which writeth
against this
English allega-
tion, &c. but
hotter argu-
ments then I
am willing to
answer.
William Hudson
Discovereth
to 81. Degrees.
Whale Bay.
Hackluits
Headland.
Hudsons Touthes.

In the yeere 1596. They set out a third Voyage with two Ships, the one of which shaped her course from the Cape of *Norway*, to an Iland in the Latitude of 74. degrees, which wee call *Cherie Iland*, and they call *Beare Iland*, and from thence to *Greenland*, where Sir *Hugh Willoughbie* had bene two and fortie yeeres before, for so long time there is betwene the first Discoverie thereof and the yeere 1596. And from thence to the North-east part of *Novazembla*, in the Latitude of 76. degrees, where they Wintred and lost their Ship, and came home with much difficultie.

In the yeere 1603. *Stephen Bennet* was employed by the Companie, in a Ship called the *Grace*, to those parts Northwards of the Cape, and was at *Cherie Iland* and killed some Sea-horses, and brought home Lead Oare from thence.

1608. the said fellowship set forth a Ship called the *Hope-well*, whereof *William Hudson* was Master, to discover to the Pole, where it appeareth by his Iournall, that hee came to the height of 81. degrees, where he gaue Names to certayne places, vpon the Continent of *Greenland* formerly discovered, which continue to this day, namely, *Whale Bay*, and *Hackluit Headland*, and being hindred with Ice, returned home without any further vse made of the Countrey, and in ranging homewards, hee discovered an Iland lying in 71. degrees, which hee named *Hudsons Tutches*.

Heere it is to bee vnderstood, that the Companie hauing by often resort and employment to those parts, obserued the great number of Sea-horses at *Cherie Iland*, and likewise the multitude of Whales, that shewed themselves vpon the coast of *Greenland*; They first applyed themselves to the killing of the Morces, which they continued from yeere to yeere with a Ship or two yeerely; in which Ships the Companie appointed *Thomas Welden* Commander, and in the yeere 1609. the Companie employed one *Thomas Edge* their Apprentice, for their Northeren Voyage, and joyned him in Commission with the foresayd *Welden*. Now the often vsing of *Cherie Iland*, did make the Sea-horse grow scarce and decay, which made the Companie looke out for further Discoveries.

Thomas Welden.
1609.
Thomas Edge
the Author.

In the yeere 1610. the Companie set out two Ships, viz. the *Lionesse* for *Cherie Iland*, *Thomas Edge* Commander; and the *Amitie*, for a Northerne Discoverie, the Master of which Ship was *Jonas Poole*: who in the moneth of May fell with a Land, and called it *Greenland*, this is the Land

1610.
Jonas Poole first
Namer of
Greenland.

Land that was discovered by Sir *Hugh Willoughby* long before, which Ship *Amitie* continued vpon the coast of *Greenland*, discovering the Harbours and killing of Morces, vntill the moneth of August, and so returned for *England*, hauing gotten about some twelue Tunnes of goods, and an Unicorne's horne.

* See Bassins North-west Discouerie. Vnicorne, a Sea fishes Horne. 1611.

In the yeere 1611. the Companie set forth two Ships for *Greenland*, the *Marie Margaret* Admirall, burthen one hundred and sixtie tunnes, *Thomas Edge* Commander; and the *Elizabeth*, burthen sixtie tunnes, *Jonas Poole* Master, well manned and furnished with all necessarie Prouisions, they departed from *Blackmall* the twentieth of Aprill, and arrived at the Foreland in *Greenland* in the Latitude of 79. degrees, the twentieth of May following, the Admirall had in her 10 six Biskayners expert men for the killing of the Whale: this was the first yeere the Companie set out for the killing of Whales in *Greenland*, and about the twelfth of Iune the Biskayners killed a small Whale, which yeelded twelue Tunnes of Oyle, being the first Oyle that euer was made in *Greenland*. The Companies two Shallops looking about the Harbour for Whales, about the five and twentieth of Iune rowing into Sir *Thomas Smith's Bay*, on the East side of the Sound saw on the shoare great store of Sea-horses: after they had found the Morfes they presently rowed vnto the Ship, being in crosse Road seuen leagues off, and acquainted the Captayne what they had found. The Captayne vnderstanding of it, gaue order to the Master, *Stephen Bennet*, that he should take into his Ship fiftie tunnes of emptie Caske, and set sayle with the Ship to goe into *Foule Sound*. The Captayne went presently away in one Shallop with fixe men vnto the Sea- 20 morse, and tooke with him Lances, and comming to them they set on them and killed five hundred Morfes, and kept one thousand Morfes liuing on shoare, because it is not profitable to kill them all at one time. The next day the Ship being gone vnto the place & well mored where the Morse were killed, all the men belonging to the Ship went on shoare, to worke and make Oyle of the Morfes; and when they had wrought two or three dayes, it fortuneth that a small quantitie of Ice came out of *Foule Sound*, and put the Ship from her Moring. The Master and ten men being a board of the Ship, let fall their Sheat anchor which brought the Ship vp to ride; the Ice comming vpon her againe, brought her Anchor home and ranne the Ship ashore, where shee by the Masters weake Iudgement was cast away, and all their Bread spoyled not fit to eate. The Ship being cast away without hope of recouerie, the Commander *Thomas Edge* gaue order, that all the Morse liuing on shoare should be let goe into the Sea, and so gaue ouer making of Oyle, and presently haled vp ashore all his Shallops and Boates, being five, letting the Carpenter to trim them, the Saylers to make Sayles and Wastcloathes for the Boates, fit to serue them at Sea. Hauing fitted their Boates as well as they could with the small prouision they had, being in number foure small Shallops and the ships Boate, they diuided their men into them equally with what prouisions of victuals they could well carrie, and after they had sayd Prayers all together on Land; being fiftie men they departed from the place where they lost their Ship, on the fifteenth of Iuly with the winde Southerly, and rowed thirtie or fortie leagues to the Southward, and then they lost companie of one Shallop and their ships Boate of *Horne Sound*, which two Boates met with a Hull Ship, and acquainted him with the losse of the *London Ship*, and that shee 10 had left on land goods woorth fiftene hundred pounds: So our men carryed the Hull Ship into *Foule Sound*, to take in the Companies goods and to kill some Sea-horses for her selfe at that place. The Captayne and two other Shallops put from the Coast of *Greenland* in the height of 77. 1/2. Degrees, and set their course for *Cherie Iland*, which lyeth in 74. Degrees (—) sometimes Sayling and sometimes Rowing, and made *Cherie Iland* the nine and twentieth of Iuly, hauing beene in their Shallops at Sea fourteene dayes, and comming into the Iland with a great storme at North-west, with much difficultie they landed on the South side of the Iland.

First Whales killing. Biskayners vfed.

500. Morfes killed.

Shipwracke by Ice.

Hull Ship.

Cherie Iland.

Being on shoare, the Captayne sent three of his Saylers ouer land vnto the North roade, being three miles distant from that place, to see if the *Elizabeth* was there, and they saw a Ship riding in the North roade, and being ouer-joyed they returned backe vnto the Captayne to acquaint him, without staying to speake with any of the Ships companie, and by good hap the Master of the *Elizabeth* espyed men on the Shoare, being at that time weighing Anchor to set sayle for *England*, vpon which hee stayed and sent the Boate ashore to see what men they were, and when the men of the *Elizabeth* came ashore, they found them to be men of the *Mary Margaret*, and so went aboard vnto the Master to acquaint him; whereupon the Master caused Anchor to be weighed and went to the South side of the Iland, and there tooke in the Captayne, and hee being aboard vnderstanding what a poore Voyage the *Elizabeth* had made, gaue order to the Master to goe for *Greenland*, there to take in such Goods as the sayd *Edge* had left in *Foule Sound*. They departed from *Cherie Iland* the first of August, and arrived at *Foule Sound* the Fourteenth *Disco*: where they found two Boates which they had lost companie of before, and 60 all their men being come thither with a Hull Ship which they met with, and brought to that place; which Ship had spent all the yeere in *Horne Sound*, and got little goods. The *Elizabeth* being mored, the Captayne gaue order vnto the Master to deliuer out of his Ship, all the goods hee had got at *Cherie Iland*, which was Sea-horse hydes and Blubber, being of little woorth; And to take in the Oyle and Whale-fannes, which were gotten by the *Marie Margarets* companie,

Ship over-set. panie, the Master in unlading of his Ship brought her so light, that vnfortunatly hee over-set her, hauing goods in her worth seuen hundred pounds. This ill chance happening vnto the two London Ships, the Captayne of them agreed with *Thomas Marmaduke* Master of the *Hull* Ship, to take in the goods which was saued, at the rate of five pounds the Tunne, which was a great rate (notwithstanding they had bene a meane to get him goods worth five hundred pounds for the *Hull* Ship) and vpon the one and twentieth of August, 1611. they departed from *Greenland* in the *Hope-well*, being ninetie nine men in all, and arriued at *Hull* the sixth of September, where the sayd *Edge* tooke out the Companies goods, and Shipped them for *London* by order from the Companie. This yeere, *Edge* in coasting in the Shallops, discovered all the Harbours on the West side of *Greenland*.

§. II.

Dutch, Spanish, Danish disturbance; also by Hull men, and by a new Patent, with the succeeding Successes and further Discoveries till this present.

1612. **H**N the yeere 1612. the Companie set forth two Ships, viz. The *Whale*, burthen one hundred and sixtie Tunnes, and the *Sea-horse*, burthen one hundred and eightie tunnes, vnder the Command of *Iohn Russell*, and *Thomas Edge*, for discovering and killing of the *Whale*. They discovered that yeere nothing worth writing of, by reason of some falling out betwixt *Russell* and *Edge*; yet they killed that yeere seuentene *Whales*, and some *Sea-horses*, of which they made one hundred and eightie Tunnes of Oyle with much difficultie; as not being experimented in the businesse. This yeere the *Hollanders* (to keepe their wont in following of the *English* steps) came to *Greenland* with one Ship, being brought thither by an *English* man, and not out of any knowledge of their owne Discoveries, but by the direction of one *Allen Sallows*, a man imployed by the *Muscovia* Companie in the Northerne Seas for the space of twentie yeeres before; who leauing his Countrey for Debt, was entertayned by the *Hollanders*, and imployed by them to bring them to *Greenland* for their Pylot. At which time being met withall by the Companies Ships, they were commanded to depart, and forbidden to haunt or frequent those parts any more by mee *Thomas Edge*. There was also a *Spanish* Ship brought thither, by one *Nicholas Woodcocke* this yeere, a man formerly imployed by the sayd Companie; which *Spanish* Ship made a full Voyage in *Green-harbour*. But *Woodcocke* at his returne into *England*, being complained of by the Companie, was Imprisoned in the *Gatehouse* and *Tower*, sixteene Moneths, for carrying the *Spanish* Ship thither.
1613. In the yeere 1613, the Companie set out for *Greenland* seuen sayle of Ships, vnder the Command of *Beniamin Ioseph*, and *Thomas Edge*, the Ships departed from *Gravesend* the six and twentieth of Aprill, and arriued in *Greenland* the fourteenth of May. This yeere the *English* had the Kings Patent vnder the broad Seale of *England*, to forbid all Strangers and others, but the *Muscovia* Companie to vse the Coast of *Greenland*. The *English* met with fifteene sayle of great Ships, two of them were *Dutch* Ships, the rest were *French*, *Spanish*, and of the Archdukes, besides foure *English* Interlopers. The Companies Ships forced them all from the Coast of *Greenland*, not suffering any of them to make a Voyage; they tooke from the two *Dutch* Ships certayne goods, but in going to take it, they neglected their owne voyage, which was dammified thereby to the value of three or foure thousand pounds. For their Ships came home dead Freight two or three hundred Tunnes by that meane. This yeere was *Hope* Island and other Ilands discovered, to the Eastward by the Companie.
1614. In the yeere following, which was 1614, the Companie set out for *Greenland*, thirteene great Ships and two Pinnasses, vnder the Command of *Beniamin Ioseph*, and *Thomas Edge*, all which Ships were well appointed with all manner of Artillerie for defence, and other necessities for the making of their Voyage and for Discoverie. This yeere the *Hollanders* set out for *Greenland* eightene great Ships, whereof foure of them were of the States men of Warre, Ships with thirtie pieces of Ordnance a piece. This yeere the *Dutch* stayed and fished for the *Whale* perforce, they were farre stronger then the *English*, which was a cause that the *English* Ships came home halfe laden, and the *Dutch* with a poore Voyage. This yeere the Companie discovered vnto the Northwards of *Greenland*, as farre as 80. Degrees odde Minuts, in the Ship *Thomasen*, as by her daily Iournall doth appeare at large; in which Ship was imployed *Thomas Sherwin*, and *William Baffin*, being the second Voyage they were imployed into those parts. And some Ilands to the Eastwards of *Greenland*, were discovered by foure Ships imployed in that seruice, as by their Iournall more at large appeareth.
1615. In the yeere 1615. the Companie set out for *Greenland*, two sayle of great Ships and two Pinnasses, vnder the Command of *Beniamin Ioseph*, and *Thomas Edge*, who following their Instructions, arriued vpon the Coast of *Greenland* the sixth of Iune, which they found to bee much pestered

pestered with Ice, and being foggie weather, they runne into the Ice, so farre, that they were fast in it fourteene dayes before they could cleare themselves of it. This yeere also the *Hollanders* set out fourteene sayle of ships, whereof three of them were *States Men* of warre of great force; they killed Whales in *Horn-sound*, *Bel-sound*, and *Faire-hauen*, and stayed vpon the coast of *Greenland* perforce, as they did the former yeere; whereby the *English* came home halfe laden. This yeere also the King of *Denmarke* sent vnto *Greenland* three of his ships, Men of warre, to demand a toll of the *English*; but they had none payd them: for they fell with the *Fore-land* in 79. degrees, where Captaine *Edge* was, and he denyed payment of any toll, alledging that the Countrey of *Greenland* belonged to the King of *England*. These were the first *Danish* ships that euer came to *Greenland*, who had for their Pilot one *James Vaden*, an *Englishman* to bring them thither.

Fast in Ice,
in Iune four-
teene dayes.

King of *Den-
marke* demands
Toll.

Vn-*English*
English to serue
Dutch, *Spanish*,
Dane, against
their owne.

1616.

In the yeere 1616. the Company set out for *Greenland* eight Sayle of great ships, and two Pinnasses vnder the command of *Thomas Edge*, who following his course, arriued in *Greenland* about the fourth of Iune, hauing formerly appointed all his ships for their seuerall Harbours, for their making of their Voyage vpon the Whale, and hauing in euery Harbour a sufficient number of expert men, and all prouisions fitting for such a Voyage. This yeere it pleased God to blisse them by their labours, that they full laded all their ships with Oyle, and left an ouer-plus in the Countrey, which their ships could not take in. They employed this yeere a small Pinnasse vnto the East-ward, which discovered the East-ward part of *Greenland*, Namely, the Iland called now *Edges Iland*, and other Ilands lying to the North-wards as farre as seuentie eight degrees, this Pinnasse was some twentie tunnes, and had twelue men in her, who killed one thousand Sea-horses on *Edges Iland*, and brought all their Teeth home for *London*. This was the first yeere that euer the Company full laded all their ships sent to *Greenland*, and this yeere they made twelue or thirteene hundred tunnes of Oyle in *Greenland* by the fourteenth of August. All the ships arriued in safety in the Riuer of *Thames*, in the moneth of September. The *Hollanders* had this yeere in *Greenland* foure ships, and those kept together in odde places, not easily to be found, and made a poore Voyage.

Edges Iland.

In the yeere 1617. the Company set out for *Greenland* fourteene Sayle of ships, and their two Pinnasses furnished and manned with a sufficient number of men and all other prouisions fitting for that Voyage, vnder the command of *Thomas Edge*. They departed from *Grauesend*, about the foure and twentieth of Aprill, and arriued vpon the Coast of *Greenland*, the eight and twentieth of May all in safety.

1617.

At our first comming vpon the Coast this yeere, I met with a *Dutch* shippe of two hundred tunnes, which I commanded aboard, the Captaynes name was *Coske*, who told mee there were ten Sayle of *Dutch* vpon the Coast, and two men of Warre, and that he came to make a Voyage vpon the Whale. I shewed him the Kings Commission, and commanded him by vertue thereof to depart from the Coast, willing him to acquaint the rest of his Countrey-men with it. And further, I told him that if I met with him or any *Dutch* ships heereafter, I would take from them what they had gotten, and thus hauing enterayned him aboard with me courteously, I let him goe without taking any prouisions from him. At his departure from mee, hee promised hee would but stay to meet with two of his Consorts, which hee had lost company with the day before, and then hee would directly goe for *Flushing*, and acquaint his Merchants, that the *English* Captayne would not suffer him to stay vpon the Coast of *Greenland*; but it seemeth at his meeting with his Consorts, they agreed altogether to goe into *Horne-sound*, and there they killed some few Whales which they saued in Blubber. I vnderstanding of it, gaue order to my Vice-admirall when he was laden, that he should goe into *Horne-sound*, and put the *Flemmings* from thence, and take what they had gotten, which he did accordingly: but the goods he tooke from the *Dutch* ships, were not worth to the *English* twentie pounds, for it was but Blubber and Finnes, which they had no need of, in regard they had killed as many Whales as would lade their ships, and more then they could carry or saue. This yeere the *English* made nineteene hundred tunnes of Oyle in *Greenland*, and all their ships arriued at home in the moneths of August and September in safetie. They also employed a ship of sixtie tunnes, with twenty men in her, who discovered to the Eastward of *Greenland*, as faire to the North-wards as seuentie nine degrees, and an Iland which he named *Witches Iland*, and diuers other Ilands as by the Map appeareth, and killed store of Sea-horses there, and then came into *Bel-sound*: where hee found his lading of Oyle, left by the Captayne which he tooke in. This yeere the *Hull* men set a small ship or two to the East-wards of *Greenland*, for the *Hull* men still followed the steps of the *Londners*, and in a yeere or two called it their Discoverie, which is false and vnture, as by Oath in the Admiraltie doth appeare. The *Dutch* likewise practise the same course.

Witches Iland.

Hull men.

1618.

In the yeere 1618. some difference hauing passed betweene the *English* and some *Zelanders*, the yeere before, in King *James* his *Newland*, alias *Greenland* (which *Zelanders* were neuer in those parts before, and vpon promise of the present departure) were permitted to passe else-where with their prouisions which they had, and comming to *Cherrie Iland*, and meeting with one *English* Interloper of *Hull*; namely *Marmaduke*, he animated the said *Zelanders* to returne back

Zelanders.

Marmaduke.

for

for *Greenland*, alleaging vnto them, that the Companies ships were in each seuerall Harbour busied about their Voyage, and that none would stirre from his Harbours to molest them, and that they being three ships of force, might returne to a Harbour in that Countrey, called *Hornsound*, and there make a Voyage perforce, which the said *Zelanders* did attempt, and there manned out diuers Shallops, hauing many *Biskainers*, and killed store of Whales, setting those *English* at nought. Whereupon Captayne *Thomas Edge*, chiefe Commander of the *English* Fleet, hauing laden those ships that were in Harbour with him, and presently sent for *William Hely*, his Vice-admirall, giuing him order (who was not then full laden, but in good forwardnesse) to fit the ship he was in, and goe to *Horne-sound* afore-said, and put the said *Zelanders* from thence: which the said *Hely* presently put in execution. But before his comming thither, the *Zelanders* had notice by an *English* Surgeon, that if they did not depart, the *English* Vice-admirall would come presently and force them from thence. Whereupon the *Zelanders* laden all the goods they had in two ships, and sent them away before the comming of the *English* Vice-admirall, leauing one ship behind, with certaine caske of Blubber, and two Whales and an halfe vncut vp, in a brauado to trye if the *English* would meddle with them or not, which said ship and goods there left, were surprized by the said *English* Vice-admirall; the goods detayned to the Companies vse; and the ship restored there to the *Zelanders*; which ship hauing in her ten cast Peeces, and sixtie men, and hauing intelligence of one of the Companies ships, at that time laden in the Countrey with one hundred and eightie tunnes of Oyle, the *Zelander* gaue out he would lie in waite and take that ship of the Companies and her lading, and carrie her to *Zeland*. For preuention whereof, the said Vice-admirall tooke sixe Peeces of Ordnance, and some Powder from the ship of *Zeland*, which were in *England* restored to the owners.

Sir Iohn Cunningham.

East India Adventurers
ioyne;

In which said yeere 1618. the *Zelanders* sending ouer for restitution of the goods taken from them. A new Company commixt of *English*, *Scottish* and *Zelanders*, through the meanes of one Sir Iohn Cunningham Knight, procured a grant for setting forth of shipping to those parts, which might vtterly haue ouerthrowne and spoiled the trade of the first discoueries thereof: and to that end diuers of the chiefe men were hired by the new Company that had been seruants to the first discouerie, and much shipping and provisions agreed for. Whereupon there was an agreement, that the *East India* Adventurers should ioine stocke with the *Mosconia* Adventurers, and be one ioiyned Company for that trade of King *James* his *Newland*. The *Scottish* Companies Patent thereupon dissolued, to the *Mosconia* Companies great trouble and cost, in taking of all the provisions they had bespoken, and paying ready money for the same, hauing no vse thereof, but great part spoyled, and came to little good, and in ioyning vnfortunately with the *East India* Company, in which yeere, and the next yeere after, their Voyages proued very ill, and they were losers, and much vexed and crossed in their proceedings, to the great disheartning and detriment of the *Mosconia* Company: yet that yeere 1618. they set forth thirteene ships and two Pinnasses, vnder the command of the said Captaine *Thomas Edge*, who arriuing vpon the coast of King *James* his *Newland*, in the beginning of Iune separated themselves to seuerall Harbours for accomplishing of their Voyages, the most part being ships of no force. Presently after in all Harbours where the *English* were, arriued great store of ships of *Zeland*, in warlike manner, being ships of great force, who continued in the same Harbours amongst the *English*, setting two boats to the *English* one, with *Biskainers*, with a full purpose to driue the *English* from their Harbours, and to reuenge the iniurie (as they termed it) done them the yeere before: and for that the *Scottish* Patent was dissolued; wherein many *Flemmings* were to be interested. And to that purpose towards the latter end of Iuly, ten Saile of the said *Zelanders*, being at a Harbour called the *Foreland*, where the said *William Hely*, Vice-admirall of the *English* Fleet that yeere, was in the ship *Pleasure*, Master *Robert Salmon*, with one *English* ship and a Pinnasse there of no force, set vpon the said *English* Vice-admirall, threatening, if hee would not yeeld presently, to dispoyle him of ship and goods, not permitting to take his men aboard. And with two of their chiefe ships layd the *English* Vice-admirall aboard, there being but seuen *English* aboard the ship, which they detayned for foure and twentie houres, the *Zelanders* not daring to enter, making many brauadoes and attempts, thinking to make the *English* to yeeld, and stand to their mercy, which was refused. And thereupon five of those *Zelanders* ships; namely, the *Fortune* of *Camphire*, burthen foure hundred tunnes, with eightene cast Peeces, besides brasse Bases and Murderers, Captaine *Hubrecht Cornelisson*; the *Saint Peter* of *Flushing*, burthen three hundred tunnes, with eightene cast Peeces, Captaine *Cornelius Cooke*; the *Salamander* of *Flushing*, two hundred tunnes, fourteene cast Peeces, Captaine *Adrian Peeterson*; the *Cat* of *Delf* *Hanen*, with sixteene cast Peeces, *Abraham Leuerstick* being Captaine and Generall of the *Zelanders*, and *William Iohnson* of *Milliworth*, in a ship with fourteene cast Peeces: all which, after much conference passed betwixt the said *Zelanders* and *William Hely*: which said *Zelanders* gaue out many vnciuill speeches against the Kings Maiestie, not esteeming his Commission; alledging that there was good law in *Flanders* for what they did. And on Sunday the nineteenth of Iuly, 1618. did forcibly set vpon the said *English* Vice-admirall, five together plying their great Ordnance, small Shot, and Murderers, seeking what in them lay to kill and spoile all the

Dutch assault
the *English*.

English

English that were aboard: who resisted their force, and in spite of all their opposers set sayle, saluting them with their Ordnance, and maintayning fight against them till their Sayles were shot downe, some of their chiefe men slaine, others hurt, and their ship forced either to anchor, or run ashore. The *Zelanders* vsed the *English* very vnkindly, rifling their ship of all their goods, and taking away all their munition and artillery, not leauing any goods ashore, but burning vp the Caske, not permitting the *English* to take in fresh water, but shot their Boat thorow in going ashore, and minding, as they protested and swore vnto the said *William Heley*, that they would take and ransacke all the *English* ships in the Countrey, and carrie the *English* Captaine to *Zeland*: hauing as they said, that yeere in those parts 23. sayle of well appointed ships, onely to ouerthrow all the *English*, all which were to meet in *Scotland* outward bound. After the surprising of the said *English* Vice-admirall, all the rest of the *English* ships being disperfed farre asunder, could not ioine together, being in all places hindred by the *Flemmings*: and by that meanes the *English* Voyage vtterly ouerthrowne, to the extraordinary great losse and charge of the Companie, the most part of their ships returning home without any goods.

The next yeere 1619. the said *Mosconia* and *East India* Companies set out nine ships, and two Pinnasses, vnder the command of the said Captaine Edge, in which yeere, diuers *Hollanders* being in the Northermost Harbour in the Countrey, employing great quantitie of Boats in chasing the Whale there, off into the Sea, put them by their vsuall course, so that the Companies ships, being five of the nine, in the two Northermost Harbours, were disappointed of their Voyage in those Harbours; and thinking to better it in the other Harbours, the foresaid *William Heley* sending a Shallop with ten men in her, with Letters to the said Captaine Edge, of their ill successe to the Northwards, the said Shallop was cast away, and all the men lost: and the said Captaine being laden, sent a Pinnasse to the said *Heley* in August, aduertising him of his departure, thinking all the ships to the Northward had been laden, wishing them to haste home. By meanes of which Shallops casting away, the Voyage was greatly hindred to the Companies exceeding great losse; in that the *Hollanders* did as then bring ouer great quantitie of Whale-oyle, and sold it at vnder rates, so that the Companie was forced to keepe theirs on their hands twelue moneths, and sell it afterwards at a very small price, and lost one ship in her returne homewards neere *Tarmouth*: which did so much dishearten the said Companie, that they dissolued againe, and thought verily to haue aduentured no more thither (their successe those two yeeres past, in which the *East India* Companie ioined with them was so bad, that any that would buy their prouision might enioy the benefit of the Trade there.) At which time, the worthie and famous Merchants Aduenturers; namely, *Ralph Freeman*, *Benjamin Deicrowe*, *George Strowd*, with Captaine *Thomas Edge*, all brethren of the *Mosconia* Companie, pitying the down-fall of so worthie a Trafficke, in which yeerely so many poore Land-men receiued great comfort, and breeding of Mariners, at their owne charge compounded with the said Companies, and tooke that Trade into their hands. In which yeere 1620. they set out seuen sayle of ships, vnder the command of *William Goodlad*, and the said *William Heley*; in which said yeere, by reason of great store of *Flemmings* and *Danes* in the foresaid Northermost Harbours, their ships had ill successe to the Northwards, and were forced to passe from Harbour to Harbour to seeke to make a Voyage, but could not, and so returned home halfe laden, with seuen hundred tunnes of Oyle.

The next yeere 1621. the foresaid Aduenturers hired, and set forth eight ships, seuen for the Whale Voyage, and one to the South-eastwards vpon Discouerie, vnder the command aforesaid, which yeere in one of their chiefe Harbours their Voyage was ouerthrowne, by reason of the foresaid *Flemmings* and *Danes*, being to the Northward, as aforesaid, putting the Whale by her course, and in all places in the Countrey generally disheartned, and out of hope to haue made any Voyage that yeere, whereby to haue earned their bread. Yet it pleased God afterwards in some Harbours, Whales hitting in, a Voyage was performed, and 100. tunnes of Oyle brought home, to the great encouragement of the said Aduenturers: otherwise that Trade had bene vtterly ouerthrowne.

The yeere following 1622. the said Aduenturers at their owne charge set forth nine ships, vnder the command aforesaid, and therein employed diuers Land-men; many of which afterwards proue good Sea-men, and are fit for any Sea seruice. Eight of which ships were appointed to make their Voyage vpon the Whale, and one to goe on discouerie to the South-eastwards. But ill successe happening, one of their greatest ships of burthen, whereof *Iohn Masson* was Master, hauing in her two hundred tuns of Caske, Coppers, and diuers prouisions, was vnfortunatly cast away against a piece of Ice, vpon the coast of *King James Newland*, foure leagues from the shoare, in which ship perished nine and twentie men, and the remainder being three and twenty, were by the prouidence of the Almighty miraculously saued in a Shallop, coasting thirtie leagues afterwards to meet with some other ships to find some succour, hauing neither bread nor drinke, nor any meanes whereby to get any food: and so remayned three dayes in extreme cold weather, being in a small Boat ready to bee swallowed vp of euery waue, but that God prouided better for them. Many of which people their hands and feet rotted off, being frozen, and they

1619.

1620.

1621.

1622.

Shipwracke.

died in the Countrey. The rest of the ships returned home laden, bringing in them 1300. tuns of Oyle, yet the foresaid chiefe Harbour could not performe their full lading there, by reason of the *Flemmings* and *Danes* being to the Northwards, as aforesaid, which doth yeerely hinder the Companies ships from making a Voyage.

¶ III.

The Description of the severall sorts of Whales, with the manner of killing them: Whereto is added the Description of Greenland.

* The ordina-
rie growne
Whale.
Finnes.

Small eyes.
Some kinds
have greater.
Stow mentions
one taken on
Tenet shoare,
the eye of
which was a
Cart-loade,
a man might
stand in the
hole vpright:
The like wee
may ghesse of
the throat, &c.
Nature being
herein luxuri-
ant, and diuer-
sified.

You may see
this Story of
the Whale-kill-
ing presented
lively in the
Map, which
Captaine Edge
hath liberally
added to this
Relation.

THe Whale is a Fish or Sea-beast of a huge bignesse, about sixtie five foot long, and thirtie five foot thicke, his head is a third part of all his bodies quantitie, his spacious mouth containyng a very great tongue, and all his finnes, which we call Whale finnes.

These finnes are fastned or rooted in his vpper chap, and spread ouer his tongue on both sides his mouth, being in number about two hundred and fiftie on one side, and as many on the other side. The longest finnes are placed in the midst of his mouth, and the rest doe shorten by their proportionable degrees, backward and forwards, from ten or eleuen foot long to foure inches in length, his eyes are not much bigger then an Oxes eyes, his body is in fashion almost round forwards, growing on still narrower towards his tayle from his bellie, his tayle is about twentie foot broad, and of a tough solid substance, which we vse for blockes to chop the *Blubber* on (which yeelds Oyle) and of like nature are his two swimming finnes (and they grow forward on him.)

This creature commeth oftentimes aboue water, spouting eight or nine times before he goeth downe againe, whereby he may be descried two or three leagues off. Then our Whale-killers presently rowe forth from the place where they stand to watch for him, making what haste they can to meet him: but commonly before they come neere him, he will be gone downe againe, and continue a good while before he riseth; so that sometimes they rowe past him. Yet are they very circumspect, euer looking round where they may espie him risen, or discern his way vnder water, which they call his *Walke*. When he is vp and the Shallops neere him, they rowe towards him very resolutely, as if they would force the Shallop vpon him, if hee went downe vnder water: but the Harponyre, who standeth vp in the head of the Boat, darteth his Harping-iron at the Whale with both his hands, so soone as he commeth within his reach; wherewith the Whale being stricken, presently descendeth to the bottome, and therefore doe they reare out a rope of two hundred fathome, which is fastned to the Harping-iron, and lieth coyled in the Boat: And they let him haue as much of the rope as reacheth to the bottome, and when they perceiue him rising they hale in the rope to get neere him, and when the Whale commeth vp aboue water, then do the men lance him with their lances, either out of one Shallop or the other; for most commonly there bee two Shallops about the killing of one Whale. In lancing him they strike neere to the finnes he swimmeth withall, and as lowe vnder water neere his bellie as conueniently they can: but when he is lanced, he friskes and strikes with his tayle so forcibly, that many times when hee hitteth a Shallop hee splitteth her in pieces; so that the men are relieved and taken in by another Shallop: and sometimes he striketh so fully vpon them, that some of the men are either maymed, or killed with his stroke. Therefore they who vnder- take this businesse which is the principall thing in the Voyage, must not onely bee bold and resolute, but also discreet and wary; otherwise their rash forwardnesse may preuent them of their expected conquest; considering they haue no shield to withstand the offended beast their enemy, but onely by a heedfull warinesse, to auoide the receiuing of his dangerous stroke. Swimming is also requisite for a Whale-killer to be expert in, for it may be a meanes to saue his life, when he hath lost his Boat, and another is not neere presently to helpe him.

The Whale hauing received his deadly wound, then he spouteth bloud (whereas formerly he cast forth water) and his strength beginneth to fayle him; but before he dieth, hee will sometimes draw the Shallop three or foure miles from the place where he was first stricken: and as he is a dying, he turneth his bellie vpwards, which lieth vppermost being dead. Then they fasten a rope to his tayle, and with the Shallops, one made fast to another, they towe him towards the ship with his tayle foremost. Then doe they lay him erosse the sterne of the ship, where he is cut vp in this manner; two or three men in a Boat or Shallop come close to the side of the Whale, and hold the Boat fast there with a Boat-hooke; and another standing either in the Boat, or most commonly vpon the Whale, cutteth the fat (which we call *Blubber*) in square pieces with a cutting Knife, three or foure foot long. Then to race it from the flesh, there is a Crane or Cap- sten placed purposely vpon the poope of the ship, from whence there descendeth a rope with a hooke in it; this hooke is made to take hold on a piece of *Blubber*: and as the men winde the Capsten, so the cutter with his long knife looseth the fat from the flesh, euen as if the lard of a

Swine

Swine were to be cut off from the leane. When a piece is in order cut off, then let they lower the Crane, and let downe the Blubber to flote vpon the water, and make a hole in some part of it, putting a rope thorow it; and so they proceed to cut off more, fastning ten or twentie pieces together to bee towed a shoare at one time, being made fast to the sterne of a Boat or Shallop. These pieces being thus brought vnto the shoare side, they are drawne by one and one vpon the shoare with an high Crane, or carried vp by two men on a Barrow vnto a Stage, there to be cut into small pieces about a foot long, but thin: then it is carried vnto the choppers by two boyes, with two little hand-hookes, taking in each hand a piece, and so they put it into half-tubs which stand behind the choppers, out of which the choppers take it vp; who stand at the side of a boat which is raised of an equall height fit for the furnace. And the boat being fitted with all things necessarie for the choppers, they place the chopping blockes, which they make of the Whales tayle, and the Blubber is layd ready for them, as they vse it, in small pieces vpon the boord whereon they stand. Then the choppers take it vp with hand-hookes, and lay it on their blockes, and chop it in thin pieces (the thinner he cuts it, the better it is) and when it is chopped, they put it off the blocke downe into the Shallop, with a short Paddle made like a Cole-rake: and thus doe sixe or eight men stand chopping on the one side of the boat, and on the other side of the boat about two or three yards distant are the Furnaces and Coppers placed and heated. Then betweene the chopping boat and the Coppers, is layd a broad thicke planke, on which standeth a hoghead, which containeth as much as is put into the Copper, at one time for one boyling, and the tub being emptied, is made to slide vnto the chopping boat againe, being there filled with a copper ladle againe, and put into another Copper. When it is boyled enough, the small pieces of Blubber, which wee call *Fritters*, will looke browne as if they were fried. Then are they taken out with copper ladles, and some of the Oyle also with them, and put into a Barrow made close to dreyne the Oyle, which standeth ouer another Shallop, that is set on the back-side of the Furnace to receiue the Oyle in, and as soone as the Fritters are taken cleane out of the Copper, then presently is the tub of small Blubber emptied into the Copper againe to be also boyled.

The Boat into which the hot Oyle is put out of the Coppers, is euer kept halfe full of water, which doth not onely coole the Oyle before it runne into the Caske, but also is a cleanser of it from drosse, which descendeth to the bottome of the Boat. Out of the Oyle-boat doth the Oyle runne thirtie or fortie yards in Troughs or Gutters, and so into Buts or Hogheads, which being filled, is rolled off to coole, and another Caske layd to fill, and when there is any quantitie of Oyle made, it is carried aboard the ship in rafts. In this manner is the Oyle saued and prepared.

Now concerning the Whale Finnes, the Whales head being cut off from the body (as hee floteth at the sterne of the ship where hee is cut vp) is towed by a Boat as neere the shoare as it will come: but it is aground in twelue or thirteene foot water, then by crabes which are placed on land it is drawne on land, at seuerall times when the water is at highest, so neere the dry shoare, that men at a lowe water with their Boats on, cut off the Blubber and Finnes, which by the crabes are drawne on shoare, and the Finnes are with Axes, one seuered from another, and being made cleane, are packed vp by fiftie in a bundle, and so shipped.

There are eight seuerall kinds of Whales, and differing the one from the other in goodnesse, quantitie and qualitie.

Whale Finnes

Eight kinds of Whales known

1. Grand bay Whale.

2. Sarda.

3. Trumpa.

Spermacete.

4. Otta Sotta.

5. Gibarta.

The first sort of Whale is called the *Grand-bay*, taking his name from *Grand-bay* in *New-foundland*, as hauing there beene first killed: he is blacke of colour, with a smooth skinne, and white vnderneath the chaps. This Whale is the best for Oyle and Finnes of all the rest (and doth yeeld most the elder it growes.) This sort of Whale doth yeeld about an hundred hogheads of Oyle, and some five hundred Finnes.

The second sort of Whale is called *Sarda*, of the same colour as the former, but somewhat lesser, and the Finnes likewise lesser, and yeelds in Oyle according to his bignesse, sometimes seuentie hogheads, or eightie hogheads. This Whale hath naturally growing vpon his backe, white things like vnto Barnacles.

The third sort of Whale is called *Trumpa*, being as long as the first, but thicker forwards, of colour more gray then the former, hauing but one spoute in his head, and the rest haue all two; he hath in his mouth teeth about a span long, and as thicke as a mans wrist, but no finnes; his head is bigger then the two former, and in proportion farre bigger then his bodie. In the head of this Whale is the *Permessie*, which lieth there in a hole like a Well. This is the Whale that is supposed to yeeld the *Ambergreece*; There taken about fortie hogheads of Oyle besides the *Permessie*.

The fourth sort of Whale is called *Otta Sotta*, and is of the same colour of the *Trumpa*, hauing finnes in his mouth all white, but not aboue halfe a yard long, being thicker then the *Trumpa*, but not so long: he yeelds the best Oyle, but not aboue thirtie hogheads.

The fift sort of Whale is called *Gibarta*, of colour blacke like the two first, sauing that it hath standing vpon the top of his backe, a finne halfe a yard long. This Whale is as bigge

as the first; his fins little or nothing worth, being not above halfe a yard long: and hee yeeldeth about twelue hogheads of Oyle, all which his backe yeelds; as for his bellie it yeelds nothing at all.

6. *Sedena*.

The sixt sort is called *Sedena*, being of a whitly colour, and bigger then any of the former, the finnes not above one foot long, and he yeelds little or no Oyle.

7. *Sedena Negro*.

The seuenth is called *Sedena Negro*, of colour blacke, with a bume on his backe; this Whale yeelds neither Oyle, finnes, nor teeth, and yet he is of a great bignesse.

8. *Sewria*.

The eight sort is called *Sewria*, of colour as white as snow, of the bignesse of a Wherrie, he yeelds not above one hoghead or two of Oyle, nor any finnes, and is good meate to be eaten.

The description of Greenland.

Antiphrastical
appellation.
I haue found
this description
of Greenland,
with other
notes, written
by Ro. Fotherby.
Deere.

Greenland is a place in Nature nothing like vnto the Name: for certainly there is no place in the World, yet knowne and discovered that is lesse Greene then it. It is couered with snow, both the Mountaines and the lower Lands, till about the beginning of Iune, being very Mountainous, and beareth neither grasse nor tree, saue onely such as grow vpon the Moores and heathie grounds, in the North parts of England, which we call *Heath*, or *Ling*. This groweth when the snow melteth, and when the ground beginneth to be vncouered. And on this doe the Deere feed in the Summer time, and become very fat therewithall in a moneths space, but how they liue in the Winter time it is not easily to be imagined. For seeing at the end of May wee find the ground all couered with snow, it is very like, that in the time of Winter there is no part bare, where any thing can grow; especially during the time that the Sunne is altogether depressed vnder the horizon, which in the latitude of 77. degrees, continueth from the eighteenth of October till the fourth of Februarie. This Countrey by all probabilities hath neuer been inhabited by any people; notwithstanding, I thinke men might liue there, carrying thither good store of prouision of victuals, and other things necessary against the cold, which perhaps will be vehement in the Winter time, by the former reasons; namely, because the Sunne remayneth so long vnder the Horizon.

Neuerthelesse, there will not be any continuance of darknesse, because the Sunne in his greatest declination will be but 10. degrees vnder the Horizon, at this time of his being in the South of the Meridian in the former latitude of 77. degrees, which is once in foure and twentie houres; and therefore the time of their Noone will bee much lighter then our Night here in England, when the dayes are at the longest; for then is the Sunne 15. degrees vnder the Horizon at midnight, and yet the greatest darknesse is but like twi-light. And although it bee a generall saying, and a common receiued opinion, that the further North the greater cold, yet experience teacheth, that it is not alwaies true. For at *Mosco*, and thereabouts in the Winter time, there is extreme frosts and cold weather, insomuch that oftentimes men are brought home dead, being starued with cold; and many haue their noses and eares caused to fall off, through the extremity of the piercing aire: yet at *Edenborrow*, which is more Northerly by one degree and an halfe, and in all places neere vnto it the aire is temperate, and the cold tolerable, the snow neuer lying any long time on the ground after it is fallen. Notwithstanding, wee haue snow remaying all the yeere long in diuers places of England, but the reason of this is, because the aire is euer warmer vnto the Sea shoare, (as *Edenborrow* standeth) and contrariwise the cold is most vehement in places which are farthest remote from the Sea, as *Mosco* is situated.

Yes in China
euen neere the
Sea, and farre
neerer the
Sun, betwixt
30. and 40. the
Winters are
extreme.
R. Foib.

All the Creatures that appeare vnto vs vpon the Land, are Deere, Beares, and Foxes, and sundrie sorts of wilde Fowle, as Cuthbert Duckes, Willocks, Stints, Sea-pigeons, Sea-parrets, Gulls, Noddies, &c. The Author addes a discourse of sending condemned men to inhabit there, with diuers proiects for their seruice there, for the further discoverie how best to bee effected, for such things as are most necessary for this employment of Whale-killing, &c. but because experience hath giuen best instructions already, and destructions must otherwise be prevented, I haue forborne to detain the Reader in those (otherwise iudicious) speculations.

The Southermost part of Greenland stands in 76. degrees 30. minutes, which wee call, *Point Looke out*; and we haue discovered all the West side of the Land as farre vnto the Northwards as 80. degrees odde minutes: in which compasse wee haue already experience of fixe or eight good Harbours for the killing of the Whale; and on the East side we haue discovered as farre as 78. degrees, finding diuers Ilands, great and small, yeelding good Harbours, and store of Whales, and Sea-horses; and for a further discovery on the East side, I am perswaded it had bene farre greater, if the Dutch had not so disturbed vs in our proceedings, as also the *Hull-men*, who euer practised to follow our steps, after the discoverie within one yeere or two: as by our Masters Journall more at large may appeare. The best actions haue their hindrances and crosses, and so hath this had; for, the Dutch haue bene a bane to this Trade and Discoverie: The *Hull-men* haue done some bad seruice in this Action, for they were the first that carried the Dutch to the *Twitches*, as by *Whendens* Oath and Journall appeares, they were also a cause of that bad Voyage,

to vs in 1618. in that they animated the *Flemmings* to come backe to *Greenland* againe, as appeareth in this Iournall, in the yeere 1617. they haue done some other ill seruices against vs as well as the *Dutch*, but in regard they are our Countrey-men, I will omit and wish their amendment, and pray to God to send a good and further Discouery to bee made in these Northerne parts. Amen.

Reader, I present thee here three admirable Voyages of Discouery made by the Dutch, no whit enuying their due prayse, but honouring their worthy Acts and Arts. They haue formerly beene published in Dutch, and translated by W. Philip. I haue heere abbreviated them, as my use is with others, to auoid prolixitie. The Dutch themselves write that after the English Russian Trade, one Oliuer Bunell moued with hope of gaine, went from Enckhuysen to Pechora, where he lost all by shipwracke, hauing discovered *Cottinlarca* in *Noua Zemla*. These Navigations of the English, and that of Bunell, and the hopes of China and Cathay, caused the States Generall to send forth two shippes vnder the command of Hugo Linschoten, to the Streights of Wey-gates, and two others vnder William Bernards, by the perswasion of P. Plancius to goe right Northwards from *Noua Zemla*. Linschot went fiftie miles beyond the Streights, the Northerly winds, and late season forcing him backe. Bernards Iournall here followeth, of that and his two later Voyages, the two later written by one employed therein.

* Prolegomena,
ad Hudsoni De-
tect. edit. Am-
stelodami per
Hes. Gerard.
1611.

CHAP. III.

The first Navigation of WILLIAM BARENTS, alias BERNARDS into the North Seas; Written by GERAT DE VEER.



IT is a most certayne and an assured Assertion, that nothing doth more benefit and further the Common-wealth (specially these Countreyes) then the art and knowledge of Nauigation, in regard that such Countreyes and Nations as are strong and mightie at Sea, haue the meanes and ready way to draw, fetch, and bring vnto them for their mayntenance, all the principallest commodities and fruits of the Earth.

In these Navigations we must not be dismayed if some mislike, or if we cannot perfect a Discouery in the first, second, or third Voyage. *Alexander Magnus* (after he had wonne all *Grecia*, and from thence entred into little and great *Asia*; and comming to the farthest parts of *India*, there found some difficultie to passe) said, If wee had not gone forward, and persisted in our intent, which other men esteemed and held to be impossible, we had stil remayned and stayed in the entry of *Cicilia*, where as now we haue ouer-runne and past through all those large and spacious Countreyes: for nothing is found and effected all at one time, neyther is any thing that is put in practice, presently brought to an end. To the which end, *Cicero* wisely saith; God hath giuen vs some things, and not all things, that our Successors also might haue some-what to doe. Therefore we must not leaue off, nor stay our pretence in the middle of our proceedings, as long as there is any commoditie to be hoped, and in time to bee obtayned: for that the greatest and richest Treasures are hardliest to be found. I thought good to set downe, in regard that I haue vnderaken to describe the three Voyages made into the North Seas, in three yeeres, one after the other; behind *Norway*, and along and about *Musconia*, towards the Kingdome of *Cathaya*, and *China*: whereof, the two last, I my selfe holpe to effect; and yet brought them not to the desired end that we well hoped.

First, to shew our diligent, and most toyle some labour and paines taken, to find out the right course; which we could not bring to passe, as wee well hoped, wished, and desired, and possible might haue found it, by crossing the Seas, if we had taken the right course; if the Ice & the shortnesse of time, and bad crosse had not hindered vs. We haue assuredly found, that the onely and most hinderance to our Voyage, was the Ice that we found about *Noua Zembla*, vnder 73. 74. 75. and 76. degrees; and not so much vpon the Sea betweene both the Lands: whereby it appeareth, that not the neerenesse of the North-pole, but the Ice that comnieth in and out from the *Tartarian* Sea, about *Noua Zembla*, caused vs to feelee the greatest cold. Therefore in regard that the neerenesse of the Pole was not the cause of the great cold that wee felt, if wee had had the meanes to haue held our appointed and intended course into the North-east, we had peraduenture found some entrance: which course wee could not hold from *Noua Zembla*, because that there we entred amongst great store of Ice; and how it was about *Noua Zembla*, we could not tel, before we had sought it; and when we had sought it, we could not then alter our course, although also it is vncertayn, what we should haue done, if we had continued in our North-east course, because it is not yet found out. But it is true, that in the Countrey lying vnder 80. degrees, (which we esteeme to be *Greenland*) there is both Leaues and Grasse to be seene: Wherein, such Beasts

A thing not continued, cannot bee effected. All things are effected in conuenient time.

The first finding is hard, but the second attempt is easier.

A comparison
of the heate
vnder the line,
with the cold
vnder the
North Pole.

The resolute
intent and opi-
nions of Wil-
liam Barents.

Iune 5.

The particu-
lars beeing
knowne to
many of our
Mariners, I
omit.

Langenes.

Lombsbay.

Admirals Iland

Cape Negro:
Black point.

Williams Iland.

as feed of Leaues and Grasse (as Harts, Hinds, and such like beasts live, whereas to the contrary in *Nova Zembla*, there groweth neyther Leaues nor Grasse, and there are no beasts therein but such as eat flesh, as Beares and Foxes, &c. Although *Nova Zembla* lyeth 4.5. and 6. degrees more Southerly from the Pole, then the other Land aforesaid. It is also manifest, that vpon the South and North-side of the Line of the Sunne on both sides, betweene both the Tropicks, vnder 23. degrees and an halfe, yet it is as hot, as it is right vnder the Line. What wonder then should it be, that about the North-pole also and as many degrees on both sides, it should not be colder then right vnder the Pole? It was not the Sea, nor the neerenesse vnto the Pole, but the Ice about the Land, that let and hindered vs (as I said before) for that asloone as we made from the Land, and put more into the Sea, although it was much further Northward, presently we felt more warmth, and in that opinion our Pilot *William Barents* dyed, who notwithstanding the tearefull and intolerable cold that he indured, yet he was not discouraged, but offered to lay wagers with diuers of vs, that by Gods helpe, hee would bring that pretended Voyage to an end, if he held his course North-east from the North Cape. But I will leaue that, and shew you of the three Voyages aforesaid, begunne and set forth by the permission and furtherance of the Generall States of the vnited Prouinces, and of Prince *Maurice*, as Admirall of the Sea, and the rich Towne of *Amsterdam*.

First, you must vnderstand, that in *Anno 1594.* there was foure ships set forth out of the vnited Prouinces, whereof two were of *Amsterdam*; one of *Zelandt*, and one of *Enckbuisen*, that were appointed to sayle into the North Seas, to discover the Kingdomes of *Cathaya*, and *China*; Northward from *Norway*, *Muscovia*, and about *Tartaria*, whereof *William Barents*, a notable skilfull and wise Pilot, was Commander ouer the ships of *Amsterdam*, and with them vpon Whit-sunday, departed from *Amsterdam*, and went to the *Texell*.

Vpon the fifth of Iune they sayled out of the *Texel*, and hauing a good wind and faire weather, vpon the three and twentieth of Iune, they arrived at *Riduin* in *Muscovia*, which for that it is a place well knowne and a common Voyage, I will make no further description thereof. The nine and twentieth of Iune, at foure of the clocke in the after-noone, they set sayle out of *Riduin*.

The fourth of Iuly they saw *Nova Zembla*, lying South-east and by East six or seuen miles from them, where they had blacke durrie ground at one hundred and fye fathome. *William Barents* tooke the height of the Sunne with his Crosse-staffe, when it was at the lowest, that is betweene North North-east, and East and by North, and found it to be eleuated aboue the Horizon six degrees and $\frac{1}{2}$. part, his declination being 12. degrees and 55. minutes, from whence subtracting the aforesaid height, there resteth sixteenth degrees and 35. minutes, which being subtracted from 90. degrees, there resteth 73. degrees and 25. minutes. Then they woond Eastward and sayled fye miles, East and by South, and East South-east, and past by a long point of Land that lay out into the Sea, which they named *Langenes*, and hard by that point Eastward, there was a great Bay, where they went a Land with their Boat, but found no people. From *Langenes* to Cape *Bapo*, East North-east it is foure miles. From Cape *Bapo* to the West point of *Lombsbay* North-east and by North are fye miles, and betweene them both there are two Creeks. *Lombsbay* is a great wide Bay, on the West-side thereof hauing a faire Hauen, six, seuen, or eight fathome deepe, blacke sand, there they went on shoare with their Boat, and vpon the shoare placed a Beacon, made of an old Mast which they found there; calling the Bay *Lombsbay*, because of a certayne kind of Beares so called, which they found there in great abundance. The East point of *Lombsbay*, is a long narrow point, and by it there lyeth an Iland, and from that long point to Sea-ward in, there is a great Creeke. This *Lombsbay* lyeth vnder 74. degrees and $\frac{1}{2}$. part. From *Lombsbay* to the point of the *Admirals Iland*, they sayled six or seuen miles, North-east and by North. The *Admirals Iland* is not very faire on the East-side, but a farre off very flat, so that you must shunne it long before you come at it, it is also very vneuen, for at one casting of the Lead they had ten fathome deepe, and presently at another casting of the Lead they had but six fathome, and presently after that againe ten, eleuen, and twelue fathome, the streame running hard against the Flats.

From the East-end of the *Admirals Iland*, to Cape *Negro*, that is the *Blacke point*, they sayled about fye or six miles, East North-east, and a mile without the *Blacke point* it is seuentie fathome deepe, the ground slimy, as vpon *Pamphius*, right East-ward of the *Blacke point*, there are two sharpe pointed Hills in the Creeke, that are easie to be knowne. The sixt of Iuly, the Sunne being North, they come right before the *Blacke point* with faire weather, this *Blacke point* lyeth vnder 75. degrees and 20. minutes. From the *Blacke point* to *Williams Iland*, they sayled seuen or eight miles, East North-east, and betweene them both about halfe a mile, there lay a small Iland.

The seuenth of Iuly they sayled from *Williams Iland*, and then *William Barents* tooke the height of the Sunne, with his Crosse-staffe, and found it to be eleuated aboue the Horizon in the South-west and by South 53. degrees and 6. minutes, his declination being 22. degrees and 45. minutes, which being added to 53. degrees and 6. minutes, make 75. degrees and 55. minutes. This is the right height of the Pole of the said Iland. In this Iland they found great store of
Drift.

Driftwood, and many Sea-horses being a kind of fish that keepeth in the Sea, having very great teeth, which at this day are vsed in stead of Iuory or Elephants Teeth, there also is a good Road for ships, at twelue and thirtene fathome deepe against all winds, except it bee West South-west, and West-winds, and there they found a piece of a *Russia* ship, and that day they had the wind East North-east, mistie weather.

Sea-horses, or
Morses.

The ninth of Iuly they entred into *Beeren-fort*, vpon the Road vnder *Williams* Iland, and there they found a white Beare, which they perceiuing, presently entred into their Boat, and shot her into the bodie with a Musket, but the Beare shewed most wonderfull strength, which almost is not to be found in any beast, for no man euer heard the like to bee done by any Lion or cruell beast whatsoeuer: for notwithstanding that she was shot into the bodie, yet she leapt vp, and swamme in the water, the men that were in the Boat rowing after her, cast a Rope about her necke, and by that meanes drew her at the sterne of the Boat, for that not hauing seene the like Beare before, they thought to haue carryed her alieue in the ship, and to haue shewed her for a strange wonder in *Holland*; but she vsed such force, that they were glad that they were rid of her, and contented themselves with her skinn only, for shee made such a noyse, and stroue in such sort, that it was admirable, wherewith they let her rest and gaue her more scope, with the Rope that they held her by, and so drew her in that sort after them, by that meanes to wearie her: meane-time, *William Barents* made neerer to her, but the Beare swamme to the Boat, and with her fore-feet got hold of the sterne thereof, which *William Barents* perceiuing, said, she will there rest her selfe, but she had another meaning, for she vsed such force, that at last she had gotten halfe her body into the Boat, wherewith the men were so abashed, that they ranne into the further end of the Boat, and thought verily to haue bene spoyled by her, but by a strange meanes they were deliuered from her, for that the Rope that was about her necke, caught hold vpon the hooke of the Ruther, whereby the Beare could get no further, but so was held backe, and hanging in that manner, one of the men boldly stept forth from the end of the Scute, and thrust her into the bodie with a halfe-pike; and therewith shee fell downe into the water, and so they rowed forward with her to the shippe, drawing her after them, till shee was in a manner dead, wherewith they killed her out-right, and hauing flayed her, brought the skin to *Amsterdam*.

Beeren-fort
white Beare,
terrible.

The twentieth of Iuly, they sayled out of *Beeren-fort* from *Williams* Iland, and the same day in the morning got to the Iland of *Crosses*, and there went on Land with their Pinnasse, and found the Iland to be barren, and full of Clifles and Rocks, in it there was a small Hauen, wherinto they rowed with their Boat. This Iland is about halfe a mile long, and reacheth East and West, on the West end it hath a banke, about a third part of a mile long, and at the East end also another banke, vpon this Iland there standeth two great Crosses, the Iland lyeth about two long miles from the firme Land, and vnder the East-end thereof there is a good Road, at fixe and twentie fathome soft ground; and somewhat closer to the Iland on the Strand, at nine fathome sandie ground.

Iland of Crosses

From the Iland of *Crosses* to the point of *Cape Nassaw*, they sayled East, and East and by North about eight miles: it is a long flat point which you must be carefull to shunne, for thereabouts at seuen fathome there were flats or shoales, very farre from the Land; it lyeth almost vnder 76. degrees and a halfe. From the West end of *Williams* Iland, to the Iland with the *Crosses* is three miles, the course North. From *Nassaw* point they sayled East and by South, and East South-east five miles, and then they thought that they saw Land in North-east, and by East, and sayled towards it five miles North-east to descrye it, thinking it to bee another Land, that lay Northward from *Noua Zembla*, but it began to blow so hard out of the West, that they were forced to take in their Marfaile, and yet the wind rose in such manner, that they were forced to take in all their Sayles, and the Sea went so hollow, that they were constrained to driue sixteene houres together, without sayle, eight or nine miles East North-east.

Cape Nassaw.

The eleuenth of Iuly their Boat was by a great waue of the Sea funke to the ground, and by that meanes they lost it, and after that they draue without sayles five miles, East and by South; at last the Sunne being almost South-east, the wind came about to the North-west, and then the weather began somewhat to cleere vp, but yet it was very mistie. Then they hoysed vp their sayles againe and sayled foure miles till night, that the Sunne was North and by East, and there they had sixtie fathome deepe, muddie ground, and then they saw certayne flakes of Ice, at which time vpon the twelfth of Iuly they woond West, and held North-west, and sayled about a mile with mistie weather, and a North-west wind, and sayled vp and downe West South-west three or foure miles, to see if they could find their Boat againe: after that they woond againe with the wind, and sayled foure miles South-east, till the Sunne was South-west, and then they were close by the Land of *Noua Zembla*, that lay East and by North, and West and by South; from thence they woond ouer againe till noone, and sayled three miles, North and by West, and then till the Sunne was North-west, they held North-west and by North three miles, then they woond East-ward and sayled foure or five miles North-east and by East.

The thirteenth of Iuly at night, they found great store of Ice, as much as they could descry out of the top, that lay as if it had bene a plaine field of Ice, then they woond Westward ouer from the Ice.

The

The seventeenth of July, *William Barents* took the height of the Sunne with his *Astrolabium*, and then they were vnder 77. degrees and a $\frac{1}{2}$. of the Pole, and sayled Southward six miles, and perceiued the firme Land, lying South from them. Then they sayled till the nineteenth of July in the morning, West South-west sixe or seuen miles, with a North-west winde, and mistie weather, and after that South-west and South-west and by West seuen miles, the Sunne being 77. degrees 5. minutes lesse. Then they sayled two miles South-west, and were close by the land of *Noua Zembla*, about *Cape Nassaw*.

The five and twentieth of July, they were so inclosed about with flakes of Ice, that out of the top they could not discerne any thing beyond it, and sought to get through the Ice, but they could not passe beyond it. At night, they took the height of the Sunne, when it was at the lowest betweene North and North-east, and North-east and by North, it being eleuated above the Horizon 6. degrees, and $\frac{1}{2}$. his Declination being 19. degrees 50. minutes, now take 6. degrees $\frac{1}{2}$. from 19. degrees and 50. minutes, and there resteth 13. degrees 5. minutes, which subtracted from 90. there resteth 77. degrees lesse 5. minutes.

Cape Trust.

The sixe and twentieth of July in the morning, they sayled sixe miles South South-east, till the Sunne was South-west, and then South-east sixe miles, and were within a mile of the land of *Noua Zembla*, and came againe to *Cape Trust*.

The eight and twentieth of July, the height of the Sun being taken at nocne with the *Astrolabium*, it was found to be eleuated above the Horizon 57. degrees and 6. minutes, her Declination being 19. degrees and 18. minutes, which in all is 76. degrees and 24. minutes, they being then about foure miles from the land of *Noua Zembla*, that lay all couered ouer with Snow, the weather being cleare, and the winde East.

Ice point.
Gold Stones.

The nine and twentieth of July, the height of the Sun being taken with the *Crosse-staffe*, *Astrolabium* & *Quadrant*, they found it to be eleuated above the Horizon 32. degrees, her declination being 19. degrees, which subtracted from 32. there resteth 13. degrees of the Equator, which being subtracted from 90. there rested 77. degrees, and then the nearest North point of *Noua Zembla*, called the *Ice point*, lay right East from them. There they found certaine Stones that glistered like gold, which for that cause they named *Gold-stones*, and there also they had a faire Bay with sandie ground.

Orange Islands.

Morfes described.

Vpon the same day they woond Southward againe, and sayled South-east two miles betweene the Land and the Ice, and after that from the *Ice point* East, and to the Southward sixe miles to the Islands of *Orange*; and there they laboured forward betweene the Land and the Ice, with faire still weather, and vpon the one and thirtieth of July got to the Islands of *Orange*. And there went to one of those Islands, where they found about two hundred Walrusen, or Sea-horses, lying vpon the shoare to baste themselves in the Sunne. This Sea-horse is a wonderfull strong Monster of the Sea, much bigger then an Oxe, which keepe continually in the Seas, hauing a skin like a Sea-calfe or Seale, with very short hayre, mouthed like a Lion, and many times they lye vpon the Ice; they are hardly killed vnlesse you strike them just vpon the forehead, it hath foure Feet, but no Eares, and commonly it hath one or two young ones at a time. And when the Fisher-men chance to finde them vpon a flake of Ice with their young ones, theee casteth her young ones before her into the water, and then takes them in her Armes, and so plungeth vp and downe with them, and when shee will reuenge her selfe vpon the Boates, or make resistance against them, then she casts her young ones from her againe, and with all her force goeth towards the Boate (whereby our men were once in no small danger, for that the Sea-horse had almost stricken her teeth into the sterne of their Boate) thinking to ouer-throw it, but by meanes of the great crie that the men made, she was afraid, and swomme away againe, and tooke her young ones againe in her armes. They haue two teeth sticking out of their mouthes, on each side one, each being about halfe an Ell long, and are esteemed to bee as good as any Iuorie or Elephants teeth, specially in *Musconia*, *Tartaria*, and thereabouts where they are knowne, for they are as white, hard, and euen as Iuorie.

The Sea-horses that lay bathing themselves vpon the Land, our men supposing that they could not defend themselves being out of the water, went on shoare to assaile them, and fought with them, to get their Teeth that are so rich, but they brake all their Hatchets, Cuttle-axes, and Pikes in pieces, and could not kill one of them, but stricke some of their Teeth out of their mouthes, which they tooke with them; and when they could get nothing against them by fighting, they agreed to goe aboard the Ship, to fetch some of their great Ordnance, to shoot at them therewith; but it began to blow so hard, that it rent the Ice into great pieces, so that they were forced not to doe it, and therewith they found a great white Beare that slept, which they shot into the bodie, but shee ranne away, and entred into the water; the men following her with their Boate, and killed her out-right, and then drew her vpon the Ice, and so sticking a halfe-pike vpright, bound her fast vnto it, thinking to fetch her when they came back againe, to shoot at the Sea-horses with their Ordnance, but for that it began more and more to blow, and the Ice therewith brake in peeces, they did nothing at all.

After that, *William Barents* finding that hee could hardly get through, to accomplish and end his

his pretended Voyage, his men also beginning to bee wearie, and would sayle no further, they all together agreed to returne backe againe, to meet with the other Ships that had taken their course to the *Wey-gates*, or the Straights of *Nassaw*, to know what Discoveries they had made there. The first of August they turned their course to sayle backe againe from the Ilands of *Orange*; There *William Barents* tooke the height of the Sunne, it being vnder 71. degrees and $\frac{1}{2}$. and there they found a great Creeke, which *William Barents* judged to bee the place where *Oliuer Brunel* had bene before, called *Cosfincarch*. From the *Blacke* Iland they sayled South, and South and by East to another small point three miles, on which point there stood a Crosse, and therefore they called it the *Crosse-point*, there also was a flat Bay and low water, five, six, or seven fadome deepe soft ground. From *Crosse-point* they sayled along by the land South South-east foure miles, and then came to another small point, which behind it had a great Creeke, that reached Eastward: This point they called the fifth point, or *Saint Laurence* point. From the fifth point they sayled to the *Sconce* point three miles, South South-east, and there lay a long blacke Rocke close by the land, whereon there stood a Crosse; then they entred into the Ice againe, and put inward to the Sea because of the Ice. Their intent was to sayle along the coast of *Noua Zembla* to the *Wey-gates*, but by reason that the Ice met them, they woond Westward, and from the ninth of August in the Eeuening, till the tenth of August in the Morning, sayled West and by North eleuen miles, and after that foure miles West North-west, and North-west and by West, the winde being North; in the Morning they woond Eastward againe, and sayled vntill Eeuening ten miles East, and East and by South; after that East, and East and by North foure miles, and there they saw land, and were against a great Creeke, where with their Boate they went on land, and there found a faire Hauen five fadome deepe, sandie ground. This Creeke on the North side hath three blacke points, and about the three points lyeth the road, but you must keepe somewhat from the third point, for it is stonie, and betweene the second and third point there is another faire Bay, for North-west, North, and North-east windes, blacke sandie ground. This Bay they called *Saint Laurence* Bay, and there they tooke the height of the Sunne, which was 70. degrees and $\frac{1}{2}$. From *Saint Laurence* Bay, South South-east two miles to *Sconce* point, there lay along blacke Rocke close by the land, whereon there stood a Crosse, there they went on Land with their Boat, and perceiued that some men had bene there, and that they were fled to saue themselves, for there they found fixe Sackes with Rye-meale buried in the ground, and a heape of stones by the Crosse, and a Bullet for a great Piece, and thereabouts also there stood another Crosse, with three Houses made of wood, after the North Countrey manner: and in the houses they found many barrells of Pike-staues, whereby they conjectured, that there they vsed to take Salmons, and by them stood five or six Coffins, by Graues, with dead mens bones, the Coffins standing vpon the ground all filled vp with stones; there also lay a broken *Russia* ship, the Keele thereof being fortie foure foot long, but they could see no man on the Land: it is a faire Hauen for all windes, which they called the *Meale-hauen*, because of the Meale that they found there. From the blacke Rocke or Cliffe with the Crosse, two miles South South-east, there lay a low Iland a little into the Sea; from whence they sayled nine or ten miles South South-east, there the height of the Sunne was 70. degrees and 50. minutes, when it was South South-west. From that Iland they sayled along by the Land foure miles South-east and by South, there they came to two Ilands, whereof the vttermoost lay a mile from the Land: those Ilands they called *Saint Clara*. Then they entred into the Ice againe, and woond inward to the Sea in the wind, and sayled from the Iland vntill Eeuening, West South-west foure miles, the wind being North-west; that Eeuening it was very mistie, and then they had eightie fadome deepe. Then againe they sayled South-west and by West, and West South-west three miles, there they had seuentie fadome deepe, and so sayled till the thirteenth of August in the morning, South-west and by West foure miles, two houres before they had ground at fiftie fixe fadome, and in the morning at fortie five fadome, soft muddie ground. Then they woond from the land and sayled North, and North and by East foure miles, from thence they woond to land againe, and sayled till the fourteene of August, five or sixe miles South-west, sayling close by the land, which (as they ghesse) was the Iland of *Colgoyen*. August the fifteenth, the Sun being South-west, *William Barents* tooke the height thereof, and found it to bee eleuated aboue the Horizon 35. degrees, his Declination being 14. degrees and $\frac{1}{2}$. so that as there wanted 55. degrees of 90. which 55. and 14. degrees $\frac{1}{2}$. being both added together, made 69. Degrees 15. Minutes, which was the height of the Pole in that place; the wind being North-west, then they sayled two miles more Eastward, and came to the Ilands called *Matfloe* and *Delgoy*, and there in the morning they met with the other Ships of their companie, being of *Zelande* and *Enck-huyzen*, that came out of *Wey-gates* the same day, there they shewed each other where they had bene, and how farre each of them had sayled and disconered. The Ship of *Enck-huyzen* had past the Straights of *Wey-gates*, and said, that at the end of *Wey-gates* hee had found a large Sea, and that they had sayled fiftie or sixtie miles further Eastward, and were of opinion that they had bene about the Riuer *Obi*, that commeth out of *Tartaria*, and that the Land of *Tartaria* reacheth North-eastward againe from thence, whereby they thought that

There returne
backe againe.

Oliuer Brunel.

Blacke Iland.

Crosse-point.

Saint Laurence
Bay.

Sconce-point.

Colgoyen.

Matfloe and
Delgoy.
They meet
with their
companie.

States Iland.

that they were not farre from Cape *Tabin*, which is the point of *Tartaria*, that reacheth towards the Kingdome of *Cathai*, North-east and then Southward, and so thinking that they had Discouered enough for that time, and that it was too late in the yeere to sayle any further, as also that their Commission was to discouer the scituation, and to come home againe before Winter, they turned againe towards the *Wey-gates*, and came to an Iland about fve miles great, lying South-east from *Wey-gates* on the *Tartarian* side, and called it the *States Iland*, there they found many Stones that were of Christall Mountayne, being a kind of Diamond.

When they were met together, as I sayd before, they made signes of joy, discharging some of their Ordnance, and were merrie, the other Ships thinking that *William Barents* had sayled round about *Nova Zembla*, and had come backe againe through the *Wey-gates*: and after they had shewed each other what they had done, and made signes of joy for their meeting, they set their course to turne backe againe for *Holland*, and vpon the sixteenth of August they went vnder the Ilands of *Marfloe* and *Delgoy*, and put into the road, because the wind was North-west, and lay till the eighteenth of August. Then they set sayle, and came to the *Texel* the sixteenth of September.

CHAP. IIII.

A briefe Declaration of BARENTS his second Navigation, made in Anno 1595. behinde Norway, Muscouia, and Tartaria, written by GERAT DE VEER.



He foure Ships aforesaid, being returned home about Haruest-time, in Anno 1594. they were in good hope that the Voyage aforesaid would bee done, by passing along the Straights of *Wey-gates*, and specially by the report made by the two Ships of *Zelandt*, and *Enck-huyfen*, wherein *Iohn Huyghen* of *Linschoten* was Committee, who declared the manner of their trauell in such sort, that the Generall States and Prince *Maurice* resolued, in the beginning of the next yeere to prepare certayne Ships, not onely (as they went before) to discouer the passage, but to send certayn Wares and Merchandizes thither, wherein the Merchants might lade what Wares they would, with certaine Factors to sell the said Wares, in such places as they should arriue, neither paying Freight nor Custome. *Peter Plantius* a learned Cosmographer, being a great furtherer and setter forward of this Voyage, and was their chiefe Instructor therein, setting downe the scituation of the Coasts of *Tartaria*, *Cathaia*, & *China*; but how they lye it is not yet sufficiently Discouered, for that the courses and rules by him set downe, were not fully effected, by meanes of some inconueniences that fell out, which by reason of the shortnesse of time could not bee holpen.

James Hemskerke famous for the Gibraltar exploit.

In Anno 1595. the Generall States of the vnited Prouinces, and Prince *Maurice*, caused seuen Ships to bee prepared to sayle through the *Wey-gates*, or the Straights of *Nassau*, to the Kingdome of *Cathaia* and *China*: two out of *Amsterdam*, two out of *Zelandt*, two out of *Enck-huyfen*, and one out of *Rotterdam*: sixe of them laden with diuers kindes of Wares, Merchandizes, and with Money and Factors, to sell the said Wares; the seuenth being a Pinnasse, that had Commission, when the other Ships were past about the Cape de *Tabin* (which is the furthest point of *Tartaria*) or so farre, that they might sayle forth Southward, without any let or hinderance of the Ice, to turne backe againe, and to bring newes thereof: and I being in *William Barents* Ship that was our chiefe Pilot, and *James Hemskerke* chiefe Factor, thought good to write downe the same in order, as it is hereafter declared, as I did the first Voyage, according to the course and stretching of the Land as it lyeth.

First, after we had beene mustered at *Amsterdam*, and euery man taken an Oath, that was then purposely ministred vnto vs; vpon the eightene of Iune wee sayled to the *Texel*, from thence to put to Sea, with other Ships that were appointed to meet vs at a certayne day; and so to begin our Voyage in the name of God. The second of Iuly wee set sayle out of the *Texel*. The fifth of August, the North Cape lay about two miles East from vs, and when the Sunne was North-west, the *Mother and her Daughters* lay Southward from vs foure miles.

The seuenteenth, wee saw great store of Ice, all along the Coast of *Nova Zembla*, and casting out the Lead, had 75. fathom soft ground. After that we held diuers courses because of the Ice, and sayled South-east and by East, & South South-east, for the space of eightene miles, till the eighteenth of August, when the Sunne was East, and then we cast out the lead againe, and found 30. fathome soft ground, and within two houres after that, fathome, red sand, with small shelles: three Glasses after that we had ground at twentie fathome, red sand, with blacke shels, as before: then wee saw two Ilands, which they of *Enck-huyfen* gaue the names of Prince *Maurice*, and his Brother, which lay from vs South-east three miles, being low Land, and then wee sayled eight miles, till the Sun was South. Then we sayled East, and oftentimes casting out the lead, we found

twentie,

twentie, nineteene, eightene, and seuentene fathome deep, good ground mixed with black shels, and saw the *Wey-gates* (the Sunne being West) which lay East North-east from vs about fife miles, and after that we sayled about eight miles.

Then we sayled vnder 70. degrees, vntill we came to the *Wey-gates*, most part through broken Ice, and when we got to *Wey-gates*, we cast out our Lead, and for a long time found thirteene and fourteene fathome, soft ground, mixed with blacke shels, not long after that we cast out the Lead and found ten fathome deepe, the wind being North, and we forced to hold stifly aloofe, in regard of the great quantitie of Ice, till about mid-night, then were forced to wind Northward, because of certaine Rocks that lay on the Southside of *Wey-gates*, right before vs, about a mile and a halfe, hauing ten fathome deepe: then we changed our course, and sayled West North-west for the space of foure Glasse, after that we woond about againe East, and East and by South; and so entred into *VVey-gates*, and as wee went in, wee cast out the Lead, and found seuen fathome deepe, little more or lesse, till the nineteenth of August, and then the Sunne being South-east, we entred into the *VVey-gates*, in the Road, the wind being North. The right Channell betweene the *Image point* and the *Samuters Land* was full of Ice, so that it was not well to bee past thoro-
row, and so we went into the Road (which we called the *Traen Bay*, because we found store of *Traen-oyle* there, this is a good Bay for the course of the Ice, and good almost for all winds, and we may sayle so farre into it as we will, at foure, fife, and three fathome, good Anchor-ground, on the East side it is deepe water.

The twentieth of August, the height of the Sunne being taken with the Crosse-staffe, wee found that it was eleuated aboue the Horizon 69. degrees 21. minutes, when it was South-west and by South, being at the highest, or before it beganne to descend. The one and twentieth of August, we went on Land within the *VVey-gates* with foure and fiftie men, to see the situation of the Countrey, and being two miles within the Land we found many *Vel-werck*, *Traen*, and such like Wares, and diuers foot-steps of men, and Deere; whereby wee perceiued that some men dwelt thereabouts, or else vsed to come thither. And to assure vs the more thereof, wee might perceiue it by the great number of Images, which we found there vpon the *Image* or *Beelthooke*, (so called by vs) in great abundance, whereof ten dayes after wee were better informed by the *Samuters* and the *Russians*, when wee spake with them. And when wee entred further into the Land, we vsed all the meanes we could, to see if we could find any houses or men, by whom we might be informed of the situation of the Sea thereabouts, whereof afterward we had better intelligence by the *Samuters*; that told vs, that there are certayne men dwelling on the *VVey-gates*, and vpon *Noma Zembla*, but we could neither find men, houses, nor any other things, so that to haue better information, wee went with some of our men further South-east into the Land; towards the Sea-side, and as we went, we found a path-way made with mens feet in the Mosse or Marsh-ground, about halfe knee deepe, for that going so deepe we felt hard ground vnder our feet, which at the deepest was no higher then our shooes, and as we went forward to the Sea-coast, we were exceeding glad, thinking that we had seene a passage open, where we might get through, because we saw so little Ice there: and in the Euening entring into our ship againe, we shewed them that newes. Meane-time, our Master had sent out a Boat to see if the *Tartarian Sea* was open, but it could not get into the Sea because of the Ice, yet they rowed to the *Crosse-point*, and there let the Boat lye, and went ouer the Land to the West point, and there perceiued that the Ice in the *Tartarian Sea*, lay full vpon the *Russian Coasts*, and in the mouth of *VVey-gates*.

The three and twentieth of August we found a *Lodgie*, or Boat of *Pitzore*, which was sewed together with Bast or Ropes, that had bene Northward to seeke for some Sea-horses Teeth, *Traen*, and Geese, which they fetcht with their Boat, to lade in certaine shippes that were to come out of *Russia* through *VVey-gates*. Which ships they said (when they spake with vs) were to sayle into the *Tartarian Sea*, by the Riuer of *Oby*, to a place called *Ugolita* in *Tartaria*, there to stay all Winter, as they vsed to doe euery yeere: and told vs that it would yet bee nine or ten Weekes ere it began to freeze in that place, and that when it once beganne to freeze, it would freeze so hard, that as then men might go ouer the Sea into *Tartaria* (along vpon the Ice) which they called *Mermare*.

The foure and twentieth of August in the morning betimes, we went on board of the *Lodgie*, to haue further information and instruction of the Sea, on the Eastside of *VVey-gates*, and they gaue vs good instruction, such as you haue heard.

The fife and twentieth of August we went againe to the *Lodgie*, and in friendly manner spake with them, we for our parts offering them friendship; and then they gaue vs eight fat Geese, that lay in the bottome of their Boat: we desired that one or two of them would goe with vs aboard our ship, and they willingly went with vs to the number of seuen; and being in our ship, they wondred much at the greatnesse and furniture of our ship: and after they had seene and looked into it in euery place, we set Fish, Butter and Cheese before them to eate, but they refused it; saying, that that day was a Fasting day with them, but at last when they saw some of our Pickled Herrings, they eate them both heads, rayles, skinnies, and guts, and hauing eaten thereof,

we

Image point.
Samoyeds land.
Traen Bay.

They goe on
Land.

Images.

we gaue them a small Firkin of Herrings, for the which they gaue vs great thankes, knowing not what friendship they should doe vs to requite our courtesie, and wee brought them with our Pinnasse into the *Traen Bay*. About Noone we hoysed vp our Anchors with a West North-west wind; the course or stretching of *Wey-gates*, is East to *Cruis* point, and then North-east to the *Twist* point, and somewhat more Easterly: From thence the Land of *Wey-gates*, reacheth North North-east, and North and by East, and then North, and somewhat Westerly, wee sayled North-east and Eastward two miles, by the *Twist* point, but then we were compelled to saile backe againe, because of the great store of Ice, and tooke our course to our Road aforesaid: and sayling backe againe we found a good place by the *Crosse* point, to anchor in that night. The six and twentieth of August in the morning we hoysed Anchor, and put out our fork-saile, and so failed to our old Road, and there to stay for a more conuenient time.

They speake
with Samoyeds.

The eight and twentieth, nine and twentieth, and thirtieth of August till the one and thirtieth, the wind for the most part was South-west, and *William Barents* our Captaine sailed to the South-side of *Wey-gates*, and there went on Land, where we found certaine Wildmen (called *Samoyters*) and yet not altogether wilde, for they being twentieth in number, staid and spake with our men, being but nine together, about a mile within the Land, our men not thinking to find any men there (for that we had at other times beene on Land in the *Wey-gates*, and saw none) at last, it being mistie weather, they perceiued men, five and five in a company, and wee were hard by them before we knew it: then our Interpretour went alone towards them to speake with them; which they perceiuing, sent one towards vs, who comming almost to our men, tooke an Arrow out of his Quiver, offering to shoot at him; wherewith our Interpretor, being without Armes, was afraid, and cryed vnto him, saying (in *Russian* speech;) *Shoote not, we are friends*: which the other hearing, cast his Bow and Arrowes to the ground, therewith giuing him to vnderstand that he was well content to speake with our man: which done, our man called to him once againe, and said: *We are friends*: whereunto he made answere and said; then you are welcome: and saluting one the other, bended both their heads downe towards the ground, after the *Russian* manner: this done, our Interpretor questioned with him, about the situation and stretching of the Sea Eastward through the Streights of *Wey-gates*; whereof he gaue vs good instruction, saying: that when they should haue past a point of land about five daies sailing from thence, shewing North-eastward; that after that, there is a great Sea (shewing towards the South-east vpward,) saying, that he knew it very well, for that one had beene there that was sent thither by their King with certaine Souldiers, whereof he had beene Captaine.

Sea open.

Samoyeds ap-
parell.

The manner of their Apparell is, like as we vse to paint Wildmen, but they are not wilde; for they are of reasonable judgement: they are apparellled in Harts skinnnes from the head to the feet, vnlesse it be the principallest of them, which are apparellled, whether they be men or women, like vnto the rest, as aforesaid, vnlesse it be on their heads, which they couer with certaine coloured Cloth lined with Furre: the rest wear Caps of Harts or Bucks skinnnes, the rough side outwards, which stand close to their heads, and are very fit. They wear long Haire, which they pleate and fold, and let it hang downe vpon their backs. They are (for the most part all) short and low of stature, with broad flat faces, small eyes, short legs, their knees standing outwards; and are very quicke to goe and leape. They trust not Strangers; for although that wee shewed them all the courtesie and friendship that wee could, yet they trusted vs not much: which wee perceiued hereby, that as vpon the first of September wee went againe on Land to them, and that one of our men desired to see one of their Bowes: they refused it, making a signe that they would not doe it. Hee that they called their King, had Centinels standing abroad, to see what was done in the Countrey, and what was bought and sold: At last, one of our men went neerer to one of the Centinels, to speake with him, and offered him great friendship, according to their accustomed manner, withall giuing him a Bisket; which he with great thankes tooke, and presently eate it; and while hee eate it, hee still lookt diligently about him on all sides what was done.

Haire, person,
stature.

Their King.

Their Sleds.

Their Sleds stood alwayes readie with one or two Harts in them, that runne so swiftly with one or two men in them, that our Horses are not able to follow them. One of our men shot a Musket towards the Sea, wherewith they were in so great feare, that they ranne and leapt like mad men: yet at last, they satisfied themselues, when they perceiued that it was not maliciously done to hurt them: and we told them by our Interpretor, that we vsed our Peeeces in stead of Bowes; whereat they wondered, because of the great blow and noyse that it gaue and made: and to shew them what wee could doe therewith, one of our men tooke a flat stone about halfe a handfull broad, and set it vpon a Hill a good way off from him: which they perceiuing, and thinking that we meant some-what thereby, fiftie or sixtie of them gathered round about vs; and yet some-what farre off, wherewith hee that had the Peece, shot it off, and with the Bullet smote the stone in sunder: whereat they wondred much more then before.

Departure.

After that, wee tooke our leaues one of the other, with great friendship on both sides; and when we were in our Pinnasse, wee all put off our Hats, and bowed our heads vnto them, sounding our Trumpet: They (in their manner) saluting vs also, and then went to their Sleds againe.

And

And after they were gone from vs, and were somewhat within the Land, one of them came riding to the shoare, to fetch a rough-hewed Image, that our men had taken off the shoare, and carried into their Boate: and when hee was in our Boate, and perceiued the Image, he made vs a signe that wee had not done well to take away that Image: Which we beholding, gaue it to him againe: Which when hee had receiued, he placed it vpon a Hill right by the Sea side, and tooke it not with him, but sent a Sled to fetch it from thence: and as farre as wee could perceiue, they esteemed that Image to be their God; for that right ouer against that place in the *Wey-gates*, which wee called *Beelt-hooke*, we found certayne hundreds of such carued Images, all roughabout the Heads, being somewhat round, and in the middle, hauing a little hill in stead of a Nose; and about the Nose two cuts, in place of Eyes; and vnder the Nose a cut, in place of a Mouth. Before the Images, wee found great store of Alhes, and bones of Harts: whereby it is to bee supposed, that there they offered vnto them.

Image.

Hundreds of
ill shapen Images.

The second of September, a little before Sunne rising, wee put forth an Anchor to get out, for that the winde as then blew South South-west; it being good weather to get out, and ill weather to lye still: for wee lay vnder a low Banke. The Admirall and Vice-admirall seeing vs making out, began also to hoyle their Anchors, and to set sayle. When wee put out our Focke-sayle, the Sunne was East and by South: and then wee sayled to the *Crosse-point*, and there wee cast Anchor to stay for the Vice-admirals Pinnasse; which with much labour and paines, in time got out of the Ice, by often casting out of their Anchor: and in the Euening shee got to vs: in the Morning about two houres before Sunne rising we set sayle, and by Sunne rising, wee got within a mile Eastward of the *Twist-point*, and sayled Northward fixe miles, till the Sunne was South. Then wee were forced to wind about, because of the great quantitie of Ice, and the Myst that then fell, at which time the winde blew so vncertayne, that we could hold no course, but were forced continually to winde and turne about, by reason of the Ice, and the vnconstanthe of the winde, together with myst, so that our course was vncertayne, and wee supposed that we had sayled Southward vp towards the *Sameters* Countrey, and then held our courie South-west, till the watchers were North-west from vs; then we came to the point of the *States* Iland, lying Eastward about a Musket shot from the land, hauing 13. fathom deepe.

The fourth of September, wee hoysed Anchor because of the Ice, and sayled betweene the firme Land and the *States* Iland, where we lay close by the *States* Iland at foure and fixe fathom deepe, and made our Ship fast with a Cable cast on the shoare, and there wee were safe from the course of the Ice, and diuers times went on land to get Hares, whereof there were many in that Iland. The sixth of September, some of our men went on shoare vpon the firme land to seeke for Stones, which are a kinde of Diamond, whereof there are many also in the *States* Iland; and while they were seeking the Stones, two of our men lying together in one place, a great leane white Beare came suddenly stealing out, and caught one of them fast by the necke, who not knowing what it was that tooke him by the necke, cryed out and sayd; *Who is that that pulls mee so by the necke?* wherewith the other that lay not farre from him; lifted vp his head to see who it was, and perceiuing it to bee a monstrous Beare, cryed out and sayd, *Oh Mate! it is a Beare*, and therewith presently rose vp and ranne away.

States-Iland;

A Beare kills
two men.

The Beare at the first falling vpon the man, bit his head in sunder, and suckt out his blood, wherewith the rest of the men that were on the Land, being about twentie in number, ranne presently thither, either to saue the man, or else to driue the Beare from the dead body: and ha- uing charged their Pieces and bent their Pikes, set vpon her, that still was deuouring the man, but perceiuing them to come towards her, fiercely and cruelly ranne at them, and got another of them out from the Companie which shee tore in pieces, wherewith all the rest ranne away.

Her stoutnesse.

We perceiuing out of our Ship and Pinnasse, that our men ranne to the Sea-side to saue them- selues, with all speed entred into our Boates, and rowed as fast wee could to the shoare to relieue our men. Where being on Land, we beheld the cruell spectacle of our two dead men, that had beene so cruelly killed and torne in pieces by the Beare, wee seeing that, encouraged our men to goe backe againe with vs, and with Pieces, Curtelaxes, and Halfe-pikes, to set vpon the Beare, but they would not all agree thereunto: some of them saying, our men are already dead, and we shall get the Beare well enough, though we oppose not our selues into so open danger, if wee might saue our fellowes liues, then wee would make haste, but now we need not make sch speed, but take her at an aduantage, with most securitie for our selues, for we haue to doe with a cruell, fierce, and rauenous Beast. Whereupon three of our men went forward, the Beare still deuouring her prey, not once fearing the number of our men, and yet they were thirtie at the least: the three that went forward in that sort, were *Cornelius Iacobson*, Master of *William Barents* ship, *William Gysen*, Pylot of the Pinnasse, and *Hans van Nussen*, *William Barents*, Purser: and after that the sayd Master and Pylot had shot three times and mist, the Purser stepping somewhat further forward, and seeing the Beare to be within the length of a shot, presently leuelled his Piece, and discharging it at the Beare, shot her into the head betweene both the eyes, and yet she held the man still fast by the necke, and lifted vp her head with the man in her mouth, but shee began somewhat to stagger, wherewith the Purser and a *Scottish* man drew out their Curtelaxes,

T t

and

They kill the
Beare.

and strooke at her so hard, that their Cartelaxes burst, and yet she would not leaue the man, at last *William Geysen* went to them, and with all his might strooke the Beare vpon the snout with his Piece, at which time the Beare fell to the ground, making a great noyse, and *William Geysen* leaping vpon her cut her throat. The seuenth of September, wee buried the dead bodies of our men in the *States* Iland, and hauing flayed the Beare, carryed her Skin to *Amsterdam*.

The ninth of September, we set sayle from the *States* Iland, but the Ice came in so thicke and with such force, that we could not get through, so that at Eeuening we came backe againe to the *States* Iland, the winde being Westerly. There the Admirall and the Pinnasse of *Rotterdam*, fell on ground by certayne Rockes, but got off againe without any hurt.

Twist-point.

The tenth of September, we sayled againe from the *States* Iland towards the *Wey-gates*, and sent two Boates into the Sea, to certifie vs what store of Ice was abroad: and that Eeuening wee came all together into *Wey-gates*, and Anchored by the *Twist-point*. The eleuenth of September in the Morning, we sayled againe into the *Tartarian* Sea, but we fell into great store of Ice, so that we sayled backe againe to the *Wey-gates*, and Anchored by the *Crosse-point*, and about midnight we saw a *Russian* Lodgie, that sayled from the *Beelt-point* towards the *Samsters* Land. The thirteenth of September, the Sunne being South, there began a great storme to blow out of the South South-west, the weather being mistie, melancholy, and snowie, and the storme increasing more and more, we draue through.

Matfloe and
Delgoy.

The fourteenth of September, the weather began to bee somewhat clearer, the winde being North-west, and the storme blowing stiffe out of the *Tartarian* Sea, but at Eeuening it was faire weather, and then the wind blew North-east, the same day our men went on the other side of *Wey-gates*, on the firme land, to take the depth of the Channell, and entred into the Bough behind the Ilands, where there stood a little House made of wood, and a great fall of water into the land. The same Morning we hoysed vp our Anchor, thinking once againe to try what wee could doe to further our Voyage, but our Admirall being of another minde, lay still till the fifteenth of September. The same day in the Morning, the winde draue in from the East-end of the *Wey-gates*, whereby we were forced presently to hoysse Anchors, and the same day sayled out from the West-end of the *Wey-gates*, with all our Fleet, and made homewards againe, and that day past by the Ilands called *Matfloe* and *Delgoy*, and that night we sayled twelue miles, North-west and by West, till Saturday in the morning, and then the winde fell North-east, and it began to Snow. We saw the point of *Candynaes*, lying South-east from vs, and then wee had seuen and twentie fathom deepe, red sand with blacke shels.

The nine and twentieth of September, in the Eeuening entred into *Ward-houfe*, and there we stayed till the tenth of October. And that day we set sayle out of *Ward-houfe*, and vpon the eighteenth of Nouember, we arriued in the *Maes*.

CHAP. V.

The third Voyage Northward to the Kingdomes of Cathaia,
and China, in Anno 1596. Written by
GERAT DE VEER.

§. I.

What happened to them at Sea, before they came to build their House.



After that the seuen Ships (as I said before) were returned backe againe from their North Voyage, with lesse benefit then was expected, the Generall *States* of the Vnited Prouinces consulted together, to send certayne Ships thither againe, a third time, to see if they might bring the said Voyage to a good end, if it were possible to bee done: but after much Consultation had, they could not agree thereon; yet they were content to cause a Proclamation to be made, that if any, either Townes, or Merchants, were disposed to venture to make further search that way, at their owne charges, if the Voyage were accomplished, and that thereby it might be made apparant, that the sayd passage was to be sayled, they were content to giue them a good reward, in the Countries behalfe, naming a certayne summe of money. Whereupon in the beginning of this yeere, there was two Ships rigged and set forth by the Towne of *Amsterdam*, to sayle that Voyage, the men therein being taken vp vpon two Conditions: viz. What they should haue if the Voyage were not accomplished, and what they should haue if they got through, and brought the Voyage to an end, promising them a good reward if they could effect it, thereby to encourage the men, taking vp as many vnmarried men as they could, that they might not bee dissuaded by meanes of their Wiues and Children to leaue off the Voyage. Vpon these Conditions, those

two

two Ships were ready to set sayle in the beginning of May. In the one, *Jacob Heemskerke Hendrickson*, was Master and Factor for the Wares and Merchandizes; and *William Barents* chiefe Pylot. In the other, *John Cornelison Ryp*, was both Master and Factor for the goods that the Merchants had laden in her.

The fifth of May, all the men in both the Ships were Mustered; and vpon the tenth of May, they sayled from *Amsterdam*, and the thirteenth of May got to the *Vlie*. The thirtieth of May we had a good winde, and sayled North-east, and wee tooke the height of the Sunne with our Croffe-staffe, and found that it was eleuated aboue the Horizon 47. degrees and 42. minutes, his Declination was 21. degrees and 42. minutes, so that the height of the Pole was 69. degrees 10 and 24. minutes.

The first of Iune we had no night, and the second of Iune we had the winde contrarie, but vpon the fourth of Iune we had a good winde, out of the West North-west, and sayled North-east. And when the Sunne was about South South-east, wee saw a strange sight in the Element: for on each side of the Sunne there was another Sunne, and two Raine-bowes, that past cleane thorow the three Sunnes, and then two Raine-bowes more, the one compassing round about the Sunnes, and the other croffe thorow the great rundle; the great rundle standing with the vttermost point, eleuated aboue the Horizon 28. degrees: at noone the Sunne being at the highest, the height thereof was measured, and wee found by the *Astrolabium*, that it was eleuated aboue the Horizon 48. degrees and 43. minutes, his Declination was 22. degrees and 17. minutes, the which being added to 48. degrees 43. minutes, it was found that wee were vnder 71. degrees of the height of the Pole.

John Cornelis ship held aloofe from vs, and would not keepe with vs, and would hold no course but North North-east, for they alledged, that if wee went any more Easterly, that then we should enter into the *Wey-gates*, but wee being not able to perswade them, altered our course one point of the Compasse, to meet them, and sayled North-east and by North, and should otherwise haue sayled North-east, and somewhat more East.

The fifth, wee saw the first Ice, which we wondered at, at the first, thinking that it had beene white Swannes, for one of our men walking in the Fore-decke, on a sudden began to cry out with a loud voyce, and said; that hee saw white Swannes: which wee that were vnder Hatches hearing, presently came vp, and perceiued that it was Ice that came driuing from the great heape, showing like Swannes; it being then about Eeuening, at midnight we sayled through it, and the Sunne was about a degree eleuated aboue the Horizon in the North.

The sixth, about foure of the clocke in the after-noon, wee entred againe into the Ice, which was so strong that we could not passe through it, and sayled South-west and by West, till eight Glasses were runne out, after that we kept on our course North, North-east, and sayled along by the Ice.

The seuenth, we tooke the height of the Sunne, and found that it was eleuated aboue the Horizon 38. degrees and 38. minutes, his Declination being 22. degrees 38. minutes; which being taken from 38. degrees 38. minutes, wee found the Pole to bee 74. degrees; there we found so great store of Ice, that it was admirable: and we sayled along through it, as if we had past between two Lands. The water being as Greene as Grass, and we supposed that we were not farre from *Greenland*, and the longer we sayled, the more and thicker Ice we found. The eight of Iune, we came to so great a heape of Ice, that we could not sayle through it.

The ninth of Iune, we found the Iland that lay vnder 74. degrees and 30. minutes, and as we ghest, it was about fise miles long. The tenth, we put out our Boate, and therewith eight of our men went on Land, and as we past by *John Cornelisons* ship, eight of his men also came in to our Boat, whereof one was the Pilot. Then *William Barents* asked him, whether we were not too much Westward, but hee would not acknowledge it: whereupon there passed many words betweene them, for *William Barents* sayd, he would proue it to bee so, as in truth it was. The eleuenth, going on Land, we found great store of Sea-Mewes Egges vpon the shoare, and in that Iland we were in great danger of our liues: for that going vp a great Hill of Snow, when wee should come downe againe, we thought we should all haue broken our neckes, it was so slipperie, but we fate vpon the Snow and slid downe, which was very dangerous for vs, to breake both our armes and legges, for that at the foot of the Hill there was many Rockes, which we were likely to haue fallen vpon, yet by Gods helpe we got safely downe againe. Meane time *William Barents* fate in the Boate, and saw vs slide downe, and was in greater feare then we, to behold vs in that danger. In the said Iland, we found the varying of our Compasse, which was 13. degrees, so that it differed a whole point at the least: after that wee rowed aboard *John Cornelisons* ship, and there we ate our Egges.

The twelfth in the morning, we saw a white Beare, which wee rowed after with our Boate, thinking to cast a Rope about her necke; but when we were neere her, she was so great, that we durst not doe it, but rowed backe againe to our Ship to fetch more men and our Armes, and so made to her againe with Muskets, Harquebusses, Halberts, and Hatchets. *John Cornelisons* men comming also with their Boate to helpe vs: and so being well furnished of men and weapons,

Iune.
Three Sunnes
and foure
Raine-bowes.
The like hath
beene scene in
England about
the time this
worke entred
the Presse.

Ice,

Greene water.

Bears, or Che-
rie-Iland.

Egges:

Danger escaped.

Variation of
the Compasse.

Great white
Beare.

Fight with
her.

Beares skin 12.
foot long.

Dead Whale.

80. Degrees
and 11 minutes.

Another fight
with a white
Beare.

Beares skin
13. foot long.

Red Geese
Egges.

Red Geese
breed their
young Geese,
vnder 80. De-
grees in Green-
land.
Fable of Bar-
nacles.

Note.

we rowed with both our Boates vnto the Beare, and fought with her while foure Glasse were runne out, for our Weapons could doe her little hurt: and amongst the rest of the blowes that we gaue her, one of our men strooke her into the backe with an Axe, which stucke fast in her backe, and yet shee swamme away with it; but we rowed after her, and at last we cut her head in sunder with an Axe, wherewith she dyed: and then wee brought her into *John Cornelisons* ship, where we flayed her, and found her Skinne to bee twelue foot long: which done, we eate some of her flesh; but wee brookt it not well. This Iland we called the *Beare-Iland*.

The thirteenth we left the Iland, and sayled North, and somewhat Easterly, the winde being West, and South-west, and made good way: so that when the Sunne was North, wee ghest that we had sayled sixteene miles Northward from that Iland.

The fourteenth, when the Sunne was North, we cast out our Lead one hundred and thirteene fathome deepe, but found no ground, and so sayled forward till the fifteenth of Iune, when the Sunne was South-east, with mistie and drizzling weather, and sayled North, and North and by East: about Euening it cleared vp, and then we saw a great thing driuing in the Sea, which we thought had beene a Ship: but passing along by it, we perceiued it to bee a dead Whale, that stonke monstrously; and on it there sate a great number of Sea-mewes: At that time, wee had sayled twentie miles.

The sixteenth, with the like speed we sayled North and by East, with mistie weather; and as we sayled, we heard the Ice before we saw it: but after, when it cleared vp, we saw it, and then woond off from it, when as we ghest we had sayled thirtie miles. The senenteenth and eighteenth, we saw great store of Ice, and sayled along by it, vntill we came to the point, which we could not reach, for that the wind was South-east, which was right against vs, & the point of Ice lay Southward from vs: yet wee lauered a great while to get beyond it, but we could not doe it. The nineteenth, we saw Land againe, then we tooke the height of the Sun, and found that it was eleuated aboue the Horizon 33. degrees and 37. minutes: her Declination being 23. degrees and 26. minutes: which taken from the sayd 33. degrees and 37. minutes, wee found that we were vnder 80. degrees and 11. minutes: which was the height of the Pole there. This Land was very great, and we sayled Westward along by it, till we were vnder 79. degrees and a halfe, where we found a good road, and could not get neare to the Land, because the winde blew North-east, which was right off from the Land: the Bay reacheth right North and South into the Sea.

The twentie one, we cast out our Anchor, at eightene fathome before the Land; and then we and *John Cornelisons* men, rowed on the West-side of the Land, and there fetched Balast: and when we got on boord againe with our Balast, we saw a white Beare that swamme towards our ship; whereupon we left off our worke, and entering into the Boate with *John Cornelisons* men, rowed after her, and crossing her in the way, droue her from the Land, wherewith she swamme further into the Sea, and we followed her; and for that our Boate could not make good way after her, we manned our Scute also, the better to follow her: but shee swam a mile into the Sea; yet we followed her with the most part of all our men of both Ships in three Boats, and strooke oftentimes at her, cutting and hewing her, so that all our Armes were most broken in pieces. During our fight with her, shee strooke her Clawes so hard in our Boate, that the signes thereof were seene in it; but as hap was, it was in the fore-head of our Boate: for if it had beene in the middle thereof, she had (peraduenture) ouer-throwne it, they haue such force in their Clawes: At last, after we had fought long with her, and made her wearie with our three Boates that kept about her, we ouercame her and killed her: which done, we brought her into our ship, and flayed her: her Skinne being thirteene foot long. After that, we rowed with our Scute, about a mile inward to the Land, where there was a good Hauen, and good Anchor ground, on the East-side being sandie, there wee cast out our Lead, and found sixteene fathom deepe, and after that, ten, and twelue fathome, and rowing further, we found that on the East-side there was two Ilands, which shewed also like an Iland. Then we rowed to the Iland that lay in the middle, and there we found many Red Geese-egges, which we saw sitting vpon their Nests, and droue them from them, and they flying away, cryed, red, red, red: and as they sate we killed one Goose dead with a stone, which we drest and eate, and at least sixtie Egges, that wee tooke with vs aboard the ship, and vpon the two and twentieth of Iune, we went aboard our ship againe.

Those Geese were of a perfit Red colour, such as come into *Holland* about *Weirigen*, and euerie yeere are there taken in abundance, but till this time it was neuer knowne where they hatcht their Egges, so that some men haue taken vpon them to write, that they sit vpon Trees in *Scotland*, that hang ouer the Water, and such Egges as fall from them downe into the Water become young Geese, and swim there out of the water; but those that fall vpon the Land burst in sunder, and are lost: but this is now found to bee contrary, and it is not to be wondred at, that no man could tell where they breed their Egges, for that no man that euer wee knew, had euer beene vnder 80. Degrees: nor that Land vnder 80. degrees, was neuer set downe in any Card, much lesse the red Geese that breed therein.

It is heere also to bee noted, that although that in this land which we esteeme to be *Greenland*,

land, lying vnder 80. Degrees, and more, there groweth Leaues and Grasse, and that there are such Beasts therein as eate grasse, as Harts, Buckes, and such like beasts as liue thereon, yet in *Nova Zembla* vnder 76. Degrees, there groweth neither Leaues nor Grasse, nor any Beasts that eate grasse or leaues liue therein, but such Beasts as eate Flesh, as Beares and Foxes: and yet this Land lyeth full 4. Degrees from the North Pole, further then *Greenland* aforesayd doth.

The three and twentieth, wee hoysted Anchor againe, and sayled North-westward into the Sea; but could get no further, by reason of the Ice; and so we came to the same place againe where we had layne, and cast Anchor at eightene fathome: and at Eeuening being at Anchor, the Sunne being North-east, and somewhat more Eastward, wee tooke the height thereof, and found it to be eleuated aboue the Horizon 13. degrees and 10. minutes, his Declination being 23. degrees and 28. minutes: which subtracted from the height aforesaid, resteth 10. degrees and 18. minutes, which being subtracted from 90. degrees, then the height of the Pole there was 79. degrees and 42. minutes.

After that, we hoysted Anchor againe, and sayled along by the West side of the Land, and then our men went on Land, to see how much the Needle of the Compasse varied: Meane time there came a great white Beare swimming towards the Ship, and would haue climbed vp into it, if we had not made a noyse; and with that wee shot at her with a Piece, but she left the ship, and swam to the Land, where our men were: which we perceiuing, sayled with our ship towards the Land, and gaue a great shout; wherewith our men thought that wee had fallen on a Rocke with our Ship, which made them much abashed; and therewith the Beare also being afraid, swamme off againe from the Land, and left our men, which made vs glad: for our men had no Weapons about them. Touching the varying of the Compasse, for the which cause our men went on Land, to trie the certaintie thereof: it was found to differ 16. Degrees.

The five and twentieth of Iune, we hoysted Anchor againe, and sayled along by the Land, and went South, and South South-west, with a North North-east winde, vnder 79. degrees. There we found a great Creeke or Riuer, whereinto we sayled ten miles at the least, holding our course Southward; but we perceiued that there we could not get through: there we cast out our Lead, and for the most part found 10. fathom deepe, but we were constrained to laueré out againe, for the winde was Northerly, and almost full North, and we perceiued that it reached to the firme land, which we supposed to bee *Low-land*, for that wee could not see it any thing farre, and therefore we sayled so neere vnto it, till that we might see it, and then we were forced to laueré, and vpon the seuen and twentieth of Iune we got out againe.

The eight and twentieth, we got beyond the point that lay on the West side, where there was so great a number of Birds, that they flew against our Sayles, and wee sayled ten miles Southward, and after that West, to shun the Ice. The nine and twentieth, wee sayled South-east and somewhat more Easterly, along by the Land, till we were vnder 76. degrees and 50. minutes, for we were forced to put off from the Land, because of the Ice. The thirtieth of Iune, wee sayled South, and somewhat East, and then we tooke the height of the Sunne, and found that it was eleuated aboue the Horizon 38. degrees and 20. minutes, his Declination was 23. degrees and 20. minutes, which being taken from the former height, it was found that we were vnder 75. degrees.

The first of Iuly wee saw the *Beare-Iland* againe, and then *John Cornelison* and his Officers came aboard our ship, to speake with vs about altering our course, but wee being of a contrary opinion, it was agreed that we should follow on our course, and hee his: which was, that he (according to his desire) should sayle vnto 80. Degrees againe: for he was of opinion, that there he should finde a passage through, on the East side of the Land that lay vnder 80. Degrees. And vpon that agreement we left each other, they sayling Northward, and wee Southward, because of the Ice, the winde being East South-east.

The second, we sayled Eastward, and were vnder 74. degrees, hauing the wind North North-west, and then wee woond ouer another Bough, with an East North-east winde, and sayled Northward. In the Eeuening the Sunne being about North-west and by North, we woond about againe (because of the Ice) with an East winde, and sayled South South-east, and about East South-east, and then we woond about againe (because of the Ice) and the Sunne being South South-west, we woond about againe, and sayled North-east. The third, we were vnder 74. degrees, hauing a South-east and by East winde, and sayled North-east and by North: after that wee woond about againe with a South winde, and sayled East South-east, till the Sunne was North-west, then the winde began to be somewhat larger.

The eight, wee had a good North-west winde, and sayled East and by North, with an indifferent cold gale of wind, and got vnder 72. degrees and 15. minutes. The ninth of Iuly, we went East and by North, the wind being West. The tenth of Iuly, the Sunne being South South-west, we cast out our Lead, and had ground at one hundred and sixtie fathome, the wind being North-east and by North, and we sayled East and by South, vnder 72. degrees. The eleuenth, we found 70. fathom deepe, and saw no Ice, then wee ghest that we were right South and North from *Dandinaes*, that is the East-point of the White-sea, that lay Southward from vs, and had sandie ground, and the banke stretched Northward into the Sea, so that we were out of doubt that we

Beare assault
them.Variation of
the Compasse
16. Degrees.

Store of Birds.

Iuly.
Cherie-Iland.They part
companie.

were vpon the banks of the White Sea, for wee had found no sandie ground all the Coast along, but onely that bakke. Then the wind being East and by South, we sailed South, and South and by East, vnder 72. degrees, and after that, we had a South South-east Wind, and sayled North-east to get ouer the Banke.

Willoughbies
Land concei-
ted from some
Maps.

The thirteenth of Iuly, we sayled East with a North North-east wind: then wee tooke the height of the Sunne, and found it to be eleuated aboue the Horizon 54. degrees and 38. minutes, his declination was 21. degrees and 34. minutes, which taken from the height aforesaid, the height of the Pole was found to bee 73. degrees, and then againe wee found Ice, but not very much, and we were of opinion, that we were by Willoughbies Land. The fourteenth, we sayled North-east, the wind being North North-west, and in that sort sayled about a dinner time, along through the Ice, and in the middle thereof we cast out our Lead, and had ninety fathome deepe, in the next quarter wee cast out our Lead againe, and had an hundred fathome deepe, and we sayled so farre into the Ice, that wee could goe no further: for wee could see no place where it opened, but were forced (with great labour and paine) to lauer out of it againe, the wind blowing West, and we were then vnder 74. degrees and 10. minutes.

admirals Iland

The fifteenth, we draue through the middle of the Ice with a calme, and casting out our Lead, had an hundred fathome deepe, at which time the wind being East, wee sayled West. The sixteenth, we got out of the Ice, and saw a great Beare lying vpon it, that leaped into the water when shee saw vs: Wee made towards her with our ship, which shee perceiuing got vp vpon the Ice againe, wherewith wee shot once at her. Then wee sayled East South-east, and saw no Ice, guessing that we were not farre from *Noua Zembla*, because we saw the Beare there vpon the Ice, at which time we cast out our Lead, and found an hundred fathome deepe.

to Noua Zembla
the Countrey
of the North

Noua Zembla.

The seuenteenth, we tooke the height of the Sunne, and it was eleuated aboue the Horizon 37. degrees and 55. minutes, his declination was 21. degrees and 15. minutes, which taken from the height aforesaid, the height of the Pole was 74. degrees and 40. minutes: and when the Sunne was in the South, we saw the Land of *Noua Zembla*, which was about *Lomsbay*: I was the first that espied it. Then we altered our course, and sayled North-east and by North, and hoysed vp all our sayles, except the Fore-sayle and the Lesien. The eighteenth, wee saw the Land againe, being vnder 75. degrees, and sayled North-east and by North, with a North-west wind, and we gate aboue the point of the *Admirals Iland*, and sayled East North-east, with a West Wind, the Land reaching North-east and by North. The nineteenth, wee came to the *Crosse Iland*, and could get no further, by reason of the Ice, for there the Ice lay still close vpon the Land, at which time the wind was West, and blew right vpon the Land, and it lay vnder 76. degrees and 20. minutes. There stood two Crosse vpon the Land, whereof it had the Name.

Admirals Iland.

Crosse Iland in
76. degrees 20.
minutes.

The twentieth, we anchored vnder the Iland, for we could get no further for the Ice. There we put out our Boat, and with eight men rowed on Land, and went to one of the Crosse, where we rested vs a while to goe to the next Crosse, but being in the way wee saw two Beares by the other Crosse, at which time we had no weapons at all about vs. The Beares rose vp vpon their hinder feet to see vs (for they smell further then they see) and for that they smelt vs: therefore they rose vp right, and came towards vs, wherewith we were not a little abashed, in such sort that we had little lust to laugh, and in all haste went to our Boat againe, still looking behind vs, to see if they followed vs, thinking to get into the Boat, and so put off from the Land: but the Master stayed vs, saying, hee that first begins to runne away, I will thrust this Hake-staffe (which he then held in his hand) into his ribs; for it is better for vs (said hee) to stay all together, and see if we can make them afraid with whooping and hollowing; and so we went softly towards the Boat, and got away, glad that we had escaped their clawes, and that we had the leasure to tell our fellowes thereof.

Two Beares.
Their sent.

small Iland

the Countrey
of the North

The one and twentieth we tooke the height of the Sunne, and found that it was eleuated aboue the Horizon 35. degrees and 15. minutes, his declination was 21. degrees, which being taken from the height aforesaid, there rested 14. degrees, which subtracted from 90. degrees, then the height of the Pole was found to be 76. degrees and 15. minutes, then we found the variation of the Compasse to bee 26. degrees. The same day two of our men went againe to the Crosse, and found no Beares to trouble vs, and wee followed them with our Armes, fearing least wee might meet any by chance, and when we came to the second Crosse, we found the foot-steps of two Beares, and saw how long they had followed vs, which was one hundred foot-steps at the least, that way that we had bene the day before. The two and twentieth being Munday, wee set vp another Crosse, and made our Marke thereon: and lay there before the *Crosse Iland*, till the fourth of August, meane time we washt and whited our Linnen on the shoare.

Variation 26.
degrees, per-
haps 16.

The thirtieth, the Sunne being North, there came a Beare so neere to our ship, that we might hit her with a stone, and we shot her into the foot with a Piece, wherewith shee ranne halting away. The one and thirtieth of Iuly, the Sunne being East North-east, seven of our men killed a Beare, and flayed her, and cast her bodie into the Sea. The same day at noone (by our Instrument) we found the variation of the Needle of the Compasse to be 17. degrees.

The

The first of August we saw a white Beare, but she ran away from vs. The fourth, we got out of August. the Ice, to the other side of the Iland, and anchored there: where, with great labour and much paine, we fetched a Boat full of stones from the Land. The fifth, wee set sayle againe towards Ice-point, with an East Wind, and sayled South South-east, and then North North-east, and saw no Ice by the Land, by the which we sauered. The sixth, we gate about the point of Nassaw. Point Nassaw. saw, and sayled forward East, and East and by South, along by the Land.

The seventh, we had a West South-west Wind, and sayled along by the Land, South-east, and South-east and by East, and saw but a little Ice, and then past by the Trust-point, which we had much longed for: at Eeuening we had an East Wind, with mistie Weather, so that we were forced to make our ship fast to a piece of Ice, that was at least thirtie fixe fathome deepe vnder the water, and more then sixteene fathome above the water: which in all was two and fifty fathome thick, for it lay fast vpon ground, the which was thirtie fixe fathome deepe. The eight in the morning, we had an East Wind, with mistie Weather. Ice 52. fathom deepe.

The ninth, lying still fast to the great piece of Ice, it snowed hard, and it was mistie weather, and when the Sunne was South, we went vpon the Hatches (for we alwayes held watch) where as the Master walked along the ship, he heard a beast snuffe with his nose, and looking ouer-board, he saw a great Beare hard by the ship, where hee cryed out, a Beare, a Beare; and with that all our men came vp from vnder Hatches, and saw a great Beare hard by our Boat, seeking to get in to it, but we giuing a great shout, she was afraid, and swamme away, but presently came backe againe, and went behind a great piece of Ice, whereunto we had made our ship fast, and climbed vpon it, and boldly came towards our ship to enter into it: but we had torne our Scute Sayle in the ship, and lay with foure Peeces before at the Boot-sprit, and shot her in the bodie: and with that, shee ranne away; but it snowed so fast that wee could not see whither shee went: but wee ghest that shee lay behind a high Hoouell; whereof there were many vpon the piece of Ice. Snow.

The tenth, being Saturday, the Ice began mightily to breake, and then wee first perceiued that the great piece of Ice whereunto we had made our ship fast, lay on the ground; for the rest of the Ice draue along by it, wherewith wee were in great feare that wee should bee compassed about with the Ice, and therefore we vied all the diligence and meanes that we could to get from thence, for we were in great doubt: and being vnder sayle, wee sayled vpon the Ice, because it was all broken vnder vs, and got to another piece of Ice; whereunto we made our ship fast againe with our Sheate Anchor, which we made fast vpon it; and there we lay till Eeuening: and when we had supped, in the first quarter, the said piece of Ice began on a sudden to burst and rend in pieces, so fearefully that it was admirable; for with one great cracke it burst into foure hundred pieces at the least: we lying fast to it, weighed our Cable, and got off from it, vnder the water it was ten fathome deepe, and lay vpon the ground, and two fathome above the Water; and it made a fearefull noyse both vnder and aboue the Water when it burst, and spread it selfe abroad on all sides. And being with great feare, gotten from that piece of Ice, wee came to another piece, that was six fathome deepe vnder the Water: to which wee made a Rope fast on both sides. Then wee saw another great piece of Ice, not farre from vs, lying fast in the Sea, that was as sharpe aboue, as it had bene a Tower; whereunto wee rowed: and casting out our Lead, we found that it lay twentie fathome deepe, fast on the ground vnder the Water, and twelue fathome aboue the Water. Ice thunder.

The eleuenth being Sunday, we rowed to another piece of Ice, and cast out our Lead, and found that it lay eighteene fathome deepe fast to the ground vnder the Water, and ten fathome aboue the water. The twelfth, wee sayled neere vnder the Land, the better to shunne the Ice, for the great flakes that draue in the Sea, were many fathome deepe vnder the Water, and we were better defended from them being at foure and fise fathome Water, and there ranne a great current of water from the Hill. There we made our ship fast againe to a piece of Ice, and called that point, The small Ice point.

The thirteenth in the morning, there came a Beare from the East point of the Land, close to our ship, and one of our men with a Peece shot at her, and brake one of her legs, but she crept vp the Hill with her three feet, and we following her, killed her, and hauing flayed her, brought the skinne aboard the ship. From thence wee set sayle, with a little gale of Winde, and were forced to lauer, but after, that it began to blow more out of the South, and South South-east. Beare killed.

The fifteenth, we came to the Iland of Orange, where we were inclosed with the Ice, hard by a great piece of Ice where we were in great danger to lose our ship, but with great labour and much paine, we got to the Iland, the Wind being South-east, whereby we were constrained to turne our ship, and while we were busied thereabouts, and made such noyse, a Beare that lay there and slept, awaked, and came towards vs to the ship, so that wee were forced to leaue our Worke about turning of the ship, and to defend our selues against the Beare, and shot her into the bodie, wherewith she ranne away to the other side of the Iland, and swamme into the water, and got vp vpon a piece of Ice, where she lay still, but we comming after her to the piece of Ice where she lay, when she saw vs, she leapt into the water, and swamme to the Land: but we got betweene her and the Land, and strooke her on the head with a Hatchet, but as often as wee strooke

strooke at her with the Hatchet, she duckt vnder the water, whereby wee had much to doe before we could kill her: after she was dead we flayed her on the Land, and tooke the skinne aboard with vs, and after that, turned our shippe to a great piece of Ice, and made it fast thereunto.

The sixteenth, ten of our men entring into one Boat, rowed to the firme Land of *Noua Zembla*, and drew the Boat vp vpon the Ice, which done, we went vp a high Hill, to see the situation of the Land, and found that it reached South-east, and South South-east, and then againe South, which wee disliked, for that it lay so much Southward: but when wee saw open water South-east, and East South-east, we were much comforted againe, thinking that we had wonne our Voyage and knew not how we should get soone enough a-board, to certifie *William Barents* thereof.

The eighteenth, we made preparation to set sayle, but it was all in vaine: for wee had almost lost our Sheat Anchor, and two new Ropes, and with much lost labour got to the place againe from whence wee came: for the streame ranne with a mightie current, and the Ice draue very strongly vpon the Cables, along by the ship, so that we were in feare that wee should lose all the Cable that was without the ship, which was two hundred fathome at the least, but God prouided well for vs, so that in the end, we got to the place againe from whence we put out.

Point Desire.

The nineteenth it was indifferent good weather, the Wind blowing South-west, the Ice still driuing, and wee set sayle with an indifferent gale of Wind, and past by the point of *Desire*, whereby we were once againe in good hope, and when we had gotten about the point, we sailed South-east into the Sea-ward, foure miles, but then againe wee entred into more Ice, whereby wee were constrained to turne backe againe, and sayled Northwest vntill wee came to the Land againe, which reacheth from the point of *Desire*, to the head point, South and by West six miles: from the head point to *Flushingers head*, it reacheth South-west, which are three miles one from the other: from the *Flushingers head*, it reacheth into the Sea, East South-east, and from *Flushingers head* to the point of the Iland, it reacheth South-west, and by South, and South-west three miles: and from the Iland point, to the point of the Ice Hauens, the Land reacheth West South-west foure miles: from the Ice Hauens point to the fall of Water, or the streame Bay, and the low Land, it reacheth West and by South, and East and by North seven miles: from thence the Land reacheth East and West.

Earth on the top of Azure Ice.

The one and twentieth, we sayled a great way into the Ice Hauens, and that night anchored therein: next day the streame going excreame hard Eastward, wee haled out againe from thence, and sayled againe to the Iland point, but for that it was misty Weather, comming to a piece of Ice, wee made the ship fast thereunto, because the Wind beganne to blow hard South-west and South South-west. There we went vp vpon the Ice, and wondred much thereat, it was such manner of Ice: For on the top it was full of Earth, and there wee found about fortie Egges, and it was not like other Ice, for it was of a perfect Azure colour like to the Skies, whereby there grew great contention in words amongst our men, some saying that it was Ice, others that it was frozen Land: for it lay vnreasonable high about the Water, it was at least eightene fathom vnder the water close to the ground, and ten fathome about the water: there wee stayed all that storme, the Wind being South-west and by West. The three and twentieth, wee sayled againe from the Ice, South-eastward into the Sea, but entred presently into it againe, and woond about to the Ice Hauens. The next day it blew hard North North-west, and the Ice came mightily driuing in, whereby we were in a manner compassed about therewith, and withall the Wind beganne more and more to rise, and the Ice still draue harder and harder, so that the pinne of the Rother, and the Rother were shorne in pieces, and our Boat was shorne in pieces betweene the ship and the Ice, we expecting nothing else, but that the ship also would be preft and cruft in pieces with the Ice.

Boat broken with Ice.

The five and twentieth, the Weather began to be better, and we tooke great paines, and bestowed much labour to get the Ice, wherewith we were so inclosed, to goe from vs, but what meanes soeuer we vsed it was all in vaine, but when the Sunne was South-west, the Ice began to driue out againe with the streame, and we thought to saile Southward about *Noua Zembla*, to the Straights of *Mergates*, seeing we could there find no passage. Wee hauing past *Noua Zembla*, were of opinion that our labour was all in vaine, and that we could not get through, and so agreed to goe that way home againe, but comming to the *Streame Bay*, wee were forced to goe backe againe, because of the Ice which lay so fast thereabouts, and the same night also it froze, that wee could hardly get through there, with the little wind that we had, the Wind then being North.

Inclosed with Ice.

The six and twentieth, there blew a reasonable gale of Wind, at which time wee determined to sayle backe to the point of *Desire*, and so home againe, seeing that wee could not get through the *Mergates*, although we vsed all the meanes and industry wee could to get forward, but when we had past by the *Ice Hauens*, the Ice began to driue with such force, that wee were inclosed round about therewith, and yet we sought all the meanes we could to get out, but it was all in vaine: and at that time we had like to haue lost three men that were vpon the Ice to make way for the ship, if the Ice had held the course it went, but as we draue backe againe, and that the

Ice

Ice also whereon our men stood, in like sort draue, they being nimble, as the ship draue by them, one of them caught hold of the beak head, another vpon the shrouds, and the third vpon the great braise that hung out behind, and so by great aduenture by the hold that they tooke, they got safe into the ship againe, for which they thanked God with all their hearts: for it was much likelier that they should rather haue bene carried away with the Ice, but God, by the nimblenesse of their hands, deliuered them out of that danger which was a pitifull thing to behold, although it fell out for the best, for if they had not bene nimble, they had surely dyed for it. The same day in the euening, wee got to the West-side of the *Ice Hauen*, where wee were forced in great cold, pouertie, miserie, and grieve, to stay all that Winter, the winde then beeing East North-east.

Escape of three men.

The seuen and twentieth, the Ice draue round about the ship, and yet it was good weather, at which time we went on Land, and being there it began to blow South-east, with a reasonable gale, and then the Ice came with great force before the bough, and draue the ship vp foure foot high before, and behind it seemed as if the keele lay on the ground, so that it seemed that the ship would be ouerthrowne in the place, whereupon they that were in the ship, put out the Boat, therewith to saue their liues, and withall put out a flagge to make a signe to vs, to come aboard: which we perceiuing, and beholding the ship to be lifted vp in that sort, made all the haste we could to get aboard, thinking that the ship was burst in pieces, but comming vnto it, we found it to be in better case then we thought it had bene.

Ship lifted vp, and beset with Ice.

The eight and twentieth, we got some of the Ice from it, and the ship beganne to sit vpright againe, but before it was fully vpright, as *William Barents* and the other Pilot went forward to the bough to see how the ship lay, and how much it was risen; and while they were busie vpon their knees and elbowes to measure how much it was, the ship burst out of the Ice with such a noise, and so great a cracke, that they thought verily that they were all cast away, knowing not how to saue themselves.

Another danger.

The nine and twentieth, the ship lying vpright againe, wee vsed all the meanes wee could, with Iron hookes and other instruments, to breake the flakes of Ice that lay one heaped vpon the other, but all in vaine; so that we determined to commit our selues to the mercy of God, and to attend aide from him, for that the Ice draue not away in any such sort that it could helpe

vs. The thirtieth, the Ice began to driue together one vpon the other with greater force then before, and bare against the ship with a boystrous South-west winde, and a great snow, so that all the whole ship was borne vp and enclosed, whereby all that was both about it and in it, began to cracke, so that it seemed to burst in an hundred pieces, which was most fearefull both to see and heare, and made all the haire of our heads to rise vpright with feare: and after that, the ship (by the Ice on both sides that ioyned and got vnder the same) was driuen so vpright, in such sort, as if it had bene lifted vp with a Wrench or Vice.

The one and thirtieth of August, by force of the Ice, the ship was driuen vp foure or five foot high at the beake head, and the hinder part thereof lay in a clift of Ice, whereby wee thought that the Rother would bee freed from the force of the flakes of Ice, but notwithstanding, it brake in pieces staffe and all: and if that the hinder part of the ship had bene in the Ice that draue, as well as the fore part was, then all the ship would haue bene driuen wholly vpon the Ice, or possibly haue runne on ground, and for that cause wee were in great feare, and set our Scutes and our Boat out vpon the Ice, if need were, to saue our selues, but within foure houres after, the Ice draue away of it selfe, wherewith wee were exceeding glad, as if wee had saued our liues, for that the ship was then on floe againe, and vpon that we made a new Rother and a Staffe, and hung the Rother out vpon the hookes, that if we chanced to bee borne vpon the Ice againe, as we had bene, it might so be freed from it.

Rother broken

The first of September being Sunday, while we were at prayer, the Ice began to gather together againe, so that the ship was lifted vp two foot at the least, but the Ice brake not. The same euening the Ice continued in that sort still driuing and gathering together, so that we made preparation to draw our Scute and the Boat over the Ice vpon the Land, the wind then blowing South-east. The second, it showed hard with a North-east wind, and the ship began to rise vp higher vpon the Ice, at which time the Ice burst and crackt with great force, so that wee were of opinion to carrie our Scute on Land in that foule weather, with thirteene barrells of Bread, and two hogsheads of Wine, to sustaine our selues if need were.

September.

The third, it blew hard but snowed not so much, the wind being North North-east, at which time we began to be loose from the Ice, whereunto wee lay fast, so that the Scheck broke from the Steuen, but the planks wherewith the ship was lined, held the Scheck fast, and made it hang on, but the Boutloofe and a new Cable (if we had fallen vpon the Ice) brake by forcible pressing of the Ice, but held fast againe in the Ice, and yet the ship was staunch; which was wonder, in regard that the Ice draue so hard, and in great heapes, as big as the Salt-hills that are in *Spaine*, and within a Harquebuss shot of the ship, betweene the which wee lay in great feare and anguish.

The fourth, the weather began to cleare vp, and we saw the Sunne, but it was very cold, the wind

wind being North-east we being forced to lie still. The fift, it was faire Sun-shine weather, and very calme, and at evening when we had supped, the Ice compassed about vs againe, and wee were hard enclosed therewith, the ship beginning to lie vpon the one side, and leaked sore, but by Gods grace it became staunch againe, wherewith we were wholly in feare to lose the ship, it was in so great danger: at which time wee tooke counsell together, and carried our old socke Sayle, with Powder, Lead, Peeces, Muskets, and other furniture on Land, to make a Tent about our Scute that we had drawne vpon the Land, and at that time we carried some Bread, and Wine on Land also, with some Timber, therewith to mend our Boat, that it might serue vs in time of need.

The sixt, it was indifferent faire Sea-weather, and Sun-shine, the wind being West, whereby we were somewhat comforted, hoping that the Ice would drie away, and that wee might get from thence againe. The seuenth, it was indifferent weather againe, but we perceiued no opening of the water, but to the contrary, it lay hard enclosed with Ice, and no water at all about the ship, no not so much as a bucket full. The same day, fise of our men went on Land, but two of them came backe againe, the other three went forward about two miles into the Land, and there found a Riuer of sweet water, where also they found great store of Wood that had benee driuen thither, and there they found the footsteps of Harts and Hinds, as they thought, for they were clouen footed, some greater footed then others, which made them iudge them to be so.

The eight, it blew hard East North-east, which was a right contrary wind to doe vs any good, touching the carrying away of the Ice, so that we were still faster in the Ice, which put vs in no small discomfort. The ninth, it blew North-east, with a little snow, whereby our ship was wholly enclosed with Ice, for the wind draue the Ice hard against it, so that we lay three or foure foot deepe in the Ice, and our Sheek in the after Steuen, brake in pieces, and the ship began to be somewhat loose before, but yet it was not much hurt. In the night time, two Beares came close to our ship side, but we sounded our Trumpet, and shot at them, but hit them not, because it was darke, and they ranne away. The tenth, the weather was somewhat better, because the wind blew not so hard, and yet all one wind.

The eleuenth, it was calme weather, and eight of vs went on Land, euery man armed, to see if that were true as our other three companions had said, that there lay Wood about the Riuer, for that seeing we had so long woond and turned about, sometime in the Ice, and then againe got out, and thereby were compelled to alter our course, and at last saw that we could not get out of the Ice, but rather became faster, and could not loose our ship, as at other times we had done, as also that it began to be Winter, we tooke counsell together what we were best to doe, according to the time, that we might winter there, and attend such aduantage as God would send vs: and after we had debated vpon the matter (to keepe and defend our selues both from the cold, and wilde beasts) we determined to build a house vpon the Land, to keepe vs therein as well as wee could, and so to commit our selues vnto the tuition of God, and to that end we went further into the Land, to find out the conuenientest place in our opinions, to raise our house vpon, and yet we had not much stufte to make it withall, in regard that there grew no trees, nor any other thing in that Countrey conuenient to build it withall: but wee leauing no occasion vnought, as our men went abroad to view the Countrey, and to see what good fortune might happen vnto vs, at last we found an vnexpected comfort in our need, which was, that we found certaine trees roots and all, (as our three companions had said before) which had benee driuen vpon the shoare, either from *Tartaria*, *Musconia*, or else where; for there was none growing vpon that Land, wherewith (as if God had purposely sent them vnto vs) we were much comforted, being in good hope that God would shew vs some further fauour; for that Wood serued vs not onely to build our house, but also to burne, and serue vs all the Winter long, otherwise without all doubt, we had died there miserably with extreme cold.

The twelfth, it was calme weather, and then our men went vnto the other side of the Land, to see if they could find any Wood neerer vnto vs, but there was none. The thirteenth, it was calme but very misty weather, so that we could doe nothing, because it was dangerous for vs to goe into the Land, in regard that we could not see the wilde Beares, and yet they could smell vs, for they smell better then they see. The fourteenth, it was cleare Sun-shine weather, but very cold, and then we went into the Land, and layed the Wood in heapes one vpon the other, that it might not bee covered ouer with the Snow, and from thence meant to carrie it to the place where we intended to build our house.

The fifteenth in the morning, as one of our men held watch, we saw three Beares, whereof the one lay still behind a piece of Ice, the other two came close to the ship; which wee perceiuing, made our Peeces ready to shoot at them, at which time there stood a Tub full of Beefe vpon the Ice, which lay in the water to be seasoned, for that close by the ship there was no water: one of the Beares went vnto it, and put in his head to take out a piece of the Beefe, but she feared therewith as the Dog did with the Pudding, for as she was snatching at the Beefe, shee was shot into the head, wherewith she fell downe dead, and neuer stirred: the other Beare stood still, and looked vpon her fellow, and when shee had stood a good while, shee smelt her fellow, and

Riuer of fresh
water, and
Wood.

Ship fastned
in Ice.

They deter-
mine to winter
there.

How God in
our extremest
need, when we
were forced to
lie all the Win-
ter, vpon the
Land, sent vs
Wood to make
vs a house, and
to serue vs to
burne in the
cold Winter.

Three Beares.

and perceiuing that she was dead, shee ran away, but wee tooke Halberts and other Armes with vs, and followed her, and at last she came againe towards vs, and we prepared our selues to withstand her, wherewith she rose vp vpon her hinder feet, thinking to ranpe at vs, but while shee reared her selfe vp, one of our men shot her into the bellie, and with that she fell vpon her fore-feet againe, and roaring as loud as she could, ran away. Then we tooke the dead Beare, and ript her bellie open; and taking out her guts, we set her vpon her fore-feet, that so she might freeze as shee stood, intending to carrie her with vs into *Holland*, if wee might get our ship loose, and when we had set the Beare vpon her foure feet, we began to make a Sled, thereon to draw the Wood to the place where we went to build our house, at that time it froze two fingers thicke in the salt water, and it was exceeding cold, the wind blowing North-east.

It freezeth in the salt water two fingers thicke in a night.

20 The sixteenth, the Sunne shone, but towards the euening it was misty, the wind being Easterly, at which time we went to fetch Wood with our Sleds, and then wee drew foure beames about a mile vpon the Ice and the Snow, that night againe it froze about two fingers thicke. The seuenteenth, thirteene of vs went where the Wood lay with our Sleds, and so drew fine and fine in a Sled, and the other three helped to lift the Wood behind, to make vs draw the better, and with more ease, and in that manner we drew Wood twice a day, and laid it on a heape by the place where we meant to build our house.

20 The three and twentieth, wee fetcht more Wood to build our house, which wee did twice a day, but it grew to be misty and still weather againe, the wind blowing East, and East North-east, that day our Carpenter being of *Parmecet* died, as wee came aboard about euening. The foure and twentieth, we buried him vnder the sedges, in the clift of a hill, hard by the water, for we could not dig vp the earth, by reason of the great frost and cold, and that day wee went twice with our Sleds to fetch Wood.

30 The five and twentieth, it was darke wether, the wind blowing West, & West South-west, and South-west, and the Ice began somewhat to open, and driue away; but it continued not long, for that hauing driuen about the length of the shot of a great Peece, it lay three fathoms deepe vpon the ground: and where we lay the Ice draue not, for we lay in the middle of the Ice; but if we had layne in the mayne Sea, we would haue hoysed sayle, although it was then late in the yeere. The same day we raysed vp the principles of our house, and began to worke hard thereon, but if the ship had beene loose, we would haue left our building, and haue made our after Steuen of our ship, that we might haue beene ready to sayle away if it had beene possible.

House builded.

40 The sixe and twentieth, wee had a West wind and an open Sea, but our ship lay fast, wherewith we were not a little griued, but it was Gods will, which we most patiently bare, and wee began to make vp our house, part of our men fetched Wood to burne, the rest played the Carpenters: and were busie about the house, as then we were sixteene men in all, for our Carpenter was dead, and of our sixteene men there was still one or other sicke. The seuen and twentieth, it blew hard North-east, and it froze so hard, that as we put a nayle into our mouthes (as when men worke Carpenters worke they vse to doe) there would Ice hang thereon when we tooke it out againe, and make the blood follow: the same day there came an old Beare and a young one towards vs, as we were going to our house, being all together (for we durst not goe alone) which we thought to shoot at, but she ran away, at which time the Ice came forcibly driuing in, and it was faire Sun-shine weather, but so extreme cold, that we could hardly worke, but extremity forced vs thereunto.

Hard and violent frost.

50 The eight and twentieth, it was faire weather, and the Sunne shone, the Wind being West and very calme, the Sea as then being open, but our ship lay fast in the Ice and stirred not; the same day there came a Beare to the ship, but when she espyed vs, she ranne away, and we made as much haste as wee could to build our House. The nine and twentieth in the morning, the Wind was West, and after-noon it blew Northerly, and then wee saw three Beares betweene vs and the House, an old one and two young; but we notwithstanding drew our goods from the ship to the House, and so got before the Beares, and yet they followed vs: neuerthelesse, we would not shun the way for them, but hollowed out as loud as we could, thinking that they would haue gone away, but they would not once goe out of their foot-path, but got before vs, wherewith we and they that were at the house, made a great noyse, which made the Beares run away, and we were not a little glad thereof. The thirtieth the Wind was East, and East South-east, and all that night and the next day it snowed so fast, that our men could fetch no Wood, it lay so close and high one vpon the other: then wee made a great fire without the House, therewith to thaw the ground, that so we might lay it about the House; that it might bee the closer; but it was all lost labour, for the Earth was so hard, and frozen so deepe into the ground, that wee could not thaw it, and it would haue cost vs too much Wood, and therefore wee were forced to 60 leaue off that labour.

Ground not to be thawed.

2. II.

*Their cold, comfortlesse, darke and dreadfull Winter : the Sunnes absence,
Moones light, Sunnes v unexpected returne with miraculous
Speed. Of Beares, Foxes, and many ma-
ny Wanders.*

May-pole of
Snow.

The first of October, the Wind blew stiffe North-east, and after-noon it blew North, with a great storme and drift of Snow, whereby wee could hardly goe in the Wind, and a man could hardly draw his breath, the Snow draue so hard in our faces, at which time we could not see two ships length from vs. The second before noone, the Sunne shone, and after noone it was cloudie againe, and it sned, but the vweather was still, the Wind being North, and then South, and vvee set vp our House, and vpon it wee placed a May-pole made of frozen Snow.

The third before noone, it was calme Sun-shine vweather, but so cold, that it was hard to bee indured, and after-noon it blew hard out of the West, vvith so great extreme cold, that if it had continued, we should haue beene forced to leaue our vvorke. The fourth, the Wind was West, and after-noon North, with great store of Snow, vvhereby vve could not vvorke : at that time vve brought our Anchor vpon the Ice to lye the faster, vvhen vvee lay but an Arrow shot from the Water, the Ice was so much driuen away.

Extreme Snow

The fifth, it blew hard North-west, and the Sea vv as very open and vvithout Ice, as farre as vve could discerne, but vvee lay still frozen as vve did before, and our ship lay two or three foot deepe in the Ice, and vvee could not perceiue otherwise, but that vvee lay fast vpon the ground, and then it vv as three fathome and a halfe deepe. The same day vve brake vp the lower deck of the fore-part of our ship, and vvith those Deales vve couered our Houses, and made it slope ouer head, that the Water might runne off, at vv which time it vv as very cold. The sixth, it blew hard West South-west, but towards Eeuening, West North-west, with a great Snow, that wee could hardly thrust our heads out of the doore, by reason of the great cold. The seventh, it was indifferent good weather, but yet very cold, and wee calkt our House, and brake the ground about it at the foot thereof : that day the Wind went round about the Compasse.

Hence it may
seeme, that the
course of the
Tides and Sea
is from the
North.

The eight, all the night before it blew so hard, and the same day also, and snowed so fast, that we should haue smothered, if we had gone out into the Ayre; and to speake truth, it had not beene possible for any man to haue gone one ships length, though his life had layen thereon : for it was not possible for vs to goe out of the House or ship. The ninth, the Wind still continued North, and blew, and snowed hard, all that day the Wind as then blowing from the Land, so that all that day we were forced to stay in the ship, the weather was so foule.

The tenth, the weather was somewhat fairer, and the Wind calmer, and blew South-west, and West, and South-west, and that time the Water flowed two foote higher then ordinary, which we ghest to proceede from the first North-west wind, which as then had blowne. The same day the weather began to be somewhat better, so that we began to go out of our ship againe : and as one of our men went out, he chanced to meet a Beare, and was almost at him before hee knew it, but presently he ranne backe againe towards the ship, and the Beare after him; but the Beare comming to the place where before we had killed another Beare, and set her vp right, and there let her freeze (which was couered ouer with Ice, and yet one of her pawes reached about it) shee stood still, whereby our man got before her, and climbed vp into the ship, in great feare, crying, *A Beare, a Beare*; which we hearing, came aboue Hatches to looke on her, and to shoot at her, but we could not see her, by meanes of the exceeding great smoke, that had so sore tormented vs (while we lay vnder Hatches) in the foule weather which we would not haue indured for any money, but by reason of the cold and snowie weather, wee were constrained to doe it, if wee would saue our liues, for aloft in the ship we must vndoubtedly haue died. The Beare stayed not long there, but ranne away, the Wind then being North-east. The same day about Eeuening, it was faire weather, and we went out of our ship to the House, and carried the greatest part of our Bread thither.

The eleuenth, it was calme weather, the Wind being South, and somewhat warme, and then we carried our Wine and other Victuals on Land : and as we were hoyfing the Wine ouer-boord, there came a Beare towards our ship, that had layen behind a piece of Ice, and it seemed that we had waked her with the noyse we made : for wee had seene her lye there, but wee thought her to be a piece of Ice; but as she came neere vs, we shot at her, and she ranne away, so we proceeded in our worke. The twelfth, it blew North, and somewhat Westerly, and then halfe of our men kept in the House, and that was the first time that we lay in it, but wee indured great cold, because our Cabins were not made; and besides that wee had not Clothes enough, and we could keepe no fire because our Chimney was not made, whereby it smoked exceedingly.

The thirteenth, the Wind was North and North-west, and it began againe to blow hard, and then

then three of vs went aboard the ship, and laded a Sled with Beere, but when wee had laden it, thinking to goe to our House with it, suddenly there rose such a Wind, and so great a storme and cold, that wee were forced to goe into the ship againe, because wee were not able to stay without, and wee could not get the Beere into the ship againe, but were forced to let it stand without vpon the Sled: being in the ship, wee indured extreame cold, because wee had but a few clothes in it.

The fourteenth, as wee came out of the ship, wee found the Barrell of Beere standing vpon the Sled, but it was fast frozen at the heads, yet by reason of the great cold, the Beere that purged out, froze as hard vpon the side of the Barrell as if it had bene glued thereon, and in that sort wee drew it to our House, and set the Barrell an end, and dranke it first vp, but wee were forced to melt the Beere, for there was scant any vnfrozen Beere in the Barrell, but in that thicke Yeast that was vnfrozen lay the strength of the Beere, so that it was too strong to drinke alone, and that which was frozen tasted like water, and being melted we mixt one with the other, and so dranke it, but it had neither strength nor taste.

The fifteenth, the Wind blew North and East, and East South-east, that day we made place to set vp our doore, and shoueled the Snow away. The eighteenth, the Wind blew hard East South-east, and then we fetched our Bread out of the Scute which wee had drawne vp vpon the Land, and the Wine also which as then was not much frozen, and yet it had layne fixe Weekes therein, and not withstanding that it had oftentimes frozen very hard. The same day wee saw another Beare, and then the Sea was so covered ouer with Ice, that wee could see no open water.

The nineteenth, the Wind blew North-east, and then there was but two men and a Boy in the ship, at which time there came a Beare that sought forcibly to get into the ship, although the two men shot at her with pieces of Wood, and yet she ventured vpon them, whereby they were in an extreame feare, each of them seeking to saue themselves, the two men leapt into the Ballast, and the Boy climbed into the foot Mast top, to saue their liues, meane time some of our men shot at her with a Musket, and then shee ranne away. The twentieth, it was calme Sunne-shine weather, and then againe wee saw the Sea open, at which time wee went on board to fetch the rest of our Beere out of the ship, where wee found some of the Barrels frozen in pieces, and the Iron hoops that were vpon the Iosam Barrels were also frozen in pieces.

The two and twentieth, the Winde blew coldly, and very stiffe North-east, with so great a Snow, that wee could not get out of our doores. The three and twentieth, it was calme weather, and the Winde blew North-east, then wee went aboard our ship, to see if the rest of our men would come home to the House; but wee feared that it would blow hard againe, and therefore durst not stirre with the sicke man, but let him lye still that day, for hee was very weake.

The foure and twentieth, the rest of our men beeing eight persons, came to the House, and drew the sicke man vpon a Sled, and then with great labour and paine, wee drew our Boat home to our House, and turned the bottome thereof vpwards, that when time serued vs (if God saued our liues in the Winter time) wee might vse it: and after that, perceiuing that the ship lay fast, and that there was nothing lesse to be expected then the opening of the water, wee put our Anchor into the ship againe, because it should not be covered ouer and lost in the Snow, that in the Spring time wee might vse it: for we alwayes trusted in God that hee would deliuer vs from thence towards Summer time, eyther one way or other. The Sunne, when we might see it best and highest, began to be very low, and we vsed all the speed we could to fetch all things with Sleds out of our ship into our House, not onely meate and drinke, but all other necessaries, at which time the Wind was North.

The five and twentieth, wee fetcht all things that were necessary for the furnishing of our Scute and our Boate: and when we had laden the last Sled, and stood readie to draw it to the House, our Master looked about him and saw three Beares behind the ship that were comming towards vs, whereupon hee cryed out aloud to feare them away, and wee presently leaped forth to defend our selues as well as we could: and, as good fortune was, there lay two Halberds vpon the Sled, whereof the Master tooke one, and I the other, and made resistance against them as well as we could; but the rest of our men ranne to saue themselves in the ship, and as they ranne, one of them fell into a Clift of Ice, which grieved vs much: for we thought verily that the Beares would haue ranne vnto him, to deuoure him, but God defended him: for the Beares still made towardes the ship after the men that ranne thither to saue themselves. Meane time, wee and the man that fell into the Clift of Ice, tooke our aduantage, and got into the ship on the other side, which the Beares perceiuing, they came fiercely towards vs, that had no other Armes to defend vs withall, but onely the two Halberds, which wee doubting would not bee sufficient, wee still gaue them worke to doe by throwing Billets and other things at them, and every time we threw, they ranne after them as a Dogge vseth to doe at a Stone that is cast at him. Meane time, wee sent a man

Beere melted.

Sea covered with Ice.

Beare assaults the ship.

Barrels and Iron hoops broken with Ice.

All come to the House.

Fight with Beares.

downe vnder Hatches to strike Fire, and another to fetch Pikes, but wee could get no Fire, and so wee had no meanes to shoote: at the last, as the Beares came fiercely vpon vs, wee strooke one of them with a Halberd vpon the Snowt, wherewith shee gaue backe, when shee felt her selfe hurt, and went away, which the other two that were not so great as shee, perceiuing, ranne away: and wee thanked God that wee were so well deliuered from them, and so drew our Sled quietly to our House, and there shewed our men what had happened vnto vs.

The fixe and twentieth, the Wind was North, and North North-west, with indifferent faire weather: then wee saw open Water hard by the Land, but wee perceiued the Ice to driue in the Sea, still towards the ship. The seuen and twentieth, the Wind blew North-east, and it snowed so fast, that wee could not worke without the doore. That day our men killed a White Foxe, which they flead: and after they had roasted it, ate thereof, which tasted like Conies flesh: the same day we set vp our Dyall, and made the Clocke strike, and wee hung vp a Lampe to burne in the night time, wherein we vsed the fat of the Beare which wee melt, and burnt in the Lampe.

White Foxe.

Beares fat for Lampe.

The nine and twentieth, the Wind still blew North-east, and then wee fetched Segges from the Sea-side, and layd them vpon the Sayle that was spread vpon our House, that it might bee so much the closer and warmer: for the Deales were not driuen close together, and the foule weather would not permit vs to doe it. The thirtieth, the Winde yet continued North-east, and the Sunne was full about the Earth, a little about the Horizon. The one and thirtieth, the Winde still blew North-east, with great store of Snow, whereby wee durst not looke out of doores.

November.

Sun & Moone.

The first of November, the Wind still continued North-east, and then wee saw the Moone rise in the East when it beganne to bee darke, and the Sunne was no higher about the Horizon then we could well see it, and yet that day we saw it not, because of the close weather, and the great Snow that fell, and it was extreame cold, so that we could not goe out of the House.

Sun riseth South South-east, and goeth downe South South-west, not full about the Earth. Foxes succed Beares.

The second, the Wind blew West, and somewhat South, but in the Euening it blew North, with calme weather, and that day we saw the Sunne rise South South-east, and it went downe South South-west, but it was not full about the Earth, but passed in the Horizon along by the Earth: and the same day one of our men killed a Fox with a Hatchet, which was flayed, roasted and eaten. Before the Sunne began to decline, wee saw no Foxes, and then the Beares vsed to goe from vs.

The third, the Wind blew North-west with calme weather, and the Sunne rose South and by East, and somewhat more Southerly, and went downe South and by West, and somewhat more Southerly: and then we could see nothing but the vpper part of the Sunne about the Horizon, and yet the Land where wee were, was as high as the Mast of our ship, then wee tooke the height of the Sunne, it being in the eleuenth degree, and fortie eight minutes of *Scorpio*, his Declination being fiftene degrees and twentie foure minutes on the South-side of the Equinoctiall Line.

They see the Sun no more after the third of November, *Stilonius*, or our Octob. 24.

The fourth, it was calme weather, but then wee saw the Sunne no more, for it was no longer about the Horizon, then our Chirurgeon made a Bath (to bathe vs in) of a Wine-pipe, wherein wee entred one after the other, and it did vs much good; and was a great meanes of our health. The same day wee tooke a White Foxe, that oftentimes came abroad, not as they vsed at other times: for that when the Beares left vs at the setting of the Sunne, and came not againe before it rose, the Foxe to the contrarie came abroad when they were gone.

Moone continually scene in the Sunnes absence.

The fifth, the Winde was North, and somewhat West, and then wee saw open water vpon the Sea, but our shippe lay still fast in the Ice, and when the Sunne had left vs, wee saw the Moone continuall both day and night, and neuer went downe when it was in the highest degree. The sixt, the Winde was North-west, still weather, and then our men fetcht a Sled full of Fire-wood, but by reason that the Sunne was not scene, it was very darke weather.

Darknesse.

The seuenth, it was darke weather, and very still, the Winde West, at which time wee could hardly discern the Day from the Night, specially because at that time our Clocke stood still, and by that meanes wee knew not when it was day, although it was day, and our men rose not out of their Cabins all that day; but onely to make water, and therefore they knew not whether the light they saw, was the light of the day or of the Moone; whereupon, they were of seuerall opinions, some saying, it was the light of the day, the others of the night: but as wee tooke good regard thereunto, wee found it to bee the light of the day about twelue of the clocke at noone.

Bread shared and Beere.

The eight, it was still weather, the Winde blowing South, and South-west. The same day our men fetcht another Sled of Fire-wood, and then also wee tooke a White Foxe, and saw open water in the Sea. The same day wee shared our Bread amongst vs, each man hauing foure pound and tenne ounces, for his allowance in eight dayes, so that then

we were eight dayes eating a Barrell of Bread, whereas before wee ate it vp in fve or six dayes: we had no need to share our flesh and fish, for we had more store thereof; but our drinke failed vs, Beere strength and therefore we were forced to share that also: but our best Beere was for the most part who- less with stoffs ly without any strength, so that it had no sauour at all: and besides all this, there was a great deale of it spilt. The ninth, the Wind blew North-east, and somewhat more Northerly, and then we had not much day light, but it was altogether darke. The tenth, it was calme weather, the Wind North-west, and then our men went into the ship to see how it lay, and wee Ship ballast saw that there was a great deale of water in it, so that the ballast was couered ouer with water, covered with but that it was frozen, and so might not bee pumpt out. The eleuenth, it was indifferent weather, the Wind North-west. The same day we made a round thing of Cable yarne, and like to a Net, to catch Foxes withall, that wee might get them into the House, and it was made like a Fox-trap. Trap, which fell vpon the Foxes as they came vnder it, and that day we caught one.

The twelfth, the Wind blew East, with a little light: that day wee began to share our Wine, Wine shared euery man had two Glasse a day, but commonly our Drinke was water, which we melted out Drinke water of Snow, which we gathered without the House. The thirteenth, it was foule weather, with great Snow, the Wind East. The fourteenth, it was faire cleere weather, with a cleere Skie full of Starres, and an East-wind. The fiftenth, it was darke weather, the Wind North-east, with a fading light. The sixteenth, it was weather with a temperate Ayre, and an East-wind. The seuententh, it was darke weather, and a close Ayre, the Wind East. The eighteenth, it was foule weather, the wind South-east: then the Master cut vp a packe of course Clothes, and diuided it amongst our men that needed it, therewith to defend vs better from the cold. The nineteenth, it was foule weather, with an East-wind, and then the Chist with Linnen was opened, and diuided amongst the men for shift, for they had need of them, for then our onely care was to find all the meanes we could to defend our bodie from the cold. The twentieth, it was faire still weather, the Wind Easterly, then wee waht our sheets, but it was so cold, that when wee had waht and wrung them, they presently froze so stiffe, that although wee layed them by a great fire, the side that lay next the fire thawed, but the other side was hard frozen, so that wee should sooner haue torne them in sunder then haue opened them, whereby wee were forced to put them into the seething water againe to thaw them, it was so exceeding cold. The one and twentieth, it was indifferent weather with a North-east wind, then we agreed that euery man should take his turne to cleaue Wood, thereby to ease our Cooke, that had more then worke enough to doe twice a day to dresse meate, and to melt Snow for our Drinke, but our Master and the Pilot were exempted from that Worke.

The two and twentieth, the Wind was South-east, it was faire weather, then wee had but seuentene Cheeles, whereof one we ate amongst vs, and the rest were diuided to euery man one for his portion, which they might ate when he list. The three and twentieth, it was indifferent good weather, the Wind South-east, and as we perceiued that the Fox used to come ofner, and more then they were wont, to take them, the better, wee made certaine Trappes of thicke Planckes, whereon wee laid stones, and round about them placed pieces of shards fast in the ground, that they might not digge vnder them, and so got some of the Foxes. The foure and twentieth, it was foule weather, and the Wind North-east, and then wee prepared our selues to goe into the Bath, for some of vs were not very well at ease, and so foure of vs went into it, and when we came out, our Surgeon gaue vs a Purgation, which did vs much good, and that day we tooke foure Foxes. The fve and twentieth, it was faire cleere weather, the Wind West; and that day we tooke two Foxes with Springs that we had purposely set vp.

The six and twentieth, it was foule weather, and a great storme with a South-west Wind, and great store of Snow, whereby wee were so closed vp in the House, that wee could not goe out, but were forced to ease our selues within the House. The seuen and twentieth, it was faire cleere weather, the Wind South-west, and then we made more Spinges to get Foxes, for it stood vs vpon to doe it, because they serued vs for meate, as if God had sent them purposely for vs, for we had not much meate. The eight and twentieth of Nouember, it was foule stormie weather, and the Winde blew hard out of the North, and it snowed hard, whereby wee were shut vp againe in our House, the Snow lay so closed before the doores.

The nine and twentieth, it was faire cleere weather, and a good Ayre: the Wind Northerly, and we found meanes to open our doore by shoueling away the Snow, whereby wee got one of our doores open, and going out, wee found all our Traps and Springes cleane couered ouer with Snow, which wee made cleane, and set them vp againe to take Foxes: and that day wee tooke one, which as then serued vs not onely for meate, but of the skinnes wee made Caps to weare vpon our heads, wherewith to keepe them warme from the extreame cold. The thirtieth, it was faire cleere weather, the Wind West, and six of vs went to the ship, all well prouided of Armes to see how it lay: and when wee went vnder the fore Decke, wee tooke a Foxe aliue in the ship.

The first of December, it was foule weather with a South-west Wind, and great store of Snow, whereby we were once againe stopt vp in the House, and by that meanes there was so

- Lye still in Cabins. great a smoake in the House, that we could hardly make fire, and so were forced to lye all day in our Cabins, but the Cooke was forced to make fire to dresse our meate. The second, it was still foule weather, whereby wee were forced to keepe still in the House, and yet wee could hardly sit by the fire, because of the smoake, and therefore stayed still in our Cabins, and then we heated stones, which we put in our Cabins to warme our feet, for that both the cold and the smoake were vnsupportable.
- Stones heated to heat them. Cold and Smoake. The third, we had the like weather, at which time as we lay in our Cabins, wee might heare the Ice cracke in the Sea, and yet it was at the least halfe a mile from vs, which made a huge noyse, and we were of opinion, that as then the great Hills of Ice which wee had seene in the Sea, in Summer time, brake one from the other, and for that during those two or three dayes, because of the extreame smoake, we made not so much fire as we commonly vsed to doe, it froze so fore within the House, that the Walls and the Roofe thereof were frozen two fingers thick with Ice, and also in our Cabins where we lay all those three dayes, while wee could not goe out: by reason of the foule weather, we set vp the Glasse of twelue houres, and when it was runne out, wee set it vp againe, still watching it lest wee should misse our time. For the cold was so great, that our Clocke was frozen, and might not goe, although we hung more waight on it then before.
- Ice in the House. Clock frozen. The fourth, it was faire cleere weather, the Wind North-east, and then we began euery man by turne to digge open our doores that were closed vp with Snow, for we saw that it would be often to doe, and therefore we agreed to worke by turnes, no man excepted but the Master and the Pilot. The fifth, it was faire weather with an East-wind, and then we made our Springes cleane againe to take Foxes. The sixth, it was foule weather againe, with an Easterly Wind, and extreame cold, almost not to bee indured, whereupon wee lookt pittifully one vpon the other, being in great feare, that if the extremitie of the cold grew to bee more and more, wee should all dye there with cold, for that what fire soeuer we made, it would not warme vs, yea, and our Sacke which is so hot, was frozen very hard, so that when wee were euery man to haue his part, we were forced to melt it in the fire, which wee shared euery second day about halfe a pint for a man, wherewith we were forced to sustayne our selues, and at other times wee dranke water, which agreed not well with the cold, and we needed not to coole it with Snow or Ice, but we were forced to melt it out of the Snow.
- Cold stronger then fire and Sacke. The seuenth, it was still foule weather, and we had a great storme with a North-east Wind, which brought an extreame cold with it, at which time wee knew not what to doe, and while we sate consulting together, what were best for vs to doe, one of our companions gaue vs counsell to burne some of the Sea-coales that we had brought out of the ship, which would cast a great heate and continue long, and so at Euening we made a great fire thereof, which cast a great heat: at which time wee were very carefull to keepe it in: for that the heate being so great a comfort vnto vs, we tooke care how to make it continue long: whereupon wee agreed to stop vp all the doores and the Chimney, thereby to keepe in the heate, and so went into our Cabins to sleepe, well comforted with the heate, and so lay a great while talking together; but at last we were taken with a great swoounding and dazeling in our heads, yet some more then other some, which we first perceiued by a sicke man, and therefore the lesse able to beare it, and found our selues to be very ill at ease, so that some of vs that were strongest, start out of their Cabins, and first opened the Chimney, and then the doores, but he that opened the doore fell downe in a swoound vpon the Snow, which I hearing, as lying in my Cabin next to the doore, start vp, and casting Vinegar in his face, recovered him againe, and so he rose vp: and when the doores were open, we all recovered our healths againe, by reason of the cold Ayre, and so the cold which before had bene so great an Enemy vnto vs, was then the onely reliefe that wee had, otherwise without doubt, we had dyed in a sudden swoound, after that the Master, when we were come to our selues againe, gaue euery one of vs a little Wine to comfort our hearts.
- Sea-coale fire. The eight, it was foule weather, the winde Northerly, very sharpe and cold, but we durst lay no more coales on, as wee did the day before, for that our misfortune had taught vs, that to shunne one danger we should not runne into another. The ninth, it was faire cleere weather, the skie full of Starres, then we set our doore wide open, which before was fast closed vp with Snow, and made our Springes ready to take Foxes. The tenth, it was still faire Star-light weather, the winde North-east: then wee tooke two Foxes, which were good meate for vs, for as then our victuals began to bee scant, and the cold still increased, whereunto their Skinnies serued vs for a good defence. The eleuenth, it was faire weather, and a cleere ayre but very cold, which wee that felt not would not belecue, for our Shooes froze as hard as hornes vpon our feete, and within they were white frozen, so that we could not weare our shooes, but were forced to make great Pattents, the vpper part being Sheepe-skinnes, which we put on ouer three or foure payre of Sockes, and so went in them to keepe our feet warme.
- Shooes on feet frozen within. They weare no shooes. The twelfth, it was faire cleere weather with a North-west winde, but extreame cold, so that our House walls and Cabbins were frozen a finger thicke; yea, and the Cloathes vpon our backs were white ouer with Frost, and although some of vs were of opinion, that wee should lay
- Clothes on their backs frozen.

lay more coles vpon the fire to warme vs, and that we should let the chimney stand open, yet we durst not doe it, fearing the like danger we had escaped. The thirteenth, it was faire cleere weather, with an East winde: then we tooke another Foxe, and tooke great paines about preparing and dressing of our Springes, with no small trouble, for that if wee stayed too long without the doores, there arose blisters vpon our Faces and our Eares. The fourteenth, it was faire weather, the winde North-east, and the skie full of starres, then we tooke the height of the right shoulder of the *Rens*, when it was South South-west, and somewhat more Westerly (and then it was at the highest in our Compasse) and it was eleuated about the Horizon 20. degrees and 28. minutes, his Declination being 6. degrees and 18. minutes, on the North-side of the line, which Declination being taken out of the height afore sayd, there rested 14. degrees, which being taken out of 90. degrees, then the height of the Pole was 76. degrees.

Cold blisters.

The fifteenth, it was still faire weather, the winde East: that day wee tooke two Foxes, and saw the Moone rise East South-east, when it was fixe and twentie dayes old, in the signe of *Scorpio*. The sixteenth, it was faire cleere weather, the winde East: at that time wee had no more Wood in the house, but had burnt it all: but round about our house there lay some couered ouer with Snow, which with great paine and labour we were forced to digge out, and so shouell away the Snow, and so brought it into the house, which wee did by turnes, two and two together, wherein we were forced to vse great speed, for wee could not long endure without the House, because of the extreame cold, although we wore the Foxes skinnes about our heads, and double apparell vpon our backs.

Extreame and terrible freezing.

The seuenteenth, the winde still held North-east, with faire weather and so great Frosts, that wee were of opinion, that if there stood a Barrell full of water without the doore, it would in one night freeze from the top to the bottome. The eighteenth, the winde still held North-east, with faire weather: then seven of vs went out vnto the Ship to see how it lay, and being vnder the decke, thinking to finde a Foxe there, we sought all the holes but we found none; but when we entred into the Cabbin and had stricken fire to see in what case the ship was, and whether the water rose higher in it, there wee found a Foxe, which we tooke and carryed it home, and eate it, and then we found that in eightene dayes absence (for it was so long since we had bene there) the water was risen about a finger high, but yet it was all Ice, for it froze as fast as it came in, and the vessels which wee had brought with vs full of fresh water out of *Holland*, were frozen to the ground.

The nineteenth, it was faire weather, the winde being South: then we put each other in good comfort, that the Sunne was then almost half ouer, and ready to come to vs againe, which wee sore longed for, it being a weary time for vs to bee without the Sunne, and to want the greatest comfort that God sendeth vnto man heere vpon the earth, and that which rejoyceth every liuing thing. The twentieth, before noone it was faire cleere weather, and then we had taken a Foxe, but towards Eeuening, there rose such a storme in the South-west, with so great a snow, that all the house was inclosed therewith. The one and twentieth, it was faire cleere weather, with a North-east winde, then we made our doore cleane againe, and made a way to goe out, and clenched our Traps for the Foxes, which did vs great pleasure when we tooke them, for they seemed as daintie as Venison vnto vs. The two and twentieth, it was foule weather, with great store of snow, the winde South-west, which stopt vp our doore againe, and wee were forced to digge it open againe, which was almost euery day to doe. The three and twentieth, it was foule weather, the wind South-west, with great store of snow, but wee were in good comfort that the Sunne would come againe to vs, for as we ghesse, that day hee was in *Tropicus Capricorni*, which is the furthest Signe that the Sunne passeth on the South-side of the line, and from thence it turneth Northward againe. The foure and twentieth, being Christmasse Eeuening, it was faire weather, then wee opened our doore againe, and saw much open water in the Sea: for we had heard the Ice cracke and drine: although it was not day, yet we could see so farre. Towards Eeuening it blew hard out of the North-east, with great store of Snow, so that all the passage that wee had made open before, was stopt vp againe. The five and twentieth, being Christmasse day, it was foule weather, with a North-west winde, and yet though it was foule weather, we heard the Foxes runne ouer our House, wherewith some of our men sayd, it was an ill signe; and while we sate disputing why it should bee an ill signe, some of our men made answer, that it was an ill signe because wee could not take them, to put them into the Pot or roast them, for that had bene a very good signe for vs.

Sunnes comfort.

House inclosed with snow.

Sun in *Tropicus Capricorni*. 24. Decem. Still now.

Cold Christmasse.

All signe indeed.

The fixe and twentieth, it was foule weather, the winde North-west, and it was so cold that we could not warme vs, although wee vsed all the meanes we could with great fires, good store of clothes, and with hot stones and billets, layd vpon our feete and vpon our bodies, as we lay in our Cabbins; but notwithstanding all this, in the morning our Cabbins were frozen, which made vs behold one the other with sad countenance, but yet wee comforted our selues againe as well as we could, that the Sunne was then as low as it could goe, and that it now began to come to vs againe, and we found it to bee true: for that the *Dayes beginning to lengthen, the Cold began to strengthen*, but hope put vs in good comfort, and eased our paine. The seven and twentieth, it

Cold inuincible.

Burne before,
freeze behind.

was still foule weather, with a North-west wind, so that as then wee had not beene out in three dayes together, nor durst not thrust our heads out of doores, and within the house it was so extreame cold, that as we sate before a great Fire, and seemed to burne on the fore-side, we froze behind at our backes, and were all white as the Countrey-men vse to bee, when they come in at the gates of the Towne in *Holland* with their Sleds, and haue gone all night.

Snow higher
then the house

The eight and twentieth, it was still foule weather with a West wind, but about Eeuening it began to cleere vp, at which time one of our men made a hole open at one of our doores, and went out to see what newes abroad, but found it so hard weather that hee stayed not long, and told vs that it had snowed so much, that the Snow lay higher then our house, and that if he had stayed out longer, his eares would vndoubtedly haue beene frozen off. The nine and twentieth,

Snow-steps.

it was, opened the doore, and digged a hole through the Snow, where we went out of the house vpon steps, as if it had beene out of a Celler, at least seuen or eight steps high, each step a foote from the other, and then we made cleane our Springes for the Foxes, whereof for certaine dayes we had not taken any: and as we made them cleane, one of our men found a dead Foxe in one of them, that was frozen as hard as a stone, which he brought into the house, and thawed it before the fire, and after slaying it, some of our men eate it. The thirtieth, it was foule weather againe, with a storme out of the West, and great store of Snow, so that all the labour and paine that we had taken the day before to make steps to goe out of our house, and to cense our Springes, was all in vaine, for it was all couered ouer with Snow againe, higher then it was before. The one and

Fire conque-
red, hear smelt
before felt.

thirtieth, it was still foule weather, with a storme out of the North-west, whereby we were so fast shut vp into the house, as if wee had beene prisoners, and it was so extreame cold, that the fire almost cast no heate: for as we put our feet to the fire, we burnt our hofe before we could feele the heate, so that we had worke enough to doe to patch our hofe: and which is more, if we had not sooner smelt, then felt them, we should haue burnt them ere we had knowne it.

An. Dom. 1597.

January.

After that with great cold, danger, and disease, wee had brought this yeere vnto an end, we entred into the yeere of our Lord God 1597. the beginning whereof, was in the same manner as the end of *Anno* 1596. had beene, for the weather continued as cold, foule, and Snowie, as it was before, so that vpon the first of January wee were inclosed in the House, the winde then being West: at the same time wee agreed to share our Wine euery man a small measure full, and that but once in two dayes: and as we were in great care and feare that it would bee long before we should get out from thence, (and we hauing but small hope therein) some of vs spared to drinke wine as long as we could, that if we should stay long there, we might drinke it at our need. The second, it blew hard with a West wind, and a great storme with both Snow and Frost, so that in foure or fise dayes, we durst not put our heads out of the doores, and as then by reason of the great cold, we had almost burnt all our Wood; notwithstanding, we durst not goe out to fetch more wood, because it froze so hard, and there was no being without the doore, but seeking about we found some peeces of wood that lay ouer the doore, which we cloue, and withall cloue the blockes whereon we vsed to beate our Stock-fish, and so holpe our selues so well as we could. The third, it was all one weather, and we had little wood to burne. The fourth, it was still foule stormie weather, with much Snow and great cold, the winde South-west, and we were forced to keepe in the house: and to know where the wind blew, we thrust a halfe-pike out at the Chimney with a little cloath or feather vpon it, but as soone as wee thrust it out, it was presently frozen as hard as a peece of wood, and could not goe about nor stirre with the wind.

Vane.

The fifth, it was somewhat still and calme weather: then wee digged our doore open againe, that we might goe out, and carrie out all the filth that had beene made, during the time of our being shut in the house; and made euery thing handsome, and fetched in Wood which we cleft, and it was all our dayes worke to further our selues as much as we could, fearing least we should be shut vp againe: and as there were three doores in our portall, and for that our house lay couered ouer in Snow, wee tooke the middle doore thereof away, and digged a great hole in the snow, that lay without the house, like to a side of a vault, wherein we might goe to ease our selues, and cast other filth into it: and when we had taken paines all day, we remembred our selues that it was Twelfth Euen, and then we prayed our Master that we might be merrie that night, and sayd, that we were content to spend some of the Wine that night which we had spared, and which was our share euery second day, and whereof for certayne dayes wee had not drunke, and so that night we made merrie, and drunke to the *three Kings*, and therewith we had two pound of Meale, whereof wee made pan-cakes with Oyle, and euery man a white Bisket, which we sopt in Wine: and so supposing that we were in our owne Countrey, and amongst our friends, it comforted vs as well as if we had made a great banquet in our owne house: and we also made tickets, and our Gunner was King of *Nona Zembla*, which is at least two hundred miles long, and lyeth betweene two Seas.

Three Kings
of Cullen.King of *Nona
Zembla*.

The sixt, it was faire weather, the wind North-east, then wee went out and cleansed our Traps to take Foxes, which were our Venison, and we digged a hole in the Snow, where our fire-wood

wood lay, and left it close above like a vault; and from thence fetched out our Wood as we needed it. The seventh, it was foule weather againe, with a North-west wind, and some Snow, and very cold, which put vs in great feare to be shut vp in the house againe. The eight, it was faire weather againe, the wind North: then wee made our Springes ready to get more Venison: which wee longed for, and then wee might see and marke day-light, which then began to encrease, that the Sunne as then began to come towards vs againe, which put vs in no little comfort.

The ninth, it was foule weather, with a North-west wind, but not so hard weather as it had beene before, so that we might goe out of the doore to make cleane our Springes. The tenth, it was faire weather with a North wind: then seven of vs went to our ship well armed, which we found in the same state wee left it in, and in it wee saw many footsteps of Beares, both great and small, whereby it seemed that there had beene more then one or two Beares therein; and as we went vnder hatches, we strooke fire, and lighted a Candle, and found that the water was risen a foot higher in the ship. The eleventh, it was faire weather, the wind North-east, and the cold began to be somewhat lesse, so that as then we were bold to goe out of the doores, and went about a quarter of a mile to a Hill, from thence we fetched certaine stones, which we layd in the fire, therewith to warme vs in our Cabins.

The twelfth, it was cleare weather, the wind North-west: that euening it was very cleare, and the skie full of Starres, then wee tooke the height of *Oculus Tauri*, which is a bright and well knowne Starre, and we found it to be elevated above the Horizon 29. degrees and 54. minutes, her declination being 15. degrees 54. minutes on the North side of the Line. This declination being subtracted from the height aforesaid, then there rested 14. degrees, which subtracted from 90. degrees, then the height of the Pole was 76. degrees, and so by measuring the height of that Starre, and some others, wee ghesse that the Sunne was in the like height, and that we were there vnder 76. degrees, and rather higher then lower.

The thirteenth, it was faire still weather, the wind Westerly, and then wee perceived that day-light began more and more to encrease, and we went out and cast Bullets at the bale of the Flag-staffe, which before we could not see when it turned about. The fourteenth, it was faire weather and a cleare light, the wind Westerly, and that day we tooke a Foxe. The fifteenth, it was faire cleere weather, with a West wind, and sixe of vs went aboard the ship, where wee found the Bolek-vanger (which the last time that we were in the ship, wee stucke in a hole in the fore decke, to take Foxes) pulled out of the hole, and lay in the middle of the ship, and all torne in pieces by the Beares, as we perceived by their footsteps.

The sixteenth, it was faire weather, the wind Northerly, and then we went now and then out of the house to stretch out our ioynts and our limbs with going and running, that we might not become lame, and about noone time we saw a certaine rednesse in the skie, as a shew or messenger of the Sunne that began to come towards vs. The seventeenth, it was cleare weather with a North wind, and then still more and more wee perceived that the Sunne began to come neerer vnto vs, for the day was somewhat warmer, so that when we had a good fire, there fell great pieces of Ice downe from the walls of our house, and the Ice melted in our Cabins, and the water dropped downe, which was not so before, how great soeuer our fire was; but that night it was cold againe.

The eighteenth, it was faire cleare weather, with a South-east wind, then our Wood began to consume, and so we agreed to burne some of our Sea-coles, and not to stop vp the Chimney, and then we should not need to feare any hurt, which we did, and found no disease thereby, but we thought it better for vs to keepe the Coles, and to burne our Wood more sparingly, for that the Coles would serue vs better when we should sayle home in our open Scute.

The one and twentieth, it was faire weather, with a West wind: at that time taking of Foxes began to fayle vs, which was a signe that the Beares would come againe, as not long after we found it to be true, for as long as the Beares stay away, the Foxes came abroad, and not much before the Beares come abroad, the Foxes were but little seene.

The two and twentieth, it was faire weather with a West wind: then we went out againe to cast the Bullet, and perceived that day-light began to appeare, whereby some of vs said, that the Sunne would soone appeare vnto vs, but *William Barents* to the contrary said, that it was yet two weekes too soone. The three and twentieth, it was faire calme weather, with a South-west wind: then foure of vs went to the ship, and comforted each other, giuing God thanks that the hardest time of the Winter was past, being in good hope that we should liue to talke of those things at home in our owne Countrey: and when we were in the ship, we found that the water rose higher and higher in it, and so each of vs taking a Bisket or two with vs, wee went home againe.

The foure and twentieth, it was faire cleare weather, with a West wind: then I, and *Iacob Heemskerke*, and another with vs went to the Sea-side, on the South side of *Nova Zembla*, where contrary to our expectation, I first saw the edge of the Sunne, wherewith wee went speedily home againe, to tell *William Barents*, and the rest of our companions that ioyfull newes: but

William

Day-light
espied.

Beares in the
Ship.

Oculus Tauri

Aurora blushe
to lie so long
in bed.

Cold releaseth

Sunne appea-
reth againe,
Jan. 24.

William Barents being a wise and well experienced Pilot, would not beleue it, esteeming it to be about fourteene dayes to soone for the Sunne to shine in that part of the World; but we earnestly affirmed the contrarie, and said, that we had seene the Sunne.

The five and twentieth, and sixe and twentieth, it was misty, and close weather, so that wee could not see any thing: then they that layed the contrary wager with vs, thought that they had won: but vpon the seven and twentieth day it was cleare weather, and then wee saw the Sunne in his full roundnesse aboue the Horizon, whereby it manifestly appeared that wee had seene it vpon the foure and twentieth day of Ianuary. And as we were of diuers opinions touching the same, and that wee said, it was cleane contrary to the opinions of all old and new Writers; yea, and contrary to the nature and roundnesse both of Heauen and Earth; some of vs said, that seeing in long time there had beene no day, that it might be that we had ouerslept our selues, whereof we were better assured: but concerning the thing in it selfe, seeing God is wonderfull in all his workes, we will referre that to his almightie power, and leaue it vnto others to dispute of, but for that no man shall thinke vs to be in doubt thereof, if wee should let this passe without discoursing vpon it, therefore we will make some declaration thereof, whereby we may assure our selues that we kept good reckoning.

Sun fully seen.

How the Sun which they had lost the 4. of Nouember did appeare to them againe vpon the 24. of Ianuary, which was very strange, and contrary to all learned mens opinions.

You must vnderstand, that when we first saw the Sun, it was in the fift degr. and 25. min. of *Aquarius*, and it should haue staid according to our first ghesing, till it had entred into the 16. deg. and 27. min. of *Aquarius*, before he should haue shewed there vnto vs, in the height of 76. deg. Which we struing and contending about it amongst our selues, could not be satisfied, but wondred thereat, and some amongst vs were of opinion, that we had mistaken our selues, which neuertheless we could not be perswaded vnto, for that euery day without fayle, wee noted what had past, and also had vsed our Clocke continually, and when that was frozen, wee vsed our Houre-glasse of twelue houres long, whereupon wee argued with our selues, in diuers wise, to know how we should finde out that difference, and leaue the trueth of the time, which to trie, wee agreed to looke into the *Ephemerides* made by *Iosephus Schala*, Printed in *Venice*, for the yeeres of our Lord 1589. till A. 1600. and we found therein, that vpon the foure and twentieth day of Ianuary, (when the Sun first appeared vnto vs) that at *Venice* the Clocke being one in the night time, the Moone and *Iupiter* were in coniunction, whereupon we sought to know when the same coniunction should be ouer or about the house where wee then were, and at last wee found that the foure and twentieth day of Ianuary was the same day whereon the coniunction aforesaid happened in *Venice*, at one of the clocke in the night, and with vs in the morning, when the Sunne was in the East: for we saw manifestly that the two Planets aforesaid approached neere vnto each other, vntill such time as the Moone and *Iupiter* stood one iust ouer the other, both in the signe of *Taurus*, and that was at sixe of the clocke in the morning, at which time the Moone and *Iupiter* were found by our Compasse, to be in coniunction ouer our house, in the North and by East point, and the South part of the Compasse was South South-west, and there we had it right South, the Moone being eight dayes old, whereby it appeareth, that the Sunne and the Moone were eight points different, and this was about sixe of the clocke in the morning: this place differeth from *Venice* five houres in longitude, whereby we may ghesse how much we were neerer East then the Citie of *Venice*, which was five houres, each houre being 15. degrees, which is in all 75. degrees, that we were more Easterly then *Venice*, by all which it is manifestly to be seene, that wee had not sayled in our account, and that also wee had found our right longitude, by the two Planets aforesaid, for the Towne of *Venice* lieth vnder 37. degrees and 25. minutes in longitude, and her declination is 46. degrees and 5. minutes, whereby it followeth that our place of *Noua Zembla*, lieth vnder 112. degrees and 25. minutes in longitude, and the height of the Pole 76. degrees, and so you haue the right longitude and latitude, but from the vttermost point of *Noua Zembla*, to the point of Cape de Tabin, the vttermost point of *Tartaria*, where it windeth Southward, the longitude differeth 60. degrees; but you must vnderstand, that the degrees are not so great as they are vnder the Equinoctiall Line, for right vnder the Line a degree is fifteene miles, but when you leaue the Line, either Northward or Southward, then the degrees in longitude doe lessen, so that the neerer that a man is to the North or South Pole, so much the degrees are lesse: so that vnder the 75. degrees Northward, where we wintred, the degrees are but three miles and two third parts; whereby it is to be marked, that we had but 60. degrees to saile to the said Cape de Tabin, which is, 220. miles, so the said Cape lieth in 172. degrees in longitude as it is thought: and being aboue it, it seemeth that we should be in the Streight of *Anian*, where we may sayle boldly into the South, as the Land reacheth. Now what further instructions are to be had to know, where wee lost the Sunne vnder the said 76. degrees vpon the fourth of Nouember, and saw it againe vpon the foure and twentieth of Ianuary: I leaue that to be described, by such as make profession thereof, it sufficeth vs to haue shewed, that it failed vs not to appeare at the ordinary time.

Difference of longitude betwixt *Venice* and their wint'ring place.

Note for deg. of longitude.

Beares returne with the Sun.

The five and twentieth of Ianuary, it was darke cloudy weather, the wind Westerly, so that the seeing of the Sunne the day before, was againe doubted of, and then many wagers were layd, and we still looked out to see if the Sunne appeared, the same day we saw a Beare, (which

our

as long as the Sunne appeared not vnto vs we saw not) comming out of the South-west towards our house; but when we shouted at her she came no neerer, but went away again. The six & twentieth, it was faire cleare weather, but in the Horizon there hung a white or darke cloude, whereby we could not see the Sunne, vwhereupon the rest of our companions, thought that we had mistaken our selues vpon the foure and twentieth day, and that the Sunne appeared not vnto vs, and mocked vs, but vve were resolute in our former affirmation, that vve had seene the Sunne, but not in the full roundnesse: That Eeuening the Sicke man that was amongst vs, was very vveake, and felt himselfe to bee extreame sicke, for he had layne long time, and vve comforted him as well as vve might, and gaue him the best admonition that vve could, but hee dyed not long after midnight.

Sicke man
dieth.

The twentieth seuen it was faire cleare weather, with a South-west wind, then in the morning we digged a hole in the snow hard by the house, but it was still so extreame cold, that we could not stay long at worke, and so wee digged by turnes, euery man a little while, and then went to the fire, and another went and supplied his place, till at last wee digged seuen foot depth where wee went to burie the dead man, after that when we had read certaine Chapters, and sung some Psalmes, wee all went out and buried the man, which done we went in and brake our fasts, and while we were at meate, and discoursed amongst our selues, touching the great quantitie of snow that continually fell in that place, wee said that if it fell out, that our house should bee closed vp againe with snow, wee would finde the meanes to climbe out at the chimney, whereupon our Master went to trie if hee could climbe vp through the chimney, and so get out, and while hee was climbing one of our men went forth of the doore, to see if the Master were out or not, who standing vpon the snow, saw the Sunne, and called vs all out, wherewith we all went forth, and saw the Sun in his full roundnesse, a little aboue the Horizon, and then it was without all doubt, that wee had seene the Sunne vpon the foure and twentieth of Ianuary, which made vs all glad, and we gaue God heartie thanks, for his grace shewed vnto vs, that that glorious light appeared vnto vs againe.

The Summer.

The eight and twentieth, it was faire weather, with a West wind, then we went out many times to exercise our selues, by going, running, casting of the ball, (for then we might see a good way from vs) and to refresh our ioynts, for wee had long time sitten dull, whereby many of vs were very loose. The nine and twentieth, it was foule weather, with great store of snow, the wind North-west, whereby the house was closed vp againe with snow. The thirtieth, it was darke weather, with an East wind; and we made a hole through the doore, but wee shoueled not the snow very farre from the portall, for that as soone as we saw what weather it was, wee had no desire to goe abroad. The one and thirtieth, it was faire calme weather, with an East wind, then we made the doore cleane, and shoueled away the snow, and threw it vpon the house, and went out, and wee saw the Sunne shine cleere, which comforted vs, meane time we saw a Beare, that came towards our house, but wee went softly in, and watched for her till shee came neerer, and as soone as she was hard by we shot at her, but she ran away againe.

Beare.

The first of February, being Candlemasse Eeue, it was boisterous weather, with a great storme, and good store of snow, whereby the house was closed vp againe with snow, and we were constrained to stay within doors, the wind then being north-west. The second it was foule weather, and as then the Sunne had not rid vs of all the foule weather, whereby wee were somewhat discomforted, for that being in good hope of better weather wee had not made so great prouision of wood as we did before. The third, it was faire weather, with an East wind, but very mystie, whereby wee could not see the Sunne, which made vs somewhat melancholy, to see so great a myst, and rather more then we had had in the Winter time, and then we digged our doore open againe, and fetched the wood that lay without about the doore into the house, which we were forced with great paine and labour to dig out of the snow. The fourth, it was foule weather, with great store of snow, the wind being South-west, and then wee were close vp againe with snow, but then wee tooke not so much paines as we did before, to dig open the doore, but when we had occasion to goe out we climbed out at the chimney, and eased our selues, and went in againe the same way.

February.

The fifth, it was still foule weather, the wind being East, with great store of snow, whereby wee were shut vp againe into the house, and had no other way to get out but by the chimney, and those that could not climbe out, were faine to helpe themselves within as well as they could. The sixth, it was still foule stormy weather, with store of snow, and we still went out at the chimney, (and troubled not our selues with the doore,) for some of vs made it an easie matter to climbe out at the chimney. The seuenth, it was still foule weather, with much snow, and a South-west wind, and we thereby forced to keep the house, which grieved vs more then when the Sun shined not, for that hauing seene it, and felt the heate thereof, yet wee were forced not to inioy it. The eighth, it began to be fairer weather, the wind being South-west, then wee saw the Sun rise South, South-east, and went downe South South-west, by the Compasse that we had made of Lead, and placed according to the Meridian of that place, but by our common Compasse it differed two points. The ninth, it was faire cleere weather, the wind South-west, but as then wee could not

They goe out
at the chimney.

see

Heat of the
Sunne.

See the Sunne, because it was close weather in the South, where the Sunne should goe downe. The tenth, it was faire cleare weather, so that wee could not tell where the wind blew, and then we began to feele some heat of the Sun, but in the Eeuening it began to blow somewhat cold out of the west.

Beare slaine.

100. Pound of
fat taken out
of a Beare, vs-
full for Lamps.

The eleuenth, it was faire weather, the wind South, that day about noone, there came a Beare towards our house, and wee watched her with our Muskets, but shee came not so neere as wee could reach her, the same night wee heard some Foxes stirring, which since the Beares began to come abroad againe we had not much seene. The twelfth, it was cleere weather and very calme, the winde South-west, then we made our Traps cleane againe, meane-time there came a great Beare towards our house, which made vs all goe in, and wee leuelled at her with our Muskets, and as shee came right before our doore, we shot her into the brest, cleane through the heart, the bullet passing through her body, and went out againe at her tayle, and was as flatte as a Counter, the Beare feeling the blow, leapt backwards, and ranne twentie or thirtie foot from the house, and there lay downe, wherewith wee leapt all out of the house, and ranne to her, and found her still aliue, and when she saw vs, shee reard vp her head, as if she would gladly haue done vs some mischief, but we trusted her not, for that we had tryed their strength sufficiently before, and therefore wee shot her twice into the body againe, and therewith shee dyed. Then we ript vp her belly, and taking out her guttes, drew her home to the House where we slayed her, and tooke at least one hundred pound of fat out of her belly, which wee molt and burned in our Lampe. This Grease did vs great good seruice, for by that meanes we still kept a Lampe burning all night long, which before wee could not doe, for want of Grease, and euery man had meanes to burne a Lampe in his Cabbin, for such necessities as hee had to doe. The Beares skinne vvas nine foot long, and seuen foot broad.

The thirteenth, it was faire cleere vweather with a hard West winde, at which time we had more light in our house by burning of Lampes, whereby we had meanes to passe the time away, by reading and other exercises, which before (when we could not distinguish Day from Night, by reason of the darknesse, and had not Lampes continually burning) vvee could not doe. The foureteenth, it was faire cleere weather, with a hard West wind before noone, but after noone, it was still weather, then five of vs went to the Ship to see how it lay, and found the water to increase in it, but not much. The fifteenth, it was foule weather, with a great storme out of the South-west, with great store of Snow, whereby the House was closed vp againe, that Night the Foxes came to deuoure the dead body of the Beare, vvheryby we were in great feare, that all the Beares thereabouts would come thither, and therefore wee agreed, as soone as we could to get out of the house to burie the dead Beare deepe vnder the Snow.

The sixteenth of February, it was foule weather, with great store of Snow and a South-west vvind, that day was Shroue-tuesday, then wee made our selues somewhat merrie in our great grieve and trouble, and euery one of vs dranke a draught of Wine.

The nineteenth, it vvas faire cleere vweather, vvith a South-west winde, then we tooke the height of the Sunne, vvich in long time before vvee could not doe, because the Horizon vvas not cleere; as also for that it mounted not so high, nor gaue not so much shadow, as vve vvere to haue in our *Astrolabium*, and therefore vve made an Instrument that was halfe round, at the one end hauing 90. degrees marked thereon, vvhercon we hung a thread vvith a Plumet of Lead, as the vvater Compasses haue, and therewith vve tooke the height of the Sunne, when it was at the highest, and found that it vvas 3. degrees eleuated about the Horizon, his Declination 11. degrees and 16. minutes, which being added to the height aforesayd, made 14. degrees and 16. minutes, vvich subtracted from 90. degrees, there rested 75. degrees and 44. minutes for the height of the Pole, but the aforesayd 3. degrees of height, being taken at the lowest side of the Sunne, the 16. minutes might well be added to the height of the Pole, and so it was iust 76. degrees, as we had measured it before. The twentieth, it was foule weather, with great store of Snow, the vvind South-west, vvherby vve vvere shut vp againe in the house.

The two and twentieth, it vvas cleere faire vweather, vvith a South-west vvind, then vve made ready a Slad to fetch more Wood, for need compelled vs thereunto; for as they say, hunger driueth the Wolfe out of his denne, and eleuen of vs went together, all well appointed with our Armes, but comming to the place where we should haue the Wood, we could not come by it, by reason it lay so deepe vnder the Snow, whereby of necessitie we were compelled to goe further, where with great labour and trouble we got some: but as vve returned backe againe therewith, it was so fore labour vnto vs, that we were almost out of comfort, for that by reason of the long cold and trouble that we had indured, vve vvere become so vveake and feeble, that vve had little strength, and we began to bee in doubt, that we should not recouer our strengths againe, and should not be able to fetch any more Wood, and so we should haue dyed with cold, but the present necessitie and the hope wee had of better weather, increased our forces, and made vs doe more then our strengths afforded, and when we came neere to our house, we saw much open vvater in the Sea, which in long time we had not seene, which also put vs in good comfort, that things would bee better.

The

The five and twentieth, it was foule weather againe, and much Snow, with a North winde, whereby we were closed vp with Snow againe, and could not get out of our House.

The eight and twentieth of February, it was still weather, with a South-west wind, then ten of vs went and fetched another Sled full of Wood, with no lesse paine and labour then wee did before, for one of our companions could not helpe vs, because that the first joynt of one of his great Toes was frozen off, and so hee could doe nothing.

The first of March, it was faire still weather, the wind West but very cold, and we were forced to spare our Wood, because it was so great labour for vs to fetch it, so that when it was day, we exercised our selues as much as we might, with running, going, and leaping, and to them that lay in their Cabins, wee gaue hot stones to warme them, and towards night we made a good fire, which we were forced to endure. The second, it was cold cleere weather, with a West wind, the same day we tooke the height of the Sunne, and found that it was eleuated aboue the Horizon 6. degrees and 48. minutes, and his Declination was 7. degrees and 12. minutes, which subtracted from 90. degrees, resteth 76. degrees for the height of the Pole. The third, it was faire weather with a West wind, at which time our Sicke men were somewhat better, and sate vpright in their Cabins, to doe some thing to passe the time away, but after they found that they were too ready to stirre before their times. The fourth, it was faire weather, with a West wind, the same day there came a Beare to our House, whom we watcht with our Pieces, as wee did before, and shot at her, and hit her, but shee runne away, at that time five of vs went to our Ship, where we found that the Beares had made worke, and had opened our Cookes cupbord, that was couered ouer with snow, thinking to finde some thing in it, and had drawne it out of the Ship where we found it.

The seuenth, it was still foule weather and as great a winde, so that wee were shut vp in our House, and they that would goe out, must climbe vp through the Chimney, which was a common thing with vs, and still we saw more open water in the Sea, and about the Land, whereby wee were in doubt that the Ship in that foule weather, and driuing of the Ice, would bee loose (for as then the Ice draue) while we were shut vp in our House, and wee should haue no meanes to helpe it. The eight, it was still foule vweather, with a South-west storme, and great store of Snow, whereby vve could see no Ice in the North-east, nor round about in the Sea, whereby vve were of opinion, that North-east from vs there was a great Sea. The ninth, it was foule vweather, but not so foule as the day before, and lesse snow, and then vve could see further from vs, and perceiue that the vwater vvas open in the North-east, but not from vs towards *Tartaria*, for three vve could still see Ice in the *Tartarian Sea*, otherwise called the Ice Sea, so that vve were of opinion, that there it was not very wide, for vwhen it was cleere vweather, vve thought many times that vve saw the Land and shewed it to our companions, South and South-east from our house, like a hilly Land, as land commonly sheweth it selfe, when we see it.

The eleuenth, it was cold, but faire Sun-shine vweather, the vvind North-east, then we tooke the height of the Sunne vvith our *Astrolabium*, and found it to bee eleuated aboue the Horizon 10. degrees and 19. minutes, his Declination was 3. degrees and 41. minutes, which being added to the height aforesayd, made 14. degrees, which subtracted from 90. degrees, there resteth 76. degrees for the height of the Pole. Then twelue of vs went to the place where wee vsed to goe, to fetch a Sled of Wood, but still vve had more paine and labour therewith, because we were vweaker, and when we came home vvith it, and were very vwearie, we prayed the Master to giue each of vs a draught of Wine, which hee did, vvherewith we were somewhat releued and comforted, and after that were the willinger to labour, vvich vvas vnsupportable for vs, if meere extremitie had not compelled vs thereunto, saying oftentimes one vnto the other, That if the Wood vvere to be boought for Money, we would giue all our Earnings or Wages for it.

The twelfth, it was foule weather, the Winde North-east, then the Ice came mightily driuing in, which the South-west Wind had beene driuen out, and it was then as cold, as it had bin before in the coldest time of Winter.

The fifteenth, it was faire vweather, the Wind North, that day wee opened our doore to goe out, but the cold rather increased then diminished, and was bitterer then before it had beene.

The sixteenth, it vvas faire cleere weather, but extreame cold with a North Wind, which put vs to great extremitie, for that vve had almost taken our leaues of the cold, and then it began to come againe. This continued till the one and twentieth.

The one and twentieth, it vvas faire weather, but still very cold, the Wind North, the same day the Sunne entred into *Aries* in the Equinoctiall Line, and at noone vvee tooke the height of the Sunne, and found it to be eleuated 14. degrees aboue the Horizon, but for that the Sunne was in the middle Line, and of the like distance from both the Tropickes, there was no declination, neither on the South nor North side, and so the 14. degrees aforesayd being subtracted, from 90. degrees, there resteth 76. degrees for the height of the Pole. The same day, we made shooes of Felt or Rugge, which we drew vpon our feete, for vve could not goe in our shooes, by reason of the great cold, for the shooes on our feet vvere as hard as hornes, and then vve fetcht a sled-full

March.

Note.

Sol in Aries.

Shooes of Felt and Rugge.

Sled full of Wood home to our house, with fore and extreame labour, and with extremitie of cold which we indured, as if March meant to bid vs farewell, for our hope and comfort was, that the cold could not still continue in that force, but that at length the strength thereof would bee broken.

The three and twentieth, it was very foule weather, with infernall bitter cold, the wind North-east, so that we were forced to make more fire, as we had beene at other times, for then it was as cold as euer it had beene, and it froze very hard in the floore and vpon the walls of our house. The foure and twentieth, it was alike cold, with great store of snow, and a North wind, whereby we were once againe shut vp into the house, and then the Coles serued vs well, which before by reason of our bad vsing of them, we disliked of. The fixe and twentieth, it was faire cleare weather, and very calme, then we digd our selues out of the house again, and went out, and then we fetcht another Sled of Wood, for the great cold had made vs burne vp all that we had.

The eight and twentieth, it was faire weather, the wind South-west, whereby the Ice draue away very fast. The same day, fixe of vs went aboard the ship to see how it lay, and found it still in one sort; but we perceiued that the Beares had kept an euill favoured house therein.

Aprill.

The second of Aprill, it was faire weather, the wind North-east and very calme, then wee tooke the height of the Sunne, and found it to be eleuated aboue the Horizon 18. degrees and 40. minutes, his declination being 4. degrees and 40. minutes, which being substracted from the height aforesaid, there rested 14. degrees, which taken from 90. degrees, the height of the Pole was 76. degrees.

Beare assault the house.

The sixt, it was still foule weather, with a stiffe North-west wind, that night there came a Beare to our house, and we did the best we could to shoot at her, but because it was moist weather, and the cocke foisty, our Peece would not giue fire, wherewith the Beare came boldly toward the house, and came downe the staires close to the doore, seeking to breake into the house, but our Master held the doore fast to, and being in great haste and feare, could not barre it with the piece of Wood that wee vsed thereunto; but the Beare seeing that the doore was shut, shee went backe againe, and within two houres after shee came againe, and went round about and vpon the top of the house, and made such a roaring, that it was fearefull to heare, and at last got to the chimney, and made such worke there, that wee thought shee would haue broken it downe, and tore the sayle that was made fast about it in many pieces, with a great and fearefull noise, but for that it was night, we made no resistance against her, because wee could not see her, at last she went away and left vs.

Beares Den.

The fourteenth, it was faire cleare weather, with a West wind, then we saw greater hills of Ice round about the ship, then euer we had seene before, which was a fearefull thing to behold, and much to be wondred at, that the ship was not smitten in pieces. The fifteenth, it was faire calme weather with a North wind, then seuen of vs went aboard the ship, to see in what case it was, and found it to be all in one sort, and as wee came backe againe, there came a great Beare toward vs, against whom we began to make defence, but shee perceiuing that, made away from vs, and we went to the place from whence shee came to see her Den, where we found a great hole made in the Ice, about a mans length in depth, the entrie thereof being very narrow, and within wide, there we thrust in our Pikes to feele if there was any thing within it, but perceiuing it was empty, one of our men crept into it, but not too faire, for it was fearefull to behold, after that we went along by the Sea-side, and there we saw, that in the end of March, and the beginning of Aprill, the Ice was in such wonderful manner risen and piled vp one vpon the other, that it was wonderfull, in such manner as if there had beene whole Townes made of Ice, with Towres and Bulwarkes round about them.

The sixteenth, it was foule weather, the wind North-west, whereby the Ice began somewhat to breake. The seuenteenth, it was faire cleare weather, with a South-west wind, and then seuen of vs went to the ship, and there we saw open water in the Sea, and then wee went ouer the Ice-hills as well as we could, to the water, for in fixe or seuen moneths we had not gone so neere vnto it, and when we got to the water, there we saw a little bird swimming therein, but as soone as it espied vs, it diued vnder the water, which we tooke for a signe, that there was more open water in the Sea then there had beene before, and that the time approached that the water would open.

The eighteenth of Aprill, it was faire weather, the wind South-west, then wee tooke the height of the Sunne, and it was eleuated aboue the Horizon 25. degrees and 10. minutes, his declination 11. degrees and 12. minutes, which being taken from the height aforesaid, there rested 13. degrees and 58. minutes, which substracted from 90. degrees, the height of the Pole was found to be 75. degrees 58. minutes; then eleuen of vs went with a Sled to fetch more Wood, and brought it to the house, in the night there came another Beare vpon our house, which we hearing, went all out with our Armes, but the Beare ran away.

The eight and twentieth, it was faire weather, with a North wind, then we tooke the height of the Sunne againe, and found it to be eleuated 28. degrees and 8. minutes, his declination 14. degrees and 8. minutes, which substracted from 90. degrees, there rested 76. degrees for the height

height of the Pole. The nine and twentieth, it was faire weather, with a South-west wind, then we played at Colte, both to the ship, and from thence againe homewards, to exercise our selues. The thirtieth, it was faire weather, the wind South-west, then in the night wee could see the Sunne in the North (when it was in the highest) iust about the Horizon, so that from that time wee saw the Sunne both night and day.

§. III.

Their preparation to goe from thence: they depart in a Boat and Scute both open, and come to Cola, 1143. miles. Their many dangers by Beares, Ice, Famine, Scorbute, in the way.

The first of May, it was faire weather with a West wind, then wee sod our last flesh, which for a long time we had spared, and it was still very good, and the last morsell tasted as well as the first, and we found no fault therein, but onely that it would last no longer. The second, it was foule weather, with a storme out of the South-west, whereby the Sea was almost cleare of Ice, and then wee beganne to speake about getting from thence, for we had kept house long enough there. The third, it was still foule weather, with a South-west wind, whereby the Ice began wholly to driue away, but it lay fast about the ship, and when our best meate, as flesh, and other things beganne to faile vs, which was our greatest sustenance, and that it behooued vs to be somewhat strong, to sustaine the labour that wee were to vndergoe, when we went from thence, the Master shared the rest of the Bacon amongst vs, which was a small Barrell with salt Bacon in pickle, whereof euery one of vs had two ounces a day, which continued for the space of three weekes, and then it was eaten vp.

The fourth, it was indifferent faire weather, the wind South-west, that day fise of vs went to the ship, and found it lying still as fast in the Ice as it did before, for about the middle of March it was but seuentie fise paces from the open water, and then it was fise hundred paces from the water, and enclosed round about with high hills of Ice, which put vs in no small feare, how wee should bring our Scute and our Boat through or ouer that way into the water, when wee went to leaue that place. That night there came a Beare to our house, but as soone as shee heard vs make a noyse, she ranne away againe, one of our men that climbed vp in the Chimney, saw when shee ranne away, so that it seemed that as then they were afraid of vs, and durst not bee so bold to set vpon vs, as they were at the first. The fift, it was faire weather, with some snow, the wind East, that Deuening, and at night wee saw the Sunne when it was at the lowest, a good way about the Earth. The sixt, it was faire cleare weather, with a great South-west wind, whereby we saw the Sea open both in the East and in the West, which made our men exceeding glad, longing sore to be gone from thence. The seuenth, it was foule weather, and snow hard, with a North wind, whereby we were closed vp againe in our house.

The tenth, it was faire weather with a North-west wind, that night the Sunne by our common Compasse being North North-east, and at the lowest, we tooke the height thereof, and it was eleuated 3. degrees and 45. minutes, his declination was 17. degrees and 45. minutes, from whence taking the height aforesaid, there rested 14. degrees, which subtracted from 90. degrees, there rested 76. degrees for the height of the Pole.

The fourteenth, wee fetcht our last Sled with fire-wood, and still ware our shooes made of Rugge on our feet.

The fise and twentieth, it was faire weather, with an East wind, then at noone time wee tooke the height of the Sunne, that was eleuated about the Horizon 34. degrees and 46. minutes, his declination 20. degrees and 46. minutes, which taken from the height aforesaid, there rested 14. degrees, which taken from 90. degrees, rested 76. degrees for the height of the Pole.

The sixe and twentieth, it was faire weather, with a great North-east wind, whereby the Ice came in againe. The seuen and twentieth, it was foule weather, with a great North-east wind, which draue the Ice mightily in againe, whereupon the Master, at the motion of the companie, willed vs to make preparation to be gone.

The nine and twentieth in the morning, it was reasonable faire weather, with a West wind, then ten of vs went vnto the Scute to bring it to the house to dresse it, and make it ready to sayle, but wee found it deepe hidden vnder the snow, and were fayne with great payne and labour to digge it out, but when wee had gotten it out of the snow, and thought to draw it to the house, wee could not doe it, because wee were too weake, wherewith wee became wholly out of heart, doubting that wee should not bee able to goe forward with our labour, but the Master encouraging vs, bade vs striue to doe more then wee were able; saying, that both our liues and our well-fare consisted therein: and that if wee could not get the Scute from thence, and make it ready, then hee said wee must dwell there as Burgers of *Nova Zembla*, and make our Graues in that place: but there wanted no good-will in vs but onely strength,

Burgers of *Nova Zembla*.

which made vs for that time to leaue off worke and let the Scute lie still, which was no small grieve vnto vs, and trouble to thinke what were best for vs to doe; but after noone being thus comfortlesse come home, wee tooke hearts againe, and determined to turne the Boat that lay by the house with her keele vpwards, and to amend it, that it might bee the fitter to carrie vs ouer the Sea, for wee made full account that we had a long troublesome Voyage in hand, wherein wee might haue many crosses, and wherein wee should not bee sufficiently provided for all things necessarie, although wee tooke neuer so much care, and while wee were busie about our worke, there came a great Beare vnto vs, wherewith wee went into our house, and stood to watch her in our three doores, with Harquebusses, and one stood in the Chimney with a Musket, this Beare came boldlier vnto vs then euer any had done before, for shee came to the nearer step that went to one of our doores, and the man that stood in the doore saw her not, because hee looked towards the other doore, but they that stood within saw her, and in great feare called to him, wherewith he turned about, and although he was in a maze, he shot at her, and the Bullet past cleane through her body, whereupon she ranne away. Yet it was a fearefull thing to see, for the Beare was almost vpon him before hee saw her, so that if the Peece had sayled to giue fire (as oftentimes they doe) it had cost him his life, and it may bee, that the Beare would haue gotten into the house. The Beare being gone somewhat from the house lay downe, wherewith wee went all armed and killed her out right, and when wee had ript open her bellie: we found a piece of a Bucke therein, with haire, skinned and all, which not long before shee had torne and deuoured.

Bucke.

The one and thirtieth of May, it was faire weather, but somewhat colder then before, the wind being South-west, whereby the Ice draue away, and we wrought hard about our Boat, but when wee were in the chiefe part of worke, there came another Beare, as if they had smelt that wee would be gone, and that therefore they desired to taste a piece of some of vs, for that was the third day, one after the other, that they set so fiercely vpon vs, so that wee were forced to leaue our worke, and goe into the house, and shee followed vs, but we stood with our Peeces to watch her, and shot three Peeces at her, two from our doores, and one out of the Chimney, which all three hit her: but her death did vs more hurt then her life, for after we ript her belly, we drest her Linner and ate it, which in the taste liked vs well, but it made vs all sicke, specially three that were exceeding sicke, and wee verily thought that wee should haue lost them, for all their skins came off, from the foot to the head, but yet they recouered againe.

Beares Linner venomous.

June.

The third of June, in the morning it was faire cleare weather the wind West, and then wee were somewhat better, and tooke great paines with the Boat, that at last we got it ready, after we had wrought fixe dayes vpon it: about Eeuening it began to blow hard, and therewith the water was very open, which put vs in good comfort that our deliuerance would soone follow, and that we should once get out of that desolate and fearefull place.

The fourth, it was faire cleare weather, and indifferent warme, and about the South-east Sunne, eleuen of vs went to our Scute where it then lay, and drew it to the ship, at which time the labour seemed lighter vnto vs then it did before, when wee tooke it in hand and were forced to leaue it off againe. The reason thereof was, the opinion that wee had that the snow as then lay harder vpon the ground, and so was become stronger; and it may be that our courages were better; to see that the time gaue vs open water, and that our hope was that wee should get from thence; and so three of our men stayed by the Scute to build her to our minds: and for that it was a Herring Scute, which are made narrow behind, therefore they sawed it off behind, and made it a broad stearne: and better to brooke the Seas, they built it also somewhat higher, and drest it vp as well as they could, the rest of our men were busie in the house to make all other things ready for our Voyage, and that day drew two Sleds with victuals and other goods vnto the ship, that lay about halfe way betweene the house and the open water, that after they might haue so much the shorter way, to carrie the goods vnto the water side, when wee should goe away: at which time all the labour and paines that wee tooke, seemed light and easie vnto vs, because of the hope that wee had to get out of that wilde Desart, irksome, fearefull, and cold Countrey.

The fift, it was foule weather, with great store of haile and snow, the wind West, which made an open water, but as then we could doe nothing without the house, but within we made all things ready, as Sayles, Oares, Masts, Sprit, Rother, Swerd, and all other necessarie things. The sixt, in the morning it was faire weather, the wind North-east, then wee went with our Carpenters to the ship, to build vp our Scute, and carried two sleds full of goods into the ship, both victuals and Merchandise, with other things, which wee meant to take with vs; after that there rose very foule weather in the South-west, with snow, haile, and raine, which wee in long time had not had, whereby the Carpenters were forced to leaue their worke, and goe home to the house with vs, whereby also we could not be drie, because wee had taken off the Deales, therewith to amend our Boat and our Scute, there lay but a sayle ouer it, which would not hold out the water, and the way that lay full of snow began to be soft, so that wee left off our shooes made of Rugge and Felt, and put on our Leather shooes.

The

The eight, it was faire weather, and wee drew the wares to the ship, which wee had packed and made ready, and the Carpenters made ready the Scute, so that the same euening it was almost done, the same day all our men went to draw our Boat to the ship, and made ropes to draw withall, such as wee vse to draw with in Scutes, which wee cast ouer our shoulders, and held fast with all our hands, and so drew both with our hands and our shoulders, which gaue vs more force, and specially the desire and great pleasure wee tooke to worke at that time, made vs stronger.

The tenth, wee carried foure Sleds of goods into the ship, the wind then being variable, and at euening it was Northerly, and wee were busie in the house to make all things ready, the Wine that was left we put into little vessels, that so wee might diuide it into both our vessels, and that as wee were enclosed by the Ice, (which wee well knew would happen vnto vs) wee might easilier cast the goods vpon the Ice, both out and into the Scutes, as time and place serued vs. The eleuenth, it was foule weather, and it blew hard North North-west, so that all that day we could doe nothing, and we were in great feare lest the storme would carrie the Ice and the ship both away together, (which might well haue come to passe) then wee should haue beene in greater miserie then euer wee were, for that our goods both victuals and others, were then all in the ship, but God prouided so well for vs, that it fell not out so vnfortunatly. The twelfth, it was indifferent faire weather, then we went with Hatchets, Halberds, Shouels, and other instruments, to make the way plaine, where we should draw the Scute and the Boat to the water side, along the way that lay full of knobs and hills of Ice, where wee wrought sore with our Hatchets and other instruments, and while we were in the chiefest of our worke, there came a great leane Beare out of the Sea vpon the Ice towards vs, which we iudged to come out of *Tartaria*: for we had seene of them twenty or thirty miles within the Sea, and for that wee had no Muskets, but onely one, which our Surgeon carried, I ranne in great haste towards the ship to fetch one or two, which the Beare perceiuing ranne after mee, and was very likely to haue ouer taken me, but our companie seeing that, left their worke and ranne after her, which made the Beare turne towards them, and left me, but when she ran towards them, she was shot into the body by the Surgeon, and ranne away; but because the Ice was so vneuen and hilly, she could not goe farre, but being by vs ouertaken, we killed her out right, and smote her teeth out of her head, while she was yet liuing. Beare slayne.

The thirteenth, it was faire weather, then the Master and the Carpenters went to the ship, and there made the Scute and the Boat ready, so that there rested nothing as then, but onely to bring it downe to the water side, the Master and those that were with him, seeing that it was open water, and a good West wind, came backe to the house againe, and there hee spake vnto *William Barents* (that had beene long sicke) and shewed him, that he thought it good, (seeing it was a fit time) to goe from thence, and so willed the companie to driue the Boat and the Scute downe to the water side, and in the name of God to beginne our Voyage, to sayle from *Noua Zembla*: then *William Barents* wrote a Letter, which he put in a Muskets charge, and hanged it vp in the Chimney, shewing how he came out of *Holland*, to sayle to the Kingdome of *China*, and what had happened vnto vs being there on Land, with all our crosses, that if any man chanced to come thither, they might know what had happened vnto vs, and how we had beene forced in our extremitie to make that house, and had dwelt ten moneths therein, and for that wee were put to Sea in two small open Boats, and to vndertake a dangerous and aduenturous Voyage in hand, the Master wrote two Letters, which most of vs subscribed vnto, signifying how wee had stayed there vpon the Land in great trouble and miserie, in hope that our ship would bee freed from the Ice, and that we should sayle away with it againe, and how it fell out to the contrary, and that the ship lay fast in the Ice, so that in the end the time passing away, and our victuals beginning to faile vs, we were forced for the sauing of our owne liues, to leaue the ship, and to sayle away in our open Boats, and so to commit our selues into the hands of God. Which done, he put into each of our Scutes a Letter, that if wee chanced to lose one another, or that by stormes or any other misaduenture we happened to be cast away, that then by the Scute that escaped, men might know how we left each other, and so hauing finished all things as we determined, we drew the Boat to the water side, and left a man in it, and went and fetcht the Scute, and after that eleuen Sleds with goods, as Victuals, with some Wine that yet remayned, and the Merchants goods, which we preserved as well as we could, *vz.* sixe packes with fine woollen Cloth, a Chest of Linnen, two packets with Veluet, two small Chests with Money, two Dri-fats with mens Clothes and other things, thirteene Barrells of Bread, a Barrell of Cheefe, a sitch of Bacon, two Runlets of Oyle, sixe small Runlets of Wine, two Runlets of Vineger, with other packes belonging to the Saylers, so that when they lay all together vpon a heape, a man would haue iudged that they would not haue gone into the Scutes, which being all put into them, we went to the house, and first drew *William Barents* vpon a Sled to the place where our Scutes lay, and after that we fetcht *Claes Adrianson*, both of them hauing beene long sicke, and so we entred into the Scutes, and diuided our selues into each of them alike, and put into either of them a sicke man, then the Master caused both the Scutes to lie close one by the other, and

The Letter is omitted. It was subscribed by Jacob Hemkerke, Peter Peterson Vos, Master Hans Vos, Lawrence Wilimfon, Peter Cornelison, John Remarson, William Barents, Gerrat de Veer, Leonard Hendrickson, Jacob Johnson Scheadam, Jacob Johnson Steevenburg, Orange Island, Open Scutes.

and there we subscribed to the Letters which he had written, and so committing our selues to the will and mercy of God, with a West North-west wind, and an indifferent open water, we set sayle and put to Sea.

The fourteenth of June in the morning, the Sunne Easterly, wee put off from the Land of *Nona Zembla*, and the fast Ice thereunto adioyning, with our Boat and our Scute, hauing a West wind, and sayled East North-east all that day to the Islands point, which was five miles, but our first beginning was not very good, for we entred fast into the Ice againe, which there lay very hard and fast, which put vs into no small feare and trouble, and being there, foure of vs went on Land, to know the situation thereof, and there we tooke many Birds, which wee kild with stones vpon the cliffs.

The sixteenth, we set sayle againe, and got to the Island of *Orange*, with a South wind, which is eight miles distant from the Point of *Desire*, there we went on Land with two small Barrels, and a Kettle, to melt snow, and to put the water into the Barrels, as also to seeke for Birds and Egges, to make meate for our sicke men. We put to the Sea againe with a South-east wind and drowlie miseling weather, whereby we were all dankish and wet, for wee had no shelter in our open Scutes, and sayled West, and West and by South, to the *Ice-point*, and wee made our Scutes fast to a great piece of Ice, and there eate somewhat, but the weather was still fouler and fouler, so that we were once againe enclosed with Ice, and forced to stay there.

The seuenteenth in the morning, when we had broken our fasts, the Ice came so fast vpon vs that it made our haire stare vpright vpon our heads, it was so fearefull to behold: by which meanes we could not make fast our Scutes, so that we thought verily that it was a fore-shewing of our last end, for wee draue away so hard with the Ice, and were so sore preft betweene a flake of Ice, that we thought verily the Scutes would burst in a hundred pieces, at last, being in this discomfort, and extreme necessitie, the Master said, if we could take hold with a rope vpon the fast Ice, we might therewith draw the Scute vp, and so get it out of the great drift of Ice, but as this counsell was good, yet it was so full of danger, that it was the hazard of his life that should take vpon him to doe it, and without doing it, was it most certaine, that it would cost vs all our liues: this counsell as I said was good, but no man (like to the tale of the Mice) durst hang the Bell about the Cats necke, fearing to bee drowned, yet necessitie required to haue it done, and the most danger made vs choose the least, so that being in that perplexitie, I being the lightest of all our companie, tooke on me to fasten a rope vpon the fast Ice, and so creeping from one piece of driving Ice to another, by Gods helpe got to the fast Ice, where I made a rope fast to a high howell, and they that were in the Scute, drew it thereby vnto the said fast Ice, and then one man alone could draw more then all of them could haue done before, and when we had gotten thither, in all haste wee tooke our sicke men out, and layed them vpon the Ice, laying clothes and other things vnder them, and then tooke all our goods out of the Scutes, and so drew them vpon the Ice, whereby for that time we were deliuered from that great danger, making account that we had escaped out of deaths clawes, as it was most true.

The eighteenth, we repaired and amended our Scutes againe, being much bruised and crushed with the racking of the Ice, and were forced to driue all the nayles fast againe and to piece many things about them, God sending vs Wood, wherewith we molt our Pitch, and did all other things that belonged thereunto, that done, some of vs went vpon the Land to seeke for Egges, which the sicke men longed for, but we could finde none, but we found foure Birds, not without great danger of our liues, betweene the Ice and the firme Land, wherein wee often fell, and were in no small danger.

The nineteenth, it was indifferent weather, the wind North-west, and West South-west, but we were still shut vp in the Ice, and saw no opening, which made vs thinke that there would be our last abode, and that we should neuer get from thence.

The twentieth, *Claes Adrianson* and *William Barents* died, the death of *William Barents* put vs in no small discomfort, as being the chiefe Guide, and onely Pilot on whom wee reposed our selues, next vnder God.

The two and twentieth in the morning, it blew a good gale out of the South-east, and then the Sea was reasonable open, but we were forced to draw our Scutes ouer the Ice to get vnto it, which was great paine and labour vnto vs; for, first we were forced to draw our Scutes ouer a piece of Ice of fifty paces long, and there put them into the water, and then againe to draw them vp vpon other Ice, and after drew them at the least an hundred paces more ouer the Ice, before we could bring them to a good place where we might easily get out, and being gotten vnto the open water we committed our selues to God, and set sayle the Sun being about East North-east, with an indifferent gale of wind out of the South, and South South-east, and sayled West, and West and by South, till the Sunne was South, and then we were round about enclosed with Ice againe, and could not get out, but were forced to lie still, but not long after the Ice opened againe like to a sluice, and we past through it and set sayle againe, and so sayled along by the Land, but were presently enclosed with Ice, but being in hope of opening againe, meane time wee eate somewhat, for the Ice went not away as it did before: after that wee vsed all the meanes wee could

Dangerous attempt to draw the Boat ouer the Ice.

W. Barents dieth.

Enclosed again with Ice:

and againe.

could to breake it, but all in vayne, and yet a good while after, the Ice opened againe, and we got out, and sayled along by the Land, West and by South, with a South vvind.

The three and twentieth, wee sayled still forward West and by South, till the Sunne was South-east, and got to the *Trust-point*, which is distant from the *Ice-point* five and twentie miles, and then could goe no further, because the Ice lay so hard and so close together, and yet it was faire weather: the same day we tooke the height of the Sunne with the *Astrolabium*, and also with our Astronomicall Ring, and found his height to be 37. degrees, and his Declination 23. degrees and 30. minutes, which taken from the height aforesayd, there rested 13. degrees and 30. minutes, which subtracted out of 90. degrees, the height of the Pole was 76. degrees and 30. minutes, and it was faire Sun-shine weather, and yet it was not so strong as to melt the Snow, that we might haue water to drinke, so that wee set all our Tinne platters and other things full of Snow to melt, and so melt it, and put snow in our mouthes, to melt it downe into our throates, but all was not enough, so that we were compelled to endure great thirst.

From the Low-land, to the Streame Bay, the course East and West, foure miles. From the Streame Bay, to the Ice-hauen point, the course East and by North, foure miles. From the Ice-hauen point, to the Ilands point, the course East North-east, five miles. From the Ilands point, to the Flushingers point, the course North-east and by East, three miles. From the Flushingers point, to the Head point, the course North-east, foure miles. From the Head point, to the point of Desire, the course South and North, sixe miles. From the point of Desire, to the Island of Orange, North-west, eight miles. From the Island of Orange, to the Ice point, the course West, and West and by South, five miles. From the Ice point, to the point of Trust, the course West and by South, five and twentie miles. From the point of Trust, to Nassawes point, the course West, and West and by North, ten miles. From the Nassaw point, to the East end of the Crosse Island, the course West and by North, eight miles. From the East end of the Crosse Island, to Williams Island, the course West and by South, three miles. From Williams Island, to the Blacke point, the course West South-west, sixe miles. From the Blacke point, to the East end of the Admirable Island, the course West South-west, seven miles. From the East end of the Admirable Island, to Cape Planto, the course South-west and by West, ten miles. From Cape de Planto, to Lomb-bay, the course West South-west, eight miles. From Lomb-bay, to the Staues point, the course West South-west, ten miles. From the Staues point, to Langenelle, the course South-west and by South, fourteene miles. From Langenelle, to Cape de Cant, the course South-west and by South, sixe miles. From Cape de Cant, to the point with the Blacke clifts, the course South and by West, foure miles. From the point with the Blacke clifts, to the Blacke Island, the course South South-east, three miles. From the Blacke Island, to Constant-sarke, the course East and West, two miles. From Constant-sarke, to the Crosse point, the course South South-east, five miles. From Crosse point, to Saint Laurence Bay, the course South South-east, sixe miles. From Saint Laurence Bay, to Mel-hauen, the course South-east, sixe miles. From Mel-hauen to the two Ilands, the course South South-east, sixe miles. From the two Ilands, where we crost over to the Ruffia Coast, to the Ilands of Matfloe and Delgoy, the course South-west, thirtie miles. From Matfloe and Delgoy, to the Creeke where we sayled the compasse round about, and came to the same place againe, two and twentie miles. From that Creeke, to Colgoy, the course West North-west, eighteene miles. From Colgoy, to the East point of Camdenas, the course West North-west, twentie miles. From the East point of Camdenas, to the West side of the White Sea, the course West North-west, fortie miles. From the West point of the White Sea, to the seven Ilands, the course North-west, twentie miles. From the seven Ilands, to the VVest end of Kilduin, the course North-west, twentie miles. From the VVest end of Kilduin, to the place where Iohn Cornelis came unto vs, the course North-west and by VVest, seven miles. From thence to Cola, the course VVest Southerly, eighteene miles.

So that wee sayled in the two open Scutes, sometimes in the Ice, then ouer the Ice, and through the Sea, three hundred and eightie one miles Flemish, which is one thousand one hundred fortie and three miles English.

The foure and twentieth of Iune, the Sunne being Easterly, we rowed heere and there in the Ice, to see where we might best goe out, but wee saw no opening, but when the Sunne was South, we got into the Sea, for the which we thanked God most heartily, that hee had sent vs an vnexpected opening, and then we sayled with an East winde, and went lustily forward, so that we made our account to get aboue the point of Nassawes close by the land, and wee could easily see the point of Nassawes, and made our account to bee about three miles from it.

The fixe and twentieth, it still blew hard out of the South, and broke the Ice whereunto we were fast in pieces, and we thereby draue into the Sea, and could get no more to the fast Ice, whereby we were in a thousand dangers to bee all cast away, and driuing in that sort in the Sea, wee rowed as much as we could, but we could not get neere vnto the Land, therefore we hoy-sed vp our Focke, and so made vp with our sayle, but our Fock-mast brake twice in peeces, and then it was worse for vs then before, and notwithstanding that there blew a great gale of Wind, yet we were forced to hoyse vp our great Sayle, but the winde blew so hard into it, that if wee

had not presently taken it in againe, we had sunke in the Sea, or else our Boate would haue been filled with water, for the water began to leape ouer-board, and wee were a good way in the Sea, at which time the waues went so hollow, that it was most fearefull, and wee thereby saw nothing but death before our eyes, and euery twinckling of an eye looked when wee should sinke. But God that had deliuered vs out of so many dangers of Death, holpe vs once againe, and contrary to our expectations, sent vs a North-west wind, and so with great danger wee got to the fast Ice againe, when we were deliuered out of that danger, and knew not where our other Scute was, wee sayled one mile along by the fast Ice, but found it not, whereby we were wholly out of heart, and in great feare that they were drowned, at which time it was mystic weather, and so sayling along, and hearing no newes of our other Scute, we shot off a Musket, which they hearing shot off another, but yet we could not see each other, meane time approaching neerer to each other, and the weather waxing somewhat cleerer, as wee and they shot once againe, we saw the smoake of their Piece, and at last we met together againe, and saw them lye fast, betweene driuing and fast Ice, and when we got neere vnto them, we went ouer the Ice, and holpe them to vnlade the goods out of their Scute, and drew it ouer the Ice, and with much paine and trouble brought it into the open water againe, and while they were fast in the Ice, wee found some Wood vpon the Land by the Sea side, and when we lay by each other, we sod some Bread and Water together, and eat it vp warme, which did vs much good.

The eight and twentieth, when the Sunne was in the East, wee layd all our goods vpon the Ice, and then drew the Scutes vpon the Ice also, because we were so hardly prest on all sides, with the Ice, and the wind came out of the Sea vpon the Land, and therefore wee were in feare to be wholly inclosed with the Ice, and should not be able to get out thereof againe, and being vpon the Ice, we layd sayles ouer our Scutes, and lay downe to rest, appointing one of our men to keepe watch, and when the Sunne was North, there came three Beares towards our Scutes, where- with hee that kept the Watch cryed, *three Beares, three Beares*, at which noyse wee leapt out of our Boates with our Muskets, that were laden with hayle-shot to shoote at Birds, and had no time to discharge them, and therefore shot at them therewith, and although that kinde of shot could not hurt them much, yet they ranne away, and in the meane time they gaue vs leasure to lade our Muskets with bullets, and by that meanes wee shot one of the three dead, which the other two perceiuing ranne away, but within two houres after they came againe, but when they were almost at vs and heard vs make a noyse, they ranne away, at which time the winde was West, and West and by North, which made the Ice driue with great force into the East.

The nine and twentieth of Iune, the Sunne being South South-west, the two Beares came againe to the place where the dead Beare lay, where one of them tooke the dead Beare in his mouth, and went a great way with it ouer the rugged Ice, and then began to eate it, which vve perceiuing shot a Musket at her, but she hearing the noyse thereof ranne away, and let the dead Beare lye, then foure of vs went thither, and saw that in so short time she had eaten almost the halfe of her, we tooke the dead Beare and layd it vpon a high heape of Ice, that we might see it out of our Scute, that if the Beare came againe we might shoot at her, at which time we tryed the great strength of the Beare, that carryed the dead Beare as lightly in her mouth, as if it had beene nothing, whereas wee foure had enough to doe to carry away the halfe dead Beare betweene vs.

The first of Iuly, it was indifferent faire vweather, with a West North-west wind, and in the Morning the Sunne being East, there came a Beare from the driuing Ice towards vs, and swam ouer the water to the fast Ice whereon we lay, but when she heard vs, she came no neerer but ran away, and when the Sunne was South-east, the Ice came so fast in towards vs, that all the Ice whereon we lay with our Scutes and our goods, brake and ran one peece vpon another, whereby vve were in no small feare, for at that time most of our goods fell into the water, but wee with great diligence drew our Scutes further vpon the Ice towards the Land, where vve thought to be better defended from the driuing of the Ice, and as we went to fetch our goods, we fell into the greatest trouble that euer we had before, for that wee endured so great danger in the sauing thereof, that as we layd hold vpon one peece thereof, the rest sunke downe with the Ice, and many times the Ice brake vnder our owne feete, vwhereby we were wholly discomforted, and in a manner cleane out of all hope, expecting no issue thereof, in such sort that our trouble at that time surmounted all our former cares and impeachments, and vwhen wee thought to draw vp our Boates vpon the Ice, the Ice brake vnder vs, and we were carryed away vvith the Scute, and all by the driuing Ice, and when vve thought to saue the goods, the Ice brake vnder our feet, and with that the Scute brake in many places, especially that which wee had mended, as the Mast, the mast planke, and almost all the Scute, wherein one of our men that vv as sicke, and a Chest of money lay, which we with great danger of our liues got out from it, for as we were doing it, the Ice that was vnder our feet draue from vs, and slid vpon other Ice, vwhereby we were in danger to burst both our armes and our legges, at vv which time, thinking that wee had beene cleane quit of our Scute, vve beheld each other in pittifull manner, knowing not vvhat vve should doe, our liues depending thereon, but God made so good prouision for vs, that the peeces of Ice draue from each

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each other, wherewith we ranne in great haste vnto the Scute, and draw it to vs againe in such case as it was, and laid it vpon the fast Ice by the Boate, where it was in more securitie, which put vs vnto an exceeding and great and dangerous labour, from the time that the Sunne was South-east, vntill it was West South-west, and in all that time wee rested not, which made vs extreame wearie, and wholly out of comfort, for that it troubled vs fore, and it was much more fearefull vnto vs, then at that time when *William Barents* dyed, for there we were almost drowned, and that day we lost (which was sunke in the Sea) two Barrells of Bread, a Chist with Linnen Cloth, a Dry Fat with the Saylor's Clothes, our Astronomicall Ring, a packe of Scarlet Cloth, a Rundlet of Oyle, and some Cheetes, and a Rundlet of Wine, which bouged with the Ice so that there was not any thing thereof saued.

The fourth, it was so faire cleere weather, that from the time we were first in *Noua Zembla*, we had not the like. The fifth, it was faire weather, the Wind West, South-west, the same day dyed *Iohn Franson* of *Harlem*.

The seuenth, it was faire weather with some Raine, the Winde West, South-west, and at Euening VWest, and by North, then we went to the open water, and there killed thirteene Birds, which we tooke vpon a piece of driuing Ice, and laid them vpon the fast Ice.

The ninth, in the morning, the Ice began to driue, whereby we got open water on the Land side, and then also the fast Ice whereon we lay, beganne to driue whereupon the Master and the men went to fetch the Packe and the Chist, that stood vpon the Ice, to put them into the Scute, and then drew the Scutes to the water, at least three hundred and fortie paces, which was hard for vs to doe, in regard that the labour was great, and we very weake, and when the Sunne was South South-east we set sayle with an East-wind, but when the Sunne was West, we were forced to make towards the fast Ice againe, because thereabouts it was not yet gone, the Winde being South, and came right from the Land, whereby wee were in good hope that it would driue away, and that we should proceed in our Voyage. The tenth, from the time that the Sunne was East North-east, till it was East, we tooke great paines and labour to get through the Ice, and at last we got through, and rowed forth, vntill we happened to fall betweene two great flakes of Ice that closed one with the other, so that we could not get through, but were forced to draw the Scutes vpon them, and to vnlade the goods, and then to draw them ouer to the open water on the other side, and then we must goe fetch the goods also to the same place, being at least one hundred paces long, and when we were in open water againe, we rowed forward as well as we could, but we had not rowed long, before wee fell betweene two great flakes of Ice, that came driuing one against the other, but by Gods helpe, and our speedy rowing, we got from betweene them, before they closed vp, and being through we had a hard West Winde, right in our Teeth, so that of force we were constrained to make towards the fast Ice that lay by the shoare.

The eleuenth, in the morning as we fate fast vpon the Ice, the Sunne being North-east, there came a great Beare out of the water running towards vs, but we watcht for her with three Muskets, and when she came within thirtie paces of vs, wee shot all the three Muskets at her, and killed her out-right, so that she stirred not a foot, and we might see the fat runne out at the holes of her skinne, that was shot in with the Muskets, swimme vpon the water like Oyle, and so driuing dead vpon the water, we went vpon a flake of Ice to her, and putting a Rope about her necke, drew her vp vpon the Ice, and smit out her Teeth, at which time we measured her bodie, and found it to be eight foot thicke, then we had a West Wind with close weather, but when the Sunne was South it began to cleere vp, then three of our men went to the Island that lay before vs, and being there, they saw the *Crosse* Island, lying West-ward from them, and went thither to see if that Summer there had beene any *Russian* there, and went thither vpon the fast Ice, that lay betweene the two Islands, and being in the Island, they could not perceiue that any man had beene in it since wee were there, there they got seuentie Egges, but when they had them, they knew not wherein to carrie them, at last one of them put off his Breeches, and tying them fast below, they carried them betweene two of them, and the third bare the Musket: and so came to vs againe, after they had beene twelue houres out, which put vs no small feare to thinke what was become of them, they told vs that they had many times gone vp to the knees in water, vpon the Ice betweene both the Islands: and it was at least fixe mile to and fro, that they had gone, which made vs wonder how they could indure it, seeing we were all so weake. With the Egges that they had brought, wee were all well comforted, and fared like Lords, so that we found some reliefe in our great miserie, and then wee shared our last Wine amongst vs, whereof euery one had three Glasses.

The twelfth, in the morning, when the Sunne was East, the Wind began to blow East, and East North-east, with mystic weather, and at Euening fixe of our men went into the Land, to seeke cerryne stones, and found some, but none of the best sort, and comming backe againe, eyther of them brought some Wood. The thirteenth, it was a faire day, then seuen of our men went to the firme Land to seeke for more stones, and found some, at which time the VVind was South-east. The fourteenth, it was faire vweather, with a good South VVind, and then the Ice began to driue from the Land, whereby wee were in good hope to haue an open water, but the Wind

Huge Beare?

Wind turning Westerly againe, it lay still, when the Sunne was South-west, three of our men went to the next Iland that lay before vs, and there shot a *Bercheynet*, which they brought to the Scute, and gaue it amongst vs, for all our goods were common.

The sixteenth, there came a Beare from the firme Land, that came very neere vnto vs, by reason that it was as vvwhite as Snow, vvhereby at first vve could not discerne it to be a Beare, because it shewed so like the snow, but by her stirring at last we perceiued her, and as she came neere vnto vs, vve shot at her and hit her, but shee ranne away: that morning the Wind was VVest, and after that againe, East North-east with close weather. The seuenteenth, about the South South-east Sunne, five of our men went againe to the neere Iland, to see if there appeared any open water, for our long staying there was no small grieue vnto vs, perceiuing not how wee should get from thence, who being halfe way thither, they found a Beare lying behind a piece of Ice, which the day before had bene shot by vs, but shee hearing vs went away, but one of our men following her with a Boat-hooke, thrust her into the skinne, wherewith the Beare rose vp vpon her hinder feet, and as the man thrust at her againe, she strooke the Iron of the Boat-hooke in pieces, wherewith the man fell downe vpon his buttockes, which our other two men seeing, two of them shot the Beare into the bodie, and with that she ranne away, but the other man went after her with his broken staffe, and strooke the Beare vpon the backe, wherewith the Beare turned about against the man three times one after the other, and then the other two came to her and shot her into the bodie againe, wherewith shee sat downe vpon her buttockes, and could scant runne any further, and then they shot once againe, wherewith shee fell downe, and they smote her Teeth out of her head: all that day the Winde was North-east, and East North-east.

The eighteenth, about the East Sun, three of our men went vp vpon the highest part of the land to see if there was any open water in the Sea, at which time they saw much open water, but it was so far from the land, that they were almost out of comfort, because it lay so far from the land, and the fast Ice, being of opinion that we should not be able to draw the Scutes and the goods so farre thither, because our strengthes still beganne to decrease: and the sore labour and paine that we were forced to indure more and more increased, and comming to our Scutes, they brought vs that newes, but we being compelled thereunto by necessitie abandoned all wearinesse and faint-heartednesse, and determined with our selues to bring the Boats and the goods to the water side, and to row vnto that Ice, where wee must passe ouer to get to the open water, and when wee got to it, wee vnladed our Scutes, and drew them first ouer the Ice to the open water, and after that the goods; it being at the least one thousand paces, then wee set sayle, till the Sunne was West and by South; and presently fell amongst the Ice againe, where wee were forced to draw vp the Scutes againe vpon the Ice, and being vpon it, wee could see the *Crosse Iland*, which wee ghest to bee about a mile from vs, the Wind then being East, and East North-east.

The nineteenth, lying in that manner vpon the Ice, about the East Sunne, seven of our men went to the *Crosse Iland*, and being there they saw great store of open water in the West, wherewith they much reioyced, and made as great haste as they could to get to the Scutes againe, but before they came away they got 100. Egges, and brought them away with them, and comming to the Scutes, they shewed vs that they had seene as much open water in the Sea as they could discerne, being in good hope, that that would be the last time that they should draw the Scutes ouer the Ice, and that it should bee no more measured by vs, and in that sort put vs in good comfort, whereupon we made speed to dresse our Egges, and shared them amongst vs, and presently the Sunne being South South-west we fell to worke, to make all things ready to bring the Scutes to the water, which were to be drawne at least two hundred paces ouer the Ice, which wee did with a good courage, because we were in good hope that it would be the last time, and getting to the water, we put to Sea with Gods helpe, with an East, and East North-east Wind, and a good gale, so that with the West Sunne, we past by the *Crosse Iland*, which is distant from *Cape de Nassawes* ten miles, and presently after that the Ice left vs, and wee got cleere out of it, yet wee saw some in the Sea, but it troubled vs not, and so wee held our course West and by South, with a good gale of Wind out of the East, and East North-east, so that wee ghest that betweene euery meale-tyde we sayled eightene miles.

Admirals Iland.

The twentieth, hauing still a good gale about the South-east Sunne, wee past along by the *Blacke Point*, which is twelue miles distant from the *Crosse Iland*, and sayled West South-west, and about the Eeuening with the West Sunne, we saw the *Admirals Iland*, and about the North Sunne past along by it, which is distant from the *Blacke Point* eight miles, and passing along by it, we saw about two hundred Sea-horses, lying vpon a flake of Ice, and wee sayled close by them, and draue them from thence, which had almost cost vs deere, for they being mightie strong fishes, and of great force, swamme towards vs, (as if they would be reuenged on vs for the despite that we had done them (round about our Scutes) with a great noyse, as if they would haue deuoured vs, but we escaped from them, by reason that we had a good gale of Wind, yet it was not wisely done of vs to wake sleeping Wolues. The one and twentieth, we past by *Cape Plancio*,

Plancio, about the East North-east Sunne, which lyeth West South-west eight miles from the *Cape Plancio*: *Admirals* Iland, and with the good gale that we had about the South-west Sunne, we sayled by *Langenes*, nine miles from *Cape Plancio*: there the Land reacheth most South-west, and we had a good North-east wind.

The two and twentieth, we hauing so good a gale of wind when wee came to *Cape de Cant*, there we went on land to seeke for some Birds and Egges, but we found none, so we sayled forwards, but after that about the South Sunne we saw a Clift that was full of Birds; thither wee sayled and casting stones at them, we killed two and twentie Birds, and got fiftene Egges, which one of our men fetcht from the Clift, and if we would haue stayed there any longer, wee might haue taken a hundred or two hundred Birds at least, but because the Master was somewhat further into Sea-ward then we, and stayed for vs, and for that wee would not loose that faire fore-wind, we sayled forwards along by the Land, and about the South-west Sunne, wee came to another point, where wee got a hundred twentie and siue Birds, which wee tooke with our hands out of their Nests, and some wee killed with stones, and made them fall downe into the water, for it is a thing certayne that those Birds neuer vsed to see men, and that no man had euer sought or vsed to take them, for else they would haue flowne away, and that they feared no hodie, but the Foxes and other wild beasts, that could not climbe vp the high Clifts, and that therefore they had made their Nests thereon, where they were out of feare of any beasts coming vnto them, for we were in no small danger of breaking of our legges and armes, especially as we came downe againe, because the Clift was so high and so steepe, those Birds had euery one but one Egge in their Nests, and that lay vpon the bare Clift without any straw or other thing vnder them, which is to be wondred at, to thinke how they could breed their young ones in so great cold, but it is to be thought and beleueed, that they therefore sit but vpon one Egge, that so the heate which they giue in breeding so many, may be wholly giuen vnto one Egge.

Strange Birds
breeding in
strong cold.

The foure and twentieth, it was faire weather, but the winde still Northerly, whereby wee were forced to lye still, and about noone we tooke the height of the Sunne with our *Astrolabium*, and found it to be eleuated above the Horizon 37. degrees and 20. minutes, his declination 20. degrees and 10. minutes which subtracted from the height aforesaid rested 17. degrees and 10. minutes, which taken from 90. degrees, the height of the Pole was 73. degrees and 10. minutes, and for that we lay still there, some of our men went oftentimes on Land to seeke stones, and found some that were as good as euer any that we found.

The seuen and twentieth, wee had sayled from *Cape de Cant*, along by *Constinsarke*, to the *Crosse Point*, twentie miles, our course South South-east, the Wind North-west.

The eight and twentieth, it was faire weather with a North-east wind, then we sayled along by the Land, and with the South-west Sunne, got before Saint *Laurence Bay*, or *Sconce Point*, and sayled South South-east six miles, and being there, wee found two *Russians Lodgies*, or ships beyond the Point, wherewith we were not a little comforted, to thinke that we were come to the place where we found men, but were in some doubt of them, because they were so many, for at that time we saw at least thirtie men, and knew not what they were, there with much paine and labour we got to Land, which they perceiuing, left off their worke, and came towards vs, but without any Armes, and we also went on shoare, as many as were well, for diuers of vs were very ill at ease, and weake by reason of a great scouring in their bodies, and when wee met together, wee saluted each other in friendly wise, they after theirs, and wee after our manner, and when we were met, both they and wee lookt each other stedfastly in the face, for that some of them knew vs, and wee them, to bee the same men which the yeere before, when wee past through the *Wey-gates* had beene in our ship: at which time wee perceiued that they were abasht and wondred at vs, to remember that at that time wee were so well furnished with a great ship, that was exceedingly prouided of all things necessary, and then to see vs so leane and bare, with so small Scutes in that Countrey: and amongst them there were two, that in friendly manner clapt the Master and me vpon the shoulder, as knowing vs since that Voyage: for there was none of all our men that was as then in that Voyage, but we two only, and asked vs for our *Crabbe*, meaning our ship, and we shewed them by signes as well as we could (for we had no Interpreter) that we had lost our ship in the Ice, wherewith they said, *Crabbe pro pal* (which wee vnderstood to bee, *Haue you lost your ship?*) and we made answere, *Crabbe pro pal*, which was as much as to say, That we had lost our ship, and many more words we could not vse, because we vnderstood not each other, then they made shew to be sorrie for our losse, and to be grieved that we the yeere before had beene there with so many ships, and then to see vs in so simple manner, and made vs signes that then they had drunke Wine in our ship, and asked vs what drinke wee had now, wherewith one of our men went into the Scute and drew some water, and let them taste thereof, but they shak't their heads, and said, *No dobbre* (that is, It is not good) then our Master went neerer vnto them, and shewed them his mouth, to giue them to vnderstand that we were troubled with a loosenesse in our bellies, and to know if they could giue vs any counsell to helpe it, but they thought wee made shew that wee had great hunger wherewith one of them went vnto their Lodging, and fetcht a round Rie Loafe, weighing about eight pounds, with some

Two *Russian*
Lodgies or *Lod-*
gies.

some smored Fowles which we accepted thankfully, and gaue them in exchange halfe a doozen of Muschuyt, then our Master led two of the chiefe of them with him into his Scute, and gaue them some of the Wine that we had, being almost a Gallon, for it was so neere out: and while we stayed there, we were very familiar with them, and went to the place where they lay, and sod some of our Mischuyt with water by their fire, that we might eat some warme thing downe into our bodies, and wee were much comforted to see the *Russians* for that in thirteene moneths time, that we departed from *Iohn Cornelison*, we had not seene any man, but onely monstrous and cruell wild Beares.

The nine and twentieth, it was reasonable faire weather, and that morning the *Russians* beganne to make preparation to bee gone, and to set sayle: at which time they digged certayne Barrells with Trayne Oyle out of the sieges which they had buried there, and put it into their ships.

No Raine. The thirtieth, lying at Anchor, the Wind still blew North-west, with great store of Raine, and a sore storme, so that although we had couered our Scutes with our Sayles, yet we could not lye dry, which was an vnaccustomed thing vnto vs: for wee had had no Raine in long time before, and yet we were forced to stay there all that day.

Scuruy-grasse, or Lepre leaues cure their scowring and Scorbuiticall infirmitie. The one and thirtieth, in the morning, about the North-east Sunne, wee rowed from that Iland to another Iland, whereon there stood two Crosses, wee thought that some men had layne there about Trade of Merchandize, as the other *Russians* that wee saw before had done, but wee found no man there, the Wind as then beeing North-west, whereby the Ice draue still towards the *Wey-gates*: there to our great good wee went on Land, for in that Iland wee found great store of Lepre leaues, which serued vs exceeding well, and it seemed that God had purposely sent vs thither: for as then wee had many sicke men, and most of vs were so troubled with a scowring in our bodies, and were thereby become so weake, that wee could hardly row, but by meanes of those leaues we were healed thereof: for that as soone as we had eaten them, we were presently eased and healed, whereat wee could not choose but wonder, and therefore wee gaue God great thanks for that, and for many other his mercies shewed vnto vs, by his great and vnexpected aide lent vs, in that our dangerous Voyage: and so as I said before, wee ate them by whole handfuls together, because in *Holland* we had heard much spoken of their great force, and as then found it to be much more then we expected.

August. The first of August, the Wind blew hard North-west, and the Ice that for a while had driuen towards the entry of the *Wey-gates*, stayed and draue no more, but the Sea went very hollow, whereby we were forced to remoue our Scutes on the other side of the Iland, to defend them from the waues of the Sea, and lying there wee went on Land againe to fetch more Lepre leaues, whereby we had beene so well holpen, and still more and more recovered our healths, and in so short time, that we could not choose but wonder thereat, so that as then some of vs could cate Bisket againe, which not long before they could not doe. The second, it was darke mistie weather, the Winde still blowing stiffe North-west, at which time our victuals beganne to decrease, for as then wee had nothing but a little Bread and Water, and some of vs a little Cheefe.

The third, about the North Sunne, the weather being somewhat better, wee agreed amongst our selues to leaue *Noua Zembla* and to crosse ouer to *Russia*, and so committing our selues to God, we set sayle with a North-west Wind, and sayled South South-west till the Sunne was East, and then we entred into Ice againe, which put vs in great feare, and about the South-west Sunne got cleere thereof, and entred into the large Sea, where we saw Ice, and then what with sayling and rowing we had made twentie miles, and so sailing forwards wee thought to approach neere vnto the *Russian* Coast; but about the North-west Sunne we entred into Ice againe, and then it was very cold.

The fourth, about the South-east Sunne, being gotten out of the Ice, we sayled forward with a North-west Wind, and held our course Southerly, and when the Sunne was South, at noone time we saw the Coast of *Russia* lying before vs, whereat we were exceeding glad, and going neerer vnto it, we strooke our sayles and rowed on Land, and found it to be very low Land, like a bare Strand that might be flowed ouer with the water, there we lay till the Sunne was South-west, but perceiving that there wee could not much further our selues, hauing as then sayled from the Point of *Noua Zembla* (from whence we put off) thither full thirtie miles, wee sayled forward along by the Coast of *Russia*, with an indifferent gale of Winde, and when the Sunne was North, we saw another *Russian* Ielle or ship, which we sayled vnto to speake with them, and being hard by them, they came all aboute Hatches, and wee cryed vnto them *Candinaes Candinaes* (whereby we asked if we were about *Candinaes*) but they cryed againe and said, *Pitzora*, *Pitzora*, (to shew vs that wee were thereabouts) and for that wee sayled along by the Coast, where it was very dry, supposing that we held our course West and by North, that so we might get beyond the Point of *Candinaes*, we were wholly deceiued by our Compasse, that stood vpon a Chist bound with Iron bands which made vs vary at least two Points, whereby we were much more Southerly then wee thought our course had beene, and also farre more Easterly, for wee thought

Pitzora:
Compasse de-
ceiued by ill
Neighbour-
hood.

thought verily that we had not bene farre from *Candinaes*, and wee were three dayes sayling from it as after we perceiued, and for that we found our selues to bee so much out of our way, we stayed there all night till day appeared.

The twelfth of August, it was faire weather, at which time the Sunne being East, wee saw a *Russian* Lodgie come towards vs, with all his sayles vp, wherewith we were not a little comforted, which we perceiuing from the Strand, where we lay with our Scutes, we desired the Master that we might goe vnto him, to speake with him, and to get some victuals of them, and to that end we made as much haste as we could, to launch out our Scutes, and sayled towards them, and when we got to them, the Master went into the Lodgie, to aske them how farre wee had to *Candinaes*, which we could not well learne of them, because wee vnderstood them not, they held vp their five Fingers vnto vs, but we knew not what they meant thereby, but after we perceiued that thereby they would shew vs, that there stood five Crosses vpon it, and they brought their Compasse out and shewed vs that it lay North-west from vs, which our Compasse also shewed vs, which reckoning also we had made: but when we saw we could haue no better intelligence from them, the Master went further into their Ship, and pointed to a barrell of Fish that he saw therein, making signes to know, whether they would sell it vnto vs, shewing them a peece of eight Rials, which they vnderstanding gaue vs one hundred and two Fishes, with some Cakes which they had made of Meale when they sodde their Fish, and about the South Sunne wee left them.

The sixteenth of August in the Morning, sayling forward North-west, we perceiued that we were in a Creeke, and so made towards the *Russian* Lodgie, which we had seene on our starre-board, which at last with great labour and much paine wee got vnto, and comming to them about the South-east Sunne, with a hard winde, we asked them how farre we were from *Zembla de Cool* or *Kilduin*, but they shooke their heads, and shewed vs that wee were on the East-side of *Zembla de Candinaes*.

The seuenteenth, lying at Anchor in the Morning at breake of day, wee saw a *Russian* Lodgie that came sayling out of the *white Sea*, to vvhom we rowed, that vve might haue some instruction from him, and when we boarded him, vwithout asking or speaking vnto him, he gaue vs a loafe of Bread, and by signes shewed vs as well as he could, that hee had seene our Companions, and that there vvas seuen men in the Boate, but wee not knowing well what they sayd, neither yet beleeuing them, they made other signes vnto vs, and held vp their seuen Fingers, and pointed to our Scute, thereby shewing that there was so many men in the Boate, and that they had sold them Bread, Flesh, Fish and other victuals: and while wee stayed in their Lodgie, vve saw a small Compasse therin, which we knew that they had bought of our chiefe Boatson, which they likewise acknowledged. About mid-night wee found a fall of fresh Water, and then we went on Land to fetch some, and there also wee got some *Leple-leaues*, and as wee thought to row forward, we were forced to sayle, because the flood was past, and still we lookt earnestly out for the point of *Candinaes*, and the five Crosses, whereof we had bene instructed by the *Russians*, but we could not see it.

The Eighteenth, in the Morning the Sunne being East, we puld vp our Stone, (which we vsed in steed of an Anchor) and rowed along by the Land, till the Sunne was South, and then we saw a point of Land reaching into the Sea, and on it certayne signes of Crosses, which as vve went neerer vnto we saw perfectly, and when the Sunne was West, we perceiued that the Land reached West and South-west, so that thereby we knew it certainly to bee the point of *Candinaes*, lying at the mouth of the *white Sea*, which we were to crosse, and had long desired to see it. This Point is easily to bee knowne, hauing five Crosses standing vpon it, which are perfectly to be discerned, and hauing a good North-east vvind (which was not for vs to slacke) we set forward in the Name of God, and when the Sunne was North-west, we past the Point, and all that night and the next day sayled with a good Wind, and all that time rowed but while three Glasses were runne out, and the next Night after ensuing, hauing still a good vvind, in the Morning about the East North-east Sunne, we saw Land on the West-side of the *white Sea* which we found by the rushing of the Sea vpon the Land before we saw it, and perceiuing it to bee full of Clifts, and not low sandie ground with some Hills, as it is on the East-side of the *white Sea*, wee assured our selues that we were on the West-side of the *white Sea*, vpon the Coast of *Lapland*, for the which we thanked God, that he had helped vs to sayle ouer the *white Sea* in thirtie houres, it being fortie *Dutch* miles at the least, our course being West with a North-east winde.

The twentieth, we espied certayne Crosses, with Warders vpon them, vvhereby we vnderstood that it was a good way, and so put into it, and being entred a little way within it, we saw a great *Russian* Lodgie lying at Anchor, whereunto we rowed as fast as we could, and there also we saw certayne Houses wherein men dwelt, and when wee got to the Lodgie, we made our selues fast vnto it, and cast our tent ouer the Scute, for as then it began to rayne, then we vvent on land into the Houses that stood vpon the shoare, vvhere they shewed vs great friendship, leading vs into their Stoues and there dryed our wet Cloathes, and then seething some Fish, bade vs sit downe and eate somewhat vvith them. In those little houses wee found thirteene *Russians*, *Russian Houses*, who

Laplanders mi-
erable life.

who euery morning went out to Fish in the Sea, whereof two of them had charge ouer the rest, they liued very poorely, and ordinarily eate nothing but Fish and Bread: at Eeuening when we prepared our selues to goe to our Scute againe, they prayed the Master and me to stay vvith them in their Houses, vvwhich the Master thanked them for, would not doe, but I stayed vvith them all that night: besides those thirteene Men, there was two *Laplanders* more, and three Women vvith a Child, that liued very poorely of the ouerpluss which the *Russians* gaue them, as a peece of a Fish, and some fishes heads vvwhich the *Russians* threw away, and they vvith great thankfulness tooke them vp, so that in respect of their pouertie, we thought our selues to bee well furnished: and yet vve had little enough, but as it seemed their ordinary liuing was in that manner, and we were forced to stay there, for that the vvind being North-west, it was against vs.

The one and twentieth, wee met our other Companie vvherewith we rejoyced, and shewed each other of our proceedings, and how vvee had sayled too and fro in great necessitie and hunger, and yet they had beene in greater necessitie and danger then we, and gaue God thanks that hee had preserved vs aliuie, and brought vs together againe, and then we eate something together and dranke of the cleere Water, such as runneth along by *Collen* through the *Rhene*, and then vve agreed that they should come vnto vs, that we might sayle together.

Slutterie a fast
breaker.

The two and twentieth, the rest of our men vvith the Boate came vnto vs, about the East South-east Sunne, whereat wee much rejoyced, and then we prayed the *Russians* Cooke to bake a sacke of Meale for vs, and to make it Bread, paying him for it, vvwhich hee did, and in the meane time, when the Fisher-men came vvith their Fish out of the Sea, our Master bought foure Cods of them, vvwhich we sodde and eate, and vvwhile we were at meate, the chiefe of the *Russians* came vnto vs, and perceiuing that we had not much Bread, hee fetched a Loafe and gaue it vs, and although we desired them to sit downe and eate some meate vvith vs, yet we could by no meanes get them to grant thereunto, because it was their Fasting day, and for that vve had powred Butter and fat into our Fish: nor vvee could not get them once to drinke vvith vs, because our Cup vvas somewhat greasie, they were so superstitious touching their Fasting and Religion, neither would they lend vs any of their Cups to drinke in, least they should likewise bee greased, at that time the vvind was North-west.

The foure and twentieth, the wind blew East, and then the Sunne being East, we got to the seven Ilands, where we found many Fisher-men, of vvhom we enquired after *Cool* and *Kilduin*, and they made signes that they lay West from vs, (vvwhich we likewise ghest to bee so) and vvithall they shewed vs great friendship, and cast a Codde into our Scute, but for that wee had a good gale of vvind, we could not stay to pay them for it, but gaue them great thanks, much vvondering at their great courtesie, and so vvith a good gale of vvind we arriued before the seven Ilands, when the Sunne was South-west, and past betweene them and the Land, and there found certayne Fisher-men that rowed to vs, and asked vs where our Crable (meaning our Ship) was, whereunto we made answer, vvith as much *Russian* language as wee had learned; and sayd, *Crable pro Pal*, (that is, our Ship is lost) vvwhich they vvnderstanding, sayd vnto vs, *Cool Brabouse Crable*, vvhereby we vvnderstood, that at *Cool* there was certayne *Netherland* Ships, but wee made no great account thereof, because our intent was to sayle to *Ware-houfe*, fearing least the *Russians* or great Prince of the Countrey would stay vs there.

Kilduin.

The fve and twentieth, sayling along by the Land vvith a South-east vvind, about the South Sunne, we had a sight of *Kilduin*, at vvwhich time we held our course West North-west, and sayling in that manner betweene *Kilduin* and the firme Land, about the South South-west Sunne, we got to the West end of *Kilduin*, and being there looked if we could see any Houses or people therein, and at last we saw certayne *Russian* Lodgies that lay vpon the Strand, and there finding a conuenient place for vs to Anchor vvith our Scutes, vvwhile wee went to know if any people were to bee found, our Master put in vvith the Land, and there found fve or fixe small Houses, vvherein the *Laplanders* dwelt, of vvhom we asked if that were *Kilduin*, whereunto they made answer, and shewed vs that it was *Kilduin*, and sayd, that at *Coola* there lay three *Brabants Crables* or Ships, whereof two were that day to set sayle: wee found a small House vpon the shoare, vvherein there was three Men and a great Dogge, vvwhich receiued vs very friendly, asking vs of our affaires, and how we got thither, whereunto we made answer, and shewed them that we had lost our Ship, and that wee were come thither to see if we could get a Ship that would bring vs into *Holland*: whereunto they made vs answer as the other *Russians* had done, that there was three Ships at *Coola*, whereof two vvvere to set sayle from thence that day, then wee asked them if they would goe vvith one of our men by Land to *Coola*, to looke for a Ship, vvherewith wee might get into *Holland*, and sayd we would reward them vvell for their paines, but they excused themselves, and sayd, that they could not goe from thence, but they sayd they would bring vs ouer the Hill, vvwhere vve should finde certayne *Laplanders* vvhom they thought would goe vvith vs, as they did: for the Master and one of our men going vvith them ouer the Hill, found certayne *Laplanders* there, vvwhereof they got one to goe vvith our man, promising him two Ryals of eight for his paines, and so the *Laplander* going vvith him, tooke a Piece on his necke, and our man a Boat-hooke, and about Eeuening they set forward, the vvinde as then being East, and East North-east.

The

The fixe and twentieth, it was faire, vveather, the vvind South-east, at vvhich time we drew vp both our Scutes vpon the Land, and tooke all the goods out of them, to make them the lighter; vvhich done, we went to the *Russians* and vvarmed vs, and there dressed such meates as wee had, and then againe we began to make two meales a day, vvhen we perceiued that we should euery day finde more people, and vve dranke of their drinke which they call *Quasse*, vvhich was made of broken peeces of Bread, and it tasted well: for in long time wee had drunke nothing else but Water. Some of our men went further into the Land, and there found blew Berries and bramble Berries, vvhich they plucked and eate, and they did vs much good, for we found that they healed vs of our loosenesse, the vvind still blew South-east.

10 The eight and twentieth, it was indifferent good vvether, and then we drew the Scutes vp on the Land againe, that we might take the rest of the goods out of them, because the vvind still blew hard North, and North North-west, and hauing drawne the Scutes vp, we spread our sayles vpon them, to shelter vs vnder them, for it was still mystie and raynie vvether, much desiring to heare some newes of our man, that was gone to *Coola* with the *Laplander*.

20 The nine and twentieth, wee spied the *Laplander* comming alone without our man, whereat we wondred, and were somewhat in doubt, but when hee came vnto vs, he shewed vs a Letter that was written vnto our Master, which he opened before vs, the Contents thereof being, that hee that had written the Letter wondred much at our arriual in that place, and that long since hee verily thought that we had bene all cast away, being exceeding glad of our happie fortune, and how that he would presently come vnto vs with victuals, and all other necessities to succour vs withall, we being in no small admiration who it might bee, that shewed vs so great fauour and friendship, could not imagine what he was, for it appeared by the Letter that he knew vs well: and although the Letter was subscribed, by me *John Cornelison Rip*, yet wee could not bee perswaded that it was the same *John Cornelison*, who the yeere before had bene set out in the other ship with vs, & left vs about the *Beare* Island: for thole good newes we payd the *Laplander* his hyer; and besides that, gaue him Hose, Breeches, and other furniture, so that hee was apparelled like a *Hollander*: for as then wee thought our selues to bee wholly out of danger, and so being of good comfort, we layd vs downe to rest. Heere I cannot chuse but shew you how fast the *Laplander* went: for when he went to *Coola*, as our Companion told vs, they were two 30 Dayes and two Nights on the way, and yet went apace, and when he came backe againe he was but a Day and a Night comming to vs, which was wonderfull, it being but halfe the time, so that we sayd, and verily thought that hee was halfe a Coniurer, and he brought vs a Partridge, which hee had killed by the way as he went.

The thirtieth, wee saw a *Russian* Ioll come rowing with *John Cornelison*, and our Companion that we had sent to *Coola*, who being landed, wee receiued and welcommed each other, with great joy and exceeding gladnesse, as if either of vs on both sides had seene each other rise from death to life againe: for we esteemed him, and hee vs to bee dead long since: hee brought vs a Barrell of *Roswicke* Beere, Wine, *Aqua vite*, Bread, Flesh, Bacon, Salmon, Suger, and other things, which comforted and relieved vs much, and we rejoyced together for our so vnexpected meeting: at that time giuing God great thanks, for his Mercie shewed vnto vs.

40 The first of September, in the Morning with the East Sun, we got to the West-side of the Riuer of *Coola*, and entred into it, where we rowed till the Flood was past, and then wee cast the Stones that serued vs for Anchors vpon the ground, at a point of Land till the Flood came in againe: and when the Sunne was South, wee set sayle againe with the Flood, and so sayled and rowed till mid-night, and then wee cast Anchor againe till morning. The second, in the Morning, we rowed vp the Riuer, and as we past along wee saw some Trees on the Riuer side, which comforted vs, and made vs glad as if we had then come into a new world, for in all the time that wee had bene out, we had not seene any Trees, and when we were by the *Salt Kettles*, which is about three miles from *Coola*, we stayed there a while, and made merrie, and then went forward 50 againe, and with the West North-west Sunne, got to *John Cornelisons* Ship, wherein we entred and drunke: there wee began to make merrie againe, with the Saylers that were therein, and that had bene in the Voyage with *John Cornelison* the yeere before, and bad each other welcome: then we rowed forward, and late in the Eeuening got to *Coola*, where some of vs went on Land, and some stayed in the Scutes to looke to the goods: to whom we sent Milke and other things to comfort and refresh them, and we were all exceeding glad that God of his mercie had deliuered vs out of so many dangers and troubles, and had brought vs thither in safetie.

The third, wee vnladed all our goods, and there refreshed our selues after our toylefome and wearie Iourney, and the great hunger wee had endured, thereby to recouer our healths and strengths againe.

60 The eleuenth, by leaue and consent of the *Bayart*, Governour of the great Prince of *Moscowia*, we brought our Scute and our Boate into the Merchants House, and there let them stand for a remembrance of our long, farre (and neuer before sayled way) and that wee had sayled in those open Scutes, almost foure hundred *Dutch* miles, through, and along by the Sea Coasts to the Towne of *Coola*.

Septembers

Trees are rare sight.

Coola.

Their Scute and Boate layd vp for a Monument: how much more worthily then the old world.

The *Argo*.

Y y

The feuenteenth of September, *John Cornelison* and our Master being come aboard, the next day about the East Sunne, we set sayle out of the Riuer *Coola*, and with Gods grace put to Sea, to sayle homewards, and being out of the Riuer, wee sayled along by the Land North-west and by North, the winde being South.

Vpon the nine and twentieth of October, wee arriued in the *Mase*, with an East North-east wind, and the next morning got to *Maseland Sluce*, and there going on Land, from thence rowed to *Delfe*, and then to the *Hage*, and from thence to *Harlem*. And vpon the first of Nouember about Noone, got to *Amsterdam*, in the same Clothes that wee wore in *Noua Zembla*, with our Caps furr'd with white Foxes skinner. The newes thereof being spred abroad in the Towne, it was also carryed to the Princes Court in the *Hage*, at which time the Lord Chancellour of *Denmarke*, Ambassadour for the sayd King, was then at Dinner with Prince *Maurice*: for the which cause we were presently fetcht thither by the Scout, and two of the Burgers of the Towne, and there in the presence of those Ambassadors, and the Burger-masters, wee made rehearfall of our Journey both forwards and backwards.

I thought good to adde hither for Barents or Barentsons sake, certaine Notes which I haue found (the one Translated, the other Written by him) amongst Master *Hakluyts* Paper.

This was Written by *William Barentson* in a loose Paper, which was lent mee by the Reuerend *Peter Plantius* in *Amsterdam*, March the seuen and twentieth, 1609.

Intelligence
from Samoieds.
1595.
Barkes going
from Pechora
to Gielhsidi:
wintering
there.
Gielhsidi won
from the Tar-
tars 1592.

1592.
No Ebbe nor
Floud.

September 9.

The foure and twentieth of August, Stilo nouo 1595. wee spake with the Samoieds, and asked them how the Land and Sea did lye to the East of Way-gates. They sayd after five dayes iourney going North-east, wee should come to a great Sea, going South-east. This Sea to the East of Way-gates, they sayd was called *Marmoria*, that is to say, A calme Sea. And they of Ward-houle haue told vs the same. I asked them, if at any time of the yeere it was frozen ouer? They sayd it was. And that sometimes they passed it with Sleds. And the first of September 1595. Stilo nouo, the Russes of the Lodie or Barke affirmed the same, saying, that the Sea is sometimes so Frozen, that the Lodies or Barkes going sometimes to *Gielhsidi* from *Pechora*, are forced there to winter: which *Gielhsidi* was wonne from the Tartars, three yeeres past.

For the Ebbe and Flood there I can finde none; but with the Winde so runneth the streame. The third of September, Stilo nouo, the winde was South-west, and then I found the water higher, then with the winde at North or North-east. Mine opinion is grounded on Experience. That if there bee a passage, it is small: or else the Sea could not rise with a Southerly Winde. And for the better prooffe to know if there were a Flood and Ebbe, the ninth of September, Stilo nouo, I went on shoare on the South end of the States Iland, where the Crosse standeth, and layd a Stone on the brinke of the Water, to proue whether there were a Tide, and went round about the Iland to shoote at a Hare, and returning, I found the Stone as I left it, and the Water neither higher nor lower: which proueth as afore, that there is no Flood nor Ebbe.

CHAP. VI.

A Treatise of IVER BOTY a Gronlander, translated out of the North Language into High Dutch, in the yeere 1560. And after out of High Dutch into Low Dutch, by *WILLIAM BARENTSON* of Amsterdam, who was chiefe Pilot aforesaid. The same Copie in High Dutch, is in the hands of *IODOCVS HONDIVS*, which I haue seene. And this was translated out of Low Dutch, by Master *WILLIAM*

STERE, Marchant, in the yeere 1608. for the vse of me *HENRIE*

HVDSON. *WILLIAM BARENTSONS* Booke is in the hands of Master *PETER PLANTIVS*, who lent the same vnto me.



*N*primis, it is reported by men of Wisedome and Vnderstanding borne in Gronland, That from Stad in Norway to the East part of Island, called *Horn-nesse*, is seven dayes sayling right West.

Item, men shall know, that betweene Island and Gronland, lyeth a Riffe called *Gombornse-skare*. There were they wont to haue there passage for Gronland. But as they report there is Ice vpon the same Riffe, come out of the long North Bottom, so that we cannot vse the same old Passage as they thinke.

Item, from *Long-nesse* on the East side of Island to the abouesaid *Horn-nesse*, is two dayes sayle to the *Brimstone Mount*.

Gombornse-
skare.
The long
North bottom.

Item,

Item, if you goe from *Bergen* in *Norway*, the course is right West, till you bee South of *Rokenesse* in *Island*: and distant from it thirteene miles, or leagues. And with this course you shall come vnder that high Land that lyeth in the East part of *Groneland*, and is called *Swafster*. A day before you come there, you shall haue sight of a high Mount, called *Hmit-sarke*: and betweene *Whitsarke* and *Groneland*, lyeth a Head-land called *Hernoldus Hooke*; and thereby lyeth an Hauen, where the *Norway* Merchants Ships were wont to come: and it is called *Sound Hauen*.

Item, if a man will sayle from *Island* to *Groneland*, hee shall set his course to *Snofnesse*, which is by West *Rokenesse* thirteene miles, or leagues right West, one day and nights sayling, and after South-west to shun the Ice, that lyeth on *Gombornse-skare*; and after that one day and night North-west. So shall hee with this course fall right with the abovesayd *Swafster*, which is high Land, vnder which lyeth the aforesayd Head-land, called *Hernoldus Hooke*, and the *Sound Hauen*.

Item, the Easter Dorpe of *Groneland* lyeth East from *Hernoldus hooke*, but neere it, and is called *Skagen Ford*, and is a great Village.

Item, from *Skagen Ford* East, lyeth a Hauen called *Beare Ford*: it is not dwelt in. In the mouth thereof lyeth a Riffe, so that great Ships cannot harbour in it.

Item, there is great abundance of Whales: and there is a great Fishing for the killing of them there: but not without the Bishops consent, which keepeth the same for the benefit of the Cathedral Church. In the Hauen is a great *Swalth*: and when the Tide doth runne out, all the Whales doe runne into the sayd *Swalth*.

Item, East of *Beare Ford*, lyeth another Hauen called *Allabong Sound*: and it is at the mouth narrow, but farther in, very wide: The length whereof is such, that the end thereof is not yet knowne. There runneth no Streame. It lyeth full of little Iles. Fowle and Oxen are there common: and it is playne Land on both sides, growne ouer with greene Grasse.

Item, East from the Icie Mountayne, lyeth an Hauen called *Fendebother*; so named, because in *Saint Olafes* time there was a Ship cast away, as the speech hath beene in *Groneland*; In which Ship was drowned one of *Saint Olafes* men, with others: and those that were saued did burie those that were drowned, and on their Graues did set great stone Crosses, which wee see at this day.

Item, somewhat more East toward the Icie Mountayne, lyeth a high Land, called *Corse Hought*, vpon which they Hunt white Beares, but not without the Bishops leaue, for it belongeth to the Cathedral Church. And from thence more Easterly, men see nothing but Ice and Snow, both by land and water.

Now wee shall returne againe to *Hernoldus Hooke*, where we first began to come to the first Towne that lyeth on the East-side of *Hernoldus Hooke*, called *Skagen Ford*: and so we will write the Names of all that lye on the West-side of the Ford or Sound.

Item, West from *Hernoldus Hooke*, lyeth a Dorpe called *Kodosford*, and it is well built: and as you sayle into the Sound, you shall see on the right hand a great Sea and a Marsh: and into this Sea runneth a great streame: and by the Marsh and Sea standeth a great Church, on which the Holy Crosse is drawne, of colour white: it belongeth to *Emelnesse de Hokesong*, and the Land to *Peters Wike*.

Item, by *Peters Wike*, lyeth a great Dorpe called *Wartsdale*, by which lyeth a water or Sea of twelue miles or leagues ouer: in which is much Fish: And to *Peters wike* Church belongeth *Wartsdale* Boy or Towne, and the Villages.

Item, neere this Boy or Towne, lyeth a Cloyster or Abbey, in which are Canons Regular, it is Dedicated to *Saint Olafes*, and *Saint Augustines* name. And to it belongeth all the Land to the Sea side, and toward the other side of the Cloyster.

Item, next *Godosford*, lyeth a Ford called *Rompnes Ford*: And there lyeth a Cloyster of Nuns of *Saint Benedicts* Order.

Item, this Cloyster to the bottome of the Sea, and to *Wegen Kerke*, was Dedicated to *Saint Olaf* the King. In this Ford lye many small Iles. And to this Cloyster belongeth halfe the Ford and the Church. In this Sound are many warme Waters. In the Winter they are intollerable hot: but in the Summer more moderate; and many Bathing in them are cured of many diseases.

Item, betweene *Rompnes* and the next Sound, lyeth a great Garden called *Vose*, belonging to the King. There is also a costly Church dedicated to *Saint Nicolas*. This Church had the King before this. Neere it lyeth a Sea of Fresh water, called *Vose*, in which is great abundance of Fish, without number. And when there falleth much Rayne, that the Waters doe rise therewith, and after fall againe, there remayneth vpon the Land much Fish drie.

Item, when you sayle out of *Emelnes Ford*, there lyeth an Inlet, called *South-woders Wike*: and somewhat higher in the same Sound, and on the same side, lyeth a little Cape called *Bloming*: and beyond that lyeth another Inwike called *Granwike*, and aboue that lyeth a Garden called *Daleth*, which belongeth to the Cathedral Church. And on the right hand as you sayle out of the same Sound, lyeth a great Wood, which pertayneth to the Church, where they feede all their

Swafster.

Whitsarke.

Hernoldus

Hooke.

Sound Haueri
in Groneland.

Skagen Ford.

Beare Ford.

A great fishing
for Whales.

A great Swalth

Allabong Sound

Store of Oxen.

The Icie

Mountayne.

The Hauen of
Fendebother.

Note.

Corse Hought.

An hunting of
white Beares.
More Easterly
all Defart.The Townes
from Hernoldus
Hooke West-
ward.The Towne of
Godosford.A great
Church with a
white Crosse
on it.

Peters Wike.

Wartsdale.

Boy in the Norse
tongue, signifi-
eth a Towne.

A Monasterie.

Rompnes Ford.

A Nunnerie.

Wegen Kerke.

Hot waters in

Groneland.

A place called

Vose, belong-
ing to the

King.

Saint Nicolas

Church.

Emelnes Fords

South-woders

Wike.

Bloming.

Granwike.

Daleth Gardens

A great Wood

Oxen, Kine,

and Horless

their Cattell, as Oxen, Kine, and Horſes : And to the Church pertayneth the Sound of *Emestnes* Ford. The high Land lying by *Emestnes* Ford, is called *The Ramos hayth* : So called, because that on those Hills doe runne many Roe Deere, or Reyne Deere, which they vse to Hunt, but not without the Bishops leaue. And on this high Land is the best Stone in all *Groneland*. They make thereof Pots, because fire cannot hurt it. And they make of the same Stone Fattes or Cisternes, that will hold ten or twelue Tunnes of water.

Excellent
Stone, that fire
cannot hurt.

Eight great
Orchards be-
longing to the
Cathedrall
Church.
Swalſter Ford.

Ericks Hought.

Skogel Kerke.

Fossa Sound.

Breda Ford.
Larmut Ford.
Ice Dorpe.

The *Skerleng-
gers*.
Many Horſes,
Oxen, and
Kine.

Iuer Boty the
Author.

A great Wil-
dernesſe called
Hemel Hatsfelt,
to the North
of the West
land.
Mines of Sil-
uer, white
Beares, white
Hawkes, all
sorts of Fiſh.
Groneland not
so cold as *Ise-
land* or *Norway*.
Fruits.

Punnus and *Pot-
harſe*.

Item, West from this lyeth another high Land, called *The long high Land* : and by another cal-
led whereon are eight great Orchards, all belonging to the Cathedrall Church.
But the Tenths thereof they giue to *Warsedall* Church.

Item, next to this Sound lyeth another Sound called *Swalſter* Ford, wherein standeth a Church
called *Swalſter*. This Church belongeth to all this Sound, and to *Romſe* Ford, lying next it. In
this Sound is a great Garden belonging to the King, called *Saint Henleſate*.

Item, next to that lyeth *Ericks* Ford, and entring therein lyeth an high Land called *Ericks*
Hought ; which pertayneth the one halfe to *Deuers Kerke* , and is the first Parish Church on
Groneland, and lyeth on the left hand as you sayle into *Ericks* Ford : and *Deuers Kerke* belon-
geth all to *Meydon* Ford, which lyeth North-west from *Ericks* Ford.

Item, farther out then *Ericks* Ford, standeth a Church called *Skogel Kerke*, which belongeth to
all *Medford* : And farther in the Sound standeth a Church called *Leaden Kerke*. To this Church
belongeth all thereabout to the Sea ; and also on the other side as farre as *Bonsels*. There lyeth
also a great Orchard called *Grote Lead*, in which the *Gufman* (that is a chiefe or Bayliffe ouer the
Boores) doth dwell.

And farther out then *Ericks* Ford, lyeth a Ford or Sound called *Fossa*, which belongeth to the
Cathedrall Church : and the sayd *Fossa* Sound lyeth as men sayle out towards *Ericks* Ford ; and
to the North of it lye two Villages, the one called *Euer-boy*, and the other *Forther-boy*, because
they lye so.

Item, from thence farther North lyeth *Breda* Ford, and after that *Lormont* Ford from that
West, and from *Lormont* Ford to the West is *Ice* Dorpe. All these are places built, and in them
dwell people.

Item, from the Easter builded Land to the Wester Dorpe, is twelue miles or leagues : and the
rest is all waste land. In the Dorpe in the West standeth a Church, which in times past belonged
to the Cathedrall Church, and the Bishop did dwell there. But now the *Skerlengers* haue all the
West Lands and Dorps. And there are now many Horſes, Oxen, and Kine, but no people nei-
ther *Christian* nor *Heathen* ; but they were all carryed away by the Enemie, the *Skerlengers*.

All this before Written was done by one *Iuer Boty* borne in *Groneland*, a principall man in the
Bishops Court : who dwelt there many yeeres, and saw and knew all these places. He was cho-
sen by the whole Land for Captayne, to goe with Ships to the West land, to driue away their
Enemies the *Skerlengers*. But hee comming there, found no people neither *Christian* nor *Hea-
then*, but found there many Sheepe running being wilde, of which Sheepe they tooke with
them as many as they could carrie, and with them returned to there Houses. This before named
Indo Boty was himſelfe with them.

To the North of the West Land, lyeth a great Wildernesſe with Clifes or Rockes, called *He-
mel Hatsfelt*. Farther can no man sayle, because there lye many *Swalgen* or Whirle-pooles : and
also for the Water and the Sea.

Item, in *Groneland* are many Siluer Hills, and many white Beares with red patches on their
heads ; and also white Hawkes, and all sorts of Fiſh, as in other Countries.

Item, there is Marble stone of all colours, also Zeuell stone or the Load stone, which the Fire
cannot hurt, whereof they make many vessels, as Pots, and other great vessels.

Item, in *Groneland* runneth great streames, and there is much Snow and Ice : But it is not so
cold, as it is in *Island* or *Norway*.

Item, there grow on the high Hills, Nuts and Acornes, which are as great as Apples, and good
to eate. There groweth also the best Wheate, that can grow in the whole Land.

This Sea Card was found in the Iles of *Fero* or farre, lying betweene *Shot-laut* and *Island*, in an
old reckoning Booke, written aboue one hundred yeeres agoe : out of which this was all taken.

Item, *Punnus* and *Potharſe*, haue inhabited *Island* certayne yeeres, and sometimes haue gone to
Sea, and haue had their trade in *Groneland*. Also *Punnus* did giue the *Islanders* their Lawes, and
caused them to bee written. Which Lawes doe continue to this day in *Island*, and are called by
name *Punnus* Lawes.

The Course from Island to Groneland.

IF men bee South from the Hauen of *Bred* Ford in *Island*, they shall sayle West, till they see
Whitsarke vpon *Groneland*, and then sayle somewhat South-west till *Whitsarke* bee North off
you, and so you need not feare Ice, but may boldly sayle to *Whitsarke*, and from thence to
Ericks Hauen.

If men be North the Hauen of *Bredford* in *Island*, then sayle South-west, till *Whitsarke* beare North: then sayle to it, and so come to *Ericks* Hauen.

If you see Ice, that commeth out of *Trolebothon*, you shall goe more Southerly, but not too farre South for feare of *Freeisland*, for there runneth an hard streame. And it is fifteene miles or leagues from *Freeisland*.

Item, *Freeisland* lyeth South, and *Island* East from *Gronland*.

Item, From the Ice that hangerh on the Hilles in *Gronland*, commeth a great Fogge, Frost and Cold. And such a Fogge commeth out of the Ice of *Trolebothon*: and it is a great *Wilderneffe*.

There are Sables, Marternes, Hermelins, or Ermins, White Beares, and White Hawkes, Seales, White and Gray, Gold and Siluer Hills, also Fish dryed and salted, and thousands of Salmons: also store of Losh Hides and other Hides. There are Hares, Foxes, Wolues, Otters, and Veltfrasen.

Now if it please God they come to *Gronland*, then shall they set but two men on shoare; who shall take with them diuers kindes of Marchandize: and let them deale with good order, and let them bee such as can make good Report, what they there doe see or finde, and let them obserue whether men may there Land or no, with the loue of the Inhabitants.

And I counsaile and charge those that shall Trade for *Gronland*, that they set no more folke on Land, but they keepe men enough to man the Ship. And looke well to the course you hold to *Gronland*, that if those that bee set on shoare bee taken, they may come home againe with Gods helpe. For if shipping returne, they may come home or bee releued in a yeere and a day. And in your liuing there so demeane your selues to them, that in time you may winne the Countrey and the people.

Remember my Scholler and Clarke, which shall bee there appointed as Commander, that you send those on Land, that will shew themselves diligent Writers, and that they carrie themselves so, that they may learne thereby the State of the Countrey. They shall take with them two Boats and eight Oares, and take Tynder-boxes for fire if there be no Habitation. Also set vp Croffes of Wood or Stone, if need be.

This Note following was found in an old Booke of Accompts, in the Yeere 1596.

In *Normis*, From *Grad* in *Normay*, standing neere the Latitude of sixtie three Degrees, you shall hold your course due West: and that course will bring you vpon *Swartnesse* in *Gronland*. And in this course is the least streame and least perill of *Swalgen* or *Indrafts*. There is lesse perill this way, then is on the North-side; you shall keepe $\frac{1}{2}$ of the Sea on *Freeisland* side, and one third on *Island* side. And if it bee cleere weather, and you haue kept your course right West, you shall see the Mount of *Snelus Iokul* in the South-west patt of *Island*. And if you haue a storme in the North, you must shunne it as you can, till *Whitsarke* be North of you. Then shall you sayle right with it, and seeke the Land: and you shall finde a good Hauen, called *Ericks Ford*.

Item, If you bee betweene *Gronland* and *Island*, you may see *Snelus Iokul* on *Island*, and *Whitsarke* on *Gronland*, if it be cleere weather. Therefore men of experience doe affirme, that it is but thirtie leagues betweene both.

Also if you haue a storme betweene *Gronland* and *Island*, you must haue care you bee not laid on *Freeisland* with the streame and Winde; for the streame or Current doth run strong vpon *Freeisland*, out of the North.

Also if you haue a storme out of the South, you shall not sayle out of your course, but keepe it as neere as you can possibly, till *Whitsarke* in *Gronland* beare North off you: then sayle toward it, and you shall come into *Ericks Ford*, as it is afore-said in the first Article.

CHAP. VII.

*A Description of the Countries of Siberia, Samoieda, and Tingoefia.
Together with the Iourneyes leading vnto the same Countries to-
ward the East and North-east, as they are daily fre-
quented by the Moscouites.*

§. I.

*Discoverie of Siberia, and the subiecting of the same
to the Russes.*

The first and
second Para-
graphs were
published
in Latine by
Hessell Gerar-
dus An. 1612.
here a little
contracted :
the last I found
in M. Hakluyts
Papers.
Arica or Oneeko
Wichida.
White Sea to
the North of
Russia.
Samoieds.
Ossel and Vsting
Mart Townes
for the Sa-
moieds.
The first Voy-
age vnto the
Samoieds coun-
treies.



Here is in *Moscouie*, a Kindred called the *Sonnes* of *Oneeko*, of a rusticke or base descent, and first sprung from one *Oneeko* a Husband-man. He being very rich in Lands, dwelt vpon a certaine Riuer called *Wichida*, or *Wusogda*, falling into the Riuer *Duina*, which about one hundred leagues beneath, neere vnto the Castle called *S. Michael the Archangel*, which falleth into the *White Sea*. This *Oneeko* being rich (as is said) had also many Children, God hauing largely blessed and provided him with plentie of all things. Yet neuerthelesse, hee had an earnest desire and affection, to know what Countreies were possessed and inhabited by those people, which yeerely came into *Russia* to trafficke, bringing with them costly Furrer, and diuers other Merchandizes, much differing in Language, Apparel, Religion, and Behaviour, calling themselves *Samoieds*, and by other vnknowne names. These people came euery yeere downe the Riuer *Wichida*, and exchanged their Commodities with the *Russes* and *Moscouites*, in the Townes of *Ossel* and *Vsting*, on the Riuer *Duina*; which at that time were the Receits and chiefe Mart Townes of all kind of Marchandizes, but especially of costly Furrer. *Oneeko* therefore (as hath beene said) was most desirous to know, from whence these people came, or what Countreies they did inhabit, easily conjecturing, That great wealth was there to be gotten; since the Furrer yeerely brought them amounted to a great summe of Money. Wherefore secretly hee got acquaintance and consorted himselfe with diuers of them, and sent in their company about tenne or twelue of his owne people into those parts; enioyning them, that through what Countreies so euer they should trauell, they should make diligent search of euery particular thing therein, and fully obserue the Manners, Rites, Dwellings, and whole course of life of those Nations; that at their returne they might bring from thence perfect knowledge thereof. Which they hauing at length performed, he entertained them bountifully at their returne, and shewed them all fauour, but with especiall charge to keepe silence. Hee likewise kept all these things close to himselfe, not reuealing them to any man.

The second
Voyage.

Many Deserts
and diuers
great Riuers.
Riuer Obi.
Great wealth
to be gotten
by the Trade
to the Riuer of
Obi.
Conditions of
the people.
Gouernment.
Dyer.
No Bread.
Shooting.
Apparell.
Houles.

Great wealth
obtaind by
continuance of
this Voyage.

And the next yeere following, he sent thither a greater number of his people, joyning with them certayne of his Kindred and Alliance. These carried with them diuers base Marchandize; as small Bells, and other like *Dutch* small Wares; and tooke diligent notice of euery thing in those parts; and after they had passed many Deserts, and diuers great Riuers, they came to the Riuer *Obi*; where making Acquaintance and Friendship with the *Samoieds*, they found that Furrer were to be had for a small price, and that great wealth was there easily to be gotten; and further, that this people had not any Cities, but liued together in Companies, and peaceably, and gouerned by some of the ancientest among them; that they were lothsome in their feeding, and liued on the flesh of such beasts as they tooke: that they had no knowledge of Corne or Bread, were cunning and skilfull Archers, making their Bowes of a gentle and flexible kind of Wood, and that their Arrowes were headed with sharpened stones or fish bones: with those they killed wilde beasts, which are exceeding plentiful in those places: that they sowed also with bones of fishes, seruing them for Needles; their thred being made of the sinewes of certaine small beasts, and so they sew together the Furrer, wherewith they cloath themselves: the Furrer side in Summer turned outward, and in Winter inward. That they couered their Houses with the Skins of Elkes and such like beasts, little esteemed among them. Finally, these Messengers of *Oneeko*, searched curiously into euery matter, and returned home stored with costly Furrer.

Now when as *Oneeko* vnderstood by their report, that which he so much longed to know, he together with certayne others of his Friends, continued his Trafficke into those Countreies for diuers yeeres together: by meanes wherof the *Oneekos* grew very mightie, and bought great Possessions in all parts. Those that dwelled neere vnto them being ignorant from whence all this wealth arose, greatly wondred at it. For the *Oneekos* builded Churches in some of their

Vil-

Villages. Yea, afterward they erected in the Towne of *Osoil* vpon the *Wichida*, where at that time they dwelt, an exceeding faire Church, which was rayfed from the very foundations of hewen stone. Finally, they knew no end of their goods.

Now among the *Russes* it goeth for a common Prouerbe, that *Hee which hath no friends in Court, is scarce to be accounted in the number of the lining*. For most commonly it happeneth, that they that excell others in any thing, are presently enuyed and fallly accused in the Princes Court, where if they haue not a friend to succour them, they are forth-with without hearing the cause, oppressed; yea, and vtterly ruined. For which cause the *Oneekos* beeing growne to much wealth, as is said, got into the fauour of one of the greatest in the Court, which was *Borisodanous*, Brother to the Wife of the Emperour *Pheodor Euanowich* then reigning, to whom also he succeeded in the Empire. Vnto this *Boris* the *Oneekos* determined to reueale the whole matter: who first presenting him with gifts after the custome of the Countrey, prayed him to grant them hearing in a matter, which they had to deliuer for the benefit of the whole Empire. *Boris* presently listning to this Petition, receiued them with extraordinary kindnesse: and after they had declared vnto him the situation of the Countreyes of *Samoiedia*, and *Siberia*, then what they had seene and obserued therein, and how great Riches might thence arise vnto the Empire of *Mosconia*. *Boris* presently grew into an ardent desire to set forward this business, enter-tayning them as his Children, and gracing them to the vttermost of his power, procuring them from the Emperour a most ample Priuiledge, by which it was ordayned, That they should for euer enjoy the Lands which they possessed, and might dispose of them vnto their Heires at their pleasure. And farther, if it happened they were abiding in the Citie of *Mosconia*, he tooke them into his owne Sled: which among the *Mosconites* is the greatest kind of honour, especially being offered by principall Noblemen, such as then was *Boris*, a man of the greatest power, and in whom the chiefe authoritie of the Empire rested. *Boris* pondering these things attentiuely, signified the whole matter to the Emperour, to whom it was very pleasing; And not sleeping about the matter, employed therein certayne Captaynes, and Gentlemen of small abilitie of his owne followers: commanding them to prepare themselves to goe to that Iourney, in company of such as the *Oneekos* should appoint vnto them, and that they should apparell themselves gallantly, and like vnto Ambassadors, adding further certayne Souldiers, and Presents of small value to be distributed among the people, to which they should come: enioyning them further to note diligently all Passages, Riuers, High-ways, Woods, and what else they should meete with in their trauell; as also to commit to memorie the names of them; that at their returne they might make a faithfull and true report thereof: adding further that they should intreat the people with all courtesie, and that they should seeke out some conuenient place for building of Castles and Fortresses, and that in any case (if it were possible) they should bring backe with them into *Mosconia*, some of the Inhabitants of those Countreyes.

These Messengers being sufficiently furnished with all things necessary for the Iourney, namely, Apparell, Weapons, Money, and Presents, departing from the *Mosconia*, not long after came to the Riuer *Wichida*, and to the *Oneekos*: who also sent some of their owne people with them. As soone as they were arrived into those parts, they began to performe what was giuen them in charge, shewing freely all tokens of courtesie vnto the barbarous people, and carefully obseruing who were of greatest authoritie among them, to whom they vsed reuerence and gaue gifts, such as were of small and almost no value to themselves, but which seemed so precious vnto the other, that when the *Mosconites* were coming a farre off towards them, they would stay for them with great dancings and clapping of their hands, and cast themselves downe at the feet of the Giuers, being so gallantly attyred, accounting them altogether as Gods. The *Mosconites* vsing the *Samoieds* for their Interpretors, which had continued certayne yeeres in the Villages of *Mosconia*, to learne their Language, began to discourse with the *Barbarians* concerning their Emperour of *Mosconia*, whom they wonderfully extolled, and made him little lesse then an Earthly God, enterlacing other things with all, whereby those people were stirred vp to wish that they might behold these things with their eyes. These their desires were pleasing to the *Mosconites*, who signified that they were likewise well contented therewithall: Adding, that they would leaue certayne pledges among them, which during the *Samoieds* abode in *Mosconia*, might learne their Language: And by this meanes they drew vnto their purpose the good will of many of the people on the West-side of *Obi*, who of their owne accord subjected themselves to the authoritie of the *Mosconites*, and suffered them to lay a Taxation vpon them, promising yeerely of euery head (not excepting the Boyes that were but yet learning to handle the Bow) two skinnies of Sables; which to themselves were of no value, but esteemed of the *Mosconites* as precious as Iewels. These they promised to deliuer to such a Treasurer as the Emperour should ordayne. Neither did they faile to performe the same.

After this the Messengers passed ouer the Riuer *Obi*, and trauelled beyond it almost two hundred leagues toward the East and North-east, hauing seene by the way many wild beasts of strong shapies, most cleere Fountaynes, extraordinary Plants and Trees, pleasant Woods, and *Samoieds* of diuers sorts, whereof some did ride on *Elkes* or *Loshes*, other were drawne in Sleds by

L. Boris, that Theodore Emperour. The Russes pronounce thus.

Imperiall priuiledge.

The first Voyage set out by Boris Godonow.

They submit themselves to the Mosconites.

Trauaile beyond Obi. Elkes or Loshes. Raine

Raine Deere.
Dogs equal in
swiftnesse to
Harts.

Raine Deere, and others also were drawne by Dogges, which are equall to Harts for swiftnesse. Finally, many other things in their whole Iourney they met with, not before seene, and therefore to be marvelled at: which orderly and truly noted downe, that they might more certainly report the same at their returne. And so at length taking with them some voluntarie *Samoieds*, and leauing there diuers of their owne people to learne their Language, they returned backe into *Mosconia*; where at their first conueniencie they made knowne to *Boris*, and by him vnto the Emperour the whole successe of their Voyage.

Samoieds shoot-
ing:
* Stiuier.

They marvelled at the *Samoieds* which were brought vnto them, commanding them to make some shew of their cunning in shooting; which they did so perfectly, that almost it seemed to any man incredible. For taking a piece of Coyne lesse then our * Pennie, and fastning it to the stocke of a Tree, and then going as farre from the same, as they could very hardly discernie it, they did every time that they did shoot so assuredly hit the same, that they did not once misse it. Where at many of the beholders did aboue measure wonder.

And on the other side, the *Samoieds* as greatly wondred both at the *Mosconites* manner of liuing and fashions, as also at the stateliness of the Citie: neither did they without a certayne terrour behold the Emperour himselfe, so richly attired and mounted either on Horse-backe, or in his Coach drawne by many Horses together, and enuironed with so many Nobles most gallantly adorned. Then with admiration they beheld the Guards furnished with their Caliuers, of whom about foure hundred waited on the Emperour at his going abroad. So oft also as they heard the ringing of the Bells, which are very many among the *Mosconites*, and saw so many faire shops, and the rest of the Citie's beautie, they were altogether astonished, and thought themselves to bee in some Mansion of the Gods; wishing withall, that they were a while among their Countrey-men to tell them of all things. Yea, they reported themselves to be happy, that they had the fortune to serue so glorious an Emperour, whom they altogether accounted as a Diuine power. The Meates which the *Mosconites* did set before them, they did greedily eate: whereby it plainly appeared, that the same were more pleasant to their taste, then the raw flesh, or fish dried in the winde, wherewith they feed themselves at home. Finally, they promised to receiue the Emperour for their Lord; and to perswade their Countrey-men, inhabiting farre and wide to doe the same. They humbly also prayed the Emperour to vouchsafe them the fauour, to send them certaine Gouvernours to rule ouer them, and to whom they might pay the aforesaid Tribute. Concerning their Idolatrie, there was no speech made thereof, but they were left to their owne customes. Notwithstanding, I thinke that the *Christian Faith* would easily be spread among them, if they had sufficient and godly Teachers. Neither doubt I but the *Mosconites* would haue taken order therein, if they had not bene hindred by these most troublesome Warres.

These things so done as is declared, the *Oneckes* were raised to great Honours, and endowed with great Priuiledges, as also with Supreme Authoritie ouer many places, adioyning vnto their Lands, enjoying Possessions lying one hundred miles asunder vpon the Rivers of *Duina*, *Wibichida*, and *Suchana*: so that they are very mighty and rich, and increase daily in greater Honours.

Castles build-
ed.

Sinke of bad
people.

It was further ordayned by the *Mosconites*, that there should bee places chosen by the River *Oby*, and in the fields adioyning vnto it, fortified by the naturall situation for the building of Castles thereon, and furnishing them with Garrisons, and that there should be sent thither a chiefe Gouvernour, principally for further discovering the Countrey, and bringing it vnder subiection. These things so ordayned, did likewise take effect. And first of all, there were builded certaine Castles enclosed with certaine strong beames, cut out of the Woods thereby, and fastned one in another in double reues, filled betweene with earth, and fortified with Garrisons; And so great a multitude of men is duely sent thither, that in some places there are Cities assembled, consisting of *Poles*, *Tartars*, *Russes*, and other Nations mingled together. For, into these parts are sent all that are banished, Murtherers, Traitors, Theeues, and the scumme of such as deserue death: some of which are for a time kept in prison, others enforced to continue there for certaine yeeres, euery one according to the rate of his offence: whereby there are very populous assemblies of people growne together, who with the Castles already builded, doe almost make a pretie Kingdome: Many men of the meane sort, daily flocking thither, the rather for that they enioy great priuiledges, neither pay any thing for the Lands which they possesse.

Siberia and
Siber.

* Then Male-
factors of Am-
sterdam at the
Prison, &c.

The whole Countrey is called *Siberia*, the Citie builded therein *Siber*. And in deed at the first, the Offenders among the *Mosconites*, did no lesse tremble at the name of *Siberia*, then * doe euill persons in *London*, when they are threatned with New-gate: for they were forth-with sent away into *Siberia*. But now the often inflicting of that punishment is almost growne into contempt. But Noblemen and great Personages, if at any time they incur the Princes displeasure, doe as yet very much loath the name of *Siberia*. For many times both themselves, with their Wiues and Families are sent away into those parts: where some Office is committed vnto them, till the Emperours anger bee asswaged, and they called home into *Mosconia*.

I will now shew the way by which they trauell out of *Mosconia* into those parts, and that in

in the best manner that I could get notice thereof. Which whatsoever it shall seeme to bee, I haue not attained vnto it, without great paines and ready furtherance of some friends, which I found in the Court, while I continued in *Russia*: who though they were ready to pleasure me, and that I had beene very instant with them about it, yet with much adoe were brought to communicate this particular Iournall vnto me. For if at any time after, when the land should bee at quiet, it should any way come to light, doubtlesse it would cost them all their liues. For such is the disposition of the *Russes*, that they will not indure to haue the secrets of their State to bee made knowne.

This Iournall to the North-east was hardly obtained by some friends in Court. The great danger for imparting this Iournay.

§. II.

A briebe Description of the wayes and Riuers, leading out of Moscouia toward the East and North-east into Siberia, Samoiedia, and Tingoesia, as they are daily frequented by the Russes: with further Discoueries towards Tartaria and China.

From the Citie *Osoil* vpon the Riuer *Wichida*, where the *Oneckos* dwell, they goe against the streame, vntill they come to *Iauinis*, a little Towne built by the *Russes*, and it is distant from *Osoil* almost seuentene dayes iourney. Whither before they come, they passe many Riuers and Woods. The Riuer *Wichida* springeth out of the Mountaines of *Iugoria*, which to the South ioyneth vpon *Tartarie*, and from thence runne Northwards to the Ocean Sea. Out of the same Mountaines issueth the Riuer *Petfora*, which falleth into the Ocean Sea on this side the Streight of *Waygats*. From *Iauinis*, after three weekes iourney, they come to *Neem*; a Riuer so named of the gentle gliding of her streames through the Woods. For *Neem* in *English* signifieth *Still* or *Dumbe*. On this Riuer they proceed about five dayes space with their Boats; and then, for that the *Neem* taketh his course another way, for shortning their iourney, they must of force cause their stuffe to be carried by Land, the space of a league: And so they come to the *Wiser*, a Riuer issuing out of certaine Rockes adioyning to the Mountaines of *Iugoria*. These Rockes the *Mosconites* call *Camenas*. From hence they are carried downe the Riuer *Wiser*, for the full space of nine dayes, vntill they come to *Soil Camscoy*, a small Towne built by the *Mosconites*, for refreshing of Trauellers for a short space, which hence forward are to proceed on their Iourney by Land. As for the *Wiser*, it keeping on his course somewhat farther, at length falleth into the *Cam*, which passing by *Viatcam*, a Towne of *Moscouia*, falleth into the great Riuer *Rba*, commonly called *Volga*, which entreth with seuentie branches into the *Caspian* Sea, as I haue receiued from eye witnesses.

Osoil.
Iauinis 17. daies iourney distant from *Osoil*, against the streame.

Iugoria.
Riuer *Petfora*.
Neem Riuer 3. weekes iourney from *Iauinis*.

From *Neem* to *Wiser* 5. dayes iourney.
From *Wiser* to *Soil Camscoy* 9. dayes.
Volga by the *Tartars* called *Uil*.

The Towne of *Soil Camscoy* is reasonably inhabited, hauing many Villages round about it. The Inhabitants, for the most part are *Russes* or *Tartars*. Here is great store of Cattell, and chiefly of Horses. Trauellers hauing here somewhat refreshed themselves, doe lade their carriages on Horses, and trauell for the most part through Mountaines full of Firres, Pines, and other trees of strange sorts. Betweene these Mountaines they passe ouer the Riuers *Soiba*, and from thence ouer *Cosna*, both running toward the North-east.

Soil Camscoy.

Now these Mountaines are diuided into three parts; whereof the two first are passed ouer each of them in two dayes, and the third in foure dayes. The first part is called *Cosninscoy Camen*: The second *Cirginscoy Camen*: The third *Poduinscoy Camen*. And doubtlesse all these mountainous Countries are much different from the other Countries out of which they enter into them. For the Woods vpon them, are fairer and thicker growne with trees, bearing euery where diuers sorts of Plants. These three Desarts are frequented by none in a manner but *Tartars*, and *Samoieds*, who onely hunt after those costly Furies, which are to pay their tribute to the Emperour of *Moscouia*. The Mountaines of *Poduinscoy Camen* are higher then the rest, and for the most part couered with Snow and Cloudes, and therefore difficult for Trauellers to passe ouer: but by little and little they haue a gentle descent. From thence they come to *Vergateria*, in which Towne they must abide vntill the Spring, by reason of the Riuer *Toera*, which arising not farre from thence, is all the rest of the yeere very shallow.

The Riuer *Soiba*.
The Riuer *Cosna*.
Mountaines in three parts.
Cosninscoy Camen.
Cirginscoy Camen.
Poduinscoy Camen.

Vergateria.
Toera Riuer.

But the Spring approaching, when the Snow melts from the hoary Hills, and the Land waters arise, it is passed ouer with Skiffes and small Boats. *Vergateria* is the first Towne of the Countrey of *Siberia*, and was begun to be builded with some other Townes within these one and twenty yeeres. It is reasonably full of buildings, and the lands about it are tilled as in *Moscouia*. Heere there is resident for the Emperour of *Moscouia* a Gouvernour, which yeerely at the beginning of the Spring, by way of the Riuers doth distribute great store of Corne, and Victuals among the Castles with Garrisons throughout all *Siberia*: furnishing also in like manner the *Mosconites*, which remayne beyond the Riuer *Oby*. For in those places the ground is not yet tilled; and the *Samoieds*, as before is said, for the most part feed on the flesh of wilde beafts.

Vergateria the first Towne of *Siberia*.
1590.
Russian Gouvernour.

Five dayes
iourney to
Iaphanis.

Tabab a might-
ty Riuer 200.
leagues from
Toera.
From Iaphanis
to Timna 12.
dayes iourney
by sled.

Many trauell
farre beyond
Oby toward the
East & South.
Tobolsca the
chiefe Towne
of Siberia.

Tobolsca on the
Riuer Yrtis.
Tobol Riuer.
Tassa Riuer.

Pohemy a
Towne.

Yrtis Riuer.
Olscoygorod
razed.

Zergolta a town
builded in an
Iland of the
Riuer Oby.

Noxinscoy
Castle 200.
leagues about
Zergolta.

They trauell
400. leagues
into the In-
land beyond
Noxinscoy.
The Reigne of
Boris Godonova.

Downe the Riuer *Toera*, in five dayes they come to *Iaphanis*, a Towne builded and inhabited within these two yeeres. Thence againe they passe downe the *Toera*, and hauing proceeded two dayes thereon, they are enforced by reason of the often windings and turnings of the Riuer, to cut ouer it in certaine places, for shortning of the way. In these places there now dwell here and there, *Tartars* and *Samoieds*, liuing for the most part vpon Cattell and Fishing.

At length leauing *Toera*, they come to the mighty Riuer *Tabab*, distant from *Vergateria* about two hundred leagues. And from thence they proceed farther to *Timna*, a populous Towne, and builded by those aboue mentioned. But many trauell also from *Iaphanis* to *Timna*, by Sleds in the Winter time, in the space of twelue dayes. And here is vsed much buying and selling of costly Fures, betweene the *Moscouites*, *Tartars*, and *Samoieds*. And this is a very conuenient place, for such as determine to stay in the Countrey not aboue fixe moneths. But many doe search the further parts, and trauell farre beyond the *Oby*, toward the East and South.

From *Timna* they come to *Tobolsca*, the chiefe of all the Townes of *Siberia*: wherein is the seat of the chiefe Gouvernour of *Siberia*, and of the *Moscouites* that are in the same. To this place yeerely are brought from the other Townes of the whole Countrey, as well on this side, as beyond *Oby* the tributes, which being brought together, and guarded with Souldiers, are after carried into *Moscouia* to the Emperour. Here also the Law is most seuerely administred: and all the other Gouvernours in *Samoiedia*, and *Siberia*, are bound to obey him onely. In this Citie besides is the chiefe Market of commodities brought out of *Moscouia*; the *Tartars* out of the South parts, and almost farthest parts of *Tartarie*, and men of other Nations repairing thither: who, the farther that the report of these Countries reacheth, doe in so much the greater number assemble thither: whereby there ariseth great profit to the *Moscouites*. Furthermore, in diuers places there are Churches and Chappels erected, wherein the *Greeke* Religion is exercised, which among the *Russes*, and other Northerne People is most vsed, although corrupted with diuers Superstitions. But howsoeuer, no man is forced against his will to their Religion: but certaine gentle meanes are vsed by the *Russes*, by which these people are perswaded and wonne thereunto.

The Citie *Tobolsca* is situated on the Riuer *Yrtis*, which with a most forcible streame, and as it were another *Danubius*, rising from the South, taketh his course toward the *Oby*, through which it seemeth to runne with the same course. On the other side is the Riuer *Tobol*, of which the Citie taketh her name. Into this falleth the Riuer *Tassa*, which seemeth to spring from the North-east, and from certaine Mountaines there vpon the Coast. On the side of this Riuer the *Moscouites* haue of late builded a Towne, called *Pohemy*, inhabited with dwellers drawne out of *Siberia*, for no other cause, but that it is enuironed with an exceeding fertile soyle, as also with very pleasant Woods, wherein diuers sorts of wilde beasts doe breed, as Panthers, Ounces, Foxes, Sables, and Martens. Now *Pohemy* is distant from *Tobolsca*, about two weekes Iourney toward the North-east. *Yrtis* with almost the like distance from *Tobolsca*, falleth into the *Oby*. And at the mouth of it was builded a Towne, called *Olscoygorod*, but afterward razed downe by commandement of the Gouvernour of *Siberia*: The cause whereof was not then knowne: which notwithstanding I guesse to haue been either the extremity of the cold, or that the Towne stood rer vnto the Sea then they thought fit, and feared lest some inconuenience might grow thereby. for which cause about fiftie leagues aboue that razed Towne, they builded another vpon an Iland of the Riuer *Oby*, called *Zergolta*. From hence sayling vp the Riuer, they vse small sayles, either because winds blow faintly, or for the highnesse of the shoare: so that, though the *Oby* bee almost euery where very broad; notwithstanding, they drew their Boats in it with ropes, altogether after the same sort that they trauell vp the Rivers of *Moscouia*.

Two hundred leagues aboue *Zergolta*, they came to *Noxinscoy*, a Castle builded thirteene yeers agoe, at which time the Gouvernour sent certaine men thither out of *Siberia*, to seeke out Countries profitable for mankind, and fit to build Townes in. Wherefore at that time they builded this Castle, and furnished it with a certaine Garrison, in a very pleasant, wholesome, warme, and fertile soyle, and wherein were great store of Beasts and Fowles of rare kinds. The very Castle being situated toward the South-east, by little and little grew to be a Citie. The Inhabitants whereof were enioyned to proceed by degrees into further and more temperate Countries, and to trafficke truely in euery place, and courteously and kindly to entreat all people that they met withall: whereby at length they might more largely extend the Dominion, and spread abroad the *Russian* Name. Wherefore flocking thither in great numbers, and piercing into the Inland foure hundred leagues, they found goodly Countries, but not inhabited. And whereas ten yeeres past, hauing sayled two hundred leagues vp the Riuer *Oby*, they lighted vpon a Countrey very fruitfull and pleasant, which was very temperate, and free from all discommodities, and the Winters very short, and in a manner none at all. They tooke occasion thereupon to returne into *Siberia*, & to send word of these things into *Moscouia*. *Boris Godonova* was then Emperour there, who hauing receiued such good tidings, forthwith commanded the Gouvernour of *Siberia*, that with all speed hee should cause a Citie to bee builded there. The Gouvernour obeyed, and there was a Castle builded vpon his commandement, with certaine houses adioyned; so that now it

is a large Citie. The name thereof is *Tooma*, because they vnderstood, that a great multitude of *Tartars* in times past were seated there, of whom this Citie tooke that name for the pleasant-
ness of the situation thereof. And it is reported that these *Tartars* had at that time a King,
whose name was *Alim*: Whereby it came to passe, that the Citie which was first builded, held
out many assaults of sundry people that dwelt in those Champion Countreys. And now this
Citie is so mightie, that in processe of time, some reasonable great Kingdome is likely to grow
out off it.

Furthermore, betweene this Castle of *Noxinscoi*, and the Citie *Tooma*, and *Siberia*, the *Mos-*
couites daily doe discover many people dwelling in the In-land parts, some of whom call them-
selues *Ostachies*, and now are growne into one bodie with the *Tartars*, *Samoieds*, and *Russes*, li-
uing friendly together; they haue many Kings among them, almost like vnto the *Indians* (I
speake of the pettie Kings, not of the greater Kings of *India*.) And to bee brieue, the *Moscouites*
haue proceeded so farre into that mayne Land, that we haue just cause to maruell thereat. More-
ouer, there are many Castles and Townes betweene the Riuer of *Obi* and *Yrtis*, builded almost
at the same time when *Tobolsca* was, and are now proper Townes: whose Inhabitants are *Mos-*
couites, *Tartars*, and *Samoieds* of their kind, which we call, *The same Samoieds*, in respect of those
which are altogether wild.

And the first of the Townes is *Tara*: from which place it is neere ten dayes journey between
Obi and *Yrtis*. Then *Iorgoetum*, builded about fifteene yeares past. *Besobia*, and *Manganscoi-*
gorod, both of them builded about *Iorgoetum* toward the South. The Inhabitants that dwell on
the west side of the Riuer *Obi*, seeke daily to discover more and more. On this side of *Obi* are
seated the Cities *Tobolsca*, *Siberia*, *Beresia*, and certaine others, builded vpon certaine Riuer:
and more are builded daily. Beyond *Obi* are *Narim*, *Tooma*, and diuers other Cities, the Inhabi-
tants whereof instead of Horses vse Reyne Deere, or exceeding swift Dogs, which they fatten
with diuers kinds of fishts, and especially with Thornebacks; because they thinke they be made
the stronger with that kinde of food. *Iorgoetum*, whereof I spake before, is builded in an Iland
of the Riuer *Obi*.

Also about *Narim* as men trauaile toward the East, they meete with the Riuer *Telta*: on the
banke whereof they haue builded a Castle, named *Comgof-scoi*. The garrison Souldiers of which
Castle, together with the Inhabitants of *Narim*, about seuen yeeres past, were commanded by
the Gouvernour of *Siberia* to trauell East, and diligently to search what vnknowne Nations
dwelt in those parts. Therefore traueiling through certaine vast Deserts, for the space of tenne
weekes or thereabouts, passing in the way through many faire Countreys, many Woods, and
Riuers, at length they espied certaine Cottages set vp in the fields, and certaine Hords or
Companies of people. But because they had *Samoieds* and *Tartars* for their guides, which were
acquainted with those places, they were not afraid. The people came vnto them reuerently,
and with humble behauiour, and signified by the *Samoieds* and *Tartars*, that they were called
Tingoesi, and that their dwelling was vpon the banke of the great Riuer *Ienisee*, which they said
did spring from the South South-east, but that they knew not the head thereof. These people
were deformed with swellings vnder their throats, and in their speech they thratled like
Turkie-cocks. Their language seemed not much to differ from the *Samoieds*, which also vnder-
stood many of their words.

Ienisee being a Riuer farre bigger then *Obi*, hath high mountaines on the East, among which
are some that cast out fire and brimstone. The Countrey is plaine to the West, and exceeding
fertile, stored with plants, flowers, and trees of diuers kinds. Also many strange fruits do grow
therein, and there is great abundance of rare Fowles. *Ienisee* in the spring ouerfloweth the
fields about seuentie leagues, in like manner as they report vnto vs, as *Nilus* doth *Egypt*. Where-
with the *Tingoesi* being well acquainted, doe keepe beyond the Riuer, and in the mountaines,
vntill it decrease, and then returne, and bring downe their herds of Cattell into the plaines.

The *Tingoesi* being a very gentle people, by the perswasion of the *Samoieds*, without delay
submitted themselves to the same Gouvernours which they obeyed, whom they reuerenced as a
kind of Gods. But what God they worship, or with what rites, it is vncertaine, neither as yet
can bee knowne, the *Moscouites* being negligent searchers into such things.

Neither hereafter will I maruell, though the Streight of *Waygats* bee stopped vp to the
North-east, with such huge Mountaines of Ice, since the Riuer *Obi* and *Ienisee*, and very many
more, whose names are not yet knowne, powre out so huge a quantitie thereof, that in a man-
ner it is incredible. For it cometh to passe in the beginning of the spring, that in places neere
vnto the Sea, the Ice through the excessive thicknesse and multitude thereof, doth carrie downe
whole woods before it. And without doubt this is the cause, that about the shoares of
the Streight of *Waygats*, so great abundance of floating wood is euery where seene. And where-
as in that Streight neere vnto *Nova Zembla*, it is extreame cold, it is no maruell, if in regard of
the narrownesse of the Streight, so huge heapes of Ice are gathered and frozen together, that in
the end they grow to sixtie, or at least to fiftie fathoms thicknesse, as this present yeere (1612)
they measured the same, which at the cost of *Isaac Lamer* went thither in a small Barke, in
whose

The Cide
Tooma.

Tartar King.

Ostachies a
people.

Tara a Towne.
Iorgoetum.
Besobia.
Manganscoi-
gorod.
Narim and
Tooma beyond
Obi.

Reyne Deere
and exceeding
swift Dogs
vse instead of
Horses, and
fed with
Fishes.

Telta Riuer to
the East be-
yond *Obi*.

Comgof-scoi
Castle.

Ten weekes
trauell East-
ward from *Obi*.

wherein the
Tingoesies were
first discou-
red.

Tingoesie a peo-
ple dwelling
in Companies
vpon the great
Riuer *Ienisee*.

The *Tingoesies*
deformed
with swellings

vnder their
throats: a dis-
ease attending
drinkers of
Snow-water.

Mountaines
on the East
side of *Ienisee*

casting out fire
and brimstone.

The ouerflow-
ing of *Ienisee*
in the spring:

as it may seem
from melted
Snow.

Reason why
Waygats is stop-
ped with Ice.

Ice 60. or 50.
fathoms thicke
in the Streight
of *Waygats*.

whose

whose companie the said *Isaac Lamer* would haue sent mee, but I would not. For I am readie to proue, that this is no passible way, and that they will still lose their labour, whosoeuer shall attempt the same, vnlesse they take another course in the businesse. But let vs returne to our purpose.

The first voyage Eastward beyond the Riuer *Lenisce*. Many Nations dwell toward the South, which are in warre one with another. Such are the *Zagatay Tartars*, as before in *Goes* is scene. The second voyage East beyond the Riuer *Lenisce*. Certaine people taken. The Riuer *Pisida*. Bells.

The description of the people dwelling vpon the Riuer *Pisida*. Such are the people of the East both *Tartars* and *Chinois*. The third voyage beyond *Lenisce* Eastward.

The rowling of brazen Bells of which they haue in *China*, and perhaps in the North parts about it. Horses in *Pisida*. Vessels sayling downe *Pisida* with square sayles. They came not home till Autumne. The pleasantnesse of this Countrey in Aprill and May.

Furthermore, those whom I mentioned before, vnderooke a long Iourney beyond the Riuer *Lenisce* Eastward, and were somewhat afraid to turne to the South, taking with them certaine *Tingoesies*, by whom they were informed, that many Nations dwelt toward the South, which differed much from them, whose Kings were most commonly in warre one with another. But hauing trauelled certaine dayes to no great purpose, at length they returned home; Yet before their returne they gaue order to the *Tingoesies*, to search those Countreys more thorowly; who promise that they would doe so: And they renewed the league which formerly they had made with the *Moscouites*. The *Moscouites* at their departure, left diuers of their people in those parts, and also certaine *Samoieds* and *Tartars* their confederates, after they had bestowed some small gifts among the *Tingoesies*.

The yeere following, the *Tingoesies* sent diuers of their owne people Eastward: who traouelling somewhat farther then they had done before, at length found another mightie Riuer, somewhat lesser then *Lenisce*, but as swift as it: And following the course thereof some few dayes, they lighted vpon certaine people whom they tooke, being swifter a foot then they: But they could not vnderstand their language, sauing that by certaine signes and words of the *Saluages*, which often repeated *om om*, they coniectured that on the other side of the Riuer, they heard it often thunder. They added also, that they had often heard the noyse of men in those parts: And pointing to the Riuer with their fingers, they often repeated the word *Pisida*: whereby the *Tingoesies* gathered, that that should bee the name of the Riuer; but by the voyces *om om*, the *Moscouites* did afterward gather, that they were knollings of Bells. The *Tingoesies* at their returne from thence, carried with them diuers of the people of that Countrey, which died all by the way, either for feare, or through change of ayre. The *Tingoesies* were verie sorrie for their deaths. For at their returne they affirmed, that they were men of good vnderstanding, well set, with small eyes, flat faced, browne colour, and enclining to tawnie.

When the *Moscouites* vnderstood these things by the *Samoieds*, which returned into *Siberia* out of the Countrey of the *Tingoesies*, estoone they were stirred vp with a great desire to search out the farther parts of that Countrey, wherefore they became sutors to the *Gouernour*, that they might bee sent thither with some others ioyned with them. Hee presently yeelded to their request, granting vnto them a certaine companie of Souldiers, and enioyned them curiously to search out all things, and to take with them *Tingoesies*, *Samoieds*, and *Tartars*. So beeing about seuen hundred men, they passed the Riuer *Obi*, and came to the Riuer *Lenisce*, through the countreys of the *Samoieds* and *Tingoesies*. And passing the Riuer, they marched forth Eastward, hauing the *Tingoesies* for their guides: which did not onely serue them as guides, but also plentifully provided all the company with victuals, taking with wonderfull dexteritie, Fowles, Goats, Reyne Deere, and such like wilde beasts: as also no small quantitie of fish out of the Riuer which they met in the way. Hauing traouailed as farre as the Riuer *Pisida*, they pitched their Tents on the banks thereof, with purpose to stay there till it were passable, the Ice being shortly to breake vp, because the spring was at hand, at which time they came thither; yet they durst not passe ouer the Riuer *Pisida*; hauing now plainly heard the sound, whereof they were aduertised before: which they certainly iudged to bee nothing else but the towling of Brazen Bells; and when the wind blew from the farther side of *Pisida*, they sometimes heard the noyse of men and horses. Moreouer they saw certayne sayles, though but a few; whereby they coniectured that they were vessels, which sayled downe the streame. They sayd further, that the sayles were square, like the Indian sayles, as wee suppose. But seeing no people at all on that side of the Riuer where they remained, after they had staied there a certaine space, and had perceived that in the spring time the Riuer did greatly swell (which neuer thelesse they can hardly affirme for a certaintie, since the shoare is high on both sides:) At length by very great iourneys, and yet not before Autumne they returned home to *Siberia*; reporting, and that vpon their oathes, That in the moneths of Aprill and May, they were very much delighted with the exceeding faire shew of that Countrey; And that they had scene therein many rare Plants, Flowers, Fruits, Trees, Fowles, and wild Beasts. But the *Moscouites* are nothing curious in such things, as men that seeke after nothing but gaine, in all things else very negligent and rude.

These newes being brought to the Court of *Moscouia*, the Emperour *Boris*, and the Noblemen that were with him, much wondering thereat, and inflamed with a great desire to search out exactly all particulars, resolved the yeere next ensuing, to send Ambassadors thither, which should carrie presents with them, and should take *Tartars*, *Samoieds*, and *Tingoesies* in their companie. And they were enioyned to search out the further side of the Riuer *Pisida*, and to make a league of friendship with the Kings if they found any, and set downe in writing all things that they could obserue by the way, and should make report of them most exactly. But these things did not take effect, because of the breaking out of the ciuill warres, among the *Moscouites* in the meane season.

I am

I am of opinion, that in this countrey is the beginning, and the bounds of the Kingdome of Cataia, which bordereth vpon China. Yet I feare the Mosconites will lose their labour, if they euer returne thither. But time will declare the euent hereof.

Yet for all this, by the commandement of the Gouvernours, euen in the time of this warre, there was a voyage made into those parts, many Inhabitants of Siberia being employed in the same, who passing ouer the Riuer *Leniscé*, travelled further on foot, diuers of whom died by the way, being not accustomed to hardnesse. These also found many things agreeable to the relation of the former. And they likewise did oftentimes heare the towlings of brazen Bells. But vpon the dissuasions of the *Tingoesies* they durst not passe the Riuer: But they stayed awhile in the Mountaines, out of which they saw oftentimes flames of fire ascend; & they brought thence some small quantitie of brimstone, and of touch-stone: so that some rich Mines seeme to bee in those hills. Moreover, the Gouvernour of Siberia caused certaine covered Boats to bee made, and commanded them to saile downe by the shoare of the Riuer *Obi*, in the first beginning of the spring, and to coast the same continually till they came to the Riuer of *Leniscé*; wherein they should afterward saile certaine dayes, discharging it selfe (as hee thought) into the sea. He sent others likewise to trauell ouer Land: giuing commandement to both of them before they went: To the Land-men, that they should stay by the Riuer side vntill the Boates arrived; and that if they did not arrive there, then after one yeere they should returne. To them that were in the Boates, ouer whom he made one *Lucas* Captayne, he gaue in charge, diligently to discover the Coast, and whatsoeuer thereon was worthy to bee obserued. They did as they were enjoyned. And the Mariners arriving at the mouth of the Riuer *Leniscé*, met with certayne of them which travelled ouer Land, which were sent before in Boats and Skiffes downe the Riuer.

In their journey, they found all things in a manner to fall out as the Gouvernour had fore-told. But *Lucas* being dead by the way, and some others, they thought it the best course, for both of the Companies to returne the same way that they came: And when they came home into Siberia, they declared vnto the Gouvernour the whole successe of their journey: which caused the same to be sent vnto the Emperour: And this Relation is layed vp among the Treasures of *Moscouia* vntill these Warres bee ended; and then, as it is thought, it shall bee examined. But wee feare that by this time it is perished, which if it be so, truly it is much to be lamented, in regard that they haue found so many rare and sundry Ilands, Riuers, Fowles, and wild beasts, and that farre beyond the Riuer *Leniscé*.

Moreover, the Riuer *Taes* falleth into the Riuer of *Obi*, springing as it seemeth, out of places neere vnto the Riuer *Leniscé*, and out of a great Wood in those parts: out of which Wood another Riuer seemeth also to haue his Fountayne not farre from the Riuer *Taes*, and falleth into the Riuer of *Leniscé*. So that euen from *Obi* they trauell by water along the Coast of the *Samoieds*, and passing only two leagues ouer Lands, they meet with the Riuer *Torgalse*, downe which with the streame they fall into the Riuer *Leniscé*. And this is a very easie way, and lately found out by the *Samoieds*, and the *Tingoesies*.

Doubtlesse (it is to be lamented) that the *Hollanders* haue not had good successe in passing the Strait of *Way-gats*; but surely they know not the right way to attempt the same. For if they attempt it by shippes, though it were an hundred times, it would hardly once take effect. But if they would thoroughly discover these Countreyes, then they should stay two or three yeares about *Petsora* and *Way-gats*, where they should not want good Hauens, nor Victuals: and from thence they should send out some with small Boates to discover the further parts, by the very example of the *Russes*, whose Friendship if they would procure vnto themselves, they should easily find Guides and Pilots: and so at length all these Coasts would thoroughly bee discovered.

Doubtlesse goodly Countreyes would bee found out, and not only Ilands, but the Mayne Land also. Yet there is iust cause to doubt, whether *America* aboue *China* joyne not with some of the three parts of the old World: As wee see *Africa* joyned vnto *Asia*, with a narrow necke of Land vpon the Redde Sea. And doubtlesse, this seemeth likely to bee true. For who can affirme, that they bee separated? Saying that they haue found some things in the Writings of prophane Authors, whereby it may be prooued, and bring many Arguments from thence. And though these parts bee not joyned together, yet they must needs bee diuided with some small Strait.

The opinion of the Author of this Story.

The fourth Voyage to the Riuer *Pisida*.

The towling of Brazen Bells. Mounraynes casting out flames of fire.

The first Voyage by *Obi* and the Sea-coast to the Riuer *Leniscé*.

Lucas Captain of the Discoverie by Sea.

Taes Riuer falleth into *Obi*. The Riuer *Torgalse* falleth into *Leniscé*. An Ouer-hall of two leagues only.

The right way to discover the North-east parts. Note.

CHAP. III.

A Note of the Trauels of the Russes ouer Land, and by Water from Mezen, neere the Bay of Saint NICHOLAS to Pechora, to Obi, to Yenisse, and to the Riuer Geta, euen vnto the Frontiers of Cataia; brought into England by Master

JOHN MERICKE, the English Agent for Moscouie, and translated out of the Russe by RICHARD FINCH.

Mezen.
Pechora.
Montnaia Recca.
The Poloc, or
Ouer-hall.
Zelena Recca.
Obi Riuer.
Tas Riuer and
Castle.
Tooron-hansko
Zeemonia.
Tingoose Riuer.
Yenisey Riuer.
The Boulashies.
Seelabee.
Yenisey the
greater and
lesse.
Imbaki.
Ostaki.
Geta Riuer.
Summers tra-
uell from Tin-
gosey to Geta.
Vessels of
greater bur-
then drawne
with the Rope,
a thing vsed in
China.

From Mezen to Pechora, is a thousand Versis: and the same is travelled with Reyne Deere. From Pechora to Montnaia Recca, or The troubled Riuer, and to the parts of Mongosey, it is travelled in Boats called Coaches in seuen Weekes. At this place is a certayne Ouer-hall, where the foresaid Boats or Vessels are drawne ouer by men. Out off Montnaia Recca, or The troubled Riuer, passing this Ouer-hall, they enter into Zelena Recca, or the Greene Riuer. From Zelena Recca, or the Greene Riuer to Obi, is three Weekes rowing, running downe with the Current; but with a faire wind it is no more but three dayes and three nights Iourney. From Obi to Tas Castle, is a Weekes rowing. From Tas Castle to the Riuer Yenisey vpon long Wooden Pattens through the Snow, is three Weekes trauaile. But through the deepe Channell in the afore-said Vessels, called Coaches, is foure Weekes trauaile. It bringeth them to a place, called Tooron-hansko Zeemonia, that is, The Wintering place of one called Tooronhan. Hauing trauelled to this Tooron-hansko Zeemonia, they come out on the backe tide to a place called, The Riuer of Tingoose, being a stonie or Rocky Riuer, which falleth into the Riuer Yenisey. In that place liue the Tingoses, and people of the afore-said Land of Tingoose. Beyond them liue a people called The Boulashies: And beyond the Boulashies inhabit the people of Seelabee. These people report concerning Yenisey the Great, and Yenisey the Lesser: That beyond this fore-said Yenisey inhabit the people Imbaki, and the Ostaki, which are a kind of Tartars. Also beyond the Tingoses is a Riuer called Geta, which was traualled by the Russes of Vashen, and Russes of Pechora. These men by report liued in the parts of Geta, sixe yeeres. After which one of the Russes of Vashen, named Wolfe, returned into Siberia; and he reported, that he was traualing from Tingoose to Geta a Summer. Likewise, this said Wolfe reported, that a Samied told him, that in Yenisey the greater were Vessels of a great burthen, seene to be drawne with the Rope, by a very great number of people: but hee could not tell what people they were, neither whither they did intend to trauaile with the said Vessels.

CHAP. VIII.

A Voyage made to Pechora 1611. Written by WILLIAM GOVARDON of Hull, appointed chiefe Pilot, for Disconerie to Ob, &c.



He eleuenth of Aprill we weighed Anchor at Blacke-wall in the Riuer of Thames, in a ship called the *Amitie*; whereof James Vadun was Master, and sayling along the Coasts of England, Scotland, Norway, and Finmarke, on the eleuenth of the next moneth of May, wee found our selues in the latitude of 71. degrees 40. minutes.

The twelfth, wee ranne fortie eight leagues North North-east, the wind being at South South-east, and found our selues in the latitude of 73. degrees 42. minutes, and at night wee had shoaldings of *Cherie* Iland: for wee were enioyned by our Commission to touch there, although it were three degrees to the North out of our way.

Cherie Iland. The thirteenth, being Whit-sunday it cleered vp, and then we did see *Cherie* Iland six leagues East South-east from vs.

The fourteenth, being faire weather, we stood to the Northwards, thinking to haue gone on shoare, but we could not for Ice, and labouring to Land on the South side of the Iland, wee met with *Jonas Poole* about Eeuening in the *Elizabeth*, who came as then to the Iland, and was set forth by the Right Worshipfull Company of our Russian Merchants, to discover further Northward, from eightie degrees toward the North Pole. Then we stood to the Eastward, where wee found great store of Ice.

The fifteenth, we spent on the South-side of the Iland, in hope of the arriual of the *Marie Margaret*, which being a ship of nine score Tunnes, was set forth very chargeably by the afore-said Russian Company, and had in her sixe *Basket*, being excellent Whale-killers of Saint *Iohn de Luz*, for the killing of the Whale on the Coast of Greenland, in a Road called *Crosse* Road, standing

Six Biscainers.
Crosse Road.

standing exceeding farre to the North, euen in the latitude of 79. degrees and better. The same day at night, seeing that there we could doe no good, we determined to proceed on our Voyage for the Riuer of *Pechora*: and Letters being giuen one to the other for Testimoniall of our meeting in that place, we left *Jonas Pooley*, and directed our course to the Eastward.

The two and twentieth of May, we came to a small Island, called *Bigs Hole* by *Tapani Harbour*.

The three and twentieth, we arrived at the Ile of *Kildin* in *Lappia*.
The foure and twentieth, *Iofias Logan*, which was appointed Factor for *Pechora*, and my selfe with two more, went to *Olena*, and stayed there all the five and twentieth, being Saturday, where wee found a ship of *Tarmouth*, whereof *James Wright* of *Hull* was Master, of whom we learned the proceeding of the *Hollanders*.

The seuenth of Iune, in the morning we had sight of the Coast of *Lappia*, a little short of *Cape Comfort*, and met with a ship of *Amsterdam*, by which we sent Letters to Master *Iohn Mericke* our *Englisb* Agent, then Resident in *Colmogro*; and we had two Hogheads of Beere of them.

The eight, we plyed to *Cape Comfort*, the wind at South-east.
The ninth being Sunday, in the morning wee put off from the Coast of *Lappia*, to crosse ouer the *White Sea*, to the Cape of *Callinos* corruptly, and commonly called *Candinos*. At noone we passed through some Ice, the weather being thicke and foggie.

The eleuenth, we plyed to the Cape of *Callinos*, passing through much Ice, the wind at North North-east. And therefore wee thought it better to goe to the Southward againe: and in the Euening we came to an Anchor in ten fathomes. This night wee had a fore storme; the winde at North-east.

The twelfth, in the morning we weighed, and in weighing brake our Anchor: and then wee stood to the Southward, and came to an Anchor: and at night wee went on shoare for Wood, and Water, where was good store of Drift Wood: And within a ledge of Rockes on the West-side of *Callinos* there lay ten Lodias or *Russe* small shippes, some fourteene or fifteene Tunnes the biggest (of a Towne called *Pinega*) all which were bound for *Noua Zembla*, to kill the Morffe: with the men of which Fleete wee had some conference, and did see their Prouisions: which were Launces of their fashion, and Harping Irons; their Victuals were Salt-fish, Butter, Bacon, Meale, their Drinke Quasse.

The sixteenth, in the morning wee weighed and stood our course for the Ile of *Colgoiene*, the wind being at South South-west, and did find the Ice that was close to the shoare to bee open: but at night finding that we could not sayle our course for the Ice, we thought it better to stay, and so came to an Anchor.

The seuteenth, wee weighed in the morning, and stood along the shoare, which did lye South-east by East, and North-west by West. And in the after-noon, wee went on shoare with our shallop, and came to a Riuer, which we called *Hakluyts Riuer*, where wee did see certayne *Samoieds*, with their Deere: but when they perceiued vs, they fled into the Land, carrying with them such things as in haste they could get together: but left most of their necessities, as Bowes, Arrowes, long Speares, wanting Iron heads burnt at the end, Harping Irons, Wimbles, and Morffe-skinnes, lying hid, some in one place, some in another: which wee caused our men to vncover, and would not suffer them to take any thing away: only I tooke the Pizzell of a Morffe which they had lately killed; and *Iofias Logan* left a Knife, that they might not shunne vs hereafter. The same Euening we anchored and stayed all night.

The eighteenth, wee weighed, and at noone wee came to an Harbour; which, as wee thinke, was the very same where Master *Stephen Burrow* was in his Discouerie of *Vaigatz*, and *Noua Zembla*, 1556. where there is twelue, or thirteene foot at high water vpon the Barre, and within six or seuen fathomes. Also in this place were three Lodias of *Pinega*, which when they saw vs come in, rowed out, and at night returned, and some of their men came aboard of vs, and told vs that they could not passe for Ice; and said, that they were bound for *Sharskai Gooba*, or *Sbar Bay* to fish for certayne fishes; which they call *Omilie*, which are somewhat like a Shad, and for Morffes.

The twentieth, *Iofias Logan* and my selfe went ouer to the Mayne, which was distant two leagues, and came to a great Riuer in 67. degrees and 40. minutes, where there had bene people: and there we saw foure or five great white fishes swimming, which are foure or five yards long, and called by the *Russes* *Belluga*, whereof they make Oyle, whereof afterward we found at *Pechora*, great store to be spoyled.

The one and twentieth, we sent our men for Wood, for there was good store of Flote-wood as we had found all the Coast along; but none growing.

The two and twentieth, in the morning we came ouer the Barre, the winde at South South-east, directing our course for the Ile of *Colgoiene*; and at noone wee passed through much Ice, which lay so thicke that wee could not sayle, but tooke in our sayles, and made fast our ship to a piece of Ice.

The three and twentieth, in the morning wee set sayle, and plyed to the Wind-ward, the wind at South-east, with raine: and at night wee mored to a Cake of Ice.

May.
Bigs Hole:
Kildin in *Lappia*
Olena.

Iune.
Cape Comfort.
A ship of *Amsterdam*.

Callinos.

They goe on
shoare.
Ten Lodias of
Pinega bound
for *Noua Zembla*.

A good Harbour.
Stephen Burrow.

Three Lodias
of *Pinega*.
Sharskai Gooba,
which is the
great Bay of
Hayburi.

They land the
third time.
A great Riuer.

Flote-wood.

A foretyde vpon
the shoare.

The foure and twentieth, in the morning we set sayle, and pyled to wind-ward, the wind at South-west to get cleere of the Ice; and at noone we obserued and found our selues to bee in 67. degrees 12. minutes, and in the after-noone we had sight of the Land againe, being foure leagues to the Southwards of the aforesaid Harbour; and finding the Tyde to set very fore vpon the shoare to the Westward, we stood to the Eastward, bearing through the Ice, and at twelue at night wee mored to a piece of Ice.

The five and twentieth, we loofed and sayled to the Eastward, till we found the Ice so thick, that we could not passe further: then we made fast to a piece of Ice: the wind at North North-east, thicke fogge, and some raine. The six and twentieth, we set our fore top-sayle, the wind at North North-east, blowing hard and thicke fogge: we stood sometimes one way, sometimes another, as we could find the Ice open; and at noone we had sight of the shoare, being foure or five leagues off, and the Ice lying so thicke, that we could make no meanes to get farther from the shoare: wherefore wee made fast to a great Cake of Ice. The seuen and twentieth, wee lay still, the Ice lying very close, with thicke foggie weather: the wind at North North-west.

The eight and twentieth, in the morning it was cleere, and the Land did beare North by West seuen leagues off, and then we set sayle, passing to the Eastward till noone: then we made fast to a piece of Ice, it being very foggie: the wind at West North-west. And the same day at eight in the after-noone wee loofed from the Ice, it being cleere, the wind at North-west. And at mid-night we got cleere of the Ice, keeping our course East North-east.

Cape Smetinos.

The nine and twentieth, at eight in the morning, we had sight of Cape Smetinos, the winde at North North-west, with thicke foggie weather: At noone, finding the Ice to lye close to the shoare, we cast about to the Westward. And at eight in the Eueening, wee came to an Anchor in tenne fathomes; and then I went on shoare, where there were two *Russian* Crosses: the Land was smooth, and full of fresh Ponds, being a kind of white Chalke Clisses. At our comming aboard, we weighed and stood neerer to the shoare because of the Ice.

William Gour-
dangoeth on
shoare.
Two Russe
Crosses.

The thirtieth, in the morning the Ice came so extremely vpon vs, that we could not weigh; for our men being cast from the Capstan, our Cable brake, and so wee lost an Anchor. Then seeing wee could not passe to the Eastward, wee stood to the Westward of Cape Smetinos, into the afore-said deepe Bay in seuen fathomes: the wind at East North-east, cleere weather.

A deepe Bay
Westward of
Cape Smetinos
They goe on
Land againe.
An house of
Wood.

The first of Iuly, we went on shoare to see if there were any thing to take notice of: but wee found nothing worth the going. For only we saw a wild Deere, and an House of Wood after the *Russe* fashion, where people had beene. The second, likewise we rode still, and going againe on shoare we did see the Ice all gone to the Eastward; and so came aboard. The third, at sixe in the morning we weighed, the wind at East North-east, and plyed through some Ice: and at foure in the after-noone we got cleere of it: and at eight of the clocke wee came to an Anchor, it being calme and cleere weather: then I went on shoare, where we were first; and came aboard because of the great abundance of Muskitos or Gnats. At our comming hauing the winde at South-west, we set sayle and stood along the shoare.

They goe on
Land the sixth
time.
Abundance of
Muskitos.

The fourth, we sayled along the shoare with faire weather, hauing the winde variable. The fifth, wee plyed to the Eastward, wind at North-east by East faire weather. The sixth, wee plyed along the shoare, the wind at North by East. And in the after-noone wee passed through much Ice. The seuenth, we plyed through the Ice to the Eastward, the winde at East North-east, thicke and foggie. The eight, with cleere weather, the winde at North North-east, we plyed to the Eastward; and at noone obserued the Sunne hauing 69. degrees 40. minutes: At Eueening we had sight of the Land to the Eastward of the Riuer of *Pechora*; and thinking to get into the shoare we could not for the shoald water.

Crosses found
and certayne
Russes at the
mouth of *Pechora*.
The depth of
the Barre of
the Riuer of
Pechora.
They passe o-
uer the Barre,
and ride in six
fathoms water.
They goe vp
the Riuer of
Pechora, ouer
The Dry Sea.
Dolgoi is seuen
leagues vp
from the Barre

The ninth, in the morning we stood backe to find the Barre or entrance of the Riuer of *Pechora*. And in the after-noone, seeing the Sand ouer the Ice, which was not broken off from the shoare, I went thither with my shallop, and going on shoare, we espyed three Crosses, and certayne *Russes* walking vpon the Sand; who told vs, that that was the place that we desired: and one of them came aboard our ship to bring vs ouer the Barre. But comming to shoald water, wee durst not trust his skill, but stood backe againe, and came to an Anchor in foure fathomes.

The tenth, in the morning I went to sound the Barre; where we had eleuen and tenne, and in one place but nine foot water. And comming aboard wee set sayle to come in. And in going ouer the Barre we were on ground; but, God be thanked, wee got well ouer, and came to an Anchor in six fathomes.

The eleuenth, the Ice brake off from the shoare, and came so fast vpon vs, that we could not shift from it, but were put on ground vpon a Sand; yet God be thanked without any harme. The same day leauing our ship lying so, *Iosias Logan* our Factor, my selfe, *William Purse* lone, being rowed in our Skiffe by six of our Mariners, tooke our way toward the Towne ouer a shoald Sea, which the *Russes* call, *The Dry Sea*: which may very wel be so called. For on the starboord or West side going vp is a low dry Sand, and on the Larboord or East side is all shoald water, as two, three, or foure foote water. And seuen leagues within to the South-west is an Island, called *Dolgoi*, that is to say, *The long Island*, which you must keep on the Larboord or East side, & then steer away South South-west,

west, neere vpon twentie leagues, all in shoald water; and then you shall come to the sight of a high Land called *The Boluan*; which in the *Russe* Tongue signifieth, a *Blocke*: which you must leaue on the Larboord, or East side. And be sure to keepe the channell, which doth trend South-west, and South-west by West. By report of the Inhabitants the Riuer hath two and seuentie mouths.

The twelfth, we passed ouer the *Drie Sea*, (which the *Russes* call in their Language, *Sucho Morie*,) to the mouth of the Riuer *Pechora*: where we found many small Islands, some a mile, some two miles in length, and so shoald water, that wee could not get to the shoare with our Shallop, but lay in her all night at an anchor, being vncertaine which way to take: and seeing so many entrances before vs; we could hit right at none. The thirteenth, in the morning wee got to an Island, at the very mouth of the Riuer, where wee stayed all the day, hauing much wind and fogge. The fourteenth, being Sunday, we set sayle from the Island, the Sea going very high: and at noone we came by Gods direction, into one of the chiefe entrances of the Riuer *Pechora*; and came to an house, where there were two and their families, who made vs the best entertaynement that they could, and gaue vs directions how to goe to the Towne.

The fifteenth, we came to a Sari or Ferme house of one of the principall men of the Towne; who bid vs kindly welcome: and as the place and season afforded, hee made vs good cheere. He lay there at this time, to take Duckes, Swannes, Geese, and other Fowles: for then was the time of the yeere. Their feathers they sell, and their bodies they salt for winter prouision. He also gaue vs a man to bring vs to the Towne.

The sixteenth, we came to the Towne of *Pustozera*, which standeth vpon a Lake. There was no Gentleman or Gouverneur in the Towne at our arriual: for he had destroyed the Castle, and fled away the last Winter. For certaine dayes wee could haue no answer, whether wee might stay or no, all the chiefe men being abroad for their Winters prouision. But the chiefe Customer *Marphe*, sending men to know their mindes, the three and twentieth day of the same moneth of Iuly, we were embraced of them, and desired to stay, and they appointed vs an house to dwell in. Furthermore, they told vs that the Riuer *Pechora* was more conuenient for vs, then the Riuer of *Dvina*: and that a great part of the goods, which come to *Colmogro* vpon *Dvina*, doe passe in one place or other by the Riuer *Pechora*, which, they say, runneth through *Siberia*; and how much farther they themselves know not. The five and twentieth, in the morning, hauing one of their Boats full with feathers, wee departed from the Towne, taking our leaues of *Iofias Logan*, who stayed behind.

The fixe and twentieth, we came downe to the *Boluan*, where wee went aboard of two Coches of some fiftene tunnes a peece, bound for *Mouguzza*. Here I went on shoare, and bought an aire of Slight-falcons, being very young. The seven and twentieth, in the Euening wee came aboard our ship, and the same night tooke in the Feathers, and laded their Boat againe with Meale, sending her vp to the Towne by the *Russes* that brought her downe.

The eight and twentieth, we got out our goods, which were appointed to be left at *Pechora*, vnder the charge of Master *Logan*, and made ready our ship. The nine and twentieth, wee weighed anchor, and fell lower downe, the wind North North-east. The thirtieth, wee rode still, and in the after-noon two Lodias that were fishing for *Omulais*, went out to Sea, the wind at North-west by West. The one and thirtieth, the wind being at West North-west, there came in foure and twentie sayles of Lodias or Coches, all bound for *Mugunzea*: but the yeere being farre spent they gaue ouer their Voyage, and went to the Towne of *Pustozera*, to winter. Out of one of the which Lodias we hired a man belonging to the Towne, to stay with *William Pursglone* and *Marmaduke Wilson*, by our goods, till the Lodia came, which we had hired. Which two were to winter with Master *Logan* in the Countrey. The foresaid foure and twentie Lodias were of *Colmogro*, *Pinega*, *Mezen*, and *Pustozera*.

The first of August, the wind at West, we weighed, and, God bee thanked, came safely ouer the Barre of *Pechora*. From thence wee directed our course for *Nova Zembla*: and at noone we came to Ice: where hauing sayled many points of our Compasse, at mid-night wee tooke in our sayles, and made fast to a peece of Ice; the weather being very thicke and foggie. The second being very cleere, and seeing no way to passe to the Northward for Ice, we determined to return; and because the yeere was so farre spent to go for *Cherie* Island, to see if it pleased God to giue vs there any good successe, for the bearing of the charges of this Voyage. So wee loosed, and at eight in the Euening wee got cleere off the Ice, keeping our course by the edge of it, which did lie East by North, and East North-east. The third, at noone we had sight of *Colgoiene* Island, and tooke the latitude, being on the North side of the Island which was 69. degrees 20. minutes: and at night I went on shoare to see the Land, which was high clay ground: and I came where there was an aire of Slight-falcons: but they did flie all away saue one, which I tooke vp, and brought aboard. This Ile of *Colgoiene* is but thirtie leagues from the Barre of *Pechora*.

The fourth, we passed through some Ice, and at noone wee got cleere off it, and stood to the Northward, *Colgoiene* bearing South-west fixe leagues, the wind at East North-east. The fift, we had faire weather, the wind at East South-east, wee sayled two and thirtie leagues North

The *Boluan*, or East head land of the Riuer *Pechora*. The channell trendeth South-west.

An Island neere the mouth of the Riuer. They find one of the chiefe entrances of the Riuer.

They come to a Ferme house of a principall man of the Towne.

The Towne is called *Pustozera*.

Pechora runneth through *Siberia*, and farther.

Two Coches or Lodias, bound for *Mouguzza*. He buyeth two Falcons.

The stocke of goods left in *Pustozera*.

24. Lodias bound for *Mugunzea*, which is to the Eastward of *Ob*.

They safely passe the Barre of *Pechora*.

Colgoiene Island 69. degrees, 20. minutes.

Falcons.

70 degrees 40.
minutes.
72. degrees 34
minutes.
74. degrees 30.
minutes.

North-west, we obserued, and found our selues in 70. degrees and 40. minutes. The sixt, the wind being at South South-west, we steered North North-west fortie leagues, and were in 72. degrees 34. minutes. The seuenth, the wind was variable, the weather faire : we steered North by West, eight and thirtie leagues, and at noone had the latitude of 74. degrees 30. minutes. And at eight in the Eeuening we founded, and had eightie fathomes Greene Oze. The eight, the wind at West, we sayled North twenty leagues : in the morning we founded, and had seuentie fathoms Oze : and at three in the afternoone, the wind comming North, wee cast about to the Westward.

The ninth, faire weather, we sayled thirteene leagues West, the wind at North. At noone we founded, and had an hundred and twentie fathomes, Greene slime. The tenth, the wind variable, with fogge and raine : wee steered West North-west fise and twentie leagues : and at noone we obserued, and had the latitude of 74. degrees 57. minutes. The eleuenth, was thicke foggie weather ; wee sayled foure and twentie leagues West : and at eight in the Eeuening wee founded, and had ninety fathomes, soft Oze. The thirteenth, at noone wee had sight of *Cherie* Island, being within a mile of it, before we did see it : and the same Eeuening wee got into the *Cone*, and mored our ship. Here we stayed twelue dayes, taking what it pleased God to send, which was but little.

The sixe and twentieth of August, we left the Island, because the time of the yeere was farre spent, and returned for *England*, where (blessed be God) we safely arriued in *Saint Catharines* Poole, in the Riuer of *Thames*, on Saturday being *Saint Matthews* day, and the one and twentieth of September, 1611.

There were in the Hauen of the Riuer *Pechora*, at our being there, about thirtie Lodias, or small *Russe* ships, hauing ten, twelue, fourteene, and sixteene men in each of them : which purposed to haue gone, some to *Noua Zembla*, some to *Tasse gorodoc*, and some to other places in *Mougumsey*, to the East of the Riuer *Ob*. These Lodias for the most part, were of *Usting*, *Colmogro*, *Pinega*, *Mezen*, and *Pechora*.

Also, we that went vp to the Towne, found about fiftie Cayucks, or Boats of foure, fise, six, and seuen tunnes a piece, fishing in the Riuer of *Pechora* for Salmon, and other kinds of fish ; most of which Cayucks come from the great Towne of *Usting*, and the Townes thereunto adjoining, by the Riuer *Iug*, through the Land into the Riuer *Pechora*, and at the *Boluan*, at the River mouth they tooke most part of their Salmon.

CHAP. IX.

A Letter of *RICHARD FINCH* to the Right Worshipfull Sir *THOMAS SMITH*, *Gouernour* ; and to the rest of the Worshipfull Companie of English Merchants, trading into *Russia* ; touching the former Voyage, and other obseruations.

R

ight Worshipfull, my dutie remembred vnto you, with prayer to God for the preservation of your healths and prosperous successe in all your worthie affaires. My last Letters vnto you were from *Typani* in *Lapland*, by *Thomas Hare-castle* of *Hull*, dated the foure and twentieth of May, 1611. The other, the nine and twentieth of May from *Kyldin* neere *Camen*, by a ship of *Hamburg* : which foresaid Letters were directed to our *Gouernour*, the right Worshipfull Sir *Thomas*

They arriue in the Port of *Pechora* the ninth of Iuly.

Two Crosses standing on the sand. *Pinega*.

Ship endanged by Ice.

Smith, Knight. May it now please you further to vnderstand, That the ninth day of Iuly, wee came to the mouth of the Riuer of *Pechora*, which the *Russes* call *Pechorskoï Zauorot* with our ship. And being entred into the aforesaid Harbour, it was full of Ice, and hard to finde : for we found no mayne Land, saue a small Sound behind the Ice. And labouring to and fro along the same, we sent *William Gourdon* in our Shallop manned to the shoare : who, as soone as they were landed, espied two Crosses standing on the sand : and presently our men espied three men comming toward them. These men belonged to three Boats of *Pinega*, which Boats had beene in our companie not long before, at a place called by them, *Promoya*, by vs, *Obscure*, but by other Writers, *Morshowitz*. One of these *Russes* came on boord of our ship, and told vs, that wee could goe no farther with our ship, then the place, that their Vessels, called *Coaches*, rid in ; and that to the Towne we must goe in small Vessels ; giuing vs directions to sayle by, for the better finding of the Towne. After our getting ouer the Barre of the *Pechorskoï Zauorot*, and that we were come to an anchor, we rode in great danger by the abundance of Ice, and the strong tide both of the ebbe and floud, which droue the same so forcibly against our ship. For, the eleuenth of Iuly, lying in foure fathomes water, a piece of an Island of Ice, set with such a power against our ship, that it droue vs out of our riding into eight foot and an halfe, and nine foot water.

The

The eleventh of Iuly, Master *Iosias Logan*, *William Gourdon*, and *William Pursgloue*, with our Shallop went vp to the Towne of *Pechora*, taking directions of the *Russes* for the finding of the same. Neuerthelesse, two dayes after their departure from our ship, they had mistaken their way, if by chance they had not met with a small *Russe* Boat, in which were *Russes* that directed them. Being about thirty Versts from the Towne, they came to the house of one *Vasili Deadoole*, who that this present is one of the chiefeft Customers: by which Customers the Towne of *Pechora* is now gouerned, since there was no Gentleman sent from the *Mosco*. This man gaue them good entertaynement, and sent vp with them a man of his owne, fearing that the people would bee amazed at our mens sudden and vnexpected comming. Yet as soone as they espied our people, they were all exceedingly afraid. Diuers of them with their women fled into the Woods, vntill that one of the chiefeft Customers had sent for them other Customers, who at that time were all out of Towne. But being met together, Master *Logan* shewed them the Priviledges, of severall of their Emperours granted to your Worships. After the perusing of which, with the good report giuen of Master *Mericke*, your Agent, and our Nation by one of *Colmogro*, with whom Master *Logan* was acquainted; the Townes-men were well satisfied: and appointed our people an House. And many of them sent Bread, Pies, Ducks, Fish, and such like vnto them, entertayning them very well, according to the fashion of the Countrey, with continuall admiration how they found the Towne.

Touching the Inhabitants, there is no doubt, but that they will be glad of our trading thither. Neuerthelesse, by that which I haue heard and perceiued, it is very likely, that the same will be distastfull to the Merchants of the Countrey, and others that trauell thither in the Winter time, out of many parts of *Russia*: and also, to them that trade in the Summer time, by Sea to *Mongossey*, and through the Riuer of *Peozza* in Cayucks to *Perm*, *Oust-zilme*, and *Pechora*.

The euen and twentieth of Iuly, our Shallop with a small *Russe* Boat, returned to our ship from *Pechora* Towne, departing from the same the Thursday before, being the five and twentieth of Iuly, in our foresaid Shallop, and *Russe* Boat, were sent downe by *Iosias Logan*, five and fortie bags of white Partridges feathers, and an hundred and seuentie white Foxe skinnies. These Feathers and Foxe skinnies, are bought of a *Colmogro* man, to be payd for the same in *Russia* by Master *Mericke*; and, as I vnderstand, not so cheape as others doe buy there of the Fowlers themselves. But if two men were left, one at *Pechora*, another at *Oust-zilme*, and *Perm*, with ready money and a little commodities, much good might be done in the Winter time by buying of Sables, Beuers, Beuers wombs, Squerrils, Foxe skinnies white and dunne, Losh hides, and Deere skinnies. And for the transportation of your goods to *Pechora*, or bringing of your goods from *Pechora*; the same may be done from *Arch-angel* vpon the *Dunya* to *Mezen*, and from *Mezen* to *Pechora*, *Oust-zilme*, and *Perm*, both by Winter ouer Land, and in Summer through fresh water Riuers, or alongst the shoare with speed, and with a little charge: as by the manner of their ordinary trauell appeareth, as it hath bene of a trueth deliuered mee, from the mouthes of men of long experience.

The last of August, came into *Pechorskoj Zauerot*, or the Hauen of *Pechora*, fixe and twentie Lodias or Boats, which was the Fleet set out from *Ousting*, *Colmogro*, *Pinega*, and *Mezen*: all of them being bound for *Mongossey*; but hauing been crossed with contrary winds, & the time of the yeere being spent, they gaue ouer their intended Voyage; purposing with the next faire wind, to sayle to the Towne of *Pechora*, there to lay vp their Lodias and commodities till the next Spring, and themselves with their small Boats or Wherries to goe home, passing from thence vp the Riuer of *Peozza*, which they told me they could easily doe in a moneths time. As soone as this Fleet of Lodias was come to an anchor, many of them came aboard of our ship, wondring to see a ship there. They demanded of me, how wee came thither, and what the intent of our comming was: and whither we purposed to sayle from thence. Among these were some which seemed to be Merchants, who asked to buy Lifts, remnants of Cloth, Cap-clothes, *Aqua vita*, especially, they asked for small Pewter Dishes, which I vnderstand to be a commoditie sold by them to the *Samoyeds*, at a great rate. I answered them, that the goods which wee had brought, were part already at *Pechora*, and the rest was to be transported thither, as soone as the Vessell came that was hired to carrie the same vp: so that, if any of them were minded to buy of our commodities, they might haue it of one of our Countrey-men there. After which, two or three of them demanded of me, whether I would buy any Sables, or Squerrils: which was but a brag. At this time many of them being on board together, some of them were in private talke, which was my chance to ouer-heare, and was as followeth: If these *Neamchines*, or Strangers resort to these places, it will be an occasion in short time to make vs to be without Bread. The like speeches I heard a little before, of two men of *Pinega*; and of an old man remayning in *Pechora*, that came downe to our ship with the Feathers.

Touching the goods left with *William Pursgloue*, *Marmaduke Wilson*, and the *Russe*, in regard the same lay in no good place, we were desirous to haue hired one of their *Russe* Boats, to haue carried the same to the Towne at a reasonable rate; the rather because it was on their way, and their Boats were not ouerladen: which they with two Boats might haue done with ease: yet they

Our men arrived at Towne of Pechora. People afraid of the English.

White Partridges and Foxes.

Commodities.

The Fleet of Mongossey of 26. Lodias. Or Mongals.

From Pechora to Colmogro is a moneths traueled by Riuer.

Small Pewter Dishes, a great commodity.

they would not, vnlesse wee would giue them thirtie or fve and twentie Rubbels at the least, and that with Condition, that they might distribute into each Boate somewhat thereof. Therefore vnderstanding their vnreasonable demand, hauing a Boate already hyred, wee vtterly refused to talke with them any further thereof: especially when they were minded to diuide the goods into all the fixe and twentie Lodias or Boates: which had beene a trick to haue lost all.

August 1.

Huge Ice.

Omeli Fishing:

They land on the Ile of Colgoiene.

Geese.
Two Hawkes taken.

Cherie Island.

Thomas Edge.
See sup. c. 2.

Morfes scarce.
full.

August 16.

Pechora.

Ousling.

A Poud is 37.
pound, or the
third part of a
hundred
weight. An
Alteen is fve
of their Pence,
a Groat of
ours.

A great fishing
of Salmon,
beginning the
first of August.

The first of August, leauing Master *Iofias Logan*, *William Pursgloue*, and *Marmaduke Wilson*, at *Pechora*, wee sayled ouer the Barre of *Pechorskoie Zauorot*, directing our courle for *Nona Zembla*, till that wee had runne so farre, and were so inclosed in huge Ice, that in a Day and a Night we could goe neither backward nor forward: And finding no meanes to proceed on our intended Voyage for *Nona Zembla*, wee cleared our selues out of that place. Truth it is, that this hath beene an hard Summer to all the *Russes*, both to them which were bound for *Mongozey*, and those that went to kill *Morfes*, and fishing of a certayne Fish called *Omeli*. From the foresayd place wee set our course for *Cherie* Island, intending to meete with the Ile of *Colgoiene*, and *Willoughbies* Land. With *Colgoiene* wee met, but we missed of the other. The seventh of August, *William Gourdon* and I with our Shallop went on shoare. This *Colgoiene*, is a very long and broad Island with many Vallies in it. On the same are many Geese, which the *Russes* vse to take with Nets in the time of the yeere, before they bee ouer fledge. In this Island seemeth to bee store of Hawkes. Heere *William Gourdon* and our Cooper, caught two Hawkes, whereof one was spoyled in the taking, the other remayneth aliuie.

The thirteenth of August, wee arriued at *Cherie* Island, standing in 74. degrees and odde minutes, and Anchored in the South Coue, finding the same very cleare of Ice. And presently after our Ship was at an Anchor, *James Vadin* the Master, *William Gourdon*, and I, went on shoare on the Coue to looke for *Morfes*. Here we found a certayne Note, which was left there by *Thomas Edge*: the effect of which was: That he arriued there with three Shalops from *Greenland*, and that there he had found the Ship called the *Elizabeth*, and that hee was gone in her to *Greenland* the foure and twentieth of Iuly, hoping to finde the goods which hee had left there: and that hee did purpose to returne againe to *Cherie* Island with as much speed as could be made. Subscribed: *Thomas Edge*.

At our comming to the Island, wee had three or foure dayes together very fine weather: in which time came in reasonable store of *Morfes*, both at the South Coue and at the North-side: and wee were in good hope we should haue made a sauing Voyage. Neuerthelesse, though there were store of Beasts, yet by no meanes would they goe on those beaches and places, that formerly they haue beene killed on. But fortie or fiftie of them together, went into little holes within the Rocke, which were so little, steepe and slipperie, that as soone as wee did approach towards them, they would tumble all into the Sea. The like whereof by the Masters and *William Gourdon*s report, was neuer done. For lying as they did, and being so they as they were, it was not possible to doe any good vpon them. Moreouer, to get them off these foresaid Rockes to make them come on shoare vpon their accustomed places, the Master and our men on both sides of the Island went to driue them away, yet they would not. But by often driuing of them out of their holes, we killed as many as wee could. In the end the weather growing stormie and cold, there were few or none of them left. Wherefore seeing all hope of good to be done of them to be past, wee departed from thence the fixe and twentieth of August, 1611. for *England*. We did not perceiue any Ship of *Hull* to haue beene there this Summer.

Hauing touched the chiefeft points of our Voyage, I thinke it meete to set downe somewhat of the State, Commodities, and Trade of *Pechora*, *Oust Zilma*, and *Parmia*.

The Towne of *Pechora* is small, hauing three Churches in it: and the most part of the people are poore. In the Spring and a great part of the Summer, they liue by catching of Partridges, Geese, Duckes, and Swannes, of which they euery Summer take a great number. The flesh of these Fowles they salt, and liue of them the most part of the Winter. But the feathers of the said Fowle they gather together, and sell to the men of *Colmogro*, *Ousling*, and others, that come euerie yeere out of *Russia* to buy the same: Some of them giue a little money before hand to the Fowlers. Which must be done with great care as the times are now. One *Meafed* a mans sonne of *Pechora*, whose Father is a man of great dealings, told mee, That they sold white Partridge feathers to men of *Colmogro* for readie money, at fve Altines the Poud, and Duckes feathers (among which was Downe) they sold now for seuen or eight Altines the Poud. Likewise hee told me that in former times the *Russes* that vsed to trade thither, before the people of the Countrey knew what Commodities were worth, had commonly a Poud of Partridge feathers for two pence of their money, and a peece of cake Sope worth at *Colmogro* ten pence of their money. So that the chiefeft Commoditie and best cheape is Feathers, being bought at *Pechora* with readie *Russe* money of the Fowlers themselues, and not of the Ligers there, that vse to sell them to vs at *Archangel* on the Riuer of *Dunya*.

Moreover one hundred *English* miles on this side of the Towne of *Pechora*, is a place called by them the *Boluan*, where they take great store of Salmon. But it is alwayes the first of August before

before they begin to cast out their Nets. And oftentimes toward the later part of the Summer, they haue such store, that they are sold ordinarily for foure-pence a Fish, and sometimes for a penie a Fish of their money. Yea, in a plentiful yeere, I haue bene told, one may buy whole draughts of Salmon for a very small summe of money. The Salmon here are fat: three Fishes weighing commonly a Powd and no more. The best sort of the people of *Pechora*, vse to preserve a great quantitie of their Salmon with a little salt. For they salt eightie, or one hundred Fishes with a Powd of Salt: and many times in plentiful yerres, much Fish is cast away for want of salt; which they are loath to bestow when Salt is deare.

This Salmon is carryed by the *Pechora* men to *Mezen* in Sleds, drawne with Reyne Deere. But if they be minded to carrie the said Fish from *Mezen* to *Colmogro*, then they carrie the same from thence with Sleds drawne with Horses.

Also many men of *Colmogro*, *Pinega*, and *Mezen*, buy Salmon at *Pechora*, and carrie it in the Winter time to *Mezen*, to which place they pay from *Pechora* for the hyer of a Sled and a Reyne Deere, ordinarily ten Altines, being twelue dayes journey: and from *Mezen* to *Colmogro*, being sixe dayes journey, they pay foure-pence a Powd at the most. The Deere that trauell from *Pechora* to *Mezen*, will not draw aboue seuen Powd weight. This way is trauelled euery Winter twice. The first is sixe or eight weekes before Christmasse. And the second time is two or three weekes before Shrouetide: which bee the times that they very diligently obserue to sell the Salmon in. Most part of the men of *Pechora*, haue euery one his owne Deere to trauell with. And

some particular men of the better sort haue twentie or thirtie Deere, which they let out to hyer in the Winter time; and in the Summer time they put them forth to the *Samoieds* to keepe. Also when the Winter way is set and beaten, many Merchants and others come out of *Russia* to buy Sables, Beuers, Beuers wombes, Squirrels, blacke, white and dunne Foxes, of which in the Winter time is store, brought thither by the *Samoieds* round about those parts: which Trading is in the Winter time and not else. The chiefest *Russe* Merchants or Furriers that vse these parts, I haue bene told, are the *Obleazones*, the *Shepekins*, and the *Yeadomskoies*. The Commodities carryed by them, are red, and yellow Cloathes; but chiefly *Russe* money, with which they buy Commodities there of the *Russes*, as well as that which they buy of the *Samoieds* in barter.

The Commodities carryed from *Volochda*, *Ousting*, *Colmogro*, *Pinega*, and *Mezen*, to *Pechora* and *Mongozei*, are Meale, Bacon, Butter, Ote-meale, Tolockno, and Salt, with some small quantitie of Yeasts and tanned Leather, with some Cloath, and other of our Commodities. These Commodities at *Mongozei* are sold at great rates. But at *Pechora*, Commodities are sold sometimes deare and sometimes cheape, in respect of profit. For if the Fleet, being at least thirtie Boates that set out euery Summer for *Mongozey*, laden with these Prouisions and Commodities afore said, bee crossed with contrarie windes; and that by the latenesse of the yeere they cannot reach to *Mongozey*, but are constrained to leaue the same and come for *Pechora*, (as this yeere 1611. they were:) Then commonly Meale, Bacon, and such like Commodities with them are not deare. For by report a little quantitie of Meale doth serue all those parts. For the greater part of them liue of fresh Fish sod and dried in stead of Bread, of which Fish they haue plentie.

Likewise, there vseth not to goe from *Colmogro* with these Prouisions, aboue two Boates in a Summer directly to the Towne of *Pechora*: especially since the Towne was burnt, and that there was no Gouvernour in the same. Also by the *Mongozey* men it did appeare, that there was no likelihood for them to vtter that quantitie of Commodities at *Pechora*, at any rate. For if there had, there would not haue resolved to lay vp their goods in Ware-houses till the next Spring, and then to proceed for *Mongozey*.

Further from the Towne of *Pechora*, is a place called by the *Russes*, *Oust Zilma*. This is, by the description giuen vnto me in distance from *Pechora*, as *Ousting* is from *Colmogro*: and is likewise to bee trauelled by water against the streame: And in Winter time it is to bee trauelled in Sleds drawne with Reyne Deere. In this place of *Oust Zilma*, is great store of Squirrels, Beuers, and Beuers wombes, Foxe skinnes white and dunne, and other Fures, but chiefly Squirrels, of which is great store by all mens report, that I haue talked withall. So that hauing a man in the Winter time at this place, a good quantitie of Squirrels and other Fures, may bee provided at a reasonable rate. Moreouer, heere are to be bought Losh-hydes, and Deere-skinnes, which in the Winter time are brought to this Towne of *Oust Zilma* from *Perm*, which is not farre from thence. But to buy Losh-hydes and Deere-skinnes, the best course is to goe from *Oust Zilma* to *Perm*, and to buy them there, where one should bee sure to haue Choise, and at a farre better rate. Also those that vse to come out of *Russia* in the Winter time to *Perm*, to buy these foresaid Hydes; toward the later part of Winter carrie all these Hydes by Sleds, some two or three dayes Journey from *Perm* to the side of a certayne Riuer, neere vnto which is a small Towne or Village; where as soone as the Ice is gone, they haue small Dorshenicks and Floates, on which they lade their Hydes, and being out of this Riuer, they enter into *Dunya*, and transport them to *Colmogro* and *Archangell*.

Likewise being at *Pechora*, *Oust Zilma*, or any of those parts, there is in the Winter time to bee

Travelling Deere.

Fish in stead of Bread.

Oust Zilma.

Perm.

Elephants
teeth, whence,
and which
way.

bee had among the *Samoyeds*, Elephants teeth, which they sell in pieces according as they get it, and not by weight. And I haue beene told, they sell the same at a very small rate. It is called in *Russe*, *Mamanta Kasst*. Thus much may suffice at this time to bee spoken of *Pechora*, *Oust-Zilma*, and *Perm*.

1. Now I will set downe as I haue beene enformed by diuers *Russes*, the Names of the chiefeft places which they vse to sayle vnto from *Slobodka*, an Hauē so called in the Prouince of *Mezen*, to the *Pechorskoie Zauorot*, or the Hauē of the Riuer of *Pechora*, and the Distances to each place: with a Direction how to sayle from *Pechorskoie Zauorot* vp to the Towne of *Pechora*.

2. I will also set downe the *Russes* sayling from the foresayd *Pechorskoie Zauorot*, to the *Tonhor-skoie-share*. And from thence to the Riuer of *Ob*: and thence to *Mongozey*.

3. I will likewise set downe a true Direction, to goe by water in their Boates called *Cayooks*, through the Riuer of *Peozza*, and other Riuers, till they come from *Mezen* to *Oust Zilma*, and *Pechora*.

4. Likewise I meane to write of the *Samoyeds*, traueilling from *Vaygats* to the parts of *Mongozey*, in the Winter time, and from thence backe againe to the foresayd Towne of *Mezen*, called *Slobodka*.

5. Lastly, I will intreate of such Commodities as are to bee had at *Mezen*, with the speedie passage from thence to *Colmogro* by Sea, or by Land in the Sommer time. And it is as followeth.

The things aboue mentioned, that I haue not seene my selfe, I haue not sleightly set downe from the mouthes of one or two, but from the mouthes of many ancient men, well experienced in the Trauels and Trades of all these parts, which Master *Iames Vadun* the Master of our Ship can likewise witnesse. Therefore if the same may bee any way beneficiall vnto the Company, and that thereby I haue discharged my dutie vnto your Worships, I shall bee heartily glad thereof. Thus fearing I haue beene ouer tedious by my rude Letter, I rest, with my heartie prayer vnto Almighty God, for the happie preseruations of your selues, and all yours. Written on Ship-boord, the last of August, 1611.

Your Worships humble Seruant to com-
mand, RICHARD FINCH.

*The Names of the principall places, which the Russes sayle by from Mezen
to the Pechorskoie Zauorot, or the Hauē of
Pechora. 1611.*

FROM *Mezen* to *Candinos*, with a faire wind and stiffe gale, is thirtie houres sayle: They say-
ling commonly almost 40. leagues in foure and twentie houres, according to which it is 30.
leagues. From *Candinos* to the Ile of *Colgoie*, is as before thirtie houres sayling, and after 40.
leagues in foure and twentie houres, is 30. leagues. From *Candinos* to *Promoya* or *Obscure*, is
twentie houres sayling, or 35. leagues. From the Ile of *Colgoie* to *Colocol-cona*, is fiftene houres
sayling, and reckoned as aboue appeareth, is 25. leagues. Along the shoare of this place are heapes
of Sand, in the forme of Bells. Therefore the *Russes* call this place *Colocol-cona*, being deriued
from *Colocol*, which in *English* signifieth a Bell. From *Colocol-cona* to the *Peasaneetsa*, is three
houres sayle, or 5. leagues. This place is onely a small Brooke which they vse for a Sea-marke,
more then for any benefit is to bee reaped at the same. From *Peasaneetsa* to the *Pechorskoie Za-
uorot*, is sixe houres sayle, or 10. leagues. So that from *Colgoie* lland to this foresayd *Pechorskoie
Zauorot*, is not aboue 40. leagues at the most.

*A direction to sayle from the Pechorskoie Zauorot, where wee rode with
our Ship in August 1611. to the Towne of Pechora,
as followeth.*

Dolgoie lland in
the Soofie Mo-
ra.

The Boluanou.

FROM this *Pechorskoie Zauorot*, they sayle into the *Soofie Mora*, or *Drie Sea*, and not before:
stirring away from hence South-west and by South, and in a faire gale of Winde, in foure
houres they come to an lland called *Dolgoie*. This lland is reported to bee three or foure *Russe*
Versts long, hauing on it in some time of the yeere many Geese, which the men of *Pechora* take
before they bee able to flie. From this *Dolgoie*, they stirre away South South-west; and sayling
this course with a faire gale of wind, in eight or nine houres sayle they come in sight of the maine
Land, being an indifferent high Land. This Land is called the *Boluanou*; and this is 20. leagues at
the most. This *Boluanou* they haue on their Larboord side. Neere this place are diuers that in-
habite in *Russe* Houses: where in the Summer time they lye a Fowling, and fishing of a certayne
Fish called *Omeli*, which are like our Maccarels. If need bee, heere a man may haue a guide or
good

good instructions to conduct him to *Pechora Towne*. Hard by this *Bolmanon*, is the *Oustia* or barre of the entring of *Pechora Riuer*. For as soone as you are ouer this barre, you come into the Riuer mouth, which leadeth to *Pechora Towne*. If it bee thicke foggie weather, then one of them continually soundeth the depth of the Channell, keeping as neere as they can in the deepest water: and in so doing, they seldom mistake their way, so that they stire away West from the *Bolmanon* to the Riuer mouth, keeping the Land on their Starboard side. And by all mens report, from the *Bolmanon* to *Pechora Towne*, is with a faire winde and stiffe gale, not aboue twentie houres sayle: which according to their sayling, is about three and thirtie leagues. And it is not aboue fiftie leagues from the *Pechorskoie Zauorot*, where our Ship lay, to *Pechora Towne*.

The names of the places that the Russes sayle by, from Pechorskoie Zauorot, to

Mongozey: with the manner of their Travell, and Distance betweene

each place, or time of Sayling, Halling, and Rowing

unto the same.

From *Pechorskoie Zauorot* to *Matpheyone Ostrone*, or Island, is with a faire wind and stiffe gale, at the most thirtie houres sayle, which being reckoned as before, after fortie leagues in toure and twentie houres, is fiftie leagues: to which they stire away East From *Matpheyone Ostrone* to the *Touhorskoie-share*, is nine houres sayle or fiftene leagues. When they are come to this Island, they stire away from thence East to the said *Touhorskoie-share*. Also in cleere weather from *Matpheyone Ostrone*, they can see the maine Land, with the *Meedanetskoie Zauorot*: where the two Islands bee called the *Zelenyee* or *Greene Islands*: to which Islands many of the *Russes* resort, to take a kinde of Fishes, called *Omesh*, which are like Maccarels: of which heere are store. This maine Land they haue on their right hand, or Starboard side, lying South from *Matpheyone Ostrone*. Also to the Southward of the *Matpheyone Ostrone*, is another Island which the *Russes* call *Dolgoie*, that is, the long Island. So that there are two *Dolgoies*: the one, within the *Pechorskoie Zauorot*, entring into the *Soboy Myna*, or *Drie Sea*. The other is this, which is betwixt the *Matpheyone Ostrone*, and the *Touhorskoie-share*: lying as before was sayd, South from the sayd *Matpheyone Ostrone*. From which Island in a cleere day they can see the Land of *Vaygats*, which lyeth on the Larboord side, being very high Land. So that stirring out-right, in the middle betweene the *Meedanetskoie Land* on their Starboard, and the Land of *Vaygats* on their Larboord side, they sayle directly into the *Touhorskoie-share*. Likewise there is not much of this *Touhorskoie-share*. For they say, that being at one end, they can see the Sea at the other end thereof. Also, about the Land of *Vaygats* are neither Flats nor Shoalds. From the *Touhorskoie-share* to the *Carskoie Gooba*, is twelue houres sayle, or twentie leagues. In this Bay or *Gooba*, is the *Meastnoy Ostrone*, or *Meastnoy Island*. Further it is to bee remembered, that as soone as they enter this *Carskoie Gooba* or Bay, they sayle vpon a Riuer, leaving this Bay on their Starboard: which Riuer bringeth them into the *Mootnoya Reca*, which signifieth the thicke or troubled Riuer. From *Carskoie Gooba* to this *Mootnoya Reca*, is 20 leagues. Likewise, being a little past the *Touhorskoie-share*, there may bee described an high Land, which they call *Socoha Looda*, that is, *The Hawkes perch*. And being ouer the *Mootnoya Reca*, which they are eight dayes, and eight nights in halling along the shoare by the Rope or *Beachana*, they come into two Lakes, which two Lakes from one end to the other they commonly row ouer in one Day or two Tides: the same not being aboue ten or twelue leagues. Hauiug gotten to the end of those two Lakes, they come to a place called the *Nauoloke*, which signifieth an Ouer-hall. And it is almost two hundred fathoms, or foure hundred paces in length: And hauiug emptyed their Vessels, called *Coaches*, laying poles vnder them, with the Companies, or men of foure or fve Boates, hauiug twelue or thirtene men in a Boate, they hall their Vessels ouer, launching them into a third Lake, which they call the *Zelenoy Osera*, that is, the *Greene Lake*. These Ouer-halls constraime them to comfort themselves into Companies: otherwayes they could not get this way to *Mongozey*. At the end of this *Zelenoy Osera*, or *Greene Lake*, they come into the *Zelenoya Reca*, or *Greene Riuer*, into which they runne with the streame, being often compelled to emptye their great Boates with their Lodias, or Wherries, laying their Goods vpon the shoare: which being done they row their great Lodias ouer the shoalds emptye; and hauiug got ouer the shoalds, they bring their goods onboord againe. And thus they doe in diuers places of this *Zelenoya Reca*, or *Greene Riuer*: by reason whereof they are commonly ten dayes from the Ouer-hall, before they can get through this foresayd Riuer, which is all with the streame; but the Distance hereof cannot yet bee perfectly learned. Being come to the end of this *Zelenoya Reca*, they enter into the Riuer of *Ob*; and hauiug rowed a little way vp the same, they come to a place which they likewise call *Zauorot*: which signifieth a turning, winding, or entring into a place. From this *Zauorot*, they turne into the *Tawze Reca*, stirring away South to *Tawze Riuer*; but it is foure and twentie houres sayle, or fortie leagues from the Riuer of *Ob*, before they come into any part of the *Tawze Reca*.

Matpheyone Ostrone.

Touhorskoie Share.

The Meedanetskoie Zauorot: where Hainbrie is.

The two Islands called Zelenyee, or the Greene Islands. Dolgoie Ostrone, or the Long Island.

Karskoie Gooba, Meastnoy Ostrone, or Meastnoy Island.

A Riuer. Mootnoya Reca, or the Thicke or troubled Riuer.

Two Lakes.

The Nauoloke, or Ouer-hall.

Zelenoy Osera, or The Greene Lake.

Zelenoya Reca, or The Greene Riuer falleth into Ob.

The Riuer Ob.

The Zauorot in the Riuer of Ob. Tawze Reca.

Tars.
Tawze Gorodoc,
or Castle.

Mongosey.

The Samoyeds
on the Mayne,
ouer against
Vaygats, trauell
in the Winter
to Mongosey.
We may learn
of these Samoy-
eds, the trade
of Mongosey at
Mezen more
perfectly.
Mezen a Town
of great traf-
fick for Furres.

Reca. In the River of Ob, are neither Woods nor Inhabitants, till they sayle so farre vp the same, that they come neere to Siberia. But there are Woods.

When they are entred into this Tawze River, they have foure dayes and foure nights sayling to Tawze Castle, with a faire wind and a stiffe gale: But if they bee driven to row to the Tawze Gorodoc or Castle, then they are twelue dayes and twelue nights rowing thither at the least, ha- uing calme weather. This Tawze Gorodoc, or Tawze little Castle, with the Villages, Townes, and all other places thereto belonging, is by all the Russes generally called Mongosey. At this place are two Gentlemen or Governours, with three or foure hundred Gunners, and small Castles in severall places of these parts of Mongosey. Moreover, the men of Mezen, from whom I had all these Notes, told me; That in the Winter time there went men from Siberia to Mongosey, to buy Sables: deliuering vnto mee, that the Sables taken by the Samoyeds about Mongosey, are richer in Furres then those that come from Siberia. Also they told me, that the Samoyeds inha- biting vpon the mayne land ouer against Vaygats, trauelled in the Winter time with their Reyne Deere to the parts of Mongosey, to kill Sables and other beasts: and doe carrie their Furres from thence to Mezen, to sell there at a place called by the Russes, Stoboda, to which they did commonly resort about Shroue-tide, staying not there long, but as soone as they had made sale of their Furres, they departed home againe. Further, these men of Mezen told me, that in the Winter time with them was to be sold store of Squerrils, Beaters, Beaters wombs, and some Sables. And that all those that trauelled in the Winter time from any part of Mongosey, Sibira, Pechora, and Oust-selma, to any part of Russia, whether they were Merchants, or buyers vp of the Furres, or the Samoyeds that caught them; they must of force come to their Towne of Me- zen, to hire Horses to carrie them to Colmogro. By which meanes they told mee, their Towne was well replenished with all manner of Furres, especially of Squerrils. Also they informed me, that diuers of Colmogro, and other parts of Russia, that sold vs Furs, for the most part bought the same of them, lying there in the Winter time for that purpose. Therefore, said they, if that any of our Nation would trade into their parts, they would be glad thereof, and that they may be furnished of all sorts of Furres, and at a farre better rate then hitherto we haue had them at. And that wee could vpon any occasion be quickly at Colmogro in the Winter time by Sled, or in any part of the Spring or Summer time by Boats, at a very small charge. Lastly, that in the Spring time we should not faile of a parcell of Trane-oyle, and Deeres skinnies, which euery Summer they transported to Archangel to sell.

A true direction of the Russes travelling from Mezen, with Cayooks or small Boats, through the Riuer Peozareca, and from thence to a place called by them Peaskanoy Nauolock, or The Sandy Ouer-hall, passing from thence through other Rivers, till they come to Oust-selma, and to the Towne of Pechora: And is as followeth.

Mezen.
Peozareca.
Peaskanoy Na-
uolock.

Oust-selma.
Pustozera.
The Boluanon.
Pechora.

H Aving imbarqued themselves at Mezen, in these small Cayooks or Boats, covered with the barkes of trees, they sayle to a Riuer called Peozareca. From thence they sayle, or draw their Boats to a place called, the Peaskanoy Nauolock, or Sandy Ouer-hall. From Mezen to this Ouer-hall is ten dayes haling along the shoare with the rope. This said Ouer-hall is five Russe Versts ouer. And after they haue vnladen their goods out of their Cayooks, they draw the said Vessels ouer at times with Horses; that come from Mezen of purpose; lying there the most part of the Summer, to that intent: and they pay fixe pence Russe for drawing ouer an empty Boat. Being ouer this Ouer-hall, they driue with the streame in three dayes to the Towne of Oust-selma: and with the streame in foure dayes they driue to a place called Pustozera: and from Pustozera against the streame they come to the Boluanon, and from the Boluanon to the Towne of Pechora. Also, many of these Boats very often in their returne home with their fore- said Cayooks, carrie Furres to Vsting, and diuers other places into the Countrey of Russia. All which they doe in a Summers time.

CHAP. X.

The Voyage of Master Iosias Logan to Pechora, and his wintering there, with Master WILLIAM PURSGLOVE, and MARMADUKE WILSON.

Anno 1611.

The first of Iuly, William Gurdon, Richard Finch, and William Pursgloue, went on shoare at *Suatinose*, where two Crosses stand. The second, wee weighed anchor againe, and stood into the Bay because of the Ice: and that night wee went on shoare againe. The third, we weighed anchor, and stood it about *Suatinose*. The fift, we stood to the Eastwards five leagues more, and about twelue of the clocke at night, wee were thwart of the *Iland of Toxar*. The tenth, at eight of the clocke at night, we weighed, and went ouer a Barre, at two fathomes, and came into Harbour, where wee anchored at ten of the clocke in the morning in five fathoms, hauing sands round about vs, being land-locked. The eleuenth, my selfe, William Gurdon, and William Pursgloue, with sixe of our men more, departed from the ship with our Shallop, to goe vp to the Towne of *Pustoxera*.

The fourteenth, wee arrived at the fishing house of one *Euan Vasilion sene sombau*, where the people were afraid of vs, and were ready to runne away: but we spake to them, and gaue them some Biscuit and *Aqua vite*, and they sod vs some fish, and shewed vs our way to another Fishery: but they ran away from vs, so we departed on our way. The fifteenth day, at foure of the clocke in the afternoone wee met with a *Russe*, that was borne at *Usting*, who gaue vs Milke, and such things as he had, and we gaue him some Biscuit, and some *Aqua vite*, and hee directed vs vnto another Fishery, about some five miles from that place where wee arrived, about sixe of the clocke the same night. But comming ashore, we found not any, saue one man, who after some conference had with vs, and giuing him some Bread, and some of our *Aqua vite*, hee told vs, that the Master of the house, with three of his sonnes were hunting of Duckes, and that their wiues were afraid, and were runne into the Woods to hide themselves, leauing a young childe behind them for haste. So he brought vs into the house, where by that time that we had stayed an houre (because there were so many *Muschitars*, which are like vnto a Midge, and sting most horribly, so that we were not able to stay without) the Master of the house, and his sonnes came thither, who at the first, were afraid, thinking we came to rob them. And they were about to shoot our men in the Boat; but one of our men holding vp a Biscuit cake, they then came to them, and spake vnto them: but our men not vnderstanding them, made them signes to the house, where my selfe, William Gurdon, and William Pursgloue were: who, when they came into the house, being yet afraid, they came in one after another. Now, when we had saluted them after the *Russe* manner, they asked vs of whence we were, and for what cause we came thither:

whereunto I made answere, that wee were *English-men*, who because of the troubles in *Russia*, came thither to seeke a Trade, hauing heard diuers times of the fame of those parts. Then hee replied, that in times past those places had beene good for trading: but now, by reason of a bad *Gouernour*, in those troublesome times, vpon a spleene he had fired the Towne, and burned about an hundred houses: and so by that meanes they were fallen into pouerty, and trading decayed, by reason of his great exactions. Yet hee said, that they haue great store of Salmon, and that the last yeere they got about 15000. Salmon, and in the Winter is their chiefe Mart. For then the *Samoyeds* come thither from diuers places, and bring Sables, and Beauers, white Foxes, *Rosamacks*, Feathers, and some Squerrils. So hauing supped with him, we gaue him a gallon of our *Aqua vite*, and some fortie cakes of our white Biscuit, and three or foure pound of Raisins: for we heard, that he was one of the principallest men in the Towne. Then desiring his fauour, he holpe vs to a man to goe with vs vp to the Towne, because of the fearefulnesse of the people, which they conceiue through the Warres of the *Poles*: and so wee departed from thence that night to the Towne.

The sixteenth, in the afternoone we arrived at the Towne of *Pustoxera*, where wee found not many people, considering the number of houses there, which are betwixt fourescore and an hundred, being of wood, built after the *Russian* manner, and they are subiect vnto the *Russe*, obseruing all their Rites as doe the *Russes*. The people were all abroad (some, in getting of *Morses Oyle*, and *Belougues Oyle*, and some fishing of a fish called *Ometta*, which is a very sweet fish, and some hunting Duckes) sauing the Customers, and three or foure more, who were likewise afraid of vs, although we had one of their owne people with vs, and were ready to flee away. So we seeing their fearefulnesse, caused their man to come on Land as yet: then hee calling to them, not permitting the rest of our men to come on Land as yet: then hee calling to them, they stayed, still peeping from behind the corners of their houses, vntill at the last there was a *Russe*, one of *Colmogro*, that had wintred with them, who knew me, and had seene me some two

The former part of the Voyage is omitted, to auoide tedious repetition. *Toxar.*

Pustoxera.

Iuly.

Cola in Lappia.

yeeres before at Cola in Lappia, at his Vncles house. And so he encouraged them, speaking greatly in our commendation, shewing them, that I was a Merchant, and came to trade with them, and not with any intent of harme: for hee knew mee very well, and told them, that I was at Cola foure or five yeeres together, and lay at his Vncles house. So he came to me, and tooke me by the hand, asking me how I did, and told me his name, and how hee had seene mee with his Vncle at Cola. Then I called to mind, that I had seene him there, and so we grew acquainted: and he went with vs to the Custome-house, where staying an houre, at length the Customer came: and after many questions had concerning our comming thither, I craued licence, that foure of vs might winter with them: which they denyed, alledging that they durst not without the Emperour of Russia his licence. Whereupon I answered, that the Emperours Maiestie, when he was reigning, was very gracious vnto our Nation, aboue all other strangers; and shewed what great priuiledges hee had bestowed on our people: and how by the English-mens meanes at the first; what a trade is now at Arkania, and what profit came, not onely into his Maiesties Treasurie, but also into all parts of his Dominions, which in time might be brought hither: and withall shewed the Emperours priuledge. Wherefore then they began to put away feare, and willed vs to stay five or sixe dayes, vntill he had sent for the chiefeest men of the Townes-men, who were abroad, and then they would giue vs an answer. Then I desired, that we might haue an house to be in, and not to stay without doores. So he gaue libertie to any that would, to entertayne vs, where-to there was one Callem that made answer, that he would: whereupon wee went with him, and were in an Ambar of his, vntill wee receiued answer from them. In the meane time wee made much of them, and feasted them with our Aqua vite, Biscuit, and Figs, that we might the better obtayne their loue.

Arkania.

The foure and twentieth, the Customers came to giue vs our answer, and told vs, that they had concluded that we might stay if wee would: but they must write vp to the Muske of our being here. So we thanked them, and gaue them such entertaynement as we could, and sent presents to sixe of them of the chiefeest, which they tooke very thankfully, and promised what fauour they could. So this night I made ready my Letters to send for England.

Molgomssey.

The fourth of August, five and twentie Lodyas arrived at the Towne laden with Meale, and others which were bound for Molgomssey: but by reason of contrary winds, they were forced into Pechora, and came vp to the Towne of Pustoxer, and vnladed to make sale.

Pole baptized Russe.

The sixe and twentieth, we remoued from the house where we were at the first, vnto a Poles house, who is christened Russe, where we are to remayne all the Winter.

Frost in August.

The nine and twentieth, the frost was so strong, that the Ozero was frozen ouer, and the Ice driuing in the Riuer to and againe, brake all the nets, so that they got no Salmon, no not so much as for their owne victuals. The second of September, the frost brake vp againe, and it was open weather. The eight of September, there was a Soyma, which the Towns-men bought, that went downe the Riuer to haue gone for Ingoria, and had a faire wind: but they neglecting two dayes sayling, that would haue carried them forth of the Riuer to the Sea, the wind came contrary, so that they were wind-bound, and could not get any further: and on the nineteenth, gaue ouer their Voyage, and came vp to the Towne.

The thirteenth of October, the frost was so extreme, that the Ozero stood in one night, that men did walke on it the next day, and so continued all the Winter after.

The twelfth of Nouember, there went two men of Penega to Ust-zilma, to buy Squerrils, and Beauers, and other commodities. The thirteenth, the Sunne arose at South and by East by the Compasse, and set at South-west and by West.

Slobodka Mart.

The foure and twentieth, there went diuers men, with at the least, three or fourescore Sleds drawne with Deere, to a place called Slobodka, where they hold a Mart, from the beginning of December to the middle thereof: and they carried fresh-water fish thither, with whom William Pursglone went into Russia. The sixe and twentieth, the Sunne arose at South and by West by the Compasse, and set at South-west and by West.

Ingoria.

The first of December, the Sunne arose at South and by West Westerly by the Compasse, and set South-west and by West Southerly. The fourth, the Towns-men of Pechora went ouer land into Ingoria, to trade with the Inhabitants there, and the Samoyeds.

The eleuenth, Marmaduke Wilson said that he saw the Sunne, but it was but the way of the Sunnes beames. The thirteenth, I saw the Sunnes beames my selfe, but I could not see the Sun it selfe, although I watched it very strictly. The fourteenth, it was snowie, and stormie weather, and continued so vntill the foure and twentieth day, which was close weather also.

Sunne returneth.

The five and twentieth, being Christmas day, I saw the Sunne, and it rose at South and by West, and set at South-west and by South, it hauing the neathermost part of it all the way iust with the Horizon. The sixe and twentieth, it was stormy and snowy weather, and so continued vntill the end of the moneth.

The second of Ianuarie, the Sunne arose at South somewhat Westerly, and set South-west a little Southerly, it mounting a pretie height aboue the Horizon.

The fift, William Pursglone returned from Colmogro. The eleuenth, the Sunne arose at South by East by the Compasse, and set at South-west and by West.

Th:

The twelfth, there came a command from the Patriarch, that there should bee a generall Fast, both for young and old, not exempting the sucking babes; which began the thirteenth, continuing three dayes space, they neither eating nor drinking, so much as water, neither admitted they their sucking Babes, save those that fainted, to whom they gaue a few Figs and a little water.

The nineteenth, the Inhabitants of *Pustoxer* that went into *Iugoria*, returned from thence, hauing had but an hard Voyage, by reason of the Warres which the *Samoyeds* had amongst themselves: so that they durst not goe into *Molgomsey*, where they catch the most part of the Sables which come into *Russia*.

The three and twentieth, came the *Carratchey*, which is the chiefe of the *Samoyeds*, but they had no commodities to speake of, by reason of the Warres: so that they neither durst trade with the *Samoyeds* of *Molgomsey*, neither hunt for the Sables themselves, which at other times they were wont to doe. The thirtieth, I had the chiefe *Carratchey*, his sonne, his sonnes sonne, and his brothers sonne at Dinner, and had some conference with him, who told mee, that they had seene ships in the *Vaygats*, two yeeres one after another: but they durst not bee seene of them, but fled from them: for the *Russes* told them, that they would kill them, or carrie them away prisoners. Yet they seemed to be glad of our comming, when they saw our behauiour, and the entertaynement that they had of vs: Neuerthelesse, they are very timorous, and vnreasonable couctous, as by more acquaintance I perceiued by them.

The second of February, the most part of the *Samoyeds* went to *Slobodca* with their commodities, because in the Summer they had beene together by the eares with the *Samoyeds* of *Calenose*, and had slayne one or two of them: wherefore they went to agree with them, and to pay ranfome for some of their men that were taken afterwards.

The fiftenth, the Sunne arose at South-east, a little Southerly, and set at West and by South Westerly. The sixteenth, the Sunne arose at South-east, and set at West due by the Compasse, as I could set it, the variation being two points Westerly: for, at a South South-west, the Sunne commeth to the Meridian.

The twentieth, I had conference with a *Russe*, concerning their trade of *Molgomsey*, who had beene there twice, and he was the first that euer attempted it, and none hath beene farther then he to the Eastwards. And he told me, that their course from *Medenskey Zauorot*, at the mouth of *Pechora* to the Eastward, to the two Ilands called *Zyelenfa*, is two dayes and three nights distance, sayling with a faire wind. From thence to *Breit-vinnose*, three dayes and three nights sailing with a faire wind, which is within the Streight of *Vaygats*. And from thence by an Iland, or rather a Rocke, called *Socolia Lowdia*, leauing it on the Starboard side for feare of Rockes, still keeping your course North-east, vntill you come to a long Point on the Starboard side, with a land lying off into the Sea three miles, some fise or sixe dayes sayling. Which when you haue gotten about, you must hold your course somewhat more enclining to the South, fise or sixe dayes more: and then you shall come to the Riuer of *Ob*; against the mouth whereof lieth an Iland: but you must keepe the Sea-board of it, by reason it is shoald betwixt it and the Mayne. The Land all alongst the shoare is a fine lowe Land, and the going into the Riuer, is on the East

side of the Iland. The Riuer is reported to be a Summer dayes sayling ouer in bredth, and is full of Ilands: whereby they report it to be shoald. Yet, in my opinion, so great a Riuer cannot be without a mayne channell; which as yet they haue not sought for: and therefore they iudge it innauigable. Also they report it to bee very plentifull of Fish of diuers sorts: but the people here, and the *Russes* are vnwilling that wee should goe thither. Moreouer, hee told mee, that from the Riuer *Ob* to the Eastwards, the Land stretcheth East, some fixe or eight dayes sayling more. To the Eastward of the Riuer *Ob* lieth another great Riuer as large as *Ob*, and is very deepe water, and runneth from the South, how farre as yet it is vnknowne. Although that hee affirmed, that he himselfe had sayled at the least three weekes vp the Riuer: and all along as they went, they met with sundry sorts of People, differing in Language one from another, which they call *Samoyeds*. Yea, and the People there did certifie them, that vp more towards the South, there are *Tartars* inhabiting, who ride vpon Horses. And hee affirmed, that they found pieces of Ploughes that had beene driuen downe the Riuer by the fouds, caused by the Snow melting from the Mountaines. This Riuer is very high Land, and deepe water on both sides. Into this Riuer, on the East side falleth another Riuer, called *Tingussey*, and the Inhabitants thereof are so called: whereby I coniecture, that it is not farre from the Citie *Tangut* in *Cathay*. These *Tingusses* report, that there is another huge Riuer, that trendeth to the Southwards, which the necke of a Land parteth from the Riuer of *Tingussey*: wherein there are great ships, not vnlike vnto the *Russes* ships, that sayle in it, hauing many Masts and Gunnes, which when they are shot off, make all the earth shake with the noyle: which should seeme to be the *Chinians*, that trade thither in the Summer, and returne backe againe ere the Winter doth come. The like also affirmeth another, being a *Russe*, who hath beene in the Riuer of *Tingussey*, where the people make this report.

The first of March, the *Russes* tooke their Journey from hence, from *Pustoxer* into *Russia*, with such commodities as they bought.

Generall Fast
for 3. dayes
very strict.

Russes fraide

February

Samoyeds
quarrell

Variation

The report of
a Russe, a great
Traueller of
the way from
Pechora to Ob.
Medenskey Zauorot
Zyelenfa two
Ilands
Breit-vinnose
Socolia Lowdia
A long Point
From Medenskey
Zauorot to Ob
is 16. dayes
sayling
An Iland
Ob is full of
Ilands, broad
and shoald.

The people of
Pechora, and
the Russes are
vnwilling that
we should goe
to Ob.
The Riuer
Tenisse.
Samoyeds.
Horses.
Ploughes.
The Riuer of
the Tingusses.

Tangut menti-
oned by Polo, a
large Kingdom
Northward
from Cathay, or
China.
The Riuer, ar-
rived
Pisida.
Gunnes.
March.

Pustozers in 68.
degrees 30. or
35. minutes.

Aprill

The report of
a *Permack*.
Yenisey: be-
yond it the
land trendeth
due East.
Pesida River.
Catonga River
runneth out of
Cathay.
Stones like
Gold and Sil-
uer in the mid-
way betweene
Pesida and *Ca-
tonga*.
May.

The River Ice
breakes vp.

Four dayes
journey be-
twene *Pusto-
zer* and *Oust-
zilma*.
Oust-zilma is in
66. degrees

30. minutes.
& there grow
faire Barley
and Rice.

June.
17. *Soyms* de-
part for *Mol-
gomsey*.
July.
Tom combu-
stion.

Intelligence of
the Countrey.
Course of *Pe-
chora*.
Modeneskoy
Zauorot.
Medniskoy
Ostreue.

The twelfth, the Sunnes altitude by the Quadrant was 67. degrees and 40. minutes; and the declination, no degrees 52. minutes, which being added, maketh 68. degrees and 30. minutes, being the true height of *Pustozers*.

The thirteenth, the Sun arose at East and by South a little Southerly, and set at West North-west. This day the Sunnes altitude by the Quadrant was 67. degrees 20. minutes; and the declination, 1. degree 15. minutes: which added together, maketh 68. degrees 35. minutes: so that I conclude, that *Pustozers* standeth in about 68. degrees 30. minutes. The eight and twentieth, the Sunne arose at East and by North, and set at North-west and by West.

The eleventh of Aprill, the Inhabitants of this Towne returned from *Slobodka*, bringing with them Rice, Rice-meale, and other provisions.

The one and twentieth, having conference with a *Permack*, concerning what commodities were to be had at the Towne of *Ust-zilma*, he told me, that there were Losh hides, Squerrils, Sables, white Foxes, and Rosomackes. Moreouer, he told me, that beyond the River of *Yenisey*, the Land trendeth due East, and then there is a River called *Peasda*, and beyond that another, called *Catonga*, which runneth into *Cathay*: whose King, these *Permacks* and *Russes* call *Tenkis*. The River lieth North and South as they of *Yenisey* say, but they cannot tell how farre: for, there hath not any bene vp the River, by reason they are afraid of their shot. And this *Permack* told me, that on the Sea coast betwixt these two Rivers, *Peasda* and *Catonga*, they found certaine stones like vnto Gold, and some like Siluer, being about the halfe way betwixt the two Rivers.

The two and twentieth, we had newes brought that the Ice was broken, in the *Pechora*, all alongst by the sides.

The ninth of May, the Sunne arose at North-east somewhat Easterly, and set at North somewhat Westerly, it being iust foure houres by the Houre-glasse vnder the Horizon.

The three and twentieth, the Sun did not goe vnder the Horizon, for it was a pretie height about the Horizon, at a North North-east point of the Compasse: it then being at the lowest.

The foure and twentieth, we had newes that the *Pechora* brake vp, vpon the twentieth day of this instant moneth. The sixe and twentieth, at foure of the clocke in the after-noon, I departed from *Pustozers*, to goe to *Ust-zilma*, where I arriued the thirtieth day instant. And the River of *Pechora* lieth most part North North-east, and South South-west, and sometimes North and South. *Ust-zilma*, is a Village of some thirtie or fortie houses, and standeth in the height of 66. degrees and 30. minutes. They haue Corne growing there, both Barley and Rice: and their Barley is passing faire and white almost as Rice.

The ninth of Iune, I departed from *Ust-zilma* backe againe to *Pustozers*, where I arriued the eleventh of Iune. The one and twentieth, seuentene *Soyms* departed from hence to goe to *Molgomsey*: some belonging to this place, some to *Ust-zilma*, and some to *Mezen*, and *Penega*. The two and twentieth, diuers Boats went from hence to the Sea, to fish for Omelyes and Bealwages Oyle. The foure and twentieth, I sent downe *William Pursglone* to the Sea side, to buy the Oyle which God shall send them.

The third of Iuly, I receiued a Letter forth of England, by the way of *Colmogro*.

The fift, we had newes that the Gouvernour and Souldiers of *Tom* have burnt the Towne, and fled from thence, by reason they wanted victuals, and their pay: and about three hundred of them intended to come to *Ust-zilma*, to rob the Inhabitants thereof. This day I was told, that from *Pustozers* vp *Pechora* with a faire wind, to the River of *Onse*, is three weekes trauell: and then vp the River of *Onse*, to *Podcamen*, ten dayes, and from thence to *Ob*, eight dayes, drawne by Deere: and from thence to *Beresona*, sixteene dayes, which is a Towne of trading. This mine Host told me, that he was a prisoner at *Beresona*, and at *Tobolsco*: and hee affirmeth, that *Tobolsco* is a Citie of great trade, and that the *Tsecks*, *Bombars*, and *Tartars*, come thither to trade, who bring Silkes, Veluets, Grogran, Sendames, and Kindackes, and that great store of Cloth, Pewter, and Copper may be vented there. Also there is great store of Furrer, as Sables, Squerrils, Foxes, Blacke, Rosamackes, and Beauers. He sayth, that from *Pustozers* to *Vade* in *Ingoria*, which is on this side *Ob*, with carriage vpon Deere, it is a moneths Iourney, and *Nosona* is on the other side of *Ob*; and it is two weekes and an halfe with light carriage or pott. Moreouer, he told me, that *Pechora* runneth into *Velega permia*, five weekes Iourney from *Pustozers*, and from *Velega permia* to *Verho tomia*, nine dayes Iourney by Horse and Sleds: and from thence to *Tumen* by River, ten dayes: and from *Tumen* to *Tobolsco*, sixe dayes by the River *Irtish*, and is the chiefe Citie of all Siberia. And from *Tobolsco* to *Sowrgout*, is sixe weekes Iourney vp the River *Ob*, from whence come all the rich Furrer which come to *Arcania*. From *Sowrgout* to *Tome*, which is amongst the *Tartars*, is three weekes vp the River *Ob*: and yet none knoweth how farre the *Ob* runneth further, as he sayth, he was carried these wayes to the *Musko*, in the beginning of *Rofriga* his time.

The sixteenth, I was told by a *Permack*, hauing some speech with him concerning the *Vaygats*, that from *Medniskoy Zauorot* to the *Vaygats*, is one day and a nights sayle with a faire wind. And as you goe forth of the *Vaygats*, there lieth an Iland called *Meastno Ostrone*, not being

being farre from *Socolia Lowdy*: and from *Vaygats* through *Yongorskey Shar* into *Oarskey gouba*, (which is a great Bay and deepe) is two dayes and one nights sayling into *Mowtnoy River*, the course East, somewhat Southerly. And from *Mowtnoy* to *Sharrappa Shar*, which is an Inlet, is halfe a dayes sayling: and from thence to *Yowconone* is halfe a dayes sayling, which is an high Land: and from thence to *Naromzia* is a dayes sayling. And there are three little Rivers betwixt them: and there are Morfes all alongst that shoare, and farther he knew not by Sea. But he sayth, that the River *Ob* is a dayes sayling right over. And from *Zylena reca* to the *Taz*, *Zanorot*, the course is South-east, a dayes sayling: and from the *Zanorot* of *Taz* to the Rivers mouth, is a day and a nights sayling: and there is an Island in the mouth thereof, being high land. And from thence vp the River, the course is South-east to the Towne eight dayes journey, to be haled with a rope, there runneth such a streame. But ere you come to the *Taz* River, there is another River on the Starboord side, called *Powre*, where they get of the best Sables that come: and you must leave the land at the *Taz* on the Larboord side. And from *Taz* Towne vp the River *Volochanco*, is fixe dayes journey Easterly against the streame, vntill you come to a Vollocke, about a mile and an halfe long, Marsh ground, and so into another River, some foure dayes rowing with the streame, to the River that is called *Tromban*, which is a great River, and falleth into *Yenissey*, some three dayes journey more with the streame: at the entrance whereof lieth an Island, called by the same name, whereon there is a little Towne of the same name. From thence downe the River *Yenissey* to the River *Hantike*, is twelue dayes sayling: and it is a great River, and runneth to the East (as it is thought) into *Cathay*, which of the *Permarks*, is called *Kishayskey Tsarrstua*.

The first of August, my selfe, and the Boy, went aboard the *Lodia* departing from *Pustozor*. The tenth, we arrived at the *Gloubocke*, which are the deepe water, whither *William Parfeglowe* was come with the *Oyle*, where we melted what we could, before we departed. The twelfth, I obserued in the *Gloubocke*, and had it on the Quadrant 56. degrees 30. minutes: and the Declination was 12. degrees 42. minutes, so it standeth in 69. degrees 12. minutes.

The eighteenth, we departed from the *Gloubocke*, and entered the *Dry Sea*, and arrived at the *Zanorot* the one and twentieth.

The two and twentieth, we weighed and went out to Sea, the wind at East North-east, but the wind comming to the North-west, we put roomer againe, and came to an Anchor at the *Zanorot* againe. The foure and twentieth, I obserued at the *Zanorot*, and had it on the Quadrant 63. degrees no minutes, and the Declination was 7. degrees 26. minutes, so it standeth in about 70. degrees 30. minutes.

The six and twentieth, we departed from the *Zanorot* about noon, the wind being at East, the land trending betwixt it & *Collocolona* East & West, being two Voadaes, or sixty Versts distance.

The seuen and twentieth, we came to an Island called *Mezyou Sharry*, being sixtie Versts to the Eastwards of *Suatinose*, and it is about ten Versts in length, and two Versts broad. At the East end thereof, *Oliver Brunell* was carried into Harbour by a *Ruffe*, where he was Land-locked, hauing the Island on the one side, and the Mayne on the other.

The eight and twentieth, we departed from *Mezyou Sharry*, the wind at North-east, a little gale, but before night it fell thicke, and wee steered away North-west, and about mid-night, it came to the North North-east blowing a very sore storme: so that we were not able to beare our sayle aloft, and hauing floud vnder foot, we were fogged into the Bay, and put ashore some two houres before day, vpon the long point of the obscure Harbour, about three miles to the Westwards, the wind being at North: where we got all our goods on Land, alwayes looking when the *Lodia* would haue split. But, by Gods Almightye Prouidence, she beate ouer that Sand, and lay betwixt it and the beach: so that when the tyde was fallen, she fate on ground, as if she had beene in a creeke, the Sands all dry round about her. Also on the West side of *Suatinose*, in the Bay is a great River, called *Indiga*, which is, deepe Water, and a good Harbour for a ship, as the *Russes* doe report.

The thirtieth, the storme continued all the day long. The one and thirtieth, about noone it blew lesse wind, and at night we stopped our leakes as well as we could.

The first of September, in the morning wee got our goods againe aboard. The second, in the morning, we went roomer with the obscure Harbour, the wind being at the North-west, but at noone, it came to the South-east and East South-east, so we weighed, and stood to the Westwards againe, vntill wee came to the River, where wee came on shoare the last yeere: which is called *Zenouea*, where wee anchored a little to the Eastwards, and ridde the most part of that night.

The third, in the morning we weighed, and stood to the Westwards, but the wind comming to the West South-west blowing hard, and hauing the tyde against vs, we anchored againe about ten of the clocke on Thursday, being the third day: yet within two houres after, we were forced to weigh, and put roomer to a little River or Creeke, that is, called *Croostona*: where wee ridde vntill the ninth day. Then we loosed, thinking to haue gone forth to Sea, the wind being Easterly; but it blowing hard, and there running a great streame of fresh water, that it put vs

Scola Lowdia.
Yongatkey Shar.
Carskey Gouba.
Mowtnoy a River.
Sharrappa Shar.
Yowconone.
Naromzia River.
Ob.
Zylena River.
Taz Zanorot.
Taz River.
An Island in the mouth of Taz.
The Towne.
Powre River.
An Island called Tromban.
The River Hantike runneth out of Cathay.

August.
They depart from *Pustozera*.

Gloubocke in 69 degrees 12 minutes.

Collocolona.
Mezyou Sharry.
Oliver Brunell.

Indiga.

September.

on ground againe, wee were in great danger againe of losing all. So wee were forced to get all things on shoare againe, and then got her off the eleventh day, and went into the Creak againe: and stopping our leakes as well as we could, we got our goods aboard againe.

The fourteenth, the winde comming to the East South-east, wee got forth to Sea with much adoe; and sodne after, the winde came to the East North-east, a faire gale: and wee stood it alongst the Land South-east and by South, and North-west and by North all that after-noon untill mid-night; at what time we were thwart of Callenose. The fifteenth, about three of the clocke in the morning, the winde came to the North-east, and blew very hard, so we steered away South South-west, and at night wee fell with a shoald, which they said, is thwart of the

Knocke Iohn. Mezen mouth; but I take it, it was *Knocke Iohn*.

The sixteenth, in the morning about eight or nine of the clocke, having carried but an hullocke of our sayle all night, we fell with *Danieloue Stolbe*, on the Coast of *Lappia*, the wind being at South, and blowing hard, so that we went into Harbour at the West of the Iland, there standing five Crosses on it, it being a Rocke. And there are foure Warlocks on the Mayne, and another on a Rocke to the Westwards; yet it is but for Lodyes, and that a bad one also, beeing full of Rockes round about, where we rid untill the six and twentieth. Then we departed forth of *Daniela Stolbe* about noone, and at night we came to *Sasnowets*, where we rid all night. The seven and twentieth, in the morning we fell with *Churua Nose*. The eight and twentieth, wee arrived at *Arkania*, where wee landed our Oyle. The nine and twentieth, wee arrived at *Colmogre*.

Extracts taken out of two Letters of *Iofias Logan* from *Pechora*, to Master *Hakluyt* Prebend of *Westminster*.

THere use to come hither in the Winter about two thousand Samoieds with their Commodities, which may be such as we dreamed not on yet. For by chance one came to us with a piece of an Elephants Tooth, which he said he bought of a Samoied. And heere are men called *Tingussies*, whose Countrey is beyond the Rivers of *Obi*, and *Taes*; and bordereth upon the great River *Yenisse*: which is a good River and a deepe, and falleth into the Sea *Naromzie*. And it should seeme it is not farre from China. Therefore you may conceive what hope there is of this Enterprize, if it please God it may be followed as it ought to be. Thus beseeching Almighty God to blesse you and us, I commit you to the protection of him, who is the giver of all goodnesse, Jul. 24. 1611.

This piece of an Elephants Tooth was sent into England. The Sea Naromzie,

In another Letter from *Pechora*, August 16.

THere come two or three thousand Samoieds hither to trade with their Sables, Beavers, Blacke Foxes, Squirrels, Wolfes, Rosomacks, Ermines. And here is caught in September, good store of Salmon, Traine of a certayne great fish, called a *Bealonga*, and *Morfes*, and Seales Oyle in the Sommer time, and White Foxes and Feathers. I had some conference with a Russe, who told mee that the Samoieds told him, that there lye *Minchins*, which in their Language is strangers, buried in the Sand in Coffins, with their armes a crosse their breasts: which they estimate to be about sixtie yeeres ago. And that they found Writing Tables in one of their pockets, and other small Trifles which they tooke away. The *Vaygats* is sometimes open and sometimes shut: and upon them groweth *Christall* of the Mount. The *Russes* and *Permarks* trade yeerely with them of the River *Obi*, and beyond. They goe by Sea into the great Bay beyond *Pechora*, called *Yowgorsky Shar*: into which there fall foure Rivers; The Eastermost whereof they call *Cara Reca*, or the Blacke River; beyond which they passe unto another, called *Moetnaia Reca*; then they come to a *Voloc* or necke of Land, which continueth but three *Versts*; over which they draw their Boats and goods, and so come to another River, called *Zelena Reca*, or The Greene River, which bringeth them into *Obi*: Into which on the Easter side, the River *Taes* falleth, making but one mouth with the River *Obi*, being shoald, and they report it to bee as broad toward the mouth, as a man can discerne over, having many Ilands therein.

Chrystall vpon the *Vaygats*. *Yowgorsky Shar*. *Cara Reca*. *Moetnaia Reca*. The *Voloc* or necke of Land. *Zelena Reca*. *Obi* River. *Taes* River. *Yenissey* River.

Tingussieya people. A White Citie. Great ringing of Bels.

Horses. People in Armour. They are not farre from *Cataia* and *China*.

Moreover, there is another great River, called *Yenissey* beyond *Taes*: which they say, is rather bigger and deeper then *Obi*; and it runneth up into the Land no man knoweth how farre. Although they haue discovered some fourteene dayes rowing up therein: neither can they learne of the Inhabitants thereof how farre it stretcheth; whom they call *Tingussieya*: who are a proper people of themselves. And the Samoieds report that they haue travelled so farre, that they came within sight of a White Citie or Towne: which should seeme to be builded of stone, for they durst not goe to make triall: and they heard great ringing of Bels. Also they say, that they saw beasts, but they were not like their Deere; for they had a great Mane, a long Taile, no Hornes, and their footing was round, not clouen, as their Deeres are: and they use to ride upon their backs, and not to draw in Sleds as their Deere use to doe. These I assure my selfe are Horses. And further they report, that there came people unto them all made of Iron, their heads, armes, hands, and legges: so that neither Arrows, Swords, nor Spears, could enter; which, as I coniecture, were people in Armour. For they said, that two hundred of them they thought were able to conquer all their Realme. By this you may gather, that they are not farre from *Cataia* and *China*. Thus haue I shewed unto you the greatest secret, and the nearest to the truth that I know. Requesting

you, if you thinke it meet, that the Right Honourable the Earle of Salisburie might haue a Copie thereof. Thus wishing you health and prosperitie in this World, and felicitie in the world to come, I cease.

CHAP. XI.

A briefe Relation of a Voyage to Pechora, and wintering there, began in the yeere 1611. Written by WILLIAM PERSGLOVE.

MAfter Iosias Logan, and William Gourdon, having received directions from the Right Worshipfull Company of English Merchants, Trading Russia. The eleuenth of Aprill, 1611. departed from Blackwall in the River of Thames, in a good ship, called the *Amitie*; whereof Iames Udum of Rederiffe was Master.

The sixteenth of Iuly, we arrived at *Pustozera*, being much wondred at by the Inhabitants, a *Permac* received vs into his House, and let vs haue a Warehouse for our goods. We all continued there vntill the five and twentieth of Iuly. Then wee returned in our Shallop againe to our ship, hauing a small *Russe* Boate in our company, to carrie some of the Feathers and Downe, which we brought there, our owne Boat not being able to carrie all, being pestered with our Prouision, and some Feathers, and White Foxes. Wee came aboard our ship the seuen and twentieth of Iuly, where wee deliuered those White Foxes, Feathers, and Downe, and an exceeding rich blacke Foxe skinne, hauing laded the *Russe* Boate with part of our goods. The rest of our goods they laid vpon the Sand to be sent vp afterward, leauing mee and *Marmaduke Wilson*, and an hired *Russe* with them, where wee attended to heare of Boates from the Towne. But Master Logan not hearing of any aboue a tunne and an halfe, could not get any to come downe to vs; because they feared to goe ouer the dry or shoald Sea in their little Boates being laden.

The one and thirtieth, our ship departed ouer the Barre, purposing to make their Voyage in *Noua Zembla*, or some Ilands not farre distant from thence. At their departure there were five and twentie Coaches or *Soymas*, in that Road of *Pechora*, with at least two hundred men in them bound for *Molgomsfey*, but hindered by contrary Windes and Ice, our shippes being ouer the Barre, they all came on shoare to vs; some threatening, others flattering vs, but after I had bestowed two Bottles of Beere among some of the best of them, they all went vp to *Pustozera*; where most of them that had any goods to sell stayed all Winter, and sold their Commodities in barker with the Inhabitants, and when they could happen secretly vpon any *Samoieds*, they would be trading with them also: which is contrarie to the Priuiledges granted by the Emperour to the *Pustozers*. Their Wintering there was no little hinderance to vs for the sale of our goods.

We arrived at the Towne the seuenth of August. In mine absence Master Logan had hired part of an House of one, called *Tiffon Vriawich*, a *Polonian*, who was turned *Russe*.

The three and twentieth of Nouember, I departed from *Pustozera* to goe for *Russia*, at three of the clocke in the afternoone, in the Company of certayne *Russes*, *Permacks*, and *Samoieds*, which *Samoieds* were our Guides ouer the Mountaynes: and one dayes journey ouer the Rocks, which they call *Cameni*, which are not Rockie Hills, as in *Norway*, but high Lands, yet in most places smooth, and most marsh grounds full of little Hillocks, which being couered with Snow and frozen, did not much annoy vs. Our Argeshey or Carauan were about two hundred and ten Sleds, drawne the most part with two Deere in a Sled. They had also about two hundred spare Deere, to ease the wearied. We kept company vntill the fourth of December together, hauing

passed two third parts of our way to *Slobotka*, being the first Towne in the Countrey of *Mesen*, that we saw. And then in company of foure Sleds, hauing each two choice Buckes, with a *Samoied* in the fift for our Guide, we left the Argeshey, and rid post for *Slobotka*, where wee arrived the ninth of December, at ten of the clocke at night. In this Towne I found one *Thomas Ligon* an *Englishman*, who had serued Master *Richard Cockes* of *London*, who saluting mee in *English*, maruelled much to meet me there: and carried me from the rest of my company to his Lodging, and gaue me there very kind entertaynement. The next morning I departed thence in his Sled, hauing ouer night hired an Horse to the next Towne, which was fifteenth Versts off: And so traouelling day and night, changing Horses at euery conuenient place, I came to *Colmogro* the twelfth of December: and deliuered my Letters from Master *Iosias Logan* our Faكتور in *Pustozera*, to Master *Fabian Smith*, then Agent for the *English* Company. Hauing rested my selfe foure

dayes there, and received certayne Money to helpe to put off some of our goods at *Pechora*, I departed from *Colmogro* the seuateenth of December, and came to *Slobotka* the nineteenth day; the height of the Pole being there some sixtie five degrees. I stayed there till the two and twentieth of the said moneth, by which time the *Permacks* and the Inhabitants of *Pustozera* were

They were first received into a *Permack* House.

August.

Nouember. His Voyage ouer-land to *Slobotka* and *Colmogro*. Mountaynes & *Cameni*, or Rocks.

He arriveth at *Slobotka*, the 9. of December in 16. dayes. *Thomas Ligon*.

He arriveth at *Colmogro*, the 12. of December.

were readie to returne to *Pechora* with their goods, being Rie, Malt, Hops, Salt, *Aqua-vita*, and some course Cloth. Moreouer, diuers *Russes* hauing their Sonnes or Kinmen Leigers there, in Winter doe send Cloth and Money ouer Land.

Snow bettereth their Travell.

The fourth of Ianuarie.

Mosse food for the Deere.

The manner of travelling with the *Samoieds*.

Their Tents.

Hard-soft lodging.

Poore *Samoieds*

Dangerous Wolues.

Slobotca.

Trade with the *Samoieds* of *Ougoria*. Eight or nine hundred *Samoieds* come to *Pustozera*.

The false suggestions of the *Russes* against vs.

Hauing made my prouision for my journey, and taken my leaue of Master *Thomas Ligon*, wee set forward that night, and rid not aboue five and twentie Versts, to a place where wee found the *Argeshey* which set out from *Slobotca* the two and twentieth day in the morning by breake of day. We had better passage in our returne, then we had in our journey from *Pustozera*, by reason of much Snow fallen in the time of our being in *Russia*, and frozen so hard, that it bare both Deere and Sleds in all places. Wee kept together with the *Argeshey*, being then two hundred and fiftie Sleds, till we had passed more then two thirds of our way ouer the Mountaynes: and then long before day hauing chosen Buckes of the best, wee departed the fourth of Ianuarie, being eight Sleds in company, and rid post all that day and night following, beeing *Moone-light*, saue sometimes for the space of an houre that wee stayed where, the *Samoied* our Guide knew there was good store of Mosse, (which is white) to refresh our Deere. The fifth of Ianuarie, we came to *Pustozera*, hauing in fortie houres travelled three hundred and fiftie Versts with our choice Buckes. Our *Argeshey* or Carauan arrived there after vs the twelfth of Ianuarie.

The *Samoieds* being the onely Guides in Winter, either from *Pustozera* to *Slobotca*, or to any other places Eastward, as *Ougoria*, *Siberia*, or *Molgomsey*; know, by their continuall travell, the way, though it be neuer so thicke weather, as also where most store of white Mosse is growing: and according as they find themselves neere vnto some mosse place, be it something before night, or within night foure or five houres before they can come thither: there for that Night they pitch their Tents, being for the most part made of Deere and Elkes skinnes: we had in our companie foure great Tents set vp, and some twentie vnder each Tent. This worke of pitching the Tents belongeth vnto the Women. In the meane time the men vnyoake the Deere, and turne them loose to digge through the Snow, bee it neuer so deepe, for their food and sustenance. Then the *Samoieds* (of euery Tent one) out of the next Wood, prouide as much Fuell as shall serue their turnes for their abode there. First, they set on Kettles full of Snow water, which being melted, they drinke thereof euery one a good draught: then they seeth their Supper, vsing as before Snow water melted for their Drinke. Our lodgings were vpon the Snow within our Tents, round about the Fire, hauing vnder vs for our Beds the skinnes of Deere, couered with our day apparell. For all the time of our journey, the Merchants, whether Stranger, *Russe*, or *Permac*, according to the number of them, make prouision of Victuals to feed the whole familie in euery Tent, euery man his day about, together with the *Samoieds*, their Wiues and Children; who carrie all their Household euery where with them; and out of their Sonnes and Daughters, they appoint a watch ouer their Deere, for feare of the Wolfe and other Beasts, which notwithstanding their watch sometimes kill in a night one or two of their Deere, as it fell out two nights in our journey to *Slobotca*. This *Slobotca* is a pretie Towne, hauing in December and Ianuarie, great resort of people repaying thither, as well Rich *Russes* out of many places, with money to buy Fures, as others with prouision of Meale and Malt, and other Commodities, to furnish the *Pustozers*, as also to buy Fish, to wit, Salmones, Oyle of *Bealugos*, Deere skinnes, and Fures of them.

The tenth of Ianuary, the Inhabitants of *Pustozera*, returned from Trading with the *Samoieds* of *Ougoria*, on which Iourney they set forward the five and twentieth of Nouember: and within three dayes after, came betwixt eight or nine hundred *Samoieds* with a small quantitie of their Commodities, in respect of former yeeres, by reason of Warre betweene the *Samoieds* of *Ougoria*, and *Molgomsey*, who were wont to Trade one with another, and not to warre one against another. So Sables, and other Commodities being scant, the inhabitants sold them very deare: yet notwithstanding, the *Russes* bought vp all, struing one to haue them before another. So that after that little money, which we had was bestowed, wee could not doe any thing in barter. Moreouer, the *Russes* did not onely informe against vs, to the Inhabitants to stirre them vp against vs, but also vsed the like meanes to the *Samoieds* to dissuade them from trading with vs, either in their owne Countries, or else-where; alleading that wee would betray them, and not onely carrie them away to make them Slaues, and robbe them, but also would murder and destroy all the rest, wheresoeuer wee should come. The Inhabitants also of *Pustozera*, being incensed by the *Russes*, doubting wee would enter farther into their Trade Eastward, began also to hinder, and forbid the *Samoieds* to come to vs. Yet by meanes of our Host being a *Polac* borne, we spake with diuers of the principall of the *Samoieds*, hee being our Interpreter, and wee our selues vnderstood certayne *Samoieds* speaking broken *Russe*, and by these meanes we found out more at large the despitefulness of the *Russes*, and the enuie of some of the Inhabitants against vs; as also their feare, least wee, or any other Stranger, should enter into further Discoverie of their trafficking toward the East, but especially about the River *Ob*. Some sayd we were sent as spies to betray their Land to the *Pole* or the *Swethen*, with whom they then had warre. Some gaue counsell to put vs vnder the Water: others aduised to set vs vpon the Sand, where wee should haue bene without all doubt drowned in short space, others thought best to send vs vp

to the Nobilitie, and to seaze on all our goods to the vse of the State. But diuers of the best in the Towne, with whom wee kept all friendship that possible we could, withstood those bloudie practises. The Lord therefore bee blessed.

The fifth of March, the Inhabitants of *Pustoxer* went againe to *Slobotca*, carrying the *Russes* March. with their Commodities thither.

They returned home the eleuenth of Aprill, 1612. The one and twentieth of Aprill, water was first seene vpon the maine Riuer *Pechora* about the Ice, descending from about *Oust-zilma*.

The twentieth of May, the Ice brake vp. The five and twentieth of May, certayne of the Inhabitants of *Pustoxer*, went by water vnto *Oust-zilma*.

10 The sixe and twentieth, *Iosias Logan* with our Hoast the *Polonian*, hired a Boate and went toward *Oust-zilma*, carrying with him certayne Cloath and Copper Kettles, in hope to sell them well there, being intreated in the Summer before by one of their Townesmen to come thither, or to send one to Winter there: alledging that they got great store of Losh-hydes, Squirrels, Sables, and Beuers. Which some yeeres indeed, as we were credibly informed, falleth out according to his report. But at his arriual there, diuers of the Townesmen came against him, and would not suffer him nor any of his Boate to Land for the space of ten houres: but in the end, they let him goe on shoare, after, as wee suppose, the Inhabitants of *Pustoxer* had bought most of their Commodities. So that hee staying there two dayes, could get but nine Losh-hydes, and halfe a timber of course Sables, in barter for some Cloath and Copper. The principall cause of his going thither, was, to meete with some of the *Permacks* out of *Permia*, who some yeeres come downe with Rie, and Rie-meale, and thought to haue giuen notice to those *Permacks* of our being at *Pustoxer*, and to haue willed them to haue perswaded their Countrey-men to bring thither the next Spring following all their Commodities, being Waxe, Honey, Losh-hydes, and Furies, which they might doe for halfe the charge that they are at in bringing them to *Archangell*, on the Riuer *Duina*.

Oust-zilma is a pretie Towne of some sixtie Houses: and is three or foure dayes sayling with a faire wind against the streame from *Pustoxer*, but backe againe they may sayle it in two dayes.

The third of Iune, came the first *Russes* in their Cayooks by Riuer out of *Russia* to *Pustoxer*. These Cayooks, be small Boates of two tunnes, hauing two men in each Boate.

30 The twentieth of Iune, nine *Russe* Coaches or Soymas, passed by *Pustoxer* from *Oust-zilma* for *Molgomsy*. The one and twentieth, sixe *Russe* Soymas more departed from *Pustoxer*: all the rest hauing giuen ouer their Voyage, which came thither the Summer before, 1611. The two and twentieth, one Soyma belonging to the Towne of *Pustoxer*, departed for *Molgomsy*.

The three and twentieth, and foure and twentieth, the Inhabitants of *Pustoxer*, went to Fish for *Bealugos* vnder the *Boluan*, being the highest Land neere vnto the *Drie Sea*, and two dayes sayling from the Towne.

50 The five and twentieth, I departed after them, and arriued there the seven and twentieth, hoping to haue prouided good store of *Bealugos* Oyle. But it fell out contrarie: though there were about fiftie Boates, hauing in euery Boate three men, and in many foure, by reason it pleased God to send such windie and stormie weather, that the Boates could not goe to Sea in many dayes together, during their wonted time of Fishing for those Beasts: being till the twentieth of Iuly. Then euery man leaueth that Fishing, and repaire to their owne Fisherie, to hunt Ducks, Geese, and Swannes, which most yeeres they get in abundance, and make good profit of their Feathers and Downe: as also of their Flesh, which they salt vp in Caske for Winter prouision, seruing them also all the Summer for Flesh dayes. These *Bealugos* they catch with harping Irons, tyed fast to a long rope of ninetie or an hundred fathoms, with a staffe of the length of two yards or somewhat longer, being put loose into the Iron, wherewith when the beast commeth within the reach of him that striketh, he smiteth him with the Iron, leauing it in the Beast: then the rope being layed out cleere to vere out, the man holding his Staffe still in his hand: but the Beast being wounded hasteneth to the bottome, where hauing beate himselfe neare to death, they hall in their rope by little and little, the Beast ascending thereby. And if they finde him not neere death, they strike him againe: and being dead they cut off his skinne with the fat on it in many parts, some the breadth of two hands, some more or lesse. Then comming on shoare, they take the Fat from the skinne, and cut it in small peeces to dissolue it to Oyle, casting away the Flesh which is red, to the Fowles of the Sea; except some poore *Samoied* come that way, whotaketh it, though it haue lyen putrifying two or three dayes, and dryeth it, and maketh good cheare with it with his Familie. This Beast is as bigge as two good Sturgions. Moreouer, I was informed by an ancient Traueller, that the Flesh and Fat of that Beast, being cut as Beeffe and salted in Caske, is a great and rich Commodity in *Italie*; which cannot chuse but to be much better then young Whales, which I haue heard that the *Biskayners* vse to preferue for good meate. With the Fat of some one of these Beasts, they will fill three Barrells, of some lesser two barrells, and some yeeld but one barrell of Blubber, which they call *Shilliga*. In that Summer when I was there, by reason of Northerly windes blowing hard, they killed by all their Boates not about fortie Beasts: with some Boate they killed two, with other three, with some foure. But with most not one.

Our men intreated to winter at *Oust-zilma*.

Oust-zilma.

Iune 3.

Sixteene Soymas depart for *Molgomsy*.

Fishing for *Bealugos* vnder the *Boluan*.

Manner of killing them.

The *Russes* vpon the Ice vse to kill the Moose as they doe their *Bealugo*: but their rope is longer, and a barrell made fast at one end to buoy it.

Samoieds povertie. *Bealugo* made meate in *Italie*.

July 13.
A Boate sent
by Riuer to
Pustozera, to
fetch home
Master *Logan*
and his Com-
pany into *Rus-*
sia.
August.
The *Glowbuc*.

Promoi Coskoi.

September.

North-west
windes cause
high Tides on
this Coast.
Much Snow.

Candinos.

Danilo Stolb in
Lapland.

Archangel.

Colmogro.

Medenskoi
Barre.
Vaygats Iland.
The Riuer *Ob*.
The Riuer *Tas*.

The thirteenth of July, I received a Letter from Master *Iosias Logan*, the effect whereof was ; That the Company of our *English* Merchants of *Russia*, had sent a Boate out of *Russia* by Riuer, which stood them in foureteene Rubbels or Marks for vs to goe in her, or by *Lodia* for *Russia*. For they were purposed not to send a Ship for vs that yeere.

The ninth of August, Master *Iosias Logan*, and *Marmaduke Wilson*, came from the Towne of *Pustozera* in a *Lodia* to goe for *Russia*, and Anchored in the *Glowbuc*, which is a deepe place of the Riuer. Heere wee stayed ten dayes to make vp our Oyle. In the meane time the *Lodia* got her full lading with Omelies, and Seegies salted in Caske, attending a faire winde.

The ninth of August, wee set sayle out of the *Glowbuc*, and entred the *Suchoi-morie*, that is, The *Drie or shoald Sea*, and stirred away next hand North North-east.

The nine and twentieth, a little before day, not thinking wee had beene so neere the Land, wee were on the Breches of *Promoi Coskoi*, or the Sands of *Promoi*, a bad Harbour so called by the *Russes*, and beate ouer one Sand by Gods prouidence onely, so high, being halfe full of water, that in dispaire of euer getting her off againe, wee vnloaded most of the goods, as Fish, Oyle, Feathers, Downe, and Losh-hydes, as soone as it began to bee day-light, and that the *Russes* knew vs to bee vpon the mayne Land. The thirtieth day, being somewhat calme, and the wind Easterly, but thicke weather still, there came three men from *Vasilie Beregen* his *Lodia*, who was our Consort, while wee were working to get our *Lodia* a floate againe, and told vs, that their *Lodia* was beaten in peeces vpon the mayne Land, some seuen or eight Verfts to the Westward off vs. The one and thirtieth, wee laboured againe, and by Gods assistance got her a floate, hauing taken out almost all her goods : and that night laded some part againe.

The first of September, wee got all our goods aboard, and at Night-tide being faire weather, the winde North-west and Moone-light, wee put from that comfortlesse place, and went into the *Promoi* Harbour, hauing on the Barre nine or ten foote water ; but within foure or fve fathoms. A South-west Moone maketh there a full Sea. It is in the great Bay betweene *Suti-nos* and *Candinos*. The second, the winde at East North-east faire weather, wee set sayle with our leake *Lodia*, the Pompe neuer resting.

The third, the winde variable, wee sayled along the the shoare till about Noone : then the wind comming to the West, wee put backe againe for *Christona Stanouecha*, which is the Crosse Harbour, where wee rode in a fine Riuer, hauing a bad Barre.

The ninth, in the Morning wee purposed to put to Sea againe, the winde Easterly : but the Barre was so growne and warped vp with sands, when wee came vpon the entrance of it, that we could not passe ouer, neither with Wind nor Qares, but were forced vpon the mayne : where our *Lodia* was beaten so high vpon the sand, that all hope of sauing her was past. That day wee got out of her an hundred Barrels of Fish and Oyle, and yet we could not get her off againe.

The tenth, the winde being at North-west, caused high Tides, by which meanes we got her off, and brought her againe into Harbour. The eleuenth wee had so much winde and Snow, that we could not get our goods aboard all that day. The twelfth, we got all aboard, hauing stopped most of our leakes with Mofse and old Cloutes.

The thirteenth, the wind at East, faire weather, wee put to Sea out of that bad Harbour, lea- uing one of our Boates there, and eight Barrels of Fish to ease our leake *Lodia*. The fourteenth, about mid-night we were thwart of *Candinos*, and stirred South-west, and South South-west all the next day : but the Night following being much winde, the *Russes* esteeming themselves to bee on the Westerne shoare, strooke sayle, and by Day-light we saw Land to the Westward of the *White Sea*, being the sixteenth day : and wee were forced againe into another bad Harbour, called *Danilo Stolb*, that is, *Daniels Piller*, on the Coast of *Lapland*, where we made our *Lodia* fast among the Rockes : where shee lay drie halfe-tide, and lay there benept and wind-bound vntill the fixe and twentieth day : and then at Tide-time wee got out of that place.

The eight and twentieth, wee entred into the Riuer of *Dunya*, and landed that night at the Castle of *Archangel* in the *English* House, all our Oyle, Losh-hydes, and other goods, as Fea- thers, Downe, &c.

The nine and twentieth, about mid-night we came to the *English* House at *Colmogro*, and there continued all the Winter.

The three and twentieth of Aprill 1613. the Riuer of *Dunya* brake vp at *Archangel*.

Other Observations of the sayd WILLIAM PURSGLOVE.

FROM *Medenskoi Zauorot* to the Isle of *Vaygats*, is two dayes sayling with a *Russe* *Lodia*. 60
FROM *Vaygats* to the Riuer *Ob*, is foure dayes sayling. The Riuer *Ob* lyeth North and South. The course from *Vaygats* to *Toukoi-coscoy*, is North-east ; and from thence East to the mouth of *Ob*. Within the *Ob* some three dayes sayling, is a Riuer on the East side called *Tas*, hauing as it were a Barre at the entrance thereof : yet there is alwayes eleuen or twelue foote water vpon it.

it, but within it is very deepe. Within two dayes sayling within the *Tas*, the *Russe* hath builded a Towne and a Castle, being called *Molgomsey*; where all the Hunters of Beasts assemble, and bring their Furs with them. Also the *Russe* Soymas or Boats and those of *Pustozera*, come thither with their Meale and other Merchandizes. And hauing sold or bartered their Commodities, euery one returneth home, some to *Pustozera*, and others to *Russia*. The Hunters also provide against the next Winter for Hunting againe.

There are three Riuer vnder the high Land of *Ougoria* and *Naramzey*, and great store of Morffes about the point of *Naramzei*, whither the Inhabitants of *Pustozera* doe send a Lodia in the Autumne, with diuers Commodities to trade with the *Ongorian Samoieds*. Also they kill many Morffes, onely taking their Teeth, and trauell among the *Samoieds* all the Winter to trade with them, and returne ouer Land to *Pustozera* in Ianuarie next following. Some yeeres, if the winde doe not serue them instantly, they are glad to giue ouer that Voyage by Sea. As for example, in the yeere 1611. when we wintered there, the frost came vpon them before they had wind to serue them; whereupon they were forced to giue ouer that Voyage. And as soone as they could trauell by Sled, some of the richest of the Sonnes and Seruants of the Townsmen, were sent with certayne Commodities to barter with the *Samoieds*, against their Fathers or other Friends should come after in the Winter, and to buy vp all the best Furs and other Commodities.

The *Russes* when they sayle for *Molgomsey* in their Soymas, goe not about *Naramzei* point to the mouth of the Riuer *Ob*, but sayle vp a narrow Riuer, called *Moetnaia Reca*, that is to say, the Muddie Riuer, & at the head therof they hale their Boats ouer a little neck of land into the Riuer *Zelenai*, that is, the Green Riuer, & so fall down into the Riuer *Ob*: and so saile Southward vp the Riuer *Ob* till they come to the Riuer *Tas*. From the Barre of *Tas* to the Riuer's mouth, is about a daies & a nights sailing. There is an Iland in the mouth of *Tas*, being very high land. From thence the Riuer to the Towne, leaning the Iland on the left hand are eight dayes sayling. But ere you come to the *Tas* Riuer, there is a small Riuer called *Power*, or *Piet*; where they get the best Sables of all *Molgomsey*. And vp the Riuer *Tas* to *Volochanko*, against the streame are fixe dayes sayling Eastward, till you come to a *Voloc*, or necke of Land a mile and an halfe ouer, beeing marish ground, ouer which the *Russes* and *Pustozers* hale their Boats into another Riuer, called *Toromhan*, and rowing downe with the streame three dayes, they fall into the mightie Riuer *Yenisee*. At the mouth of the Riuer *Toromhan*, there dwell people on an Iland, hauing builded them a little Towne and a Church. And from thence they sayle downe the Riuer to *Hawtick*, which is a great Riuer, and runneth vnto the East.

The Riuer of the *Tingussies*, is three dayes and three nights sayling within the Riuer *Yenisee*. There are no Woods neere vnto the mouth of *Yenisee*. But in the Riuer of *Tingussie* are great store of Woods. There are two or three Riuer betweene the mouth of *Yenisee* and *Tingussie*, but not so large as the *Tingussie* Riuer is; neere vnto which the *Russes* doe fish: and as soone as it freezeth, they go againe to their old trade of hunting the Sables, Beuers, and Foxes. And hauing in two winters so laboured for themselves, those that be good Husbonds return rich into *Russia*: And except they fall againe into pouertie through fire or other wayes, neuer returne thither againe.

The *Tingussies* are a taller people then the *Samoieds*, and weare their Garments made of skins shorter, and made closer to their bodies then the *Samoieds*. They be a very gentle people to converse withall.

From the mouth of *Ob* to the great Riuer *Yenisee*, as a *Russe* told mee, is foure dayes and foure nights sayling. Betwixt *Ob* and *Yenisee*, is high blacke Land.

Beyond *Yenisee* Eastward is another great Riuer, called *Pisida*. The Land trendeth due East beyond the Riuer *Yenisee* to *Pisida*: and to another Riuer, called *Catonga*, which commeth out of *Cathay*, whose King the *Permackes* call *Toulka Tsar*. The Riuer lyeth North and South: they know not how farre. For the *Tingussies*, of whom they had intelligence of this Riuer, are afraid of Gun-shot that they doe heare, which they vse on the South part of that Riuer, and dare not trauell vp it. In it they saw Vessels with two or three sayles, which in the Spring, sayle downe the Riuer Northward, and in the Autumne, returne againe to the South. But they know not whether they fish, or goe to gather some Mynes, which are supposed to be in those Countreies, not daring to goe neere them. It was told me, that betwixt *Pisida* and *Catonga*, about the mid-way vpon the Sea-coast were found diuers Stones, some like vnto Gold in colour, other white and like Siluer. Also the *Tingussies* haue seene people about that great Riuer, called *Catonga*, riding on Horses: and it is said, that there is great store of Corne, Beefes, Horses, Sheepe, and Goates in this Countrey.

The trauell from *Pechora* to *Permia*, *Ougoria*, and to the Riuer *Ob*, and the Townes situated thereupon, ouer Land.

From *Pustozera* vp the Riuer *Pechora*, with a faire wind to the Riuer *Onse*, is fourteene dayes sayling by Riuer. From *Onse* to *Podcamen*, ten dayes. From *Podcamen* to *Ob* eight dayes by Deere

Molgomsey a great Mart.

Ougoria and *Naramzei*.

Store of Morffes. They returne from *Ougoria* in Ianuarie.

Moetnaia Reca.

Zelenai Reca.
Ob Reca.
Tas Riuer.
An Iland in the mouth of *Tas*.
A Towne.
A necke of Land.

The Riuer *Toromhan*.
The Riuer *Hawtick*.

The Riuer of the *Tingussies*.
Two or three Riuer from *Tingussie* to the mouth of *Yenisee*.

The Riuer *Pisida*.
The Riuer *Catonga*.

Ships with two or three sayles.

Horses about the Riuer *Catonga*.

Beresena.

Deere in Winter time, as soone as the Snow is fallen and frozen. From thence to *Beresena* sixteene dayes; which is a Towne of Trade, it is from *Pustozera* to *Vade* in *Ougoria*, beeing on the West side of *Ob*, a monethes journey or trauell by Deere. This *Vade* is a little Towne, hauing the Houses thereof builded vnder the ground.

The Riuer of *Pechora*, runneth through great *Permia*; and the head thereof is five Weekes trauell from *Pustozera*.

Vercho-towria.

From Great *Permia*, is nine dayes trauell by Horse and Sled to *Vercho-towria*. *Vercho* signifieth in the *Russe* Tongue, The higher: as *Vercho-towria*, is *Towria* The higher. From thence by Riuer

Tumen.

Tobolsca.

Surgout.

Tom.

is ten dayes journey to *Tumen*. From *Tumen* to *Tobolsca*, sixe dayes downe the Riuer *Irtysh*. *Tobolsca* is the chiefe Citie in *Siberia*. From *Tobolsca* to *Surgout*, or *Sergalt*, is sixe Weekes journey vp the Riuer *Ob*. From *Surgout* to the Citie *Tom*, seated among the *Tartars*, is three Weeks vp the Riuer *Ob*. The *Russes* know no farther of the Riuer *Ob*; nor how farre it stretcheth to the Southward: But they suppose that it runneth much farther to the South, by reason there come so many severall Nations downe the said Riuer to trade at *Surgout*, and *Tobolsca*: as namely, the people of *Boughar*, the *Teficks* or *Persian* Merchants, and many sorts of *Tartars*. *Abraham Michaelonich* was chiefe Customer at *Surgout*, 1611. And hee told me, that hee receiued for the Emperours Custome for goods, bought and sold that yeere, the summe of sixteene thousand Robles, or Markes.

Many Nations come downe the Riuer *Ob*, from the South to trade at *Surgout* and *Tobolsca*.

The Country of King *Alteen*.

An *Alteen* is six pence, a *Dingo* is a penie.

Moreover, he told me, that the people of *Cathay* doe trade to *Surgout*, and people from diuers other Kingdomes, as from *Alteen Tzar*, or King *Alteen*, who among other things bring Plates of Silver and sell them. Another *Russe* named *Philat*, who had trauelled farther among the *Tingussies*, then any other *Russe*, and speaketh their Language, told mee he had bought of a *Tingussie*, a Plate of Silver weighing in *Russe* Money fortie two *Alteens*, foure *Dingoes*, for twentie blue Glasse Beades.

Beresena vpon the *Ob*, before you come neere *Tobolsca*, is a Towne of Trade for Fures, but especially for Losh-hides; which are bought for tenne *Alteens* a piece. I was told by a *Permac*, that there was a *Russe* which bought foure thousand Elkes, or Losh-hides, there for a fourth part of a Roble or Marke a piece.

Hawkes as white as snow.

To the Eastward of *Pechora* are store of Hawkes, which I hold to bee as good as the *Turkie* Hawkes, namely, slight Falcons, Goshawkes, and Ier-falcons, whereof some are as white as Snow, others speckled White and Red. Likewise, there are all kinds of the richest Sables brought from *Molgomssey*, and blacke Foxes. There is also Christall of the Mountayne. If we might haue libertie to trauell those Countreyes, wee might haue these Commodities cheaper there then at *Pechora*. And within the *Ob* we might vent our Commodities at a better rate.

Commodities for Pechora, Siberia, Permia, Ougoria, and among the Tingussies.

Russe Money.

First, at *Pechora* readie Money, being *Russe* Money, is the best and principallest both to put off other goods to profit, as also to get credit among the Merchants-strangers at our first comming thither, till Trade be settled and knowne through *Permia*, and *Siberia*. Salt, Rie, Meale, white *Danske* Rie Kil-dried for heating in the ship, Oat-meale and Butter for the *Samoieds*; all sorts of course Cloth, some fine Cloth, Copper, and Brasse Kettles of the middle size, from two pound to thirtie, or thirtie five. But Brasse not aboue fifteene pound with eares of Brasse, all the Kettles and eares of one piece. Also Files to sharpe Arrowes and other things, small Horse-bells, course Canuasse for vpper Gownes. Foure peny, sixe peny, and ten peny Nayles: small Anchors of foure and twentie pound a piece. Frankincense for their Churches and Houses.

Commodities for the Tingussies.

A course Ham-borough Cloth.

Pewter, Pewter Sawcers, Little Platters, Flat Poringers, some grauen, some vngrauen. Nests of Cups, some grauen, others vngrauen. Salt-sellers. Plates, or sheets of Latten being white. *Hamborough* Lichenaes, Blue, Red, and Tawny. But I think our course Northerne dozens, and course Kerfies Northerne dyed into those colours, would vent as well and better then they: they being thicker walked. And the *Samoieds* delight altogether in thicke Cloth. Grey dozens of an easie price would vent well among the *Permarks*, which were much grey or mingled coloured course Cloth. And some course dozens died Yellow, or Northerne course Cloth Red and Yellow, would bee no bad Commoditie.

Aqua vite of two sorts, the best and indifferent for the *Samoieds*. Glasse Beades, Skie coloured. Needles round and three square. Brasse Basons, *Russe* Linnen Cloth, or *Polish* Linnen Cloth. Hops, Mault, *Russe* Sope. All sorts of strong Wines, as Sacke and *Canarie* Wine. Bacon is a good Commoditie in *Siberia*.

CHAP. XII.

Later Observations of WILLIAM GOVDON, in his Wintering at Pustozera, in the yeares 1614. and 1615. with a Description of the Samoyeds life.

He twentieth of Nouember, I departed from Pustozera, to goe to Tongorie, at foure in the after-noon, and did ride most of the Night, before wee came to the Choome, going East South-east. The one and twentieth, Mihiloe returned to the Towne, and we remoued and went our Iourney, faire and little wind. The two and twentieth, little wind North, wee kept on our course East South-east, hauing gone from the Towne 50. miles, at night Mihiloe came to vs. The three and twentieth, little wind, we went on our Iourney, and at Noone passed ouer a little Riuer, called Coy, falling North into Pechora, 14. leagues below the Towne, and at Night came all the Russes from the Towne, hauing gone 24. miles East South-east.

The foure and twentieth, wee remoued on our Iourney being very cold, and went not above ten miles East South-east, at Night wee broke one of our Sleds, which went laden with Viſtuals.

The five and twentieth, wee went forward very slowly, at Noone I receiued a Letter from Master Copman by Poma Cretisoue, this after-noon another had his Sled broken, we went 10. or 12. miles. The sixe and twentieth, we continued on our Iourney, and at Euen we passed ouer a Riuer, called Shapkina, falling South into Pechora; halfe way betwixt Pustozera and Oust-zilma, a Sled broken and mended out of hand, going East South-east 15. miles. The seuen and twentieth being Sunday, the wind at South-west, did blow very hard, and Snow all the day, the snow driving that wee could hardly see which way to goe, yet we kept on East South-east 18. miles.

The eight and twentieth, in the Morning, wee passed ouer Nougorotka Riuer, which falleth West South-west into Shapkina Riuer, fixe dayes Iourney about Oust-zilma, the wind South-west, and Snow all day, wee kept on still East South-east 15. miles. The nine and twentieth, the wind South, with Snow all day, being not cold, we went on East South-east 20. miles. The thirtieth, the wind East South-east, very cold in the after-noon, we passed ouer Habeaga Riuer, which falleth into Pechora, fixe dayes Iourney about Oust-zilma, going 20. miles.

The first of December, the wind East blowing very hard, the Snow did drive so hard, that we could not goe forward, but stood still all day and did not remoue. The second, calme and not so cold, wee went on East South-east 10. miles. The third, in the Morning it was very warme, at Noone the wind North, it was extreame cold, the Snow driving very thicke, in the after-noon we passed ouer the Riuer Haryena, which falleth into Coluoy South-east, hauing gone East South-east 15. miles.

The fourth day warme, we went East, at Euen we came to a Riuer called Coluoy, which falleth South into the Riuer Onse, where wee stayed all Night, hauing gone 20. miles. The fift, in the Morning we went on vpon the Riuer six or seuen miles East and by North, and came where it parted in two, the one keeping North-east, the other being called Sandauets; from the South-east wee went betwixt them both East and by South 12. miles, and tooke vp our lodging vpon a Playne where no Wood is to be seene.

The sixt, being Saint Nicholas day, which with the Russes is held a principall day, in the morning they caused their Images to be brought into the Choome, lighting Wax-candles before them, making their Prayers to them, according to their order; after which, I gaue them a bottle of Aqua vita, wherewith the Guides were drunke, that they could not guide their Deeres, but set me to direct the way by Compasse, which I did all the day, although I had but little skill, we went South-east and by East 20. miles.

The seuenth, being very faire weather, our Guides lay all the day with Pohmeall, and could not goe forward. The eight, faire and calme, we went forward South-east and by East 10. miles, and tooke vp our lodging by a small Riuer which falleth into Sandauets Riuer. The ninth, very cold, that we had much adoe to keepe our selues from freezing, going on foot all the day ouer a playne where no Wood groweth, going South-east 15. miles, and lay by a Wood side all night. The tenth, the Frost was so extreame, that wee lay still and could not proceed. The eleuenth, being Sunday, the Frost continued extreame, we remouing, there were few in the Companie that had not some part of their faces frozen, and my selfe, although I was something better provided then any of them, yet I had something to doe to keepe my selfe from freezing, going on foot most part South-east and by East 15. miles. The twelth, the Frost was so extreame, that there was no looking forth, but lay still all day. The thirteenth, not altogether so cold, wee proceeded on our Iourney 20. miles South-east & by East, and at night we passed ouer the Riuer Hoseda, which falleth South-east into the Riuer Azua. The fourteenth, the winde South, with Snow and not so cold, we went thorow Woods 20. miles, East South-east. The fifteenth, the wind South, with

B b b

Nouember,
1614.
His Iourney
within 30.
leagues of Ob,
and neere to
Berfoma.
The Riuer Coy,
falling into Pe-
chora.

The Riuer
Shapkina, fal-
ling into Pe-
chora.

The Riuer
Nougorotka, fal-
ling into Shap-
kina.
Habeaga Riuer,
falling into Pe-
chora.

December.

The Riuer Ha-
ryena, falling
into Coluoy.

The Riuer Col-
uoy, falling in-
to Onse.

Saint Nicholas
Bay.

A small Riuer
falling into
Sandauets.

Terrible Frost.

The Riuer Ho-
seda, falling in-
to Azua.

The River *Azua*, falling into *Ouse*.

The Mountain *Yangoda*.

The River *Roganaya Mensha*, falling into *Ouse*.

The River *Roganaya Bolska*, falling into *Ouse*.

Altitude and Variation.

Januarie. Returne.

Wilde Deere.

Aprill. River increasing. May.

Oust-zilma.

Glouboka is 67. degrees 55. minutes.

Snow, and not so cold, we went East South-east, at Noone wee passed ouer *Azua* River, which falleth South into *Ouse*, we continued still East South-east 30. miles.

The sixteenth, the wind South, in the Morning we set forth East South-east, ouer a high ridge or Mountayne, called *Yangoda*, and vpon the top of the same the wind shittling North, with Snow so thicke, that our Guides did not know well which way to goe, yet sometimes backe and sometimes forward, with much adoe we got ouer, in the Euening passing ouer the River *Roganaya Mensha*, falling South into *Ouse*, where we stayed all Night, hauing gone 20. miles.

The seuenteenth, faire and warme, wee passed thorow Woods, where the Snow was very deepe, and came to a Playne, called *Correapin Tundra*, where a *Russe* whose name was *Correappa* dyed, (and was buried, therefore they gaue that place that Name) some thirtie yeeres past, where we stayed all Night, hauing gone 15. miles South-east and by East. The eighteenth, in the Morning wee went on thorow Woods, the Snow being very deepe, and at Mid-night we came to the River *Roganaya Bolska*, where the *Russes* had a Gorodocke, and bartering with the *Samoits*, hauing gone 30. miles East South-east, the River falleth with turnings to the Southward into *Ouse*; heere I stayed till the sixth of Ianuary.

The thirtieth of December, I obserued with my Astrolobia, and had the Sun 2. degrees above the Horizon. Latitude 65. degrees and 48. minuts, the variation of the Compasse being 20. degrees.

The sixth of Ianuary, at three in the after-noon, wee departed from the Gorodocke, the wind South South-west blowing very hard, going North-west 30. miles, and at mid-night came to the Choome. The seuenteenth, the wind South South-west, blowing very hard, the Snow driving so thicke, that we could not goe ouer the Mountayne, called *Yangoda*, but stayed by a Wood side, hauing gone West North-west 15. miles. The eight, in the Morning wee passed ouer the River, called *Roganaya Mensha*, and at Noone ouer the *Yangoda*, keeping backe our way 30. miles West North-west, faire and warme. The ninth, little wind North but sharpe, we went on North-west and by West, at Noone we passed ouer *Azua* River, and in the after-noon came to a Herd of wilde Deere, the *Samoits* killed three, giuing me a haunch; going in all 30. miles.

The tenth, calme and very cold, we went on 20. miles, West North-west. The eleuenth, little wind South-east; at Noone we passed ouer *Hofeda* River, which falleth South-east into *Azua*, we went 30. miles North-west & by West. The twelfth, the wind South and cold, we went West and by South, ouer many Creeks & Ponds 25. miles. The thirteenth, this day the wind South and not cold, we went West & by South 30. miles, thorow many woods and plaines. The fourteenth, faire and warme, at Noone we passed ouer *Saudaets* River, which falleth South-west into *Coluoy*, we went West and by North 30. miles.

The fifteenth, being Sunday, we went West North-west ouer a broad playne, with many great Ponds, at Night we passed ouer *Coluoy* River going South into the River *Ouse*, which falleth into *Pechora*, nine dayes journey from *Oust-zilma*, we went 30. miles, hauing most of our Deere tyred, the Snow was so deepe. The sixteenth, little wind, we went on West North-west, at noone we passed ouer *Haryena* River, which falleth South-east into *Coluoy*, going 20. miles. The seuenteenth, the wind South, blowing very hard, the Snow driving, wee went West North-west 25. miles, at Night we tooke vp our lodging vpon the River *Habeaga*, which falleth into *Pechora*, sixe dayes journey from *Oust-zilma*.

The eighteenth, we went on West North-west 10. miles, where the Townesmen ouer-tooke vs, riding post to the Towne, where making our selues ready, wee followed, the same Euening we passed ouer *Nougorotka* River, which falleth West South-west into *Shapkina* River, which falleth South-west into *Pechora*, halfe way betwixt *Pustozor* and *Oust-zilma*, and in the Morning we passed ouer *Coy* River, which falleth into *Pechora* 14. leagues Northward from *Pustozor*; and the same day, being the nineteenth day in the after-noon, wee came to the Towne, hauing rid aboue 150. miles without rest. The last of Aprill, 1615. being Sunday, was the first appearing of the water, increasing at *Pustozera*. The seuenth of May, *Euan Croticoue*, had almost slaine with a knife his two Vncles, *Foma Croticoue*, and *Erasmi Croticoue*.

The eighteenth, the water was at the highest, being so extreame that many were forced out of their Houses, and we our selues in like manner, hauing the water a foot deepe in our bed Chamber. The twentieth, the water did a little begin to fall, and so continued falling by degrees.

The ninth of Iune, my seruant *Marmaduke Wilson* came from *Oust-zilma*, hauing Wintered there, to buy and sell goods, bringing with him such Commodities as the place doth afford, as Sables, Rofomacks, Wolues, Ermins, Squirrels, &c.

The fifteenth, we laded three small Lodias with goods, to carrie downe to the *Glouboka*. The three and twentieth, I departed from *Pustozor*, and came to the *Glouboka* the five and twentieth, with two small Lodias laden with goods. The eight and twentieth of Iune, I obserued at the *Glouboka*, which I found to lye in the height of 67. degrees 55. minutes, and the Compasse varied 18. degrees. The last of Iune, I went from the *Glouboka* to passe ouer the *Drie Sea*, the wind at South, but the wind comming to the North, I returned backe the next day. The second of Iuly, being Sunday, the wind at South South-east, I departed the second time, to come to the *Zauorot*, but comming neere *Dalgoy*, an Iland lying in the *Drie Sea*, the Ice lay so firme, that we could not passe but returned backe to the *Glouboka*.

The

The fourth of Iuly, *John Copman* came to the *Glonboka*, bringing with him all our goods for sayle, having payed all Customes and duties for the same. The sixth of the same, I departed the third time from the *Glonboka*, the wind at South, but did not continue, but came to the East, and East North-east, so rowing alongst the shoare, wee passed to the West side betwixt the shoalds and the shoare, and having passed the Wester Iland, called *Louetsky*, we came to the *Zackhar-reoneberoge* or Coast, which doth lye South-west and North-east, and put into a small Riuer, where we stayed (the seventh) all night, and the next day with Sayle and Oares, wee came to a Bay to the South of *Casnets Nose*, where we stayed all night, the wind East South-east.

The eight, in the Morning we passed by *Cuznets-Nose* amongst the Ice, having much adoe to get cleare, the wind at North North-west, and at Night we came to the *Zanorot*, where were five and twentie sayle of small Lodias, some going for *Munganza*, other for Fish, and some going to *Pustozor*, who told me they had beene aboard our Ship at Sea. The ninth, this day being Sunday, our Ship came ouer the Barre, where I was receiued, not looked for. The eleuenth, at Night we departed from the ship, and went to get downe our goods from the *Glonboka* and the Towne.

The sixteenth, I departed from the *Glonboka*, with three small Lodias laden with goods, but the wind at East North-east, two of them returned backe, but I kept on and came aboard our Ship the eighteenth in the morning. The twentieth, the other two came with the goods aboard, and the one and twentieth, we returned to the *Glonboka* with three Boates, and got thither that night. The three and twentieth, I came the second time from the *Glonboka*, with three Boates with goods, and the next morning came to our Ship, where I remayned, sending vp all the Boats the sixe and twentieth of Iuly.

The eight of August, came *John Copman* with *Thomas Dogget*, bringing two Boats laden with goods, fitting to set sayle for *Holland*, but did not depart till the 21. of August. And the three and twentieth of September, (giuing heartie thanks to God) we arriued at *Dort* in *Holland*.

NOW for the manner of the *Samoits* in their Iourney, their vpper Coat is called a *Parka*, which is for the most part of Deere-skin, and some of white Foxe or Woluerin, which they wear the hayre or furre outward, vnder that they haue another Coat, which is called a *Mallek*, made of young Fawne-skins, or Hare-skins, or Swan-skins, very soft and well dressed, a Cap of Beuer, double and close to their heads, with two flaps for their Eares, tyed vnder their Chin, a payre of Breeches of Deere-skin with the hayre inwards, vpon their Feete they haue sockes or stockins of Deere-skin, the hayre to their skin, vpon that long Bootes which they call *Pemyes*, made of the legges of Deere-skins, thus apparellled, they sit vpon their Sleds crosse-legged, with a Deere-skin vnder them. Two Deere being yoked to a Sled, they will runne with such swiftnesse, and so long to continue, as is not to be beleued, except to those that haue seene the same. For riding post, they will ride without rest or sleepe, two hundred miles in foure and twentie houres; but with their Argish or stuffe, thirtie miles in twelue houres; their Women vsually doe guide their Argish, which is ten Sleds, and to euery Sled a Backe, all made fast one after another, the Men in the way doe prouide Wood for firing, and doe hunt for all manner of Beasts & Fowle, which the women dresse. It is the Womans labour to set vp the Choome or Tent, making one place therein alwayes Holy, which the woman must not set her foot into, neither goe about the Tent round; which if they chance to doe, they will presently remoue all, for feare of the Wolfe or Beare, which they say, would deuoure them if they did not remoue.

Their Tent or Choome, is made in this manner; first, they set vp long Firre-poles, then they haue sixe quarters double of Deere-skin, which being set vp, they throw Snow round about the edges a yard thicke, leaving the top open for to vent smoake, making a Fire in the middle, spreading Deere-skins, vpon which they lye, in which manner, it is altogether as warme as the Stoues in *Russia*, they haue no Townes, neither any certaine place of abode, but with their Deere they trauell from place to place, where they finde the best Mofse for their Deere.

Their Wiues they buy for Deere, and will haue if hee haue abilitie foure or five Wiues, with whom he lyeth by turn euery night seueral; he is the richest man that hath most Deere or Daughters, selling them to any that will giue most for them. In their Marriages hauing agreed of price, they vse not great Ceremonies; onely they make a Feast to their friends, after which the Woman is brought to the Man that hath bought her, shee being hung with many Iron Rings and Brazen Bels, all departing out of the Tent saue they two till the next Morning, and then he departeth; but if he bee one of wealth, they will continue their Feast seuen dayes. It falleth out many times, that after they haue had their Wiues halfe a yeere or a yeere, they will turne them backe to their Friends, taking their Deeres againe, paying for the charge of the Feast, which is alwayes to bee made at her Fathers charge, and losing the increase of his Deere.

They haue not knowledge of the true God, but worship Blocks and Images of the Deuill, vnto which, they will strangle tame Deere, rubbing the bloud on the Idols, and eating the meate themselues.

When a Rich man dyeth, because hee should not trauell on foot, his friends will kill three Deere to draw him in the new World, and they will strangle a Slaue to tend on him. The Deere

Iuly.

Apparell of Samoyeds.

Sleds.

Deere swiftnesse.

Women.

Tent and Chappell.

Superstition.

No Townes.

Marrie Wiues, bought and sold. Marriages, Rings and Bels.

Diuorce.

Religion.

Funerals.

they kill in this manner to serue the dead man, they make a Stake sharpe, which they thrust into the Beasts fundament, with many howlings and cryings, till they be dead. The Master with the Slaue they burie, the Deere they eat as well raw, as boyled or roast, although they vie all. three

Their yeere
but halfe a
yeere.

If a young Child dye vnder foureteene of their yeeres, which is seuen of ours, they doe hang it by the necke on some Tree, saying, it must flie to Heauen.

Iudgement or
Oath.

If any Controuersie bee, which cannot bee decided or the truth knowne, then one of the two betwixt whom the Controuersie is, must bee sworne, which is in this manner; they will make an Image of a Man of Snow, bringing a Wolues nose, deliuering a Sword to him that must sweare, he rehearsing by name all his Friends, desiring that they might all bee cut in peeces in that manner, as hee doth cut that Image of Snow. Then he himselfe, doth cut the Image of Snow all to peeces with the Sword; then after, the Wolues nose being layd before him, he desires that the Wolfe may destroy all his tame Deere, and that hee may neuer more take or kill any wilde Deere after that, if hee speake not the Truth, so cutting the Wolues nose in peeces, there is no more to bee sayd of that Controuersie.

Their persons.

The *Samoit* is stout and bold of Spirit, not very tall but broad Brested, broad Faces, with hollow Eyes. Their ordinary instruments for Warre, are Bowes and Arrowes, very dangerous, they haue long Speares, (the heads bee made in *Monganzey*, by another sort of *Samois*) and short Swords, not much vnlike some that I haue seene brought from *East India*.

Diuination.

When they would know any thing to come, they send for their Priest or Witch to conuerse with the Deuill, sitting in one side of the Tent, hauing before his face a peece of an old shirt of Mayle, hung with Bels and peeces of Brasse, in his right hand a great Tabor made with a Wolues skinne, beating vpon the same with a Hares foot, making a very dolefull sound, with singing and calling for the Deuill, to answer his demand, which being ended, they strangle a Deere for a Sacrifice, making merrie with the Fleish.

Womens hard-
dinesse.

The Women be very hard of Nature; for at their Child-bearing, the Husband must play the Midwife, and being deliuered, the Child is washed with cold water or Snow, and the next day the Woman able to conduct her Argish.

The *Russes* haue a yeerely Trade with the Merchants of *Boghar*, at a place called *Tumen* in *Tartarie*, whither they of *Boghar* come with Camels every yeere.

From *Tumen* in *Tobal* in *Siberia*, they come in foureteene dayes.

From *Tobal*, they come to *Beresona* in nine dayes, all downe the Riuer *Ob*.

From *Beresona*, partly by the Riuer *Ob*, then ouer a necke of Land of halfe a mile ouer, into the Riuer *Ouse*, and downe the Riuer *Ouse* into the Riuer *Pechora*, and so to *Pustoxera* in three weekes. At *Pustoxera*, the *Englishe* haue Wintered three yeeres.

CHAP. XIII.

Diuers Voyages to Cherie Island, in the yeeres 1604. 1605. 1606. 1608.

1609. Written by IONAS POOLEY.

* This was
Master Bennets
second Voy-
age thither.
His first Voy-
age thither
A. 1603. I haue
added at the
end of this
Chapter, after
Pooles Relati-
ons: this be-
ing set before
I saw that.



We set sayle from London the fifteenth of Aprill 1604. in a Ship called the *God Speed*, of sixtie Tunnes, with thirtene Men and a Boy; our Merchant was one Master Thomas Welden, our Master was one Steven Bennit of Saint *Catherins*. We arriued at *Cola* in *Lapland*, the first of May, where wee tarried till the last of the same Moneth, at which time wee set sayle from *Cola*, and went to an Harbour called *Pechingo*, which lyeth betweene *Cola* and *Ward-house*. In which Harbour of *Pechingo*, we continued vntill the thirtieth of Iune. At which time wee set sayle from thence, and through contrarie windes and foule weather, were put into *Ward-house*, where we tooke in fresh water, and stayed vntill the sixth of Iuly.

The same day, the wind came Southerly, and we steered away Northwest and by North about 56. leagues, wee obserued the Sunne at twelue of the clocke at Noone, and found our selues to be in 73. degrees 5. minutes of Northerly Latitude. The seuenth of Iuly, it was all day calme, and wee sounded, but had no ground in two hundred and fiftie fathoms. The eight day, we had little winde, which was at South-east, and foggie weather; and at eight of the clocke at Night, wee saw great flockes of Sea-fowles, which we call Willockes: some of these Fowles had each of them a small Fish in their bills, and flew toward the North-west and by North. The other without Fish, some of them flew contrarie to the former, and some sate in the Sea very neere our Ship.

A Morfe.

About twelue of the clocke at night we sounded, and had ground at one hundred and twentiefathomes. We steered away North-west and by North, till foure of the clocke the eight day in the morning, then it fell calme: and as the ship lay still, our Master spied a Morfe, which came to our ship and swamme round about it. While we were all gazing at this Monster, I spied the

the Iland ten leagues off, bearing North North-west halfe a point Westerly, which shewed very high Land, and much Snow vpon it. The wind came to the North-east. The ninth day, wee came to an Anchor on the South South-east side, in fise and twentie fathomes streamie ground. We hoysed out our Boate, and Master *Welden* went toward the Land: but thinking to haue landed he could not, because there went a great Sea, and great store of Ice all along the shoares side. Within one houre the Boate came aboard, and they said, there were so many Fowles, that they covered the Rockes, and flew in such great flockes, that they shewed like a Cloud. While thus they were talking close by the Boate, rose vp an huge Morfe, putting his head aboue the water, looking earnestly at the Boate, and made such an horrible noyse and roaring, that they in the Boate thought he would haue sunke it.

Cherie Iland described.

Store of fowles.

Morfe's roaring

The same day, at eight of the clocke at night, we weighed and stood away South-west and by South about foure miles, where wee doubled the Southermost point of the Iland, and found the Land to trend North North-west, and all along the shoare some scattering Ice. We sayled along the shoare, finding seuentene, eightene, and sometimes twentie fathomes, streamie ground with white shels. We held this course till wee saw all the Northermost part of the Iland: and being within three miles of it, and about thirteene miles from the Point, wee came round about it. And some two miles from the Land, we anchored in sixteene fathomes, streamie ground. We had not ridden one houre to an end, but a great piece of Ice came directly with the tyde vpon vs; and before wee could weigh, it strooke the ship with such force, that it hilded on the one side. As soone as it was past, we went on shoare, where wee found abundance of Sea Fowles, as Willocks, Gules, Noddies, Sea-mewes, a small Fowle like a Willocke, and diuers others, as wilde Geese, Sea-pidgeons, Oxbirds, and such like: whereof Master *Thomas Welden* killed so many with his Peece, that we almost laded our Boate with them. The same night we shot three heaps of fishing-lines, but when we haled them, wee found neither fish nor bayte: for the Seales had eaten them all off.

Abundance of Sea-fowles found on shoare.

The ninth day, Master *Welden* and our Master went on shoare, to see what they could finde. They went in the fore-noone about eight of the clocke, and came againe about foure in the after-noone very weary, seeing nothing but small Foxes, almost like Dogges in euery respect, saue their smell and their tayles. In the meane time, the Masters Mate and my selfe obserued the Sunne, and found that part of the Iland to be in 74. degrees and 45. minutes.

Small Foxes. 74. degrees, 45. minutes.

The tenth day we weighed, hauing the wind Southerly, and found the Land to trend away East South-east. The length of this side is about ten miles, good ground. We had not sailed past fixe miles, but we saw a landie Bay, against which we came to an Anchor in nine fathomes. We had not furred our Sayles, but we saw many Morfes swimming by our ship, and heard withall so huge a noyse of roaring, as if there had beene an hundred Lions. Immediately wee manned our Boate, wherein was Master *Welden* and sixe men more: we landed, and saw abundance of Morfes on the shoare, close by the Sea-side; and drawing neere vnto them, wee perceiued that they were all of the same company, which wee had seene before. It seemed very strange to vs to see such a multitude of Monsters of the Sea, lye like Hogges vpon heapes: In the end wee shot at them, not knowing whither they could runne swiftly or seize vpon vs or no. To be brieft, wee had but three Peeces, Master *Welden* a Fowling Peece, my selfe a Musket, and another a Musket. Their Peeces were spoyled instantly. For Master *Weldens* was cloyed, the other man when hee had shot one by himselfe, thought to knocke him on the head with the stock, but split his Peece. I shot still, and some when they were wounded in the flesh, would but looke vp and lye downe againe. Some were killed with the first shot; and some would goe into the Sea with fise or sixe shot: they are of such an incredible strength. When all our Powder and shot was spent, wee would blow their eyes out with a little Pease shot, and then come on the blind side of them, and with our Carpenters Axe cleaue their heads. But for all that we could doe, of aboue a thousand we killed but fiftene. We tooke off their heads, and when we had done, we went stragling vp and downe to see what we could finde. I found the first Tooth that was cast vpon the Iland, and going a little farther alone, I found as many Teeth more, as I and three men more could carrie, which filled an Hogthead: all which we did deliuer to Master *Welden*.

They kill the Morfes.

The Morfes Teeth.

The next day following, being the eleuenth day, we went on shoare againe, and killed about sixe more: And afterward wee went vp into the Land, and saw nothing but Fowle and Foxes. I perceiued in deed a great print of a Beares foote; and after that many other footings, but yet saw no Beare or other wild beast.

The twelfth, wee weighed from thence, and stood to the Eastward: wee had not gone past foure miles, but we found the Land to fall away South-east and by South. The length of this side is about twelue miles. All this side we went close by the shoare with our Boate, and the ship sayled along about three miles off. We went oftentimes on shoare, but could see nothing on all that side but Fowle, and abundance of Drift Wood, the most part whereof was Firres, which haue beene beaten vp and downe the Sea. This day being Sunday, about eight of the clocke at night, we anchored within two miles of the place where we arriued at the first. The same night wee went on shoare, and in a Bay vnder an huge Cliffe of a Rocke, vpon the Beach, wee found

Abundance of Drift Wood.

A thousand Morfes found. neere a thousand Morfes: wee killed thirtie or thereabouts, and when wee had taken off their heads, we went aboard.

The thirteenth, wee went on shoare againe, and with our Pieces fell a killing of the beasts. One of our company, named *Richard Lang-castle* split his Piece, and with all his hand: but Master *Welden* with Salues of his owne, healed it so skilfully, that he hath the vse of it againe. We killed that day sixtie Morfes, all the heads whereof were very principall. When we had done, wee went about a mile to the Eastward, to see what wee could finde: And landing at a Bay where Master *Bennet* had bene the yeere before, and found a piece of Lead Vre, wee looked for the same, but found none. The same day returning aboard, wee set sayle for *Pechingo* in *Lapland*, where wee arrived the five and twentieth of July; and stayed there foure dayes: at which time we set sayle for *Cola*, and arrived there the eight of August, where wee continued till the sixteenth day, at which time we departed thence for *England*, and arrived in the *Thames* the fifteenth of October, of the yeere aforesaid 1604.

Why the Iland was called Cherie Iland.

When wee came to *London*, because Sir *Francis Cherie* Knight and Merchant was at the charges of this Discouerie, this Iland was called *Cherie Iland*.

The third Voyage to Cherie Iland, performed by Master WELDEN Merchant, and STEPHEN BENNET Master, in the yeere 1605.

IN the yeere aboue said, wee set sayle from *London*, the first of May, with one ship of sixtie tunnes, and two and twentieth men and boyes. The three and twentieth of the said moneth, we were taken by a ship of *Dunkirke*. They tooke from vs two Hogsheds of strong Beere, our Muskets, a Fowling Peece of Master *Weldens*, which cost three pounds sterling. After the Captayne had misused vs at his pleasure, though we were in peace with his Countrey, he let vs goe.

Assumption.

July 2.
Cherie Iland.

Many Morfes killed with shot and Iauelings.

The fight of the Morfe.

Oyle made of the fat of the Morfes. Eleuen tunns of Oyle.

A Myne of Lead.

The eight and twentieth of Iune, we put off from *Assumption Point*, which is a place not farre from the North Cape, and about 70. degrees in latitude; but by contrarie winds wee were put backe againe. Yet the second of July, we came to *Cherie Iland*, and anchored on the South-east side: and hauing a Shallop in pieces to set vp, we carried it on shoare, and went to worke vpon it; and the third day after we had it on flote. The sixth day we entred into a Coue, hauing all our men on shoare with shot and Iauelings, and slue abundance of Morfes. The yeere before we slue all with shot, not thinking that a Iaueling could pierce their skinnes: which we found now contrarie, if they be well handled, for otherwise, a man may thrust with all his force and not enter: or if he doe enter, he shall spoyle his Lance vpon their bones; for they will strike with their fore-feet, and bend a Lance round, and breake it, if it bee not all the better plated. They will also strike with their Teeth at him that is next them: but because their Teeth grow downward, their strokes are of small force and danger. After we had opened the beasts which we had slaine, we tooke out the blubber, and carried it a mile into the Bay, where wee set vp the shallop. The reason why we carried it thither, was, because we thought that the fire of our Furnace would scare them away: for wee did boyle all their fat to bring it into Oyle. Thus wee followed our businesse till the foure and twentieth of July, at which time wee had very foule weather with fogs. Now the ship riding in the same Coue, where we killed our Morfes, had taken in eleuen tunnes of Oyle, and the teeth of all the beasts aforesaid. Then we made preparation to be gone home: and I was sent with our shallop, and eight men with me to fetch our Tent, and our boyling Coppers, our mens Clothes and some Teeth. At my returne, when I was almost aboard, comming through a place betweene the Iland and a Rocke, which of necessitie we must needs passe, the tyde being against vs, and a stiffe gale of winde blowing out of the Sea, made the Sea flye very high vpon the Rockes, whereby we had like to haue bene sunke: for our Boat was almost full of water; and if wee had not speedily rowed backe againe, wee had dyed each man of vs. To make short, we got into a Coue, where the Rockes did keepe the growne Seas from vs, & we lighted our Boat. In this Coue I found a Myne of Lead Vre, and digged vp about thirtie pounds weight of it, which I brought into *England*. And calling to mind that wee were in sight of our ship, when we shipped the water which I spake of before, I mistrusted that they thought, as they did indeed, that we were all drowned. Therefore I demanded who would goe with me, to the top of a Cliffe which stood ouer against the ship? And one *Iohn Ienings* said, that he would goe: he had not gone halfe way, but hee would goe no farther because it was so cold, and the Hill stood sloping very steepe toward the Sea, and all the side of it was loose Earth, which we must needs passe. Then I went forward all alone, and found all our men on shoare, sau-
ing an old man, and a sicke man. But the Cliffe being so high and steep, that they vnder it could scarce vnderstand what I said, nor I what they said, but with much adoe: They demanded, as I tooke it, if all our men were wel: I told them yea, as loud as I could: And then I threw downe a piece of the lead Vre which I had found, which *M. Welden* took vp: And when I was going away
I heard

I heard them shout; and looking behind me, I saw them all point toward the Skiffe that lay at anchor hard by the shoare; whereby I perceived that the rope was broken, which made it fast to the shoare, and the Skiffe was gone off to the length of her rope; so that they could not go aboard except one of them did swim to the Skiffe, which was exceeding dangerous, both because it was extreame cold, and also for feare of being killed by the Morfes, that were in the Sea all about the Boat. Whereupon with all speed possible I ranne to helpe our men in that distresse; and coming to the Shallop, some were willing, and some vnwilling: But I said that out I would; and taking nothing aboard with me but a few teeth, wee got out: and in the place where we had like to haue bene sunke before, wee had a great hollow Sea: but our Boat being light, and the tyde

Extreame cold the 25. of Iuly.

Abundance of driving Ice.

Mount Misery.

with vs, wee got through: whereat M. Welden, and Stenen Bennet our Master, with all the company were not a little ioyfull, and gaue God humble thankes, that had of his great mercy defended vs from a great many of dangers that day. For that day wee saw abundance of yce driving toward the Iland, but the winde and tyde shifting, put it another way. Likewise two boyes had like to haue bene slaine with the fall of a rocke, which fell close by them; they being but newly stepped out of the place where the rocke fell.

A monstrous fogge.

In the time that we were in this distresse, I called the Mountaine by the name of *Mount-miseric*, which is so called at this day. Likewise there is a very high Mountaine on the East South-east point of this Iland: which, because Master Welden and I got two Foxes neere it, I called it *Mount maleperdus*, alluding to the name in the merrie booke of *Reinold the Fox*.
The sixe and twentieth of Iulie, wee got out of the Coue with the Ship, hauing such a fogge, that although wee ridde so neere the land, that we could heare the fowle that were on shoare, yet wee could not see the land. This fogge continued vntill the eight and twentieth of Iuly: on which day hauing cleerer weather, wee got our water and other prouision aboard; and set sayle for England, and passing by the coast of *Finmarke* and *Normay*, we arrived at London the foure and twentieth of August. 1605.

The fourth Voyage to Chery Iland, 1606.

WE set sayle from London in a Ship and a Pinnasse; the Ship being of burden sixtie Tuns; and the same that I was in the Summer before; Master Thomas Welden was Merchant, and Master Bennet Master, hauing in all two and twentie men and boyes. The Pinnasse was of twentie Tunnes, and had eight men in her, and I Ionas Pool was Master of her: we were set out by Master Russell, one of the *Moscouie* Company.

August. 24. A Ship and Pinnasse set forth.

The eight and twentieth, wee had sight of land on the coast of *Normay*, in the latitude of sixtie degrees and a halfe; nine leagues off.

The Assumption.

The sixteenth of Iune, we fell with the *Assumption*, it bearing South and by West eight leagues off: and we lay beating betweene the North Cape and it, till the eighteenth of Iune: At what time wee put off, and steered away North North-west about fiftie fve leagues, and found much Ice: wee thought to haue gotten through it, but could not: and when wee had spent twelue houres in it, and hauing the wind Northerly, we put backe againe. The two and twentieth, we fell with the North Cape againe, at twelue of the clock at noone. The foure and twentieth, we put off againe, and being fve and fortie leagues from the Cape, wee met with Ice, and vpon a piece of Ice we saw a Beare. The Ship being on head of vs, bare close to the Ice; and Master Welden shot the said Beare dead at the first shot. This Beare was from the neere land about seuen and twentie leagues, and liued of Seales or other fish that he could prey vpon.

Much Ice 55. leagues from the North Cape.

Ice within 45. leagues of the North Cape. A Beare on Ice 27. leagues from any land. Iuly 2.

The second of Iuly, we saw *Cherie* Iland at a North found: the land bearing North and by West about ten leagues off. The same time we sounded and had ground at seuentie fve fathoms, white small shelly ground with small blacke stones.

The third of Iuly wee anchored on the West side of the Iland in twentie fathoms, hauing verie much Ice. I obserued the Sunne at the lowest, and found the latitude of that place to bee in 74. degrees, 55. minutes. It followeth there South-west and by South; and the flood commeth from the South-west.

Part of Cherie Iland in 74. degrees, and 55. minutes.

The fifth and sixth dayes, we were troubled with much Ice; but it being broken, we brought the ends of our Cables to our maine Masts; and hauing a good tyde, we did sheere, as wee tearme it, cleere off the Ice. We ridde thus in Ice sixe dayes, to wit, vntill the thirteenth day; at what time the Ice began to goe way, and the Morfes came on shoare. For their nature is such, that they will not come on land as long as any Ice is about the land.

The flood commeth from the South-west. The thirteenth of Iuly.

The fourteenth, we went on land; Master Welden, and Master Bennet, with the Ships company, and I with the company of the Pinnasse. And being altogether on shoare, and seeing of the beasts sufficient to make our voyage, wee prepared to goe to killing. Master Welden and Master Bennet appointed mee to take eleuen men with mee, and to goe beyond the beasts where they lay; that they and wee might meet at the middest of them, and so inclose them, that none of them should get into the Sea.

The nature of the Morfes.

A great white
Beare.

Seuen or eight
hundred beasts
slayne in fixe
houres.
A great Frost
the 24. of Iuly.

As I fetched a compasse about, before we were aware, rose a great white Beare within a Pikes length of vs: whereupon we made a stand, and my selfe hauing both a Musket and a Lance, thought to haue shot him: but remembring my selfe, that the report of my Peece might make all the Morfes goe into the Sea, and so hazard our Voyage, I went to him with my Lance. All this while he late foming at the mouth, and would not stirre, but gaped and roared as though he would haue eaten vs all: but presently wee pricked him in the snout; and then with an easie pace we proceeded on with our businesse; and before six houres were ended, we had slayne about seuen or eight hundred Beasts. And after that Master *Welden* slue the Beare. For ten dayes space we plyed our businesse very hard, and brought it almost to an end.

The foure and twentieth of Iuly, wee had the winde at North-east: and it freezed so hard, that the Ice did hang on our Clothes.

The fixe and twentieth, we had taken in two and twentie tunnes of the Oyle of the Morfes, and three hogheads of their Teeth.

The seuen and twentieth, Master *Welden* slue another Beare.

The eight and twentieth, we tooke in Water and Wood.

The nine and twentieth, we set sayle for England.

The fifteenth of August, 1606. we arriued in the *Thames*.

The sixth Voyage made to Cherie Island, the South part whereof standeth in 74. degrees and 40. minutes of Northerly latitude, in the yeere 1608.

The sixteenth of Aprill, in the yeere 1608. we set sayle from *Blacke wall*, and came to *Gransfend* in a ship called the *Paul*.

May 27.
Ward-house.
Tipary.

The one and twentieth of May, we were within 4. leagues of the North Cape, standing in 71. degrees and $\frac{1}{2}$ of North latitude. The foure and twentieth, wee came to *Ward-house*. The five and twentieth, we weighed, and came to *Tipary* in *Lapland* the fixe and twentieth: where we stayed about our businesse till the thirteenth of Iune.

Iune 13.
Cherie Island.

The thirteenth of Iune aforesaid, wee weighed anchor, and directed our course for *Cherie Island*. The eighteenth, at foure of the clocke in the morning wee saw *Cherie Island*, it bearing North North-west 10. leagues off: and at foure of the clocke at night wee anchored on the North-west side of it: and Master *Welden* went on Land on the North side, and slue a Beare.

A Beare slaine.
Another Beare
slayne.

The nineteenth, we rid still, and Master *Welden* went to the North side againe, and slue another Beare. The same day we sent two men to the South side of the land, to see if there were any Morfes on shoare. They came againe the next day, and said, that there were great store.

Great heate
the 20. and 21.
of Iune.

The twentieth and one and twentieth dayes it was calme, and the weather cleere, and wee had it as hot as I haue commonly felt in *England* at that time of the yeere. For the Pitch did runne downe the ships sides; and that side of the Masts that was to the Sunne ward, was so hot, that the Tarre did frye out of it, as though it had boyled.

1000. Morfes
killed in seuen
houres.

The two and twentieth, at a North-east Sun, we weighed and went to the South side of the land, and came into a Coue, where the Morfes were, and slue about 900. or 1000. of them in lesse then seuen houres: and there wee plyed our businesse vntill the second of Iuly: at what time we had taken into our ship 22. tunnes and three hogheads of Oyle.

Iuly 3.
A Voyage set
out by Master
Duppa to Cherie
Island, 1607.

The third of Iuly, being Sunday, one *Richard Stenens* of *Harewich* came to the said *Cherie Island*, in a ship called the *Dragon*, being set out by Master *Duppa*, a Brewer dwelling in *Saint Catharines* neere the Tower of *London*; which set out a ship with Master *Thomas Welden* the yeere before 1607.

A liuing Morfe
brought into
England.

The ninth day, we made our Voyage, and came out of the Coue, hauing taken in 31. tunnes of Oyle, and one hoghead, one barrell, and one terce of Morfes teeth: besides 400. other teeth.

The twelfth, we tooke into our ship two young Morfes, male and female, aliue: the female died before we came into *England*: the male liued about ten weekes. When wee had watered, we set sayle for *England* about foure of the clocke in the morning.

The fourteenth day, we saw the land bearing North North-west, 15. leagues off vs, and sounded, and had 85. fathoms, Greene Oze, like *Doues dung*.

The twentieth of August, wee arriued at *London*; and hauing dispatched some priuate businesse, we brought our liuing young Morfe to the Court, where the King and many honourable personages beheld it with admiration for the strangenesse of the same, the like whereof had neuer before beene seene aliue in *England*. Not long after it fell sicke and died. As the beast in shape is very strange, so is it of strange docilitie, and apt to be taught, as by good experience we often proued.

*The seuenib Voyage to Cherie Iland, made in the
yeere 1609.*

WEe were furnished with two ships, determining to goe to *Tipany* in *Lapland*, to buy fish of the *Lappes* and *Russes*, and afterward to goe to *Cherie Iland*: the one was called the *Lionesse*, in which I went for Master, the other, the *Paul*, which was there the last yeere, 1608.

The one and twentieth day of March, we weighed anchor at *Gransend*: and the fixe and twentieth, we came to *Harwich*: where it was concluded, that the *Lionesse* should goe directly to *Cherie Iland*. The fifteenth of Aprill, we weighed at *Harwich*: and the last of the same moneth we fell betweene *Lofoot* and *Zenam* vpon the Coast of *Finnmark*.

The second of May, we came to the North Cape; and the same day wee stood for *Cherie Iland*: but meeting with contrary winds and foule weather, we bare backe againe for the Cape, and fell with the Land the fourth day. The fife day in the morning, we put the second time from the North Cape; and the eight day wee anchored at *Cherie Iland*. It did freeze very hard, but we found no Ice about the Iland, saue that which claue to the Rockes. We went into the Coue with our Shallop, and found eight Morfes on the Ice hard by the shoares side: And we also found all the beafts that were killed the last yeere not washed away with the Sea, couered ouer with Snow and Ice. Wee thought to haue gotten abundance of Fowle as wee had done in the yeeres before: but they would not sit; the reason was, because they were but new come to the Iland, and not settled as then: yet some Fowle we got, and came aboard. And because the wind was

Northerly, that we could not conueniently goe to the North side with the ship, we determined to send some men ouer Land, to see if there were any Morfes on shoare vpon that side. The ninth day, I prepared to goe ouer Land to the North side, about a North-east Sunne, with three men in my companie. I my selfe had a Musket, and about a quarter of a pound of Powder, and fixe Bullets; an Halfe-pike in mine hand, and an Hatchet at my backe. One of the men had a birding Peece; the other two had each of them a lauelin. Wee went ouer the Snow and Ice apace outward; but came wearily homeward, by reason we rested not any where. And when we were within a mile of the other side, one of my companie said, he saw a Beare: whereupon we looked vp, and saw three great ones. Whereupon I made a stand, and gaue each of my com-

panie some *Aquavita*, and a little Bread, and told them, that wee must not in any case seeme fearefull, because the nature of them is such, that whoeuer seemeth fearefull, or offereth to runne away, they will seize vpon him. In this time I made my Musket readie: and the Beares seeing vs to come toward them, stood vpon their feet, and two of them went toward the Sea: The third stood still clamping and foming, as though hee would haue eaten vs. When I was within shot of him, he beganne to follow his fellows, still looking behind him with his former gesture. In the meane while I got ground of him, the three men following mee with their weapons. In the end the angry deuill turned backe, and came directly toward mee: I let him come within two long Pikes lengths, and gaue him such a welcome, that hee fell downe stone dead.

The company that were with me were glad as well as I: yet I had beene at the killing of Beares before. After this Beare was slayne, we told seuentene more, whereof three were young ones. This done, we went on to the Sea side, where we found the Shallop which we left the yeere before. Wee were no sooner set to eat a little food, but there came a Beare with two young ones as big as Lambes of a moneth old: they skipped about their dams necke, and played with one another very wantonly. The dame came so neere that I shot at her, and being loth to hurt the young ones, being playing about her fore-parts, I shot her through the top of the shoulder, then she went away. Immediately we saw another Beare comming toward vs, which before he came to vs, stood vpon his hinder feet twice or thrice, vsing the same countenance that the first did, which I flue. I let him come very neere, and thinking to giue him his passport, the flint of my Musket was broken, which made him come very neere vs. Then the fellow that had the bir-

ding piece shot him into the foot: whereupon he ran away faster then wee could follow him.

Wee seeing so many Beares, and hauing no store of Powder nor Shot, bent our iourney toward our ship againe. Wee had not come a quarter of a mile, but wee saw a huge Beare fast a sleepe on the Snow. I went softly toward him, and gaue him such a flip, that he neuer rose out of the place where he lay. His skin when he was slayed was thirteene foot long. A neere neighbour of his hearing the report of my Peece came toward me: and him I flue also. Now, hauing but one shot left, I thought it not best to bestow it there, although I saw another lie vpon the Snow hard by. While we sate downe to rest vs in the mid-way, there came toward vs another Beare with one young one: they came almost within shot, and went backe againe: presently she turned againe, and came within shot of me, and stood on her hinder legs directly vpright, and

so did the young one. I made account they would haue come neerer; but they to the contrarie ran away. Wee came being very wearie aboard our ship about a North-west Sunne. Then wee weighed, and stood to the Northward, hauing the wind at South; and by three of the clocke the next morning, wee came to the North-east Point with the ship. There wee manned our

Shallop,

*Lofoot
Zenam.
May 20*

*They arriue at
Cherie Iland
the 8. of May.*

Fowle.

Three Beares.

*Qualitie of
Beares.
Feare a Trai-
tor.*

A Beare slayne.

*17. Beares in
sight.*

*Young Beares
whelps.*

*A Beare slayn,
the skin wher-
of was 13. foot.
A third Beare
slayne.*

The tenth day.

Six Beares
slayne.
All the Beares
slayed.

Shallop, and Master *Thomas Welden* and I went on shoare, where hee slue five Beares, and I one, and I wounded two more very sore. And before a North Sunne, our men had fleyed them all; both them that I slue the day before, and them that wee slue this last time: for they were all together.

The eleventh day, we went on Land, and washed some old fleyed Morfes skinnes, which had lyen there two yeeres: but they will hardly proue good. The twelfth day, we rid at the West side, and got some Fowle with shot, and there we rid till the thirteenth.

The thirteenth, wee saw very much Ice to the Southwards and Westwards, wich came driuing so fast toward the shoare where wee rid, that wee were forced to weigh, and stood to the North side of the Iland. The Ice followed vs still: then wee stood to the East side of the Iland: and there wee found both the Iland and our selues encompassed round with Ice. But the winde being Westerly, and a good stiffe gale, it blew the Ice about a mile and an halfe from the Eastern side: by which meanes wee got betwixt the Ice and the Iland, and stood to the Southward, but saw not any thing in all the Sea saue Ice; sauing close by the Land a little open Sea treading to the South-westward. That way wee stood with our fore top-sayle, and stood one while one way, and another while another way, and could not see open Sea till the fifteenth of the same moneth; at a North-west Sunne wee saw the open Sea: onely a ledge of Ice which began to part insunder, was betwixt vs and it. Toward that place we stood, and intending by Gods helpe to get through, we made prouision to defend the ship from the Ice, by hanging Cables ends, and Plankes, and Capitan barres about the bowes of our ship. But for all our tenders, our ship had a great knocke vpon a piece of Ice. About a North Sunne, we got out into the open Sea; with humble thanks to God for our deliuerance.

Frost the 16. of
May.

The sixteenth day, the Iland did beare North-east and by North, eight leagues from vs: and it did freeze all that day, the wind being at North, which was almost calme. The seuenteenth, at noone the Iland did beare North-east and by North, about nine leagues off, the wind Southerly, snowy weather. The same day we saw a sayle, bearing East North-east off vs about 5. leagues.

Snow.

The eighteenth, the Iland did beare North about 15. leagues off, the wind being at East and by

Snow.

North, Snow and frosty weather. The nineteenth, at twelue of the clocke at noone the Iland

Five Seales.

put roome toward the Iland, and vpon one piece of Ice we saw five Seales: one I killed, and one

Snow.

I tooke alieue, and brought it aboard our ship. But wee could not come neere the Iland by sixe leagues. The wind came to the West with thicke weather and Snow. The twentieth, at twelue at noone the Iland beare North North-west, about twelue leagues off. We sounded, and had 100. fathoms, greenish Oze, faire weather, but cold.

A ship of Hull.

The one and twentieth, we saw the ship that wee had seene the seuenteenth day; wee spake with them about 12. at noone. The Master told vs he was of *Hull*. Wee demanded whether he was bound? He told vs, to *Cherie Hand*, and that there he would make his Voyage. The Iland at this time did beare North and by East about nine leagues off; and it was faire, but cold frostie

Frosty wether.

weather. The 22. 23. 24. and 25. dayes, we did beate vp and downe in the Ice. The 26. 27. and

Snow & frost.

28. dayes, likewise wee sayled vp and downe in the Ice; hauing the wind Northerly, and the Iland bearing betweene the North and the North North-east, cold weather. The nine and twentieth, the Iland beare North nine leagues off, the wind at North-east, snowy weather and Frost.

26. Seales.

The thirtieth day, we slue 26. Seales, and espied three white Beares: wee went aboard for

A Beare killed

Shot and Powder, and comming to the Ice againe, we found a shee-Bear and two young ones:

on the Ice.

Master *Thomas Welden* shot and killed her: after shee was slayne, wee got the young ones, and

Two young

brought them home into *England*, where they are alieue in *Paris Garden*. The one and thirtieth,

white Beares

we beate vp and downe in the Ice, but could not come neere the Land for Ice; the winde was

brought into

Northerly.

England.

The first of Iune, we got within five or sixe miles of the Iland: but finding very much Ice

Iune 1.

close by the Land, we stood off againe, the wind being at North-east, cold weather. The second

Frost.

day, we got within three leagues of the Iland: but finding exceeding much Ice round about vs,

we stood off againe, the wind at North-east, cold frostie weather. From the second day to the

fift, wee sayled first one way, and then another, as the wind and Ice would giue vs leaue. The

wind being at North and by East, and the Iland being betweene the North-west and by North,

within sixe leagues and lesse.

The Hull man.

The sixth day, we spake with the *Hull* man, who told vs, that he was put twentie leagues to

10. leagues

the North-west of the Iland, being fast in the Ice. We had the wind Northerly, and frosty wea-

North-west off

ther; the Land bearing North North-west. The seuenth and eight, we beate vp and downe in

the Iland.

the Ice: the Iland did beare North-west eight leagues off. The winde was Northerly, with

No fog in a

cold and frostie weather.

moneths space

The ninth, the Land beare North-west off vs about six leagues off. That day we had the first

fogge since the time of our arriual, which was the eight of May. Neither lost wee the sight

of the Iland about eightene houres in all this time. This day, about a North-east Sunne it be-

gan

gan to thaw ; and in fixe houres the snow was melted, which lay vpon the Ice about fixe inches thicke : which put vs in good hope that the Ice was almost past.

The first thaw.

The tenth, we got within fixe miles of the shoare : where I made an attempt to haue got to the land with the Shallop : but comming within three miles of the shoare, I could get no farther, the Ice was so thicke, and such foggy weather. I made another attempt the same day, and got within one mile of the Land : but the Ice was so thicke that I could get no farther. The same day wee saw good store of Morfes on the Ice and in the Sea.

The eleuenth and twelfth, we plyed vp and downe sayre by the land, to see if wee could get on Land with our Shallop ; but the Ice was so close about the Land, that wee could not by any meanes. This day the wind was at South-east, thicke foggy weather. The thirteenth, we had thicke fogge and calme weather ; and when it began to cleere, wee had sight of the Souther part of the land, bearing East South-east, about fixe miles off ; but it fell thicke suddenly againe. There wee anchored in fortie fathoms, white shelly ground ; and rid till ten of the clocke at night : at what time I prepared to goe on shoare, as fast as I could with a Shallop and fixe men. About eleuen of the clocke we put from the Ship, and with great labour got through the Ice to the land, by a North-east Sunne.

Foggy

The fourteenth day, I landed on the Wester side of the land, and determined to goe from thence to the North side, where wee slew the Beares. The ninth of May I left three men with the Shallop, and tooke three men with me. In my iourney I found such bad way, that I had no stomacke to goe through ; for where there was no snow, the ground was so soft, and without grasse, that we went vp to the ankles in dirt, and where the snow lay, which was in some holes, three or foure fathoms thicke, it was so soft, that we slipt each step vp to the twist ; so that wee were about three houres in going scarce two miles. Whereupon, considering it would bee long before I should get ten miles and backe againe, I returned to our Shallop, and found that the men which I left had killed some fowle, which wee fod, and when wee had eaten them, I prepared to goe in the Shallop to the North side. I went close by the shoare ; for the Sea was full of Ice. As wee went along by the Clifffes, we got good store of Fowle ; which made vs glad and ioyfull, because there was no hope to get aboard the Ship that day, nor the next. About a North-west Sun wee got to the place abovesaid, and found nine Beares, three of them I slew, the other tooke the Sea. Those three that were slaine we dead, and tooke their flesh and salted it in their skinnes ; which I stowed in the Shallop for feare of a dearth. I had a terce full of salt there, which wee left in that place the eleuenth of May.

The Beares slaine on the North side.

Three Beares slaine, powdered, and eatens

The fifteenth day, when wee had ended our businesse, and eaten some of our Beares flesh, and set vp an Ensigne in token of our possession of the land, wee prepared to be gone : and about an East North-east Sunne the wind came Westerly ; which made me thinke, as it proued, that the Ship would be on the South-east side of the land ; and when wee were comming, and almost at the North-east point, we saw nine men ; presently I knew them to bee the men of Hull. Along I came to the East side, where we tooke in drift wood, and a broad stone to make a fire vpon in our Boat. While wee were there, wee espied our ship vnder her Fore-top sayle, and her Misen. We made all the haste we could, and came to the Coue, where wee made our voyage the Summer last past. There likewise I set vp a Pike, with a white cloth vpon it, and a letter signifying our possession for the right worshipfull Company trading to Moscouie. When I had done, I espied the Hull mans Boat rowing into the Coue, and a Tent set vp in the bottom of the Bay. I went thither, and told him we had taken possession there, the eight of May last. He answered, That if the beasts came on shoare, he would kill them if he could ; and that there were as good men which ventured in that Ship, as the Company. I told him he durst not answer these words in England, and so departed and got some Fowle. About a South-west Sunne wee stood toward our Ship, hauing the wind at West South-west, and the Ship bearing from vs South-east about foure leagues. I had not sailed ten miles, but the Ice was so close and firme, that I could not get aboard, nor backe againe ; for it closed with such force, that it made the Shallops sides cracke, as though they would haue met together. Wee laboured very fore to laue our Boat, because it did concerne our liues, and got her into a place where shee lay betweene two pieces of Ice. After this sort we draue with the Ice till we had lost sight of our Ship, which was about a North sun ; and still wee draue, being not able otherwise to moue till we were about eight leagues from the land.

Possession taken of Cherie land for the Muscouie Company.

Drift wood on the East side.

The Coue.

The sixteenth day, at an East South-east Sun, the Ice began to open. Then, although my Company were in despaire, and said it was impossible to get out, to worke wee went, and by cucting off Ice, and remouing of it one piece from another, we made way through toward the Land. The neerer to the Land wee got, wee found the more open Sea ; and by a North Sunne wee got on shoare. After wee had giuen God thanks for our deliuerance out of such extreame danger, wee ate some Fowle and Beares flesh, which wee fod vnder a Cliffe. There wee found nine young Foxes, and killed the old one. There also we slept vpon the cold Sand, which was not past three inches thicke, and vnderneath Ice ; and staid here till a South-east Sunne the seuenteenth day. The seuenteenth, we went from this place to the Coue, where we found the Hull mans Boat ; I made a tilt of the Shallops sayle, and fod some Beares flesh and Fowle ; and staid about the

They feed on Beares flesh. Nine Foxes found.

Coue

Three Mynes
of Lead found
on Gull-Land.

Good Sea-
coales found on
the Island.
Two Beares
slaine.

An huge com-
passe of Ice.

Another
Beare slaine.

Another
Beare slaine.

Their Ship
got in the se-
cond time.

The *Matthew*.

The *Marie
Margarite*.

July.

Logan and Edge.

Fowle their
chiefest food
in extremitie.

A Beare slaine.

Another
Beare slaine.

Snow and
Frost.
Some Minerall
Lead digged.
Aboue twentie
Foxes eaten.

Dangers by the
Ice.

Coue all that day. And vpon an Island, commonly called *Gull-land*, I found three Mynes of Lead Vre: but hauing no fit tooles to breake the Rocks, and also becaufe it was in the view of the *Hull* mans Tent, I was forced to let it rest, till the Ships could get into the Coue.

The eighteenth day, wee went to the North side of the Island, and in our way wee found good Sea-coales to burne: some wee tooke with vs to try them, and found them good. And on the North side I slew two Beares. Then wee shared the bread that was left; and wee had but two cakes to a man: for some of my Company while I was asleepe, or killing of the Beares, had broken open the chest wherein the bread was, and had conueyed some away. Our beere was spent before this time, and we were faine to drinke snow water.

The nineteenth, wee went to the Coue, the wind being Westerly, to see if wee could espy our Ship; but wee could not, neither could thee come neere the Island for Ice; for all the Sea, as farre as I could see from the top of an high Hill was couered with Ice, sauing that within a quarter of a mile off the shoare, it was cleere round about once in a tyde.

The twentieth day, I went to the North side againe, and slew a Beare. Thus wee spent the time, sometimes on one side, sometimes on the other, neuer staying aboue one day in one place till the Ship came in; vvhich vvas the seuen and twentieth of Iune; on vvhich day I slew another Beare. I slew seuen in all, vvhose flesh vve eate full sauerly, forgetting the oylly ranknesse of it; for hunger is a sauourie sawce.

The seuen and twentieth, our ship came to an anchor on the North side, where we then were; as soone as vve saw her, we needed no bidding to go aboard. When we were come to the ship side, they had vs vvelcome: but vvhetheras vve thought to haue releued our selues, vvee found it farre otherwise; because the Ship had a knocke vwith a piece of Ice in the Sterne, vvhich brake in the corner of a Planke vnder the vvater, so that our bread-roome vvas full of vvater, and all our bread spoyled, sauing about one hundred vveight: vvhich vvas but a small quantitie for three and forty men. This day a Ship called the *Matthew* came to an anchor by vs. Then *Master Welden* and I vvent on shoare, vvhether vve found one *John Skinner*, Masters mate of the *Matthew*, vwith eleuen men by him. We set vp our Tent, and told him there vvas no voyage for him to make: but our necessitie vvas such, that vve vvere faine to take foure hundred of bread of them, vpon some condition, vvhich I vvill not speake of here. The same day vvee thought to haue taken a Copper aboard, vvhich I digged out of the snow; but by negligence it vvas let fall into the Sea, yet afterward taken vp againe and carried aboard. The same day, another Ship called the *Mary Margarite* came into the said Coue on the South side.

The eighteenth, I vvent to the Coue vwith the Shallop and fixe men, vvhether I found the *Marie Margarite*; there passed no great kindnesse betweene them and me. I slew three Morfes there, two vvere lost, the others head I brought aboard. The next day I came aboard our Ship, and vve rid on that side, looking still vvhether any beasts vvould come on shoare, till the second of July. Then vve vveighed, and stood to the East side of the Island; because the vvind vvas at West North-west, and great store of Ice came from those parts. We had not rid one houre to an end, but vve saw a Skiffe comming towards vs. In this Skiffe vvas one *Iosias Logan*, and *Thomas Edge*, Factors in the *Paul* for the vvorshipfull Company. They told vs that the *Paul* vvas in the Coue, and the ship of *Hull*. They vvent aboard againe, and vvhether the tyde vvas spent, vve weighed and thought to haue anchored neere the Coue; but the vvind vvas so far Easterly, that vve could not: so vvee vvent to the Wester side, and ridde there till the fourth day, vvhether vve got Fowle; for in all the time of our being about the Island, and in the Ice, they vvere our chiefest food.

The fourth, vve vveighed and vvent to the North side; vvhether vve vvere troubled vwith much Ice: The vvind vvas at West and by North, vvhich brought the Ice vvhole vpon vs; so that we vvere forced to vveigh againe.

The sixth, vve came into the Coue; vvhether *Master Welden* slew a Beare. The eight day, he slew another Beare; and the same day I vvent to the North side, vwith the Shallop and vvithuals for the men vvhich kept on that side. I stayed there till the fourteenth of July: on vvhich day vve had the vvind Northerly, vwith snow and frost, and the Island enuironed round with Ice. In this time the Ships Company on the South side did digge some Minerall Lead. And vve caught aboue twentie Foxes, vvhich vve did eat as sauerly as if they had beene Venison.

The fifteenth day, by a North-east Sunne vve came aboard the Ship, vvhich lay in the Coue, vwith our Shallop and all our prouision that vvas on the North side. And the *Lionesse* prepared to goe to Saint *Nicolas* in *Russia*, as it was appointed before in *London*.

The sixteenth, the wind being North-east brought such store of Ice to the Island, that it vvas compassed round close to the shoare; and filled the Coue so full, that by no meanes possible the Ships could get out, but ridde still shut in for fivedayes.

The seuenteenth, the Ice began to open at the mouth of the Coue, and some were willing to goe out with their Ships; but couetousnesse had like to haue brought vs all to great misery: for each man struing to ride longest in the Coue, supposing that there the Morfes would come first on shoare, they found it cleane contrary; for the wind came Southerly, and blew all the Ice from this side of the Island, saue that which was in the Coue: which pressed so sore vpon our Ships,

Ships, that our Anchors could not hold vs. For the *Matthew* was put from three Anchors, and droue with that small tyde, that runneth there within her length of a sunken Rocke: but a great piece of Ice on ground vpon the Rocke did keepe her from it. And when the floud came againe, she was driuen within halfe her length of the Rockes; so that they were glad to get most of their victuals out of her vpon the Rockes, looking each minute when she should split in sunder. And though the rest of the ships did not driue as she did, yet they had many a sore stroke with the Ice. For the Southerly wind caused a hollow Sea to come in; so that our ships strooke with such force against the Ice, that wee could hardly stand on our feete in them. Then each man layed to his hand to saue his ship, by putting Plancks and old Cables ends, and bundels of
10 Hoops betweene their ships and the Ice. But they were beaten all to pieces presently. Then we put pieces of Elme Plancke betweene the bowes of the *Paul*, in which ship I was: Immediately, they also were beaten into small pieces, although they were about foure inches thicke. With the stroke that brake the Plancke, the Carpenter said, the ships side did cracke, and two timbers were broken. Then presently wee also got out of the ship most of our victuals, and carried it to the shoare. There might you see a sorrowfull spectacle. For all the ships, being five in number, were so fast in the Ice, that all the men that were in them all, which were one hundred eightie two, could not imagine how to saue one. Among the rest, we made account that the *Matthew* would sinke, ere long: because the Ice had broken nine timbers on one side, and eleuen on the other; so that the Greene Sea did come into the ship: and her mayne beame was broken at that
20 instant likewise. In this sort we continued till the twentieth day following; when we looked still to bee put on the Cliffes with the force of the Ice, that pressed vpon our ships so sore, that our Anchors could not possibly hold.

Vpon the twentieth day, it pleased God to bring the wind Westerly, then the Ice began to open, and to driue out of the Coue by little and little, to our great comforts. But that Ice that did not get cleane out, came backe againe, and ranne round in a Circle; so that wee had a continual labor to defend the ships from it. Whereupon we made meanes to get out by long ¹ Warps, as wee terme them. Wee were faine to let slip one Cable, and the *Lionesse* one. The *Matthew* had but one Cable and Anchor; but they borrowed one of vs. By a North-west Sunne, all the ships got out of the Ice to the Coues mouth; where we stayed for the ebbe. When the ebbe
30 was come, the *Lionesse* departed on her Voyage to Saint Nicholas in *Russia*. And presently the *Matthew*, and the *Mary Margarete* set saile and got out. Then wee in the *Paul* set saile, and before our Anchor was vp, it got hold vpon one of *Matthewes* Cables, that shee lost, when shee droue out, and brought vs vp to a *Bitter*, so that wee were very neere the Rockes: but wee got off againe, and ride there till a North-west Sunne the next day.

The one and twentieth day, we weighed and stood to the East side of the Iland, where wee found the *Mary Margarete*, which had lost her Boat. Streight way we sayled to the North side, where we anchored and rid till a North Sunne.

The two and twentieth day, it cleered vp of a fogge, which had continued since the time of our comming out of the Coue. And wee thought it best to fetch the victuals aboard, which we carried on shoare when the ship was like to be split with Ice.
40

Then *Iosias Logan* and I tooke seuen men more with vs, and came to the Coue on the South side: where wee found abundance of Morfes lying on the Ice, that was in the Coue. I slue one of them, and tooke off his head: we could not get to the shoare where our victuals lay, but we made a fire vnder a Cliffe in the same Coue.

The three and twentieth day, wee got to our victuals, and *Iosias* went with it to our shippe: but I tarried at the Coue, hoping that the beastes would come on Land when the Ice was gone; as they did afterward. There I tarried till the five and twentieth of Iuly; at what time *Iosias Logan* came to mee with the Shallop, and a Skiffe laden with Caske and other prouision, and told mee, that they had slaine five or sixe hundred Morfes on the North side.

Hee tarried with mee till the seuen and twentieth of Iuly: now seeing no beastes
50 did come on Land, because the Ice did hang about the Coue, he went to the North side againe: but the same day after he was gone, they began to come on Land.

The next day following, being the eight and twentieth, wee slue about eightie, and tooke their Blobber and Teeth. Then they began to come on shoare againe the thirtieth day: at what time Master *Bonner* was come into the Coue to seeke his Anchors. Then his men came on shoare, and we slue about one hundred and fiftie beast more. But there rose a storme at South-east, that brought in such a surge, that it washed about sixtie beastes into the Sea; so that most of them were lost.

The next day being the last of Iuly, Master *Welden* and Master *Iones* came to the Coue with about twelue men, being all very wearie. For they had left the Shallop in a Coue on the North-west side of the Iland, and came ouer Land. Then to worke wee went on all hands, and placed
60 our Coppers. And by the fift day of August we had ended our businesse; and the ship came from the North side into the Coue.

is said to bee brought to a Bitter. The Bitter end is that end of the Cable within boord at the Bitts.

Ccc

The

1 A warpe, is a Rope (commonly a Hawser) vied to warpe a ship, that is, with an Anchor bent to the Hawser and layd out to hale the ship forward: which is done when they want wind to carrie out, or into a Harbour.

m A Bitter, is a turne of the Cable about the Bitts, for when they come to Anchor, they take a turne with it about the Bitts (two mayne square pieces of Timber, which stand Pillar wise in the loofe of the ship, to make fast the Cable vnto) that they may by little and little vere it out at ease: otherwise, if a stopper faile, the Cable would runne out end for end, that is altogether; but thus stopped, the shippe

August.

Note.

The sixt of August, I tooke the Skiffe and seuen men to fetch the Shallop to the Coue, that Master *Welden* had left in a Coue, on the North-west side of the Iland, the last of Iuly. When I came to the place, considering I was neere the North side, where we commonly make our Voyage, and also desired by Master *Welden*, if I could goe, to doe so, I went thither, and found about five and fortie as good headed beasts for Teeth, as euer I saw. Wee had no more Launces to kill th m with all, but two, I tooke one, and a lustie fellow that was our Cooper had the other: we had not killed past ten but his Lance brake. Then I slue all the rest in lesse then two houres, and wee tooke their Teeh; and the next day by a West Sunne wee came aboard the *Paul* with them.

The eight day, wee got the Southermost Point of the Iland: where wee rid all that day. Their Skiffe from their long Boats sterne, and we manned our Boat to fetch her againe: but then rose such a fogge, that we had like to haue lost both our Boats and men; but they got to the ship againe with much adoe.

The ninth day, it was calme; but wee had such a fogge, that wee could not see two Cables length from the ship. And about eight of the Clocke at night, wee lost our Skiffe altogether.

The tenth day, we had a little Wind at North-west and by West. Then seeing no amendment of the weather, wee left the ship of *Hull* behind vs in the Iland, and about sixe of the Clocke set sayle for *England*, and arriued safely at *London* the last of August, 1609. Blessed bee God.

A Voyage performed to the Northwards, Anno 1603. in a ship of the burthen of fiftie tunnes, called the Grace, and set forth at the cost and charges of the Worshipfull FRANCIS CHERIE. Written by WILLIAM GORDEN; being the first Voyage to Cherie Iland; which came to my hands since the former (or rather later Voyages) were in the Presse.

THe ship being readie the tenth of Aprill, whereof was Master *Stephen Bennet*, and for Factor and Ouer-seer *William Gorden*, our Directions from the said Merchant, were first to proceed to *Cola*, and there to make sale of such goods as we had, and to take in such other as the Countrey of *Lappia* did affoord, and then to proceed vpon some Discoverie. Wherefore omitting our Iourney to *Cola*, as a matter of small importance, being so well knowne before, after our Affaires ended, we were readie to proceed forward. But our men not being hired thereunto would haue refused, if there had not bene made an agreement by meanes of *Iosias Logan*, who was to lye there as Factor for Master *Cherie*, the Master and my selfe, partly with promises, partly with gifts. And thus setting forward the sixt of August, did hinder vs; or if we did not light vpon some land: our determination was hindered by meanes of meeting with an Iland, and likewise the yeere being farre spent, keeping our course from the West end of *Kilden*, to the Ilands of *Ward-house*, which wee passed the tenth of August with little wind; then directing our course North North-west, the wind at South-west easie wind, so that the eleuenth day we did reckon our selues to haue sayled twentie leagues North-west. The twelfth day, it was most part calme and foggie. The thirteenth day, it was cleere, and the wind at South, and we had sayled twentie two leagues North North-west. The fourteenth day, the wind at East, we kept our course and sayled ten leagues, and the same day being thicke and foggie, we had thought wee had seene Land about foure of the clocke in the after-noon, bearing from vs West North-west, and North-west by West, but sayling towards it three houres, keeping still his forme, and not altering till the wind increasing, caused it to fade away (for it was no other then a banke of fogges) after we had sayled three leagues changing our course, we sayled then fifteene dayes twentie leagues, North-west and by North, still hauing close weather, that we could not make any obseruation. The sixteenth day in the morning, at two of the clock, we did see two great high Hills, which did seeme to vs aboue the Clouds, and did seeme very neere, but we found it otherwise for sayling towards it, we found it further then we did expect, for it was sixe of the clocke at night before wee could come neere vnto the Land, where wee anchored in thirtie fathomes. In which time we could not sayle lesse then eightene leagues North and by West. That night our Master knowing, better what did belong vnto those Affaires, would not suffer the Boat to goe aland till the morning: which was the seuenteenth day of August, and before our going aland, the Master caused a shanke of Lines to bee shot for, to toy for neere adjoyning, where we had much adoe to get to our Boat againe, by reason of the steepnes

of

of the Rockes: then we went on shoare vpon the Mayne, where at our comming on Land, wee did see two Foxes, one White, the other Blacke. Thus spending most part of the day, wee returned aboard our ship without any profit: only one of our men tooke vp a piece of Lead, and I found a piece of a Morfes Tooth, by which we perceiued that the Sea Morfes did vse thither, but the time for that yeere was past, for we did see none. After our comming aboard, hauing haled the Line, we found nothing but one but fish thereon, wherefore presently weighing Anchor, we sayled West to see if we could haue any true obseruation, the next day which wee had, and found our selues to bee in 74. degrees 30. minutes. The same day directing our course for London, where we arriued the tenth of September, by Gods helpe, in health and safetie.

CHAP. XIII.

Diuers Voyages and Northerne Discoveries of that worthy irreconuerable Discoverer Master HENRY HUDSON. His Discoverie toward the North Pole, set forth at the charge of certaine Worshipfull Merchants of London, in May 1607. Written partly by IOHN PLAYSE one of the Company, and partly by H.

HUDSON.



Nno 1607. Aprill the nineteenth, at Saint Ethelburge in Bishops Gate street, did communicate with the rest of the Parishioners these persons Seamen, purposing to goe to sea foure dayes after, for to discouera Passage by the North Pole to Japan and China. First, Henry Hudson Master. Secondly, William Colines his Mate. Thirdly, James Young. Fourthly, John Colman. Fifthly, John Cooke. Sixtly, James Benbery. Seuenthly, James Skrutton. Eightly, John Pleyce. Ninthly, Thomas Baxter. Tenthly, Richard Day. Eleuenthly, James Knight. Twelfthly, John Hudson a Boy.

The first of May 1607. we weyed Anchor at Grauesend, and on Tueday the sixe and twentieth day in the morning, we made the Iles of *Shotland*, and at noone we were in 60. degrees 12. minutes, and sixe leagues to the Eastward of them: the Compasse had no variation. We had sixtie foure fathomes at our sounding, blacke, ozie, sandie, with some yellow shels. Our ship made more way then we did suppose. On Saturday the thirtieth of May, by our obseruation we were in 61. degrees 11. minutes, This day I found the Needle to incline 79. degrees vnder the Horizon. For foure dayes space we made very little way by contrary winds.

On Thursday the fourth of Iune, we were by our obseruation still in 61. degrees and 14. minutes, eight and twentie or thirtie leagues from the Norther part of *Shotland*: the Land bearing by our Accompt East and by North off vs, I found variation in five degrees Westerly.

The seuenth of Iune, wee were in 63. degrees 25. minutes. The eighth, all the fore-noone we had a fresh gale Southerly; we steered away North and by West, and by obseruation we were in 65. degrees 27. minutes.

The eleuenth, wee saw sixe or seuen Whales neere our shippe: wee were in sixtie seuen degrees thirtie minutes. About five of the clocke, the winde came vp at North-east and by East; wee steered away North North-west with a fresh gale all the night at East. Thetwelfth, the winde was at East North-east, a stiffe gale, wee steered away as afore, and accounted wee had runne by this day noone thirtie leagues. In the after-noone wee steered away North and by West fifteene leagues, all the night procued a great fogge with much wind.

The thirteenth, betweene one and two in the morning, we saw some Land on head of vs, and some Ice: and it being a thicke fogge, we steered away Northerly, and hauing much wind wee stood away South and by East, sixe or eight leagues. Our sayle and shroudes did freeze. At eight in the morning it cleered vp, the wind being at North-east and by East, with much wind wee were hardly able to maintayne a sayle. This was a very high Land, most part couered with Snow. The neather part was vncovered. At the top it looked reddish, and vnderneath a blackish Clay, with much Ice lying about it. The part which we saw when wee cast about, trended East and West: And the Norther part which we saw, trended North-east and by North, and North-east: and the length which wee saw was nine leagues; wee saw much Fowle. Also wee saw a Whale close by the shoare. We called the Head-land which we saw, *Yonges Cape*; and neere it standeth a very high Mount like a round Castle, which wee called, the *Mount of Gods Mercie*. All the after-noone, and all the Eeuening it rained. At eight in the Eeuening we cast about, and steered all night North and by West, and sometimes North North-west.

The fourteenth, being neere the Land we had Snow. At foure in the morning, the wind veering Northerly, we cast about and stood South-east and by South. This day wee had much wind and raine, we shorted sayle being neere the Land. The fifteenth, in the morning it blowed so much wind at North-east, that wee were not able to maintayne any sayle, wee then strooke a

Ccc 2

hull,

May.
The Iles of
Shotland.
No variation;
61. degrees 11.2
minutes.
The inclinati-
on of the
Needle.
Iune.

65. degrees 27.
minutes.
67. degrees 30.
minutes.

Yonges Cape.
The Mount of
Gods mercie.
Snow.

hull, and let our ship drive, wayting for a fitter wind; this night was very much raine. The sixteenth, was much wind at North-east. The seventeenth, we set sayle at noone, we steered away East and by South, and East South-east. The eighteenth, in the afternoone a fine gale South-east, which toward the Evening increased, and we steered North-east three Watches, twelve leagues. The nineteenth we steered away North North-east sixteene leagues. At noone wee had raine with fogge. From twelve to foure we steered North North-east eight leagues, and did account our selues in seuentie degrees neereft hand: purposing to see whether the Land which we made the thirteenth day, were an Iland or part of *Groneland*. But then the fogge increased very thicke with much wind at South, which made vs alter our course, and to shorten our sayle, and we steered away North-east. Being then as we supposed, in the Meridian of the same land, hauing no obseruation since the eleuenth day, and lying a hull from the fifteenth to the seuenteenth day, wee perceiued a current setting to the South-west. This day wee saw three Whales neere our ship, and hauing steered away North-east almost one watch, five leagues, the Sea was growne euery way: we supposed wee were thwart of the North-east part of that Land which we made the thirteenth day, and the current setting to wind-ward. The reason that moued vs to thinke so; was, that after we had sayled five or sixe leagues in this Sea, the wind neither increasing nor dulling, we had a pleasant and smooth Sea. All this night was foggie with a good gale of wind, we steered away North-east vntill the next day at noone, and sayled in that course twentie leagues.

The twentieth, all the morning was a thicke fogge with the winde at South: wee steered North-east till noone. Then we changed our course, and steered away North North-east, hoping for an open Sea in our course to fall with the bodie of *Newland*. This day at two in the afternoone it cleered vp, and wee saw the Sunne, which wee had not scene since the second of this moneth. Hauing steered North North-east, two watches and an halfe, fifteene or sixteene leagues wee saw Land on our Larboord, about foure leagues off vs, trending as wee could ghesse North-east and South-west. We steered away East North-east, the wind at South a good gale, but reasonable cleere: wee saw many Birds with blacke backes, and white bellies in forme much like a Ducke: we saw also many pieces of Ice driuing at the Sea. We loofed for one and went roomer for another. And this morning about foure, a thicke fogge we saw a head of vs.

The one and twentieth, in the morning we steered North-east, and East North-east two watches, five or sixe leagues. Then it grew thicke fogge. And we cast about, and steered North-east and East North-east two watches, sixe leagues, finding wee were embayed. The wind came at East South-east a little gale: we tacked about and lay South. All this night was a thicke fog with little wind, East we lay with the stemme.

The two and twentieth, in the morning it cleered vp, being calme about two or three of the clocke: after we had a prettie gale, and we steered away East and by North three leagues. Our obseruation was in 72. degrees 38. minutes, and changing our course, we steered North-east, the wind at South-east a prettie gale. This morning when it cleered vp, we saw the Land, trending neere hand East North-east, and West South-west, esteeming our selues from it twelve leagues. It was a mayne high Land, nothing at all covered with snow: and the North part of that mayne high Land was very high Mountaynes, but we could see no snow on them. We accounted by our obseruation the part of the mayne Land, lay neereft hand in 73. degrees. The many fogs and calmes with contrary winds, and much Ice neere the shoare, held vs from farther Discouery of it. It may bee objected against vs as a fault, for haling so Westerly a course. The chiefe cause that moued vs thereunto, was our desire to see that part of *Groneland*, which (for ought that we know) was to any *Christian* vnkowne: and wee thought it might as well haue beene open Sea as Land, and by that meanes our passage should haue beene the larger to the Pole: and the hope of hauing a Westerly wind, which would be to vs a landerly wind if wee found Land. And considering wee found Land contrarie to that which our Cards make mention of; we accounted our labour so much the more worth. And for ought that wee could see, it is like to bee a good Land, and worth the seeing.

On the one and twentieth day, in the morning while we steered our course North North-east, we thought we had embayed our selues, finding Land on our Larboord, and Ice vpon it, and many great pieces of Drift Ice: we steered away North-east, with diligent looking out euery cleere for Land, hauing a desire to know whether it would leaue vs to the East, both to know the bredth of the Sea, and also to shape a more Northerly course. And considering wee knew no name giuen to this Land, wee thought good to name it, *Hold with hope*, lying in 73. degrees of latitude.

The Land of
Hold with Hope
in 73. degrees.

The Sunne was on the Meridian on the South part of the Compasse, neereft hand. Heere is to bee noted that when we made *The Mount of Gods Mercie*, and *Youngs Cape*, the Land was covered with snow for the most part, and extreame cold, when wee approached neere it: But this Land was very temperate to our feeling. And this likewise is to be noted, that being two dayes without obseruation; notwithstanding, our lying a hull by reason of much contrary wind, yet our obseruation and dead reckoning were within eight leagues together, our shippe beeing before

Note.
Land on their
Larboord.

Many Fowles.
Much drift Ice.
* To loofe, is to
keepe close to
the wind: roomer
cont.

* To tacke the
ship, is to bring
her head about
to lye the other
way.

Land not covered
with
Snow.

before vs eight leagues. This night vntill next morning proued little Winde.

The three and twentieth, in the morning we had an hard gale on head of vs, with much rayne that fell in very great drops, much like our Thunder showers in *England*; wee tacked about and stood East Northerly with a short sayle, to our feeling it was not so cold as before we had it. It was calme from noone to three of the clocke with fogge. After the winde came vp at East and East South-east, we steered away North-east with the fogge and rayne. About seuen or eight of the clocke, the winde increased with extreame fogge, wee steered away with short sayle East North-east, and sometimes East and by North. About twelue at mid-night, the wind came vp at South-west, we steered away North, being reasonable cleere weather.

10 The foure and twentieth, in the morning about two of the clocke, the Masters mate thought he saw Land on the Larboord, trending North North-west Westerly, and the longer we ranne North, the more it fell away to the West, and did thinke it to bee a mayne high Land. This day the wind being Westerly, we steered away North, and by obseruation wee were in 73. degrees nearest hand. At noone we changed our course, and steered away North and by East, and at our last obseruation, and also at this, we found the Meridian all Leeward on the South and by West, Westerly part of the Compasse, when we had sayled two Watches eight leagues.

The five and twentieth, the wind scanted and came vp at North North-west, we lay North-east two Watches 8. leagues. After the wind became variable betweene the North-east and the North, we steered away East and by North, and sometimes East, we had thicke fogge. About noone three Granpassees played about our shippe. This After-noone the wind vered to the East and South-east, we haled away North and by East. This night was close weather, but small fogge (we vse the word *Night* for distinction of time but long before this the Sunne was alway about the Horizon, but as yet we could neuer see him vpon the Meridian North.) This Night being by our accompt in the Latitude of 75. degrees, we saw small flockes of Birds, with blacke Backes and white Bellies, and long speare Tayles. We supposed that Land was not farre off, but we could not discerie any, with all the diligence which we could vse, being so close weather, that many times we could not see fixe or seuen leagues off.

The sixe and twentieth, in the morning, was close weather, we had our wind and held our course as afore. This day, our obseruation was 76. degrees 38. minutes, and we had Birds of the same sort as afore, and diuers other of that colour, hauing red Heads; that we saw when we first made the Mount of Gods Mercy in *Greenland*, but not so many. After we steered away North and by East two VVatches 10. leagues, with purpose to fall with the Souther part of *Newland*, accounting our selues 10. or 12. leagues from the Land. Then wee stood away North-east one VVatch five leagues.

30 The seuen and twentieth, about one or two of the clocke in the morning we made *Newland*, being cleere weather on the Sea; but the Land was couered with fogge, the Ice lying very thick all along the shoare for 15. or 16. leagues which we saw. Hauing faire wind wee coasted it in a very pleasing smooth sea, and had no ground at an hundred fathoms, foure leagues from the shoare. This day at noone, wee accounted we were in 78. degrees, and we stood along the shoare. This day was so foggie, that we were hardly able to see the Land many times, but by our account we were neare *Vogel Hooke*. About eight of the clocke this Eeuening, we purposed to shape our course from thence North-west. Heere is to bee noted, that although we ranne along neere the shoare, we found no great cold, which made vs thinke, that if we had beene on shoare the place is temperate. Holding this North-west course, about ten of the clocke at night, we saw great store of Ice on head off vs, bearing Wester off vs; which we could not goe cleere off with the foresayd course. Then we tacked about, and stood away betweene the South and the South-east, as much desirous to leaue this Land as we were to see it.

40 The eight and twentieth, was a hard gale of wind all the fore-noone betweene the South and the South-west. We shaped our course, we did it to bee farther from the Ice and Land. It pleased God that about twelue of the clocke this night it cleered vp, and we found that we were betweene the Land and the Ice; *Vogel Hooke* then bearing nearest hand East off vs. Then we tacked about, and stood in for the shoare, hauing Sea-roome between the Ice and the Land. The nine and twentieth, at foure in the morning the wind at North-east, a pretie gale, we thought best to shorten our way, so we tacked about and stood North North-west, the wind a little increasing. About twelue at noone, we saw Ice a head off vs; we cast about again, and stood away East South-east with very much wind, so that we shortned our sayles for the space of two Watches. Then about eight this Eeuening, we strucke a Hull, and it proued the hardest storme that we had in this Voyage. The thirtieth, in the morning was stormie; about noone it ceased, at seuen in the Eeuening it proued almost calme.

50 The first of Iuly, all the fore-noone the wind was at South-east, we stood North-east for the shoare, hoping to finde an open Sea betweene the shoare and the Ice. About noone wee were embayed with Ice, lying betweene the Land and vs. By our obseruation we were in 78. degrees 42. minutes, whereby we accounted we were thwart of *The great Indraght*. And to free our selues of the Ice, we steered betweene the South-east and South, and to the Westward, as

A mayne high Land.

75. Degrees: Land not farre off.

76. degrees 38. minutes.

Greenland or *Newland* discovered.

78. Degrees.

Vogel Hooke.

Temperate ayre.

Iuly.

78. degrees 42. minutes.

The great In-
let.

we could haue sea; And about six, this Euening it pleased God to giue vs cleere weather; and we found we were shot farre into the Inlet, being almost a Bay, and enuironed with very high Moun-
taynes, with low Land lying betweene them; wee had no ground in this Bay at an hundred fa-
thoms. Then being lure where we were, we steered away West, the wind at South-east and
calme, and found all our Ice on the Norther shoare, and a cleare Sea to the Southward.

78. Degrees 56.
Minutes.
78. degrees 33.
minutes.

The second, it pleased God to giue vs the wind at North-east, a faire gale, with cleere wea-
ther, the Ice being to the Northward off vs and the weather shoare, and an open Sea to the South-
wards vnder our Lee. We held on our course North-west till twelue of the clocke; hauing say-
led in that course 10. leagues, and finding the Ice to fall from vs to the , we gaue
thanks to God, who maruellously preserved vs from so many dangers, amongst so huge a quan-
tity of Ice and Fogge. We steered away North-west, hoping to be free from Ice, we had ob-
seruation 78. degrees 56. minutes, we fell with Ice againe, and trended it as it lay betweene the
West and South South-east. The third, we had obseruation 78. degrees 33. minutes. This day
wee had our shrouds frozen, it was searching cold, we also trended the Ice, not knowing whe-
ther we were cleare or not, the wind being at North.

The shroudes
and sayles fro-
zen.
The mouth of
the Inlet.
77. degrees 30.
minutes.

The fourth, was very cold, and our shroudes and sayles frozen, we found we were farre in the
Inlet. The wind being at North, we beare vp and stood South South-east, and South and South-
west by West till ten this night. The fifth, was very much wind at North Easterly: at twelue
we strooke a Hull, hauing brought our selues neare the mouth of the Inlet.

78. degrees.
The end of
the Sacke.
A Blacke and o-
pen Sea.

The sixth, in the morning the wind was as before, and the Sea growne. This morning we
came into a very Greene Sea, we had our obseruation 77. degrees 30. minutes. This after-noon
the wind and Sea asswaged. About foure of the clocke we set sayle, and steered North-west and
by West, the wind being at North North-east. This day proued the clearest day we had long
before. The seuenth, at foure in the morning was very cleare weather, and the fairest Morning
that we saw in three weekes before, we steered as afore, being by our account in 78. degrees nea-
rest hand, and out of the Sacke. We found we were compassed in with Land and Ice, and were
againe entred into a Blacke Sea, which by prooffe we found to be an open passage. Now hauing
the wind at North North-east, we steered away South & by East, with purpose to fall with the
Southernmost part of this Land which we saw, hoping by this meane, either to defray the charge
of the Voyage, or else, if it pleased God in time to giue vs a faire wind to the North-east, to sa-
tisfie expectation. All this day and night afterward proued calme.

Much Drift-
wood.

The eight, all the fore-noon proued calme, and very thicke fogge. This morning we saw ma-
ny peeces of Drift-wood driue by vs, we heaued out our Boate to stop a leake, and mended our
riggings. This day wee saw many Seales, and two Fishes which we iudged to bee Sea-horses,
or Morfes. At twelue, this night we had the winde at East, and by South, wee stood away
North-east.

Many Seales.
Morfes.

The ninth, all the fore-noon was little wind at South-east, with thicke fogge. This day we
were in amongst Islands of Ice, where we saw many Seales.

The tenth, in the morning was foggie, afterward it proued cleere, we found we were compas-
sed with Ice euery way about vs; wee tacked about, and stood South and by West, and South
South-west one Watch five leagues, hoping to get more Sea-roome, and to stand for the North-
east, we had the wind at North-west.

From hence it
seemeth is ta-
ken out of Hen-
Hudsons owne
Notes.
Blue and Greene
Seas.

The eleuenth, very cleere weather, with the winde at South South-east, we were come out
of the Blue Sea into our Greene Sea againe, where we saw Whales. Now hauing a fresh gale of
wind at South South-east, it behoued mee to change my course, and to sayle to the North-east,
by the Souther end of Newland. But being come into a Greene Sea, praying God to direct mee, I
steered away North ten leagues. After that, we saw Ice on our Larboord, we steered away East
and by North three leagues, and left the Ice behind vs. Then we steered away North till noone.
This day wee had the Sunne on the Meridian South and by West, Westerly, his greatest height
was 37. degrees 20. minutes. By this obseruation we were in 79. degrees 17. minutes, we had a
fresh gale of wind and a smooth sea, by meanes whereof our ship had out-runne vs. At ten this
Euening cleere weather, and then we had the company of our troublesome neighbours Ice with
fogge. The wind was at South South-west. Heere we saw plentie of Seales, and we supposed
Beares had beene heere, by their footing and dung vpon the Ice. This day, many of my Compa-
nie were sicke with eating of Beares flesh the day before vsalted.

79. degrees 17.
minutes.

Sick of Beares
flesh vsalted.

The twelfth, for the most part was thicke fogge, we steered betweene South and by East, and
South South-east 2. $\frac{1}{2}$. leagues, to cleere vs of the Ice. Then we had the wind at South, we steer-
ed till noone North-east five leagues. This morning we had our shrouds frozen. At noone by our
accompt we were in 80. degrees, being little wind at West South-west, almost calme with
thicke fogge. This after-noon we steered away North, and sometimes North-east. Then we
saw Ice a head off vs, we cast about and stood South-east, with little wind and fogge. Before we
cast about by meanes of the thicke fogge, we were very neere Ice, being calme, and the Sea setting
on to the Ice, which was very dangerous. It pleased God at the very instant to giue vs a small
gale, which was the meanes of our deliuerance, to him be praise therefore. At twelue this night,

80. degrees.

it cleered vp, and out of the top *William Collins* our Boat-swaine saw the Land, called *Newland* by the *Hollanders*, bearing South South-west twelve leagues from vs.

The thirteenth, in the Morning the wind at South and by East, a good gale, we cast about and stood North-east and by East, and by obseruation we were in 80. degrees 23. minutes. This day we saw many Whales. This fore-noonne proued cleere weather, and we could not see any signe of Ice out of the top. Betweene noone and three of the clocke, we steered away North-east and by East five leagues, then we saw Ice on head off vs, we steered East two Glasse one league, and could not be cleare of the Ice with that course. Then we steered away South-east two leagues $\frac{1}{2}$. after we sayled East and by North, and East foure leagues, till eight the next morning.

10 The fourteenth, in the morning was calme with fogge. At nine the wind at East, a small gale with thicke fogge, we steered South-east and by East, and running this course we found our *Greene Sea* againe, which by prooffe we found to be free from Ice, and our *Azure Blue Sea* to be our *Ice Sea*. At this time we had more Birds then we vsually found. At noone being a thicke fogge, we found our selues neere Land, bearing East off vs; and running farther we found a Bay open to the West and by North Northerly, the bottome and sides thereof being to our sight very high and ragged Land. The Norther side of this Bayes mouth being high land, is a small Island, the which we called *Collins Cape*, by the name of our Boat-swaine, who first saw it. In this Bay we saw many Whales, and one of our company hauing a Hooke and Line ouer-board to trie for Fish, a Whale came vnder the Keele of our ship, and made her held, yet by Gods mercie we had no harme, but the losse of the hooke and three parts of the line. At a South-west

20 Sunne from the North-west and by North, a flood set into the Bay. At the mouth of this Bay we had sounding thirtie fathoms, and after sixe and twentie fathoms, but being farther in, we had no ground at an hundred fathoms, and therefore judged it rather a Sound then a Bay. Betweene this high ragged, in the swamps and vallies lay much snow. Heere wee found it hot. On the Souther side of this Bay, lye three or foure small Islands or Rockes.

In the bottome of this Bay, *John Colman* my Mate, and *William Collins* my Boat-swaine, with two others of our company went on shoare, and there they found and brought aboard, a payre of Morfes teeth in the jaw, they likewise found Whales bones, and some dosen or more of Deeres Hornes, they saw the footings of Beasts of other sorts, they also saw Rote-geese, they saw much drift Wood on the shoare, and found a streame or two Fresh water. Here they found it hot on

30 the shoare, and dranke water to coole their thirst, which they also commended. Here we found the want of a better Ship-boate. As they certified me, they were not on the shoare past halfe a houre, and among other things brought aboard a Stone of the Countrey. When they went from vs it was calme, but presently after we had a gale of wind at North-east, which came with the Flood with fogge. We plyed top and againe in the Bay waiting their comming; but after they came aboard we had the wind at East and by South a fine gale, we minding our Voyage, and the time to performe it, steered away North-east, and North North-east. This night proued cleere, and we had the Sunne on the Meridian, on the North and by East part of the Compasse, from the vpper edge of the Horizon with the Crosse-staffe, we found his height 10. degrees 40. minutes, without allowing any thing for the Semidiameter of the Sunne, or the distance of the end of the staffe from the Center in the Eye. From a North Sunne to an East Sunne, we sayled betweene North and North North-east, eight leagues.

The fifteenth, in the morning was very cleere vweather, the Sunne shining vvarme, but little vwind at East Southerly. By a South-east Sunne vve had brought *Collins Cape* to beare off vs South-east, and we saw the high Land of *Newland*, that part by vs Discovered on our starboard, eight or ten leagues from vs, trending North-east and by East, and South-west and by West, eightene or twentie leagues from vs to the North-east, being a very high Mountaynous land like ragged Rockes, vvith snow betweene them. By mine account, the Norther part of this Land which now vve saw, stretched into 81. degrees. All this day proued cleere vweather, little

50 Wind, and reasonable vvarme. The sixteenth, in the morning warme and cleere weather, the vwind at North. This morning we saw that vve were compassed in with Ice in abundance, lying to the North, to the North-west, the East and South-east, and being runne toward the farthest part of the Land by vs discovered, which for the most part trendeth nearest hand North-east and South-west, vvee saw more Land ioyning to the same, trending North in our sight, by meanes of the cleernesse of the vweather, stretching faire into 82. degrees; and by the bowing or shewing of the skie much farther. Which when I first saw, I hoped to haue had a free Sea betweene the Land and the Ice, and meant to haue compassed this Land by the North. But now finding by prooffe it vvas vnpossible, by means of the abundance of Ice compassing vs about by the North, and ioyning to the land, and seeing God did blesse vs with a faire wind to sayle by the South of this Land to the North-east, vve returned, bearing vp the Helme, minding to hold that part of the Land, vvwhich the *Hollanders* had discovered in our sight, and if contrary vvindes should take vs, to Harbour there, and to trie what vve could finde to the charge of our Voyage, and to proceed on our Discouerie, as soone as God should blesse vs with Winde. And this I can assure at this present, that betweene 78. de-

Newland or *Greenland*, of which the *Hollanders* hath made a little Discouerie by *Barents*, as before is deliue- red, but nei- ther so farre, nor so exact, nor so vsfull: nor first as be- fore is obser- ued of *Sir H. Willoughbies* English exacter Discoueries finding the Whale and Morfe benefir, they also en- terloped.

Greene Sea free- est of Ice, and the *Blue Sea* Ice. *Collins Cape*. Whale danger :

A Sound is a greater and deeper in- draught then a Bay. Heat beyond 80. degrees.

Sunne 10. de- grees 40. min. high, about mid-night.

81. degrees.

Land stretch- ing into 82. de- grees.

They returned

degrees

Abundance of
Seales.

grees and $\frac{1}{2}$. and 82. degrees by this way there is no passage: but I thinke this Land may bee profitable to those that will aduenture it. In this Bay before spoken of, and about this coast, we saw more abundance of Seales then we had seene any time before swimming in the water. At noone, this day hauing a stiffe gale of wind at North, we were thwart of Collins Cape, standing in 81. degrees and a halfe: and at one of the clocke the Cape beare North-east off vs. From thence I set our course West South-west, with purpose to keepe in the open Sea free from Ice, and sayled in that course 16. leagues. At ten this night we steered away South-west, with the wind at North a hard gale, vntill eight the next morning 18. leagues.

The seuenteenth, in the morning a good gale at North: at eight, we altered our course, and steered away South till eight in the Eeuening, and ranne 12. leagues. This day proued reasonable cleere and warme. The eighteenth, in the morning the wind encreased at South and by East, with thicke fogge. All this after-noone and night proued close weather, little fogge, and reasonable warme.

The nineteenth, at eight in the morning the wind at South, with thicke fogge, we steered South-east 4. leagues till noone: then the wind vered more large; wee steered South-east and by East 4. leagues till foure: then wee vered shete, and steered East and by South Easterly, 15. leagues, till eight the next morning. This day after the morning proued reasonable cleere and warme.

The twentieth, in the morning little wind: at eight this morning wee saw Land ahead of vs vnder our Lee, and to weatherward of vs distant from vs 12. leagues, being part of Newland. It is very high mountainous Land; the highest that we had seene vntill now. As we sayled neere it, we saw a Sound ahead of vs, lying East and west. The Land on the Norther side of this Sounds mouth, trendeth neereft hand West North-west, and East South-east 12. leagues, in our sight being 10. leagues from vs. And the Land on the Souther side being 8. or 10. leagues in our sight; at this time trendeth South South-east, and North North-west; from eight to noone was calme. This day by obseruation we were in 77. degrees 26. minutes. On the Norther side of the mouth of this Inlet lie three Ilands, not farre the one from the other, being very high mountainous Land. The farthest of the three to the North-west, hath foure very high Mounts like heapes of Corne. That Iland next the Inlets mouth, hath one very high Mount on the Souther end. Here one of our companie killed a red billed Bird. All this day after the morning, and all night proued calme, enclining rather to heate then cold. This night wee had some warme rayne.

The one and twentieth, all the fore-noone calme; at foure in the after-noone we had a small gale of wind at South South-east, with fog; we steered away East to stand in with the Land, and sayled 3. leagues vntill mid-night: then the wind came at North-east, we cast about, and steered South 10. leagues till eight the next morning. The two and twentieth, at eight in the morning much wind at East, and variable, with short sayle wee steered 3. leagues South and by East: then came downe very much wind; wee strooke a hull. All this after-noone and night, proued very much wind with raine.

The three and twentieth, all the fore-noone was very much wind at South, with raine and fogge. At foure this after-noone wee saw Land, bearing North-east of vs 6. leagues from vs. Then we had the wind at South South-west; wee steered away South-east, and South-east and by East 4. leagues, the Sea being very much growne. We accounted we had hulled North-west and by North 22. leagues; and North 3. leagues. Then fearing with much wind to be set on a lee shoare, we tackt about, and made our way good West and by North, halfe a point Northerly, all this night wick much wind.

The foure and twentieth, in the morning much wind as afore, and the Sea growne. This morning wee strooke our mayne Top-mast to ease our ship, and sayled from the last Eeuening eight to this noone 15. leagues West and by North halfe a point Northerly. From twelue to eight, 6. leagues as afore, with the wind at South and by West: at eight we tackt about with the winde at South South-west, and lay South-east and by East, with much winde, and the Sea growne.

The five and twentieth, was a cleere morning we set our mayne Top-mast, we saw Land bearing North of vs, and vnder our Lee, we sayling South-east and by East. Then the wind scanted: we cast about, and lay South-west and by West 2. leagues; till noone. Then it began to ouer-cast, and the wind to scant againe: we cast about, and lay South-east and by South, the wind at South-west and by West, and sayled in that course 3. leagues till foure in the after-noone. Then the wind scanted againe, and we sayled 3. leagues South. Now, seeing how contrarie the winde proued, to doe the good which wee desired this way; I thought to proue our fortunes by the West once againe: and this Eeuening at eight, wee being the latitude of 78. with the better, and from Land 15. leagues, which leagues part whereof beare from the North-east to the East off vs, we steered away West, with the wind at South-east, and cleere weather.

The sixe and twentieth, all this day proued rayne with thicke fog, and an hard gale of wind at East and by North, and East North-east. From the last Eeuening at eight to this noone, wee ranne

ranne 25. leagues : from noone till mid-night 19. leagues, the wind at East and by South ; from mid-night till two the next morning, 2. leagues West.

The seven and twentieth, extreme thicke fog, and little wind at East and by South. Then it proued calme, and the Sea very loftie. Wee heard a great rutte or noise with the Ice and Sea, which was the first Ice we heard or saw since we were at *Collins Cape*: the Sea heauing vs Westward toward the Ice. Wee heaued out our Boat, and rowed to towne out our ship farther from the danger ; which would haue bene to small purpose, by meanes the Sea went so high : but in this extremitie it pleased God to giue vs a small gale at North-west and by West, we steered away South-east 4. leagues till noone. Here we had finished our Discouerie, if the wind had continued that brought vs hither, or if it had continued calme: but it pleased God to make this North-west, and by West wind the meane of our deliuerance : which wind wee had not found common in this Voyage. God giue vs thankfull hearts for so great deliuerance. Here we found the want of a good ship-beat, as once we had done before at *Whales Bay* : we wanted also halfe a dozen long Oares to rowe in our ship. At noone the day cleered vp, and we saw by the skie Ice bearing off vs: from West South-west to the North and North North-east. Then we had a good gale at West, we steered away South till foure 7. leagues. From foure to six South 4. leagues, and found by the Icy skie and our neerenesse to *Groneland*, that there is no passage that way : which if there had bene, I meant to haue made my returne by the North of *Groneland* to *Dauis* his Streights, and so for *England*. Here finding we had the benefit of a Westerly wind, which all this Voyage we had found scant, we altered our course, and steered to the Eastward, and ran South-east foure leagues. From eight this Eueening till noone the next day ; East South-east 30. leagues. All this day and night proued very cold, by meanes, as I suppose, of the winds coming off so much Ice.

Danger escaped.

Whales Bay.

The eight and twentieth, very cold, the wind at West, not very foggie. At noone this day we steered away South-east and by East, and by obseruation we were 76. degrees 36. minutes. From noone to eight 10. leagues. Then the wind scanted to South-east and by South, we steered away East and by North 18. leagues, till the next day noone.

The nine and twentieth, all the fore-noone a thicke fog and wet, the wind at South-east and by East, neereft hand, and raw cold. From noone to foure, wee sayled three leagues East and by North, halfe a point Northerly. Then the wind vered more large, we steered East and by South 8. leagues till twelue at night. At this timet to windward we heard the rutte of Land ; which I knew to be so, by the colour of the Sea. It was extreme thicke fog, so that we could hardly see a Cables length from our ship. We had ground 25. fathoms, small blacke peble stones. Wee founded againe, and had ground at 30. fathomes small stones like Beanes, at the next cast no ground at 60. fathomes. I cast about againe, and steered South-west 6. leagues, West and by North two leagues till the next day noone. All this day and night extreme thicke fog.

The thirtieth, all the fore-noone very thicke fog. At noone almost calme : after we had little wind, and steered North North-west till two : then it cleered vp, so that we could see from vs 2. leagues with the wind at North-west. Then we steered East South-east: after it cleered. At South in the Eueening, we saw an Island bearing off vs North-west from vs 5. leagues, and we saw land bearing off vs from vs 7. leagues. We had land likewise bearing off vs from East South-east, to South-east and by East as wee iudged, 10. leagues. Then hauing the winde at West North-west, we steered South and by East. It presently proued calme till ten this Eueening : then wee had a little gale at South-west and by West, wee steered away South South-east till twelue this night, and accounted ourselues in 76. from Land 10. leagues : which was the likeliest Land that wee had seene on all the parts of *Newland*, being playne riggie Land of a meane height, and not ragged as all the rest was that we had seene this Voyage, nor couered with snow. At twelue this night we saw two Morfes in the Sea neere vs, swimming to Land. From twelue at night to foure, calme.

The one and thirtieth, at foure this morning we had the wind at South-east, we steered South South-west. Then it proued calme, and so continued all the fore-noone. The after-noone wee had the wind at East South-east, we steered South 8. leagues. Then being like to proue much wind, contrarie to our purpose, and finding our fog more thicke and troublesome then before, diuers things necessarie wanting, and our time well nigh spent to doe further good this yeere, I commanded to beare vp for our returne for *England*, and steered away South South-west. And this night proued a hard gale of wind at South-east and by East. Wee were thwart of *Cheries* Island the next morning at foure of the clocke, being to windward off vs 5. leagues : knowing we were neere it, we looked out carefully for the same, and it prouing cleere, we saw it, being a very ragged Land on the Wester side, rising like Hey-cockes.

Cheries Island.

The first of August, a very hard gale of wind at East South-east, we shorted sayle, and steered away South South-west. This night was very foggie, with a hard gale of wind at East and by South, we steered by our account 27. leagues : and from eight this Eueening till the next morning foure, 10. leagues as afore. All this night was very foggie, wet and raw cold.

The second, in the morning calme with a thicke fog, cold and slabbie weather. About noone

we

we had a little gale West and by North, wee steered away as afore. The third, in the morning calme and cleere weather, with a little gale East and by South, we sayled South South-west: then wee had the wind at South-east, wee sayled as afore. All this day and night proued close weather, a little fogge at noone, which continued not long. At twelue this night the wind vered to the East and by North, wee held our course South South-west, as afore.

The fifteenth of August, we put into the Isles of Farre, standing in 52. degrees; and the fifteenth of September, I arrived in Tilberie Hope in the Thames.

CHAP. XV.

A Second Voyage or Employment of Master HENRY HUDSON, for finding a passage to the East Indies by the North-east: written by himselfe.

* I haue Robert Inets Journall also, for breuitie omitted.



Heir names employed in this action are as followeth: Henry Hudson, Master and Pilot; Robert Inet, the Master his Mate; Ludlowe Arnall; John Cooke, Boatsonne; Philip Stacie, Carpenter; John Barnes; John Braunch, Cooke; John Adrey, James Strutton, Michael Feirce, Thomas Hikes, Richard Tomson, Robert Raynar, John Hudson, and Humfrey Gilby. The courses obserued in this Journall were by a Compasse, that the Needle and the North of the Flye were directly one on the other.

Aprill.

Anno 1608. the two and twentieth of Aprill, being Friday, we set sayle at Saint Katherines, and fell downe to Blacke wall.

May.

The twentieth of May, at noone by obseruation we were in 64. degrees 52. minutes, and at this time and place the Needle declined vnder the Horizon by the Inclinatorie 81. degrees, and wee had a smooth Sea, by meanes whereof my obseruation was good.

Lowfoot.

The one and twentieth, at night thicke fog, wee sayled North North-east, with the wind at East. The two and twentieth, in the fore-noone the winde at South-east, wee steered North North-east, as afore: in the after-noone little wind and thicke fog; we accounted vs in 67. degrees, the Sea smooth, the Needle declined 82. degrees, this night was calme and cleere. The three and twentieth, in the morning the wind was Easterly, we stood North North-East, and North and by East. All the fore-noone was foggie: in the after-noone it cleered, and the wind shortned vpon vs, we made our way good North all night. The foure and twentieth, the wind at East North-east, and East and by North, we lay as neere as wee could with a full sayle; wee accounted Lowfoot from vs East Northerly, 16. leagues, distant from vs; at foure a clocke this after-noone, wee stood all night, as afore.

The five and twentieth, the wind at East North-east, we stood away North as we could lie: all this day was cleere weather, and searching cold, which cold begonne the one and twentieth day, and then my Carpenter was taken sicke, and so doth yet continue; and three or foure more of our companie were enclining to sicknesse, I suppose by meanes of the cold. All the night it was calme. The sixe and twentieth, cold but cleere weather, the wind betweene East and East North-east, we stood North-easterly till twelue a clocke at night: then wee had the wind at North-east & North North-east, we stood South-east and East till noone the next day. The seven and twentieth, cold and drie weather, at noone we had the wind North and North North-west; Wee stood away North-east, and East North-east, as we could, and accounted our selues in 69. degrees 40. minutes, and the Needle enclined, hauing a smooth Sea, neere 84. degrees. All night we had wind and weather as afore.

Sun 5. degrees 35. minutes at mid-night.

The eight and twentieth, drie cold cleere weather; the wind betweene North North-west and North, we made our way good East North-east; wee saw the Sunne on the North Meridian about the Horizon 5. degrees 35. minutes. All this night we had much wind, as afore. The nine and twentieth, a hard gale at North North-west: by account we ranne from mid-night to noone 21. leagues, East North-east. Wee had the Sunne on the Meridian 5. degrees, the latitude 73. degrees 13. minutes, whereby wee found our ship to haue out-runne vs. At mid-night the wind came to South-east: we cast about, and stood East North-east. This day partly cleere weather with some snow. The thirtieth, cold cleere weather, the wind betweene North-east, and East and by North; we went East South-east, and obseruing, were in 73. degrees 50. minutes. The one and thirtieth, cold and cleere weather: from the last day till this day noone, we stood South-east and by South, in the latitude of 72. degrees 45. minutes.

June.

The first of June, a hard gale at East North-East, with snow: we made our way good South South-east. The second, a hard gale of wind at North-east: towards night, calme with fogge, our course was South-east all day. The third, in the morning we had a sight of the North Cape; and at a West and by North Sunne, the Cape bore off vs South-west, halfe a point Southerly, being from vs 8. leagues: and obseruing the variation, I found it to the Westward 11. degrees: and

North Cape.

Variation west 11. degrees.

and hauing a smooth Sea, the Needle enclined vnder the Horizon 84. degrees and a halfe, the neereft I could finde. We had the wind at South-west, and wee stood away North-east and by East. It was cleere weather, and we saw *Norway* Fisher-men at Sea.

Needles inclination 84. degrees and a halfe.

The fourth, warme cleere sun-shine, we stood away North-east and by East. Now by Gods helpe our Carpenter recouered, and made a Mast for our ship-boat, and the companie made a Sayle, we had the Sunne in the sight on the North Meridian: his height was 5. degrees 40. minutes. Inclination 23. degrees 21. minutes: Poles height 72. degrees 21. minutes. The fift, in the morning calme weather: wee sounded, and had 140. fathoms, sand Oze: here wee saw a swelling Sea setting North-east and by East, and South-west and by West, with streame-leches: and we saw drift wood. After we had wind; and we sayled and made our way North North-east: towards night we sounded, and found ground at 150. fathoms, sand Oze. This day cleere weather, and not cold. The sixt, wee had cleere weather, the wind being at East North-East, from the last day till this day noone; we shaped our way on diuers courses North and by West, in the latitude of 73. degrees 24. minutes. We found that our ship had out-runne vs, sounding in 160. fathoms: in the after-noone little wind.

The seuenth, in the morning the wind at South, after at South South-east: from the last day till this day noone, wee accounted our way from diuers courses North-east, 15. leagues. This day was close but cleere weather, and we had a good gale of wind at this time. And three dayes before this, our Cooke and one more of our companie were very sicke. In the morning, we had ground at 150. fathoms, and at night we had no ground at 180. fathoms, which encreased hope. This night we had some snow, which continued foure houres: then the wind came at North-east and by East with storme; and with short sayle we stood North and by West: here the Needle enclined 86. degrees. I accounted that we were in 74. degrees and a halfe at neereft hand. This night we saw the Sunne on the North Meridian, his height was 7. degrees 40. minutes, which maketh the Poles height 74. degrees 23. minutes. The eight, from twelue a clocke last night till noone, we accounted our way on diuers courses, North and by East: then our latitude was 74. degrees 38. minutes, and we had no ground at 200. fathoms. In the after-noone the wind came at South South-east, and South-east and by East. This day and night wee had cleere weather, and we were here come into a blacke blue Sea.

74. degrees 30. minutes

The ninth, cleere weather, the wind came at South-east and by East: from the last day till this day noone, wee had a good way North-east, in latitude of 75. degrees 29. minutes: then wee entred into Ice, being the first we saw in this Voyage: our hope was to goe through it, we stood into it, and held our course betweene North-east, and East North-east, loosing for one, and bearing roome for another, till foure in the after-noone: at which time we were so farre in, and the Ice so thicke and firme ahead being in it foure or five leagues, that wee had endangered vs somewhat too farre; wee returned as wee went in, and with a few rubbes of our ship against the Ice; by eight a clocke this Eeuening wee got free of it. Wee made our way till next day at noone, South-west and by South, 18. leagues: in the middest of this way wee had no ground at 180. fathoms. The tenth, in the morning hasey weather; but at noone it cleered vp, and then we cast about, and stood away North and by East, the wind being at East South-east, two watches, five leagues: then we had the wind at East, we cast about, and stood South South-east, and made a South way, sixe leagues. The eleuenth, in the morning a hard storme at East, and East and by South we strooke ahull.

Darke blue Sea.

The twelfth, in the morning fog, and all day after cleere weather, the wind at South South-west, we steered East and by North: at noone being in the latitude 75. degrees 30. minutes. From noone till foure a clocke, five leagues East and by North; then we saw Ice ahead of vs, and vnder our Lee trending from the North-west to the North and East of vs: We had sounding 100. fathom, greenish Oze. Here we saw diuers pieces of drift wood by vs driuing, and streame Leeches lying South South-west, and North North-east. We many times saw the like since we saw the North Cape. The thirteenth, cleere weather, the wind at East, we made a South way 6. leagues, two watches: then we cast about, and made a North way one watch 3. leagues: At twelue at night, much wind with fog, we strooke ahull and layed our ships head to the Southward. The fourteenth, in the fore-noone fog, and our shroudes were frozen: the after-noone was cleere Sun-shine, and so was all the night.

The fifteenth, all day and night cleere sun-shine; the wind at East, the latitude at noone 75. degrees 7. minutes. We held Westward by our account 13. leagues. In the after-noone the Sea was asswaged; and the wind being at East we set sayle, and stood South and by East, and South South-east as we could. This morning, one of our companie looking ouer boord saw a Mermaid, and calling vp some of the companie to see her, one more came vp, and by that time shee was come close to the ships side, looking earnestly on the men: a little after, a Sea came and ouerturned her: from the Nauill vpward, her backe and breasts were like a womans, (as they say that saw her) her body as big as one of vs; her skin very white; and long haire hanging downe behind, of colour blacke: in her going downe they saw her tayle, which was like the tayle of a Porposse, and speckled like a Macrell. Their names that saw her, were *Thomas Hilles* and *Robert Rayner*.

Mermaide scene, and described.

The

The sixteenth, cleere weather, the wind being at East. From the last day till this day noone, we made our way South and by East 9. leagues, and from noon to eight a clocke in the Evening, 6. leagues: then we cast about and stood to the Northwards.

The seventeenth, cleere weather, the wind at South-east and by East; from the last day till this day noone, our way was North-east and by East, at noone being in the latitude of 74. degrees 40. minutes. At after-noon we sounded, and had ground at 86. fathom, greene Oze, and our water whitish greene: Here we saw Whales, Porpoises, and the Sea full of Fowles: from noone to mid-night North-east and by East we had the Sunne at lowest, on the North and by East, Easterly part of the Compasse: latitude 74. degrees 54. minutes. Sounding we had 92. fathoms water, Oze as before.

The eighteenth, faire weather, the wind at South-east and by East, from mid-night till this day noone, we sayled North-east and by East, in the Latitude of 75. degrees 24. minutes, and had ground at ninetie five fathome Oze, as afore. Heere we had Ice in our sight to the Northward off vs. In the after-noon, hauing little wind at North-east, we cast about and lay East South-east, and at fixe a clocke, had ground at ninetie five fathoms and a halfe Oze, as afore. From noone to twelue a clocke at night, our way was South-east, and South-east and by East, and had the Sunne on the Meridian, North and by East halfe a point Eastward. The Sunnes height was eight degrees 40. minutes. Sounding ninetie fathom. All this day, we had Ice on our Larboord trending: and at this time, from the North-west off vs to the East South-east, I haue some reason to thinke there is a Tide or Current setting to the Northwards; the course wee held and the way we made betweene this noone and mid-night Obseruations, doe make mee suspect it the more.

Current:

Needles inclination 89. degrees and a halfe, in 75. degrees 22. min.

The nineteenth, faire and warme weather, the sea smooth. Here the Needle inclined vnder the Horizon 89. degrees and a halfe, being in the Latitude at noone of 75. degrees 22. minutes; Sounding wee had ground in an hundred fathom. From twelue a clocke last night till this day at noone, we accounted our way from East and by North to South-east, ten leagues, hauing Ice alwayes in our sight trending on our Larboord, wee had the winde betweene North, and North North-west. We saw the Sunne at the lowest on the North and by East, halfe a point Easterly, his height was 8. degrees 10. minutes, which maketh the Poles height 74. degrees 56. minutes; Sounding we had ground in one hundred and twentie sixe fathom. From noone to this time, wee accounted our way East and by South, and East South-east, twelue leagues.

Beares roaring
Store of Seale.

The twentieth, faire warme weather, this morning at foure of the clocke, wee had depth one hundred and twentie five fathom. Heere we heard Beares roare on the Ice; and we saw vpon the Ice and neare vnto it, an incredible number of Seales. We had sounding one hundred and fifteen fathom, and after ground at ninetie five fathom sandie Oze. We had the Sun on the Meridian North and by East, halfe a point Easterly; his height was 7. degrees 20. minutes. From twelue a clocke last night, to twelue a clocke this night, our way was made good by our account South-east and by South, twelue leagues, and South-east, three leagues and a halfe, the Ice alwayes being on our Larboord. The wind this day, betweene North and North-west.

Sunne at mid-night high 7. degrees 40. minutes, in 74. degrees 33. minutes.

Just notes tell of a sudden variation of the Compasse, from the North to the East one point which had been two immediately before.

The one and twentieth, at foure a clocke in the morning wee sounded, and had one hundred and twentie fathome greene Oze, and the Ice bore off vs East, the winde variable; in diuers courses wee made our way good South South-east; our Latitude at noone being 74. degrees 9. minutes, we were haled to the Northward beyond expectation. All this day faire, cleere, and warme weather, and Ice on our Larboord at a North and by East Sunne; being then at lowest, his height was 7. degrees 40. minutes, which made the Poles height 74. degrees 33. minutes. From the last day at noone, till twelue a clocke this night, by account of our ships way, wee made our way good East North-east, fixe leagues and a halfe; whereby it doth appeare how we were haled to the Northward. Heere wee had ground at one hundred and thirteene fathome, greene sandie Oze.

The two and twentieth, faire cleare weather, the winde at West North-west. At eight a clocke in the Morning, we had ground at one hundred and fifteen fathom, greene Oze. From mid-night to noone, our course was North-east and by East, being in the Latitude of 74. degrees 35. minutes, and we found that our ships way, and our obseruation were not but there was carefull heed taken of both. Heere we had Ice a head off vs, trending to the South-east; and all day before Ice on our Larboord. Here we stood South-east five leagues, then the Ice trended South and by West fixe leagues; we sayled by it, and doubled it by eight a clocke in the Evening, and then it bore East off vs. Heere hauing a smooth sea, the Needle inclined 85. degrees, from eight a clocke to twelue, North and by East Easterly. Then we had the Sunne on the Meridian, North and by East $\frac{1}{2}$ a poynt Easterly. The Sunnes height was 7. degrees 45. minutes, which made the Latitude 74. degrees 43. minutes.

The three and twentieth, in the morning thicke fogge, the wind at North North-west. From mid-night till foure a clocke this morning, we sayled North-east five leagues, and then we were among the Ice; we cast about, and stood two houres South-west, two leagues, and had no ground at one hundred and eightie fathom. Then we cast about againe, and stood East till eight a clocke

two

two leagues, and then it cleered vp, and we had Ice a head off vs. And from North, we stood to South-east, and our shroudes were frozen. Then till noone wee went East and by South, foure leagues, and were neere Ice on our Larboord, in the Latitude of 74. degrees 30. minutes. In the after-noone the wind being at North, wee stood two houres and a halfe, five leagues and a halfe; three houres South South-east, five leagues; one houre South-east and by South, one league and a halfe; an houre East halfe a league, which brought eight in the Eeuening alwayes Ice on our Larboord. This after-noone, wee had some snow. From eight a clocke to mid-night, South South-west foure leagues, with Ice as afore. We saw the Sunne at the lowest, North North-east, his height was 7. degrees 15. minutes, the Poles height 74. degrees 18. minutes.

The foure and twentieth, cleere, but cold and some snow, the wind betweene North North-east, and North-east, from mid-night to foure a clocke, wee stood Southward two leagues, and South-east and by East two leagues. And from foure a clocke till noone, South-east Southerly nine leagues, sounding we had ground in one hundred and fortie fathome. From noone to three a clocke, we stood South-east and by South three leagues; from three to foure, South-west and by South one league; and had Ice from the North-east to the South-east off vs. From foure a clocke to eight, we stood South-west two leagues and a halfe, Southward halfe a league, with Ice neere vs vnder our Lead.

The five and twentieth, cold and cleare, the wind at East South-east; from eight a clocke last night till foure this morning, our way was South and by East, foure leagues and a halfe; sounding we had ground in eightie fathome, then we had little wind till noone, at East North-east, and the Sunne on the Meridian, on the South-west and by South point of the Compasse, ere it began to fall, wee were in the Latitude of 72. degrees 52. minutes, and had Ice on our Larboord, and our hope of passage was gone this way, by meanes of our nearenesse to *Noua Zembla*, and the abundance of Ice. We had from Noone to eight a clocke in the Eeuening, the wind between North North-east, and North-east, we stood South-east three leagues and a halfe, and had Ice on our Larboord, and shoalding sixtie eight fathome.

The sixe and twentieth, faire Sun-shining weather, and little wind at East North-east. From twelue a clocke at night till foure this morning, we stood Southward two leagues, sounding wee had sixtie sixe fathome Oaze, as afore. From foure a clocke to noone, South-east and by South foure leagues, and had the Sunne on the Meridian, on the South-east and by South point of the Compasse, in the Latitude of 72. degrees 25. minutes, and had sight of *Noua Zembla* foure or five leagues from vs, and the place called by the *Hollanders*, *Swart Cliffe*, bearing off South-east. In the after-noone, wee had a fine gale at East North-east, and by eight of the clocke, we had brought it to beare off vs East Southerly, and sayled by the shoare a league from it.

The seuen and twentieth, all the fore-noone it was almost calme; wee being two mile from the shoare, I sent my Mate *Robert Inet*, and *John Cooke* my Boat-swaine on shoare, with foure others, to see what the Land would yeeld that might bee profitable, and to fill two or three Caskes with water. They found and brought aboard some Whales Finnes, two Deeres Hornes, and the Dung of Deere, and they told me that they saw Grasse on the shoare of the last yeere, and young Grasse came vp amongst it a shaftman long; and it was boggie ground in some places, there are many streames of Snow water nigh, it was very hot on the shoare, and the snow melted apace, they saw the footings of many great Beares, of Deere, and Foxes. They went from vs at three a clocke in the morning, and came aboard at a South-east Sunne; and at their comming, wee saw two or three companies of Morfes in the sea neere vs swimming, being almost calme. I presently sent my Mate, *Ladlow* the Carpenter, and sixe others a shoare, to a place where I thought the Morfes might come on the shoare, they found the place likely, but found no signe of any that had beene there. There was a Crosse standing on the shoare, much Drift-wood, and signes of Fires that had beene made there. They saw the footing of very great Deere and Beares, and much Fowle, and a Foxe; they brought aboard Whale finnes, some Mousse, Flowers and greene things that did there grow. They brought also two peeces of a Crosse, which they found there. The Sunne was on the Meridian on the North North-east, halfe a point Easterly, before it began to fall. The Sunnes height was 4. degrees 45. minutes, Inclination 22. degrees 33. minutes, which makes the Latitude 72. degrees 12. minutes. There is disagreement betweene this and the last obseruation; but by meanes of the cleerenesse of the Sunne, the smoothnesse of the Sea, and the neerhesse to Land, wee could not bee deceived, and care was taken in it.

The eight and twentieth, at foure a clocke in the Morning our Boat came aboard, and brought two dozen of Fowle, and some Egges, whereof a few were good, and a Whales finne; and wee all saw the Sea full of Morfes, yet no signes of their being on shoare. And in this calme, from eight a clocke last Eeuening, till foure this Morning, we were drawne backe to the Northward, as farre as wee were the last Eeuening at foure a clocke, by a Streame or a Tide; and we chose rather so to driue, then to aduenture the losse of an Anchor, and the spoyle of a Cable. Heere our new Ship-boate began to doe vs seruice, and was an incouragement to my Companie, which want I found the last yeere.

No passage
that way.
Swart Cliffe

They goe
a shoare.

The nine and twentieth, in the morning calme, being halfe a league from the shoare, the Sea being smooth, the Needle did encline 84. degrees, we had many Morfes in the Sea neere vs, and desiring to find where they came on shoare, wee put to with Sayle and Oares, towing in our Boat, and rowing in our Barke to get about a point of Land, from whence the Land did fall more Easterly, and the Morfes did goe that way. VVee had the Sunne on the Meridian on the South and by VVest point, halfe a point to the VVester part of the Compasse, in the latitude of 71. degrees 15. minutes. At two a clocke this after-noon we came to anchor in the mouth of a Riuer, where lieth an Iland in the mouth thereof, foure leagues: wee anchored from the Iland in two and thirtie fathomes, blacke sandy ground. There droue much Ice out of it with a streame that set out of the Riuer or Sound, and there were many Morfes sleeping on the Ice, and by it we were put from our Road twice this night; and being calme all this day, it pleased God at our need to giue vs a fine gale, which freed vs out of danger. This day was calme, cleere and hot weather: all the night we rode still.

Riuer and
Iland.

The thirtieth, calme, hot, and faire weather, we weighed in the morning, and towed and rowed, and at noone we came to anchor neere the Ile aforesaid in the mouth of the Riuer, and saw very much Ice driving in the Sea, two leagues without vs lying South-east and North-west; and driving to the North-west so fast, that wee could not by twelue a clocke at night see it out of the top. At the Iland where wee rode, lieth a little Rocke, whereon were fortie or fiftie Morfes lying asleepe, being all that it could hold, it being so full and little. I sent my companie ashore to them, leauing none aboard but my Boy with mee: and by meanes of their heere nesse to the water, they all got away, saue one which they killed, and brought his head aboard; and ere they came aboard they went on the Iland, which is reasonable high and steepe, but flat on the top. They killed and brought with them a great Fowle, whereof there were many, and likewise some Egges, and in an houre they came aboard. This Ile is two flight-shot ouer in length, and one in breadth. At mid-night our Anchor came home, and wee tayld aground by meanes of the strength of the streame, but by the helpe of God, wee houghed her off without hurt. In short time wee moued our ship, and rode still all night; and in the night wee had little wind at East, and East South-east. VVee had at noone this day an obseruation, and were in the latitude of 71. degrees 15. minutes.

July.

The first of July, we saw more Ice to Seaward of vs; from the South-east to the North-west, driving to the North-west. At noone it was calme, and we had the Sunne on the Meridian, on the South and by VVest point, halfe a point to the VVesterly part of the Compasse, in the latitude of 71. degrees 24. minutes. This morning I sent my Mate *Eueret*, and foure of our companie to rowe about the Bay, to see what Riuer, were in the same, and to find where the Morfes did come on land; and to see a Sound or great Riuer in the bottome of the Bay, which did alwaies send out a great streame to the Northwards, against the tide that came from thence: and I found the same in coming in, from the North to this place before this. VVhen by the meanes of the great plenty of Ice, the hope of passage betweene *Newland* and *Noua Zembla* was taken away; my purpose was by the *Vaygats* to passe by the mouth of the Riuer *Ob*, and to double that way the North Cape of *Tartaria*, or to giue reason wherefore it will not be: but being here, and hoping by the plentie of Morfes wee saw here, to defray the charge of our Voyage; and also that this Sound might for some reasons bee a better passage to the East of *Noua Zembla*, then the *Vaygats*, if it held according to my hope conceived by the likenesse it gaue: for whereas we had a floud came from the Northwards; yet this Sound or Riuer did runne so strong, that Ice with the streame of this Riuer was carried away, or any thing else against the floud: so that both in floud and ebbe, the streame doth hold a strong course; and it floweth from the North three houres, and ebbeth nine.

His purpose
altered.

Strong stream.

The second, the wind being at East South-east, it was reasonable cold, and so was Friday; and the Morfes did not play in our sight as in warme weather. This morning at three of the clocke, my Mate and companie came aboard, and brought a great Deeres horne, a white Locke of Deeres haire; foure dozen of Fowle, their Boat halfe laden with drift Wood; and some Flowers and greene things, that they found growing on the shoare. They saw a herd of white Deere, of ten in a companie on the land; much drift wood lying on the shoare, many good Bayes, and one Riuer faire to see to on the North shoare, for the Morfes to land on: but they saw no Morfes there, but signes that they had beene in the Bayes. And the great Riuer or Sound, they certified me, was of breadth two or three leagues, and had no ground at twentie fathoms, and that the water was of the colour of the Sea, and very salt, and that the streame setteth strongly out of it. At sixe a clocke this morning, came much Ice from the Southward driving vpon vs, very fearefull to looke on: but by the mercy of God and his mightie helpe, wee being moored with two Anchors ahead with vering out of one Cable, and heauing home the other, and fending off with Beames and Sparres, escaped the danger: which labour continued till sixe a clocke in the Euening, and then it was past vs, and we rode still and tooke our rest this night.

Herd of white
Deere.

The third, the wind at North a hard gale: At three a clocke this morning wee weighed our anchor, and set sayle, purposing to runne into the Riuer or Sound before spoken of.

The

The fourth, in the morning it cleered vp with the wind at North-west, we weighed and set sayle, and stood to the Eastwards, and past ouer a Reeve, and found on it fise and a halfe, sixe, sixe and a halfe, and seuen fathoms water: then we saw that the Sound was full, & a very large Riuer from the North-eastward free from Ice, and a strong streame comming out of it: and wee had founding then, foure and thirtie fathoms water. Wee all conceiued hope of this Northerly Riuer or Sound, and sayling in it, wee found three and twentie fathomes for three leagues, and after twentie fathomes for fise or sixe leagues, all tough Ozie ground. Then the winde vered more Northerly, and the streame came downe so strong, that wee could doe no good on it: wee came to anchor, and went to supper, and then presently I sent my Mate *Iuet*, with fise more of our companie in our Boat, with Sayle and Oares to get vp the Riuer, being provided with Victuall and Weapons for defence, willing them to found as they went; and if it did continue still deepe, to goe vntill it did trende to the Eastward, or to the Southwards, and wee rode still.

The Riuer searched.

The fift, in the morning we had the wind at West: we began to weigh anchor, purposing to set sayle and to runne vp the Sound after our companie: then the wind vered Northerly vpon vs, and we saued our labour. At noone our companie came aboard vs hauing had a hard rought; for they had bene vp the Riuer sixe or seuen leagues, and sounded it from twentie to three and twentie; and after brought it to eight, sixe, and one fathome; and then to foure foot in the best: they then went ashore, and found good store of wilde Goose quills, a piece of an old Oare, and some Flowers, and greene things which they found growing: they saw many Deere, and so did we in our after-dayes sayling. They being come aboard, we presently set sayle with the wind at North North-west, and we stood out againe to the South-westwards, with sorrow that our labour was in vaine: for, had this Sound held as it did make shew of, for breadth, depth, safenesse of harbour, and good anchor ground, it might haue yeilded an excellent passage to a more Easterly Sea. Generally, all the Land of *Noua Zembla* that yet wee haue seene, is to a mans eye a pleasant Land; much mayne high Land with no Snow on it, looking in some places greene, and Deere feeding thereon: and the Hills are partly couered with Snow, and partly bare. It is no maruell that there is so much Ice in the Sea toward the Pole, so many Sounds and Riuers being in the Lands of *Noua Zembla*, and *Newland* to ingender it; besides the coasts of *Pechora*, *Russia*, and *Groenland*, with *Lappia*, as by proofes I finde by my trauell in these parts: by meanes of which Ice I suppose there will be no nauigable passage this way. This Eeuening wee had the wind at West and by South: wee therefore came to anchor vnder Deere Point; and it was a storme at Sea, wee rode in twentie fathomes, Ozie ground: I sent my Mate, *Ladlow*, with foure more ashore to see whether any Morfes were on the shoare, and to kill some Fowle, (for we had seene no Morfes since Saturday, the second day of this moneth, that wee saw them driuing out of the Ice.) They found good landing for them, but no signe that they had bene there: but they found that fire had bene made there, yet not lately. At ten of the clocke in the Eeuening, they came aboard, and brought with them neere an hundred Fowles called Wellocks; this night it was wet fogge, and very thicke and cold, the winde at West South-west.

Noua Zembla pleasant to the eye.

Cause of much Ice in those Seas, which make no nauigable passage.

The sixt, in the morning wee had the wind stormie and shifting; betweene the West and South-west, against vs for doing any good: we rode still and had much Ice driuing by vs to the Eastward of vs. At nine of the clocke, this Eeuening wee had the wind at North North-west: we presently weighed, and set sayle, and stood to the Westward, being out of hope to find passage by the North-east: And my purpose was now to see whether *Willoughbies* Land were, as it is layd in our Cardes; which if it were, wee might finde Morfes on it; for with the Ice they were all driuen from hence. This place vpon *Noua Zembla*, is another then that which the *Hollanders* call *Costing Sarch*, discovered by *Oliuer Brownell*: and *William Barentsons* obseruation doth witnesse the same. It is layd in plot by the *Hollanders* out of his true place too farre North: to what end I know not, vnlesse to make it hold course with the Compasse, not respecting the variation. It is as broad and like to yeeld passage as the *Vaygats*, and my hope was, that by the strong streame it would haue cleered it selfe; but it did not. It is so full of Ice that you will hardly thinke it. All this day, for the most part, it was fogge and cold.

Willoughbies Land, a conceit of Card-makers: it seeming to be no other then *Newland* or *Greenland* (as is before obserued cap. 2.) as *Costing Sarch* of *Brunell* is to others *Noua Zembla*. Note.

The seuenth, cleere but cold weather: in the morning the wind was at the North; from the last Eeuening to this morning, we set saile and kept our course West and by South, fiftene leagues. from morning to eight a clocke in the Eeuening it was calme: then we had the wind againe at North, and we sayled till nine a clocke next morning West South-west, eight leagues; then the wind being West and by South, wee went North and by West, three leagues, and wee had the Sunne at the highest South South-west, in the latitude of 71. degrees 2. minutes. The eight, faire weather; at noone we had the wind at East North-east, we stood North three leagues till foure a clocke: then the wind being at west and by North, wee stemmed North and by West one league and a halfe, till six a clocke in the Eeuening; then the wind was at North-east a hard gale, and wee stood till next day at noone West and by North, by account three and twentie leagues: we had the Sunne on the Meridian, South and by West, halfe a point neere West, in

the latitude of 70. degrees 41. minutes. The ninth, cleere weather: from this to the next day at noone, we sayled South-west and by West, twelue leagues, and Northward three leagues: and in these courses had these soundings, 41. 42. 46. 48. and 45. fathoms: we had the Sunne South and by VWest, halfe a point to the VWest part of the Compasse. The Sea was loftie: our latitude was 70. degrees 20. minutes.

The tenth, cleere but close weather: from this till next day noone, wee had little wind at West North-west: by account we made our way five leagues North-easterly. Wee had the Sun at the highest on the South and by West point, and a terce Westward, in the latitude of 70. degrees 55. minutes, and I thinke we had a rustling tide vnder vs; and in this time had sounding betweene fortie five and fortie fathomes, white sand. The eleuenth, cleere weather: from this to the next day at noone, little wind at North North-east, and sometimes calme; wee sayled West and by North by account five leagues; and had the Sunne on the Meridian on the South and by West point $\frac{1}{2}$. West in the latitude of 70. degrees 26. minutes, and found a rustling vnder vs. This fore-noone we were come into a greene Sea, of the colour of the mayne Ocean, which we first lost the eight of Iune: since which time wee haue had a Sea of a blacke blue colour, which (both by the last and this yeeres experience) is a Sea pestered with Ice.

The twelfth, faire weather: from noone to mid-night wee had the wind shifting betweene the North and West; our course was betweene VWest North-west, and South South-west. Then we had the wind at South, we sayled till the next day at noone, West and by North, thirteene leagues: wee accounted our way from the last day till this day noone Westward, eighteene leagues. This after-noone wee saw more Porpoises then in all our Voyage afore. The thirteenth, close weather: in the after-noone hauing much wind at South, with short sayle we stood away West and by North, till eight a clocke in the Eeuening: then we had the wind at South, but most times calme till noone the next day: wee stood away as afore, foure leagues, which made in all twelue leagues: we had the Sunne ere it began to fall, South and by West, in the latitude of 70. degrees 22. minutes.

The fourteenth, wee stood West North-west till mid-night, seuentene leagues: then the wind scanted and came at West, we stood North North-west, one league and a halfe; then the wind being more Southerly, wee sayled West North-west, five leagues. From the last till this day at noone, our way was out of diuers courses North-west and by West, foure and twentie leagues. We had the Sunne beginning to fall at South and by West, in the latitude of 70. degrees 54. minutes.

The fifteenth, faire; but towards night like to be stormie with thunder, the wind betweene South and South South-east; from this, till the sixteenth day at noone, our course was West and by North, seven and twentie leagues, and the Sunne then began to fall at South, three quarters of a point Westward, in the latitude of 70. degrees 42. minutes. The sixteenth, faire; our way was from this till next day at noone North-west, twelue leagues, out of diuers courses: and we had the wind shifting, sometimes at East, at West South-west, and West and by North; the latitude by a bad obseruation, 71. degrees 44. minutes. The seuenteenth, in the fore-noone faire; the wind being at West and by North. At foure a clocke this morning we saw Land beare off vs, West and South South-west, which was about *Ward-house*: this after-noone wee had a storme at West and by North, we layed it to trie till eight a clocke in the Eeuening, and then set sayle with the wind betweene West North-west, and North-west: our course till the next day at noone, was South-west and by South, twelue leagues: the Cape *Hopewell* bore off vs South South-west, and we were foure or five leagues from land.

The eighteenth, guffy, with raine all the fore-noone; then we had the wind shifting till next day at noone from South South-east to East, and South-east: our course in generall was North-west, foure and twentie leagues: then did North *Kene* beare off vs West halfe a point Southward, being from vs foure leagues; and the North Cape in sight bearing West and by North, &c.

The seuen and twentieth, cold with raine and storme; this night we began to burne Candle in the Betacle, which we had not done since the nineteenth of May: by reason wee had alwaies day from thence till now. The thirtieth, we had the Sunne vpon the Meridian due South, in the latitude of 68. degrees 46. minutes; whereby we found vs to bee afore our ship, ten or twelue leagues, and *Lowfoot* bore East of vs, but not in sight.

The seuenth of August, I vsed all diligence to arriue at *London*, and therefore now I gaue my companie a certificate vnder my hand, of my free and willing returne, without perswasion or force of any one or more of them: for at my being at *Nova Zembla*, the sixt of Iuly, voide of hope of a North-east passage, (except by the *Vaygats*, for which I was not fitted to trie or proue) I therefore resolved to vse all meanes I could to sayle to the North-west; considering the time and meanes wee had, if the wind should friend vs, as in the first part of our Voyage it had done, and to make triall of that place called *Lumleys Inlet*, and the furious ouer-fall by Cap-*tain* *Danis*, hoping to runne into it an hundred leagues, and to returne as God should enable mee. But now hauing spent more then halfe the time I had, and gone but the shortest part of the way, by meanes of contrary winds; I thought it my durie to laue Victuall, Wages, and Tackl

Greene Sea.

Thunder.

No night in
ten weekes.

See Hak. 10. 3.

Tackle, by my speedy returne, and not by foolish rashnesse, the time being wasted, to lay more charge vpon the action: then necessitie should compell, I arriued at *Gransend* the six and twentieth of August.

CHAP. XVI.

The third Voyage of Master HENRIE HUDSON toward Noua Zembla, and at his returne, his passing from Farte Islands, to New-found Land, and along to fortie foure degrees and ten minutes, and thence to Cape Cod, and so to thirtie three degrees; and along the Coast to the Northward, to fortie two degrees and an halfe, and up the Riuer neere to fortie three degrees. Written by ROBERT IVET of Lime-house.

ON Saturday the five and twentieth of March, 1609. after the old Account, we set sayle from *Amsterdam*; and by the seven and twentieth day, we were downe at the *Texel*: and by twelue of the clocke we were off the Land, it being East of vs two leagues off. And because it is a journey vsually knowne, I omit to put downe what passed, till we came to the height of *The North Cape of Finmarke*, which we did performe by the fift of May (*stilo nono*) being Tuesday. On which day we obserued the height of the Pole, and found it to bee 71. degrees and 46. minutes; and found our Compasse to vary six degrees to the West: and at twelue of the clocke, the North Cape did beare South-west and by South, tenne leagues off, and wee steered away East and by South, and East.

After much trouble with fogges, sometimes, and more dangerous of Ice. The nineteenth, being Tuesday, was close stormie weather, with much wind and snow, and very cold: the wind variable betweene the North North-west, and North-east. We made our way West and by North till noone. Then we obserued the Sunne hauing a flake, and found our height to bee 70. degrees 30. minutes. And the ship had out-runne vs twentie leagues, by reason of the set of the streame of *The White Sea*: and we had sight of *Wardhouse*. Then at two of the clocke wee tackt to the Eastward: for we could not get about the North Cape, the wind was so scant; and at eight of the clocke at night, on the one and twentieth, the North Cape did beare South-east and by South seven leagues off. And at mid-night *Assumption Point* did beare South and by East, five leagues off vs.

The two and twentieth, gusting weather with haile and snow, the Sunne breaking out sometimes: we continued our course along the Land West South-west. And at tenne of the clocke at night we were thwart off *Zenam*. The bodie of it did beare East off vs five leagues: and the course from the North Cape to *Zenam*, is for the most part West and by South, and West South-west, fiftie foure leagues.

The three and twentieth, faire Sun-shining weather; the wind at East and by South, and East South-east, wee steered along the Land South-west, and South-west and by West, eight leagues a Watch, for so we found the Land to lye from *Zenam* to *Lofote*. And the distance is fiftie leagues from the bodie of *Zenam*, to the Westermost Land of *Lofote*. And from the one to the other, the course is South-west and by West. For the Needle of our Compasse was set right to the North. At twelue of the clocke at night, the bodie of *Lofote* did beare South-east, fixe leagues off.

The foure and twentieth, faire cleere Sun-shining weather: the wind variable vpon all points of the Compasse, but most vpon the South-east, and sometimes calme. We continued our course West South-west as before. And at eight of the clocke at night, the Souther part of *Lofote* did beare South-east ten leagues off vs.

The five and twentieth, much wind at North-east, with some snow and haile. The first watch the wind came to the East a fine gale, and so came to the North-east, the second watch at foure of the clocke, and freshed in: And at eight of the clocke it grew to a storme, and so continued. At noone we obserued, and made the ship to be in 67. degrees 58. minutes. Wee continued our course South-west, twelue leagues a watch. At nine of the clocke, *Lofote* did beare East of vs 15. leagues off. And we found the Compasse to haue no variation. The wind increased to a storme.

The six and twentieth, was a great storme at the North North-east, and North-east. Wee steered away South-west afore the wind with our fore-course abroad: for wee were able to maintayne no more sayles, it blew so vehemently, and the Sea went so high, and brake with all, that it would haue endangered a small ship to lye vnder the Sea. So we skudded seuentie leagues in foure and twentie houres. The storme began to cease at foure of the clocke.

The seven and twentieth, indifferent faire weather, but a good stiffe gale of wind at North,

May 5. *stilo nono*.

Beale More. Wardhouse. They doubled the North Cape. Assumption Point. Zenam.

Lofote.

No variation.

A great current setting to the North-east.

Farre Iles set 14 leagues to *farre West*.

Stromo.

June,

m The Bittacle is a close place in which the Compasse standeth. *Basse Iland*. Their first sight of stars: for further North, they had continuall Sun-light. Change of water. A strange current out of the South-west.

Note well.

Bonnets are those which are laced and ecked to the sayles to enlarge them: with reference whereto the mayne course, misse course, fore course, is understood of those sayles without their Bonnets.

and North North-east, wee held on our course as before. At noone wee obserued and found our heighth to be 64. degrees 10. minutes. And wee perceived, that the Current had hindred vs in fortie eight houres to the number of 16. leagues to our best judgement. We set our mayne-sayle, sprit-sayle, and our mayne-top-sayle, and held on our course all night, having faire weather.

The eight and twentieth, faire weather and little wind at North-east, we held on our course South-west. At noone wee obserued the heighth, and were in 62. degrees and 30. minutes. The after-noon was little wind at North North-west. The second watch it fell calme. At foure of the clocke wee had sight of the Iles called *Farre*, and found them to lye out of their place in the Sea Chart fourteene leagues to *farre West*erly. For in running South-west from *Losfoote*, wee had a good care to our steerage and obseruations; and counted our selues thirtie leagues off by our course and obseruation: and had sight of them sixteene or eightene leagues off.

The nine and twentieth, faire weather sometimes calme; and sometimes a gale with the wind varying at South-west, and so to the North-east. Wee got to the Ilands, but could not get in. So we stood along the Ilands. The ebbe being come, we durst not put in.

The thirtieth faire weather; the wind at South-east and East South-east. In the morning we turned into a Road in *Stromo*, one of the Ilands of *Farre*, betweene *Stromo* and *Mugge-nis*, and got in by nine of the clocke: for it flowed so there that day. And as soon as we came in, we went to Romage, and sent our Boat for water, and filled all our emperie Caskes with fresh water. Wee made an end of our Romaging this night by ten of the clocke.

The one and thirtieth, faire Sun-shining weather, the wind at East South-east. In the fore-noon our Master with most of his Company went on shoare to walke, and at one of the clocke they returned aboard. Then we set sayle.

The first of June, *Bilo nouo*, faire Sun-shining weather, the wind at East South-east. We continued on our course South-west and by West. At noone wee obserued the Sunne, and found our heighth to be 60. degrees 58. minutes: and so continued on our course all night with faire weather. This night we lighted Candles in the m Bittacle againe.

The second mystie weather, the wind at North-east. At noone we steered away West South-west, to find *Basse Iland*, discovered in the yeere 1578. by one of the ships of Sir *Martin Fro-bisher*, to see if it lay in her true latitude in the Chart or no: wee continued our course as before all night, with a faire gale of wind: this night we had sight of the first stars, and our water was changed colour to a white Greene. The Compasse had no variation.

The third, faire Sun-shining weather; the wind at North-east. We steered on our course South-west and by West, with a stiffe gale of wind. At noone we obserued and found our heighth to be 58. degrees 48. minutes. And I was before the ship 16. leagues, by reason of the Current that held vs so strong out of the South-west. For it is eight leagues in foure and twentie houres. We accounted our selues neere *Basse Iland*: by mid-night we looked out for it, but could not see it.

The fourth, in the morning was much wind with fogge and raine. Wee steered away South-west by west all the fore-noon, the wind so increating, that wee were enforced to take in our top-sayle: the winde continuing so all the after-noon. Wee steered away South-west all the fore-part of the night; and at ten of the clocke at night it was little wind; and that was at South, and so came vp to the South South-east.

The fift, stormie weather, and much wind at South, and South by East, so that at foure of the clocke in the morning, we tooke in our fore-sayle, and lay a try with our mayne corse, and tryed away West North-west foure leagues. But at noone it was lesse wind, and the Sunne shewed forth; and we obserued, and found our heighth to be 56. degrees 21. minutes. In the after-noon the wind vered to and fro betweene the South-west and the South-east, with raine and fogge, and so continued all night. Wee found that our ship had gone to the VWestward of our course. The sixth, thicke hase weather with gusts of wind, and showers of raine. The wind varied betweene East South-East and South-west, wee steered on many courses a West South-west way. The afternoone watch the wind was at East South-east, a stiffe gale with myst and raine. Wee steered away South-west, by West eight leagues. At noone the Sunne shone forth, and we found the heighth to be 56. degrees 8. minutes. The seventh, faire sun-shining weather all the fore-noon, and calme vntill twelue of the clocke. In the after-noon the wind came to the North-west, a stiffe gale. We steered South-west by West, and made a South-west way. At noone we found the height to be 55. degrees one minute, and it continued all night a hard gale.

The eighth, stormy weather, the wind variable, betweene West and North-west much wind: at eight of the clocke wee tooke off our Bonnets. At noone the Sunne shewed forth, and wee obserued, and our height was 54. degrees 30. minutes. The ninth, faire sun-shining weather, and little wind all the fore-part of the day vntill eleuen of the clocke. Then the wind came to the South South-east, and we steered away West South-west. At noone we found our height to be 53. degrees and 45. minutes, and we had made our way South by West ten leagues. In the after-noon the wind increased and continued all night at East North-east and East.

The twelfth, faire weather, the wind variable betweene East North-east and South-east, wee steered on our course as before. At foure of the clock in the afternoon the wind came vp at South-east,

east. And we held our course as before. At noone wee obserued and found our height to be 52. degrees 35. minutes.

The eleventh, in the morning was thicke and foggie, the winde varying betweene South South-west, and North-west. At four of the clocke in the morning, wee tackt about to the Southward. At eleven of the clocke the winde came to the North-west, and so to the West North-west. This day we had change of water, of a whitish Greene, like to the Ice water to the North-west. At noone it cleered vp, and became very faire weather. wee put out our mayne top-sayle: then we obserued the Sunne, and found our height to be 51. degrees 24. minutes. We had sayled many courses and found our ship gone to the Southward of our account ten leagues, by reason of a current from the North-ward. The Compasse varied on point to the East.

A current from the North. Variation one point East.

The twelfth, faire Sun-shining weather, but much wind at the West: we stood to the Southward all day, the wind shifting betweene the South-west and the West and by North. Wee made our way South halfe a point West, eight and twentie leagues. Our height at noone was 50. degrees 9. minutes. At eight of the clock at night we took off our Bonets, the wind increasing.

The thirteenth, faire Sun-shining weather: the wind variable betweene the West, and North North-west. We made our way South South-west seven and twentie leagues. At noone we obserued, and found our height to be 48. degrees 45. minutes. But not to be trusted, the Sea went so high. In the after-noon the winde was calmer, and wee brought to our Bonets, and stood to the Southward all night with a stiffe gale.

The fourteenth, faire and cleere Sun-shining weather: the winde variable betweene the North-west and South-west by West. At mid-night I obserued the North starre at a North-west by West Guard; a good obseruation 49. degrees 30. minutes. And at noone wee obserued the Sunne, and our height was 48. degrees 6. minutes. And I made account we ranne betweene the two obseruations twelue leagues. At one of the clocke in the after-noon, wee cast about to the Westward, and stood so all night: the winde increased to a storme, and was very much winde with Raine.

Latitude 48. degrees 6. minutes.

The fifteenth, we had a great storme, and spent ouer-board our fore-mast, bearing our fore corse low set. The sixteenth, we were forced to trie with our mayne sayle, by reason of the vnconstant weather. So wee tried foure watches South-east and by South eight leagues and an halfe, and two watches fixe leagues. The seuenteenth, reasonable faire weather: the wind variable betweene West South-west, and West North-west. And a stiffe gale of wind, and so great a swelling Sea out of the West South-west, that wee could doe nothing. So one watch and an halfe wee droue North foure leagues and an halfe, and foure watches and an halfe South and by East halfe a point East twelue leagues. The eighteenth, reasonable weather but close and cloudie, and an hard gale of wind, and a great Sea. The winde being at the North-west, wee lay to the Southward, and made our drift South and by West, fise leagues. The after-noonne proued little wind, and the night part calme. The nineteenth, in the fore-noonne faire weather and calme. In the morning we set the piece of our fore mast, and set our fore corse.

* To spend the Mast, is vnderstood of breaking it by foule weather only.

The one and twentieth, faire Sun-shining weather, but much wind and a great Sea. We split our fore saile at ten of the clocke; then we laid it a trie with our mayne sayle, and continued so all day. In the night it fell to be little wind. This day our height was 45. degrees 48. minutes.

* That is, bare no more sayle but the mayne sayle, &c. Variation.

The two and twentieth, very faire Sun-shining weather, and calme all the after-noonne. At noone we made a very good obseruation, and found our height 44. degrees 58. minutes. At eight of the clocke at night wee had a small gale of winde at South-east. And wee steered away West for Newfoundland. The true Compasse varied one point East.

The three and twentieth, thicke weather with much wind and some raine. At eight of the clocke in the morning, the wind came to the West South-west, and West so stiffe a gale, that we were forced to take our top-sayle, and steered away North North-west vntill foure of the clock in the after-noonne. Then we tackt to the Southward the winde at West North-west. At eight of the clocke at night wee tooke in our top-sayles, and laid it a trie with our mayne sayle, the winde at West.

The foure and twentieth, a stiffe gale of wind, varying betweene the West and North North-west, we tried till fixe of the clocke: at which time we set our foresaile, and steered way West and by South by our Compasse eight leagues in foure watches: and wee tried away South in one watch and an halfe.

The fise and twentieth, faire Sun-shining weather, the wind at North North-west and North, we steered away West by South by our Compasse till twelue of the clocke: at which time we had sight of a sayle, and gaue her chafe but could not speake with her. She stood to the Eastward; and we stood after her till fixe of the clocke in the after-noonne. Then wee tackt to the Westward againe, and stood on our course. It was faire all night, and little wind sometimes.

The six and twentieth, all the fore-part of the day very faire weather and hot, but at foure of the clocke in the after-noonne it grew to bee much winde and raine: the winde was at South South-east. At noone wee obserued and found our height to bee 44. degrees 33. minutes. At eight of the clocke at night, the wind came to South-west, and West South-west. Wee steered North-

North-west, one Watch, and at twelue in the night, to the West, and West and by South, very much wind. So we could lye but North North-west.

The seuen and twentieth, very much winde and a soare storme, the wind Westerly. In the morning at foure of the clocke, wee tooke in our fore-corse, and layd it a trie with our mayne-corse low set; and so continued all the day and night, two watches to the Northward. At eight of the clocke at night, we tackt to the Southward.

The eight and twentieth, faire sun-shining weather, the wind at West and by South; we lay a trie to the Southward till eight of the clocke in the morning. Then wee set our fore-corse, and stood to the Southward a stiffe gale of wind, but faire weather and a great Sea, out of the Westward boord, and so continued all night.

The nine and twentieth, faire sun-shining weather, the wind at West and by South; we stood to the Southward vntill sixe of the clocke at night, and made our way South and by East, foure leagues. Then the winde came to the South-west, and wee cast about to the VWestward, and made our way VWest North-west all night. At noone, I found the height 43. degrees 6. minutes. The variation one point VWest.

The thirtieth, faire sun-shining weather, the winde at South-west and by VWest, we steered North-west and by VWest. And made our way so, by reason of the variation of the Compasse. At noone, I found the height to bee 43. degrees 18. minutes; wee continued our course all night, and made our way North-west and by VWest, halfe a point VVesterly, five and twentie leagues.

July.

The first of July, close, mystie and thicke weather, but a faire gale of wind at South-west, and South-west by South. We steered away North-west and by West, Westerly, and made our way so, by reason of the variation of the Compasse. At eight of the clocke at night, wee sounded for the Banke of *New-found Land*, but could get no ground.

The Banke of
New found Land

The second, thicke mystie weather, but little wind, and that at West, and West and by South. At eight of the clocke in the morning, we cast about to the Southward, and when our ship was on staves, we sounded for the Banke, and had ground in thirtie fathoms, white sand and shells, and presently it cleered: and we had sight of a sayle, but spake not with her. In the night we had much Rayne, Thunder and Lightning, and wind shifting.

Variation west
17. degrees.
French-men Fish-
ing on the
Banke.

The third, faire Sun-shining weather, with a faire gale of wind at East North-east, and wee steered away West South-west by our Compasse, which varied 17. degrees Westward. This morning we were among a great Fleet of *French-men*, which lay Fishing on the Banke; but we spake with none of them. At noone wee found our height to bee 43. degrees 41. minutes. And we sounded at ten of the clocke, and had thirtie fathoms gray sand. At two of the clocke wee sounded, and had five and thirtie fathoms gray sand. At eight of the clocke at night, we sounded againe, and had eight and thirtie fathoms gray sand, as before.

Variation 15.
degrees North-
west.

The fourth, the fore-part of the day cleere, with a faire gale of wind, but variable betweene the East North-east, and South and by East, wee held on our course as before. The after-noon was mystie, the wind shifting betweene the South and the West, till foure of the clocke. Then we tooke in our top-sayle and sprit-sayle, and sounded and had no ground in seuentie fathoms. The winde shifted still vntill eight of the clocke, then it came to the North North-east, and North-east and by North, and we steered away West North-west, by our varied Compasse, which made a West way halfe point North. The Compasse varied 15. degrees from the North to the West.

Variation 13.
degrees.

The fift, faire sun-shining weather, the wind at North-east and by North, we steered away West North-west, which was West halfe a point North. At noone we found our height to be 44. degrees 10. minutes, and sounded, and had no ground in one hundred fathoms. The after-noon proued calme sometimes, and sometimes little wind, vntill nine of the clocke in the night. Then the wind came to the East, and we held on our course. At mid-night I obserued and found the height to bee 44. degrees 10. minutes, by the North Starre and the *Scorpions* heart. The Compasse varied 13. degrees.

Foggie and
thick weather.

The sixth, the fore-part of the day faire weather, and a stiffe gale of wind, betweene South South-east, and South-west, wee steered West and by North, and West North-west. The after-part of the day from two of the clocke, was all foggie and thicke weather; the wind a hard gale, varying betweene South-west and by South, and West and by North, we made our way North-west halfe a point Northerly, nineteene leagues, vpon many points foure Watches. At night at eight of the clocke, we sounded and had no ground at one hundred fathoms.

The seuenth, faire sun-shining weather, the wind varying betweene West and by North, and West and by South. At foure of the clocke in the morning, we cast about to the Southward, and stood so till one in the after-noon. At noone we found our height to be 44. degrees 26. minutes. At seuen of the clocke, we tackt to the Northward. At eight at night, we tackt to the Southward, and sounded, and had nine and fiftie fathoms, white sand.

The eight, in the fore-noon faire weather, but the morning foggie till seuen of the clocke. At foure of the clocke in the morning we sounded, and had five & fortie fathoms, fine white sand, and we had runne five leagues South and by West. Then wee stood along one Glasse, and went

one league as before. Then we stood one Glasfe and sounded, and had sixtie fathoms. Then wee takt and stood backe to the Banke, and had five and twentie fathoms; and tryed for Fish, and it fell calme, and we caught one hundred and eightene great Coddes, from eight a clocke till one, and after Dinner wee tooke twelue, and saw many great Scoales of Herrings. Then wee had a gale of wind at South, and it shifted to the West North-west, and we stood three Glasses and sounded and had sixtie fathoms, and stood two Glasses, and had two and fortie fathoms, red stones and shells. So wee sounded euery Glasfe and had feuerall soundings 35. 33. 30. 31. 32. 33. and 34. fathoms.

Many great Cods taken. Many great Scoales of Herrings.

To sound is to trie the depth by Line and Lead, or Pole, &c.

The ninth, faire calme weather, we lay becalmed all day and caught some Fish, but not much, because we had small store of salt. At three of the clocke in the after-noone, wee had a gale at South-east, and South South-east, and we steered away Westerly, our Compasse was West and by South halfe a point South. At foure of the clocke, we sounded and had but fiteene, seuentene, and nineteene fathoms on a fishing Banke; and we sounded euery Glasfe. Then we could get no ground in five and twentie fathoms, and had sight of a sayle on head off vs. At noone our height was 44. degrees 27. minutes. We stood to the Westward all night, and spake with a French-man, which lay Fishing on the Banke of *Sablen*, in thirtie fathoms, and we saw two or three more.

The tenth, very mystie and thicke weather, the wind at South-west, a faire gale. We stood to the South-ward, and made our way South-east and by East. At twelue of the clocke we sounded, and had eight and fortie fathoms: againe at two we sounded, and had fiftie fathoms. And at sixe of the clocke we sounded: and had eight and fortie fathoms on the end of the Banke. Againe, at eight of the clocke at night wee sounded, and had no ground in eightie fathoms, and were ouer the Banke. So wee stood along till mid-night. The Compasse varied 17. degrees to the Westward.

Variation 17. degrees.

The eleuenth, very thicke and mystie weather. At twelue of the clocke at night, we cast about to the Westward, and stood so all day, and made our way West North-west. We sounded at twelue of the clocke, but had no ground; so we stood to the Westward all the fore-part of the night, and sounded but could get no ground in fiftie or sixtie fathoms till mid-night. Then I sounded and had ground at fiteene fathoms, white sand.

The twelfth, was very foggie, we stood our course all the morning till eleuen of the clocke; at which time we had sight of the Land, which is low white sandie ground, right on head off vs; and had ten fathoms. Then we tackt to the Southward, and stood off foure Glasses: then we tackt to the Land againe, thinking to haue rode vnder it, and as we came neere it, the fog was so thicke that we could not see; so wee stood off againe. From mid-night to two of the clocke, we came sounding in twelue, thirteene, and foureteene fathoms off the shoare. At foure of the clocke, we had 20 fathoms. At eight of the clocke at night 30. fathoms. At twelue of the clocke 65. fathoms, and but little winde, for it deeped apace, but the neerer the shoare the fairer shoalding.

Land, being low, white and sandie.

The thirteenth, faire sun-shining weather, from eight of the clocke in the fore-noone all day after, but in the morning it was foggie. Then at eight of the clocke we cast about for the shoare, but could not see it; the wind being at South by our true Compasse, wee steered VWest and by North. At noone we obserued, and found our height to bee 43. degrees 25. minutes; so we steered away VWest and by North all the after-noone. At foure of the clocke in the after-noone, we sounded and had five and thirtie fathoms. And at sixe of the clocke, wee had sight of the Land, and saw two sayles on head off vs. The land by the waters side is low Land, and white sandie Bankes rising full of little Hills. Our soundings were 35. 33. 30. 28. 32. 37. 33. & 32. fathoms.

43. degrees 25. minutes. Sight of Land againe, and of two Ships.

The foureteenth, full of myfts flying and vading, the wind betweene South and South-west, we steered away West North-west, and North-west and by West. Our soundings were 29. 25. 24. 25. 22. 25. 27. 30. 28. 30. 35. 43. 50. 70. 90. 70. 64. 86. 100. fathoms, and no ground.

The fifteenth, very mystie, the winde varying betweene South and South-west, wee steered West and by North, and VWest North-west. In the morning we sounded, and had one hundred fathoms, till foure of the clocke in the after-noone. Then we sounded againe, and had seuentie five fathoms. Then in two Glasses running, which was not aboue two English miles, we sounded and had sixtie fathoms, and it shoalded a great pace vntill we came to twentie fathoms. Then we made account we were neere the Ilands that lie off the shoare. So we came to an Anchor, the Sea being very smooth and little wind, at nine of the clocke at night. After supper, we tryed for Fish, and I caught fiteene Cods, some the greatest that I haue seene, and so we rode all night.

The sixteenth, in the morning it cleered vp, and wee had sight of five Ilands lying North, and North and by VWest from vs, two leagues. Then wee made ready to set sayle, but the myft came so thicke, that we durst not enter in among them.

Five Ilands.

The seuenteenth, was all mystie, so that wee could not get into the Harbour. At ten of the clocke two Boates came off to vs, with sixe of the *Saluages* of the Countrey, seeming gl'd of our comming. VVe gaue them trifles, and they eate and dranke with vs; and told vs, that there were Gold, Siluer, and Copper mynes hard by vs; and that the French-men doe Trade with them; which is very likely, for one of them spake some words of French. So wee rode still all day and all night, the weather continuing mystie.

Sixe Saluages come aboard them.

The

A large Riuer.

44. Degrees 10. minutes.

The trade of the French with the Sauages.

They spoyle Houses of the Sauages.

Variation 10. degrees toward the North-west

Variation 6. degrees to the West.

Variation 5. & a halfe degrees.

The eighteenth, faire weather, wee went into a very good Harbour, and rode hard by the shoare in foure fathoms water. The Riuer runneth vp a great way, but there is but two fathoms hard by vs. VVe went on shoare and cut vs a fore Mast, then at noone we came aboard againe, and found the height of the place to bee in 44. degrees 1. minute; and the Sunne to fall at a South South-west Sunne. VVe mended our sayles, and fell to make our fore-Mast. The Harbour lyeth South and North, a mile in where we rode.

The nineteenth, we had faire sun-shining weather, we rode still. In the after-noon we went with our Boate to looke for fresh water, and found some; and found a shoald with many Lobsters on it, and caught one and thirtie. The people comming aboard, shewed vs great friendship, but we could not trust them. The twentieth, faire sunne-shining weather, the winde at South-west. In the morning, our Scute went out to catch fresh Fish halfe an houre before day, and returned in two houres, bringing seuen and twentie great Coddes, with two hookes and lines. In the after-noon we went for more Lobsters, and caught fortie, and returned aboard. Then wee espied two French Shallops full of the Countrey people come into the Harbour, but they offered vs no wrong, seeing we stood vpon our guard. They brought many Beauer skinnes, and other fine Furrer, which they would haue changed for redde Gownes. For the French trade with them for red Cassockes, Kniues, Hatchets, Copper, Kettles, Treuits, Beades, and other trifles.

The one and twentieth, all mystie, the wind Easterly, wee rode still and did nothing, but about our Mast. The two and twentieth, faire Sun-shining weather, the winde all Northerly, we rode still all the day. In the after-noon our Scute went to catch more Lobsters, and brought with them nine and fiftie. The night was cleere weather.

The three and twentieth, faire sun-shining weather and very hot. At eleuen of the clocke, our fore Mast was finished, and we brought it aboard, and set it into the step, and in the after-noon we rigged it. This night we had some little myst and rayne.

The foure and twentieth, very hot weather, the winde at South out of the sea. The fore-part of the day wee brought to our sayles. In the morning, our Scute went to take Fish, and in two houres they brought with them twentie great Coddes, and a great Holibut, the night was faire also. We kept good watch for feare of being betrayed by the people, and perceiued where they layd their Shallops.

The five and twentieth, very faire weather and hot. In the morning wee manned our Scute with foure Muskets, and sixe men, and tooke one of their Shallops and brought it aboard. Then we manned our Boat & Scute with twelue men and Muskets, and two stone Pieces or Murderers, and draue the Sauages from their Houses, and tooke the spoyle of them, as they would haue done of vs. Then wee set sayle, and came downe to the Harbours mouth, and rode there all night, because the winde blew right in, and the night grew mystie with much rayne till mid-night. Then it fell calme, and the wind came off the Land at West North-west, and it began to cleere. The Compasse varied 10. degrees North-west.

The sixe and twentieth, faire and cleere sunne-shining weather. At five of the clocke in the morning, the winde being off the shoare at North North-west, we set sayle and came to sea, and by noone we counted our ship had gone foureteene leagues South-west. In the after-noon, the winde shifted variably betweene West South-west, and North-west. At noone, I found the height to bee 43. degrees 56. minutes. This Eeuening being very faire weather, wee obserued the variation of our Compasse at the Sunnes going downe, and found it to bee 10. degrees from the North to the VVestward.

The seuen and twentieth, faire sun-shining weather, the winde shifting betweene the South-west, and West and by North, a stiffe gale, we stood to the Southward all day, and made our way South and by West, seuen and twentie leagues. At noone, our height was 42. degrees 50. minutes. At foure of the clocke in the after-noon, wee cast about to the Northward. At eight of the clocke, we tooke in our top-sayles and our fore-bonnet, and went with a short sayle all night.

The eight and twentieth, very thicke and mystie, and a stiffe gale of wind, varying betweene South South-west, and South-west and by VVest; we made our way North-west and by VVest, seuen and twentie leagues, wee sounded many times and could get no ground. At five of the clocke, we cast about to the Southward, the wind at South-west and by VVest. At which time we sounded, and had ground at seuentie five fathoms. At eight, wee had sixtie five fathoms. At ten, sixtie. At twelue of the clocke at mid-night, fiftie sixe fathoms, gray sand. The Compasse varied 6. degrees the North point to the VVest.

The nine and twentieth, faire weather, we stood to the Southward, and made our way South and by VVest a point South, eightene leagues. At noone, we found our height to bee 42. degrees 56. minutes, wee sounded oft, and had these 60. 64. 65. 67. 65. 65. 70. and 75. fathoms. At night, wee tryed the variation of our Compasse by the setting of the Sunne, and found that it went downe 37. degrees to the North-ward of the VVest, and should haue gone downe but 31. degrees. The Compasse varied 5. 7. degrees.

The thirtieth, very hot, all the fore-part of the day calme, the wind at South South-east, wee steered

steered away VVest South-west and sounded many times; and could find no ground at one hundred and seuentie fathomes. VVe found a great current and many ouer-falls. Our current had deceiued vs. For at noone we found our height to be 41. degrees 34. minutes. And the current had heaued vs to the Southward fourteene leagues. At eight of the clocke at night, I sounded and had ground in fiftie two fathomes. In the end of the mid-night watch, wee had fiftie three fathomes. This last obseruation is not to be trusted.

A great current and many ouer-falls.

The one and thirtieth, very thicke and mystie all day, vntill tenne of the clocke. At night the wind came to the South; and South-west and South. We made our way West North-west nineteene leagues. Wee sounded many times; and had difference of soundings, sometimes little stones, and sometimes grosse gray sand, fiftie six, fiftie foure, fortie eight, fortie seuen, fortie foure, fortie six, fiftie fathomes; and at eight of the clocke at night it fell calme, and we had fiftie fathomes. And at ten of the clocke we heard a great Rut, like the Rut of the shoare. Then I sounded and found the former Depths; and mistrusting a current; seeing it so still that the ship made no way, I let the lead lie on the ground, and found a tide set to the South-west, and South-west by West, so fast, that I could hardly vere the Line so fast, and presently came an hur-ling current, or tyde with ouer-falls, which cast our ship round; and the Lead was so fast in the ground, that I feared the Lines breaking, and we had no more but that. At mid-night I sounded againe, and we had seuentie fve fathomes; and the strong streame had left vs.

A great Rut.

A current to the South-west and South-west by West, with ouer-falls August.

The first of August, all the fore-part of the day was mystie, and at noone it cleered vp. We found that our height was 41. degrees 45. minutes, and we had gone nineteene leagues. The afternoon was reasonable cleere. We found a rustling tide or current, with many ouer-falls to continue still, and our water to change colour, and our sea to bee very deepe, for wee found no ground in one hundred fathomes. The night was cleere, and the winde came to the North, and North North-east, we steered West.

The second, very faire weather and hot: from the morning till noone we had a gale of wind, but in the after-noon little wind. At noone I sounded and had one hundred and ten fathomes; and our height was 41. degrees 56. minutes. And wee had runne foure and twentie leagues and an halfe. At the Sun-setting we obserued the variation of the Compasse, and found that it was come to his true place. At eight of the clocke the gale increased, so wee ranne sixe leagues that watch, and had a very faire and cleere night.

The third, very hot weather. In the morning, we had sight of the Land, and steered in with it, thinking to goe to the North-ward of it. So we sent our shallop with fve men, to sound in by the shore: and they found it deepe fve fathomes within a Bow-shot of the shoare; and they went on Land, and found goodly Grapes, and Rose trees, and brought them aboard with them, at fve of the clocke in the Euening. We had seuen and twentie fathomes within two miles of the shoare; and we found a floud come from the South-east, and an ebbe from the North-west, with a very strong streame, and a great hurling and noyses. At eight of the clocke at night, the wind began to blow a fresh gale, and continued all night but variable. Our sounding that wee had to the Land, was one hundred, eightie, seuentie foure, fiftie two, fortie sixe, twentie nine, twentie seuen, twentie foure, nineteene, seuentee, sometimes Oze, and sometimes gray sand.

They goe on Land neere Cape Cod.

The fourth, was very hot: we stood to the North-west two watches, and one South in for the Land, and came to an Anchor at the Norther end of the Headland, and heard the voyce of men call. Then we sent our Boat on shoare, thinking they had beene some *Christians* left on the Land: but wee found them to bee Sauages, which seemed very glad of our comming. So wee brought one aboard with vs, and gaue him meate, and he did eate and drinke with vs. Our Master gaue him three or foure glasse Buttons, and sent him on Land with our shallop againe. And at our Boats comming from the shoare he leapt and danced, and held vp his hands, and pointed vs to a river on the other side: for we had made signes that we came to fish there. The bodie of this Headland lyeth in 41. degrees 45. minutes. We set sayle againe after dinner, thinking to haue got to the Westward of this Headland, but could not; so we beare vp to the Southward of it, & made a South-east way; and the Souther point did beare West at eight of the clocke at night. Our soundings about the Easter and Norther part of this Headland, a league from the shoare are these: at the Easter side thirtie, twentie seuen, twentie seuen, twentie foure, twentie fve, twentie. The North-east point 17. degrees 18. minutes, and so deeper. The North-end of this Headland, hard by the shoare thirtie fathomes: and three leagues off North North-west, one hundred fathomes. At the South-east part a league off, fifteene, sixteene, and seuentee fathomes. The people haue Greene Tabacco, and pipes, the boles whereof are made of Earth, and the pipes of red Copper. The Land is very sweet.

Sauages.

The fift, all mystie. At eight of the clocke in the morning, wee cast about to the Westward, and stood in till foure of the clocke in the after-noon; at which time it cleered, and wee had sight of the Head-land againe fve leagues from vs. The Souther point of it did beare West off vs: and we sounded many times, and had no ground. And at foure of the clocke we cast about, and at our staying wee had seuentie fathomes. Wee steered away South and South by East all night,

night, and could get no ground at seuentie and eightie fathomes. For wee feared a great Riffe, that lyeth off the Land, and steered away South and by East.

The sixth, faire weather, but many times mysting. Wee steered away South South-east, till eight of the clocke in the morning; Then it cleered a little, and wee cast about to the Westward. Then we sounded and had thirtie fathomes, grosse sand, and were come to the Riffe. Then wee kept our Lead, and had quicke shoalding, from thirtie, twentie nine, twentie seuen, twentie foure, twentie two, twentie and an halfe, twentie, twentie, nineteene, nineteene, nineteene, eighteene, eighteene, seuentee; and so deeping againe as proportionally as it shoalded. For we steered South and South-east till we came to twentie sixe fathomes. Then we steered South-west for so the tyde doth set. By and by it being calme we tryed by our Lead; for you shall haue sixteene or seuentee fathomes, and the next cast but seuen or six fathomes. And farther to the Westward you shall haue foure and fise foot water, and see Rockes vnder you; and you shall see the Land in the top. Vpon this Riffe we had an obseruation, and found that it lyeth in 40. degrees 10. minutes. And this is that Headland which Captaine Bartholomew Gosnold discovered in the yeere 1602. and called Cape Cod; because of the store of Cod-fish that hee found thereabout. So we steered South-west three leagues, and had twentie, and twentie foure fathomes. Then we steered West two Glasses halfe a league, and came to fiftene fathomes. Then we steered off South-east foure Glasses, but could not get deepe water; for there the tyde of ebbe laid vs on; and the streame did hurle so, that it laid vs so neere the breach of a shoald, that wee were forced to Anchor. So at seuen of the clocke at night, wee were at an Anchor in tenne fathomes: And, I giue God most heartie thanks, the least water wee had was seuen fathomes and an halfe. We rode still all night, and at a still water I sounded so farre round about our ship as we could see a light; and had no lesse then eight, nine, ten, and eleuen fathomes: The myst continued being very thicke.

This dangerous Riffe is in 41. degrees 10 minutes, and lyeth off East from Cape Cod into the Sea.

The seuenth, faire weather and hot, but mystie. Wee rode still hoping it would cleere, but on the floud it fell calme and thicke. So we rode still all day and all night. The floud commeth from the South-west, and riseth not aboue one fathome and an halfe in nepe streames. Toward night it cleered, and I went with our shallop and sounded, and found no lesse water then eight fathomes to the South-east off vs: but we law to the North-west off vs great Breaches.

The Flats.

The eight, faire and cleere weather. In the morning, by sixe of the clocke at flake water wee weighed; the wind at North-east, and set our fore-sayle and mayne top-sayle, and got a mile ouer the Flats. Then the tyde of ebbe came, so we anchored againe till the floud came. Then wee set sayle againe, and by the great mercie of God, wee got cleere off them by one of the clocke this after-noon. And wee had sight of the Land from the West North-west, to the North North-west. So we steered away South South-east all night; and had ground vntill the middle of the third watch. Then we had fortie fise fathomes, white sand, and little stones. So all our soundings are twentie, twentie, twentie two, twentie senen, thirtie two, fortie three, fortie three, fortie fise. Then no ground in seuentie fathomes.

The ninth, very faire and hot weather, the wind a very stiffe gale. In the morning, at foure of the clocke, our shallop came running vp against our sterne, and split in all her stemme; So we were faine to cut her away. Then wee tooke in our mayne sayle, and lay atrie vnder our fore-sayle vntill twelue of the clocke at mid-day. Then the wind ceased to a faire gale, so wee stood away South-west. Then we lay close by, on many courses a South by West way fiftene leagues; and three watches South-east by East, ten leagues. At eight of the clocke at night, wee tooke in our top-sayles, and went with a low sayle; because we were in an vnknowne sea. At noone we obserued and found our heighth to be 38. degrees 39. minutes.

The tenth, in the morning some raine and cloudie weather: the winde at South-west, wee made our way South-east by East, ten leagues. At noone, wee obserued and found our heighth to be 38. degrees 39. minutes. Then wee tackt about to the Westward, the wind being at South and by East, little wind. At foure of the clocke it fell calme, and we had two Dolphines about our ship, and many small fishes. At eight of the clocke at night, wee had a small lingring gale. All night we had a great Sea out of the South-west, and another great Sea out of the North-east.

A current setting to the North. Variation one point.

The eleuenth, all the fore-part of the day faire weather, and very hot. VVee stood to the VWest South-west till noone. Then the wind shorted, and we could lye but South-west and by South. At noone, wee found our heighth to be 39. degrees 11. minutes. And that the current had laid vs to the Northward thirtie two minutes contrary to our expectation. At foure of the clocke in the after-noon there came a myst, which endured two houres. But wee had it faire and cleere all night after. The Compasse varied the North point to the VWest one whole point.

Variation 10. degrees.

The twelfth, faire weather, the wind variable betweene the South-west and by South, and the North little wind. In the morning we killed an extraordinary fish, and stood to the Westward all day and all night. At noone we found our heighth to be 38. degrees 13. minutes. And the obseruation the day before was not good. This noone, we found the Compasse to vary from the North to the West ten degrees.

The thirteenth, faire weather and hot: the wind at North-east. Wee steered away West and by

by our Compasse two and twentie leagues. At noone wee found our height to bee 37. degrees 45. minutes, and that our way from noone to noone was West South-west, halfe a point Southerly. The Compasse was 7. degrees and a halfe variation, from the North point to the West.

The fourteenth, faire weather, but cloudie, and a stiffe gale of wind, variable betweene North-east and South-west, wee steered away West by South, a point South all day vntill nine of the clocke at night; then it began to Thunder and Lighten, whereupon we tooke in all our sayles, and layd it a hull, and hulled away North till mid-night, a league and a halfe.

The fifteenth, very faire and hot weather, the winde at North by East. At foure of the clocke in the morning we set sayle, and stood on our course to the Westward. At noone wee found our height to bee 37. degrees 25. minutes. The after-noone proued little wind. At eight of the clocke at night, the winde came to the North, and wee steered West by North, and West North-west, and made our way West. The Compasse varied 7. degrees from the North to the West.

37. Degrees
25. minutes

The sixteenth, faire shining weather, and very hot, the wind variable betweene the North and the West, wee steered away West by North. At noone wee found our height to bee 37. degrees 6. minutes. This morning we sounded and had ground in ninetie fathomes, and in fixe Glasses running it shoalded to fiftie fathoms, and so to eight and twentie fathoms, at foure of the clocke in the after-noone. Then wee came to an Anchor, and rode till eight of the clocke at night, the wind being at South and Moone-light, we resolved to goe to the Northward to finde deeper water. So we weighed and stood to the Northward, and found the water to shoald and deepe, from eight and twentie to twentie fathomes.

37. Degrees
6. minutes.

The seuenteenth, faire and cleere Sun-shining weather, the winde at South by West, wee steered to the Northward till foure of the clocke in the morning, then wee came to eightene fathomes. So we Anchored vntill the Sunne arose to looke abroad for Land, for wee iudged there could not but be Land neere vs, but we could see none. Then we weighed and stood to the Westward till noone. And at eleuen of the clocke wee had sight of a low Land, with a white sandie shoare. By twelue of the clocke we were come into five fathomes, and Anchored; and the Land was foure leagues from vs, and wee had sight of it from the West, to the North-west by North. Our height was 37. degrees 26. minutes. Then the wind blew so stiffe a gale, and such a Sea went, that we could not weigh; so we rode there all night an hard rode.

A low Land
with a white
sandie shoare.
37. degrees 26.
minutes.

The eighteenth, in the morning faire weather, and little winde at North North-east and North-east. At foure of the clocke in the morning, we weighed and stood into the shoare to see the deeping or shoalding of it, and finding it too deepe, we stood in to get a rode; for wee saw as it were three Ilands. So wee turned to windward to get into a Bay, as it shewed to vs to the Westward of an Iland. For the three Ilands did beare North off vs. But toward noone the wind blew Northerly, with gusts of wind and rayne. So we stood off into the Sea againe all night; and running off we found a Channell, wherein we had no lesse then eight, nine, ten, eleuen, and twelue fathomes water. For in comming ouer the Barre, wee had five, and foure fathomes and a halfe, and it lyeth five leagues from the shoare, and it is the Barre of Virginia. At the North end of it, it is ten leagues broad, and South and North, but deepe water from ninetie fathoms to five, and foure and a halfe. The Land lyeth South and North. This is the entrance into the Kings Riuer in Virginia, where our English-men are. The North side of it lyeth in 37. degrees 26. minutes, you shall know when you come to shoald water or sounding; for the water will looke Greene or thicke, you shall haue ninetie and eightie fathomes, and shoalding a pace till you come to ten, eleuen, nine, eight, seuen, ten, and nine fathomes, and so to five, and foure fathomes and a halfe.

Barre of Virgi-
nia.
Kings Riuer.

The nineteenth, faire weather, but an hard gale of winde at the North-east, wee stood off till noone, and made our way South-east by East, two and twentie leagues. At noone wee cast about to the Westward, and stood till fixe of the clocke in the after-noone, and went five leagues and a halfe North-west by North. Then wee cast about againe to the Eastward, and stood that way till foure the next morning.

Note.

The twentieth, faire and cleere weather, the winde variable betweene East North-east, and North-east. At foure of the clocke in the morning, wee cast about to the Westward, and stood till noone; at which time I sounded; and had two and thirtie fathomes. Then we takt to the Eastward againe; wee found our height to bee 37. degrees 22. minutes. We stood to the Eastward all night, and had very much wind. At eight of the clocke at night we tooke off our Bonnets, and stood with small sayle.

37. degrees 22.
minutes.

The one and twentieth, was a sore storme of winde and rayne all day and all night, wherefore wee stood to the Eastward with a small sayle: till one of the clocke in the after-noone. Then a great Sea brake into our fore-corse and split it; so we were forced to take it from the yard and mend it; wee lay a trie with our mayne-corse all night. This night our Cat ranne crying from one side of the ship to the other, looking ouer-boord, which made vs to wonder; but we saw nothing.

Variation 4.
degrees West-
ward.

The two and twencieth, stormy weather, with gusts of rayne and wind. In the morning at eight of the clocke we set our fore-corse, and stood to the Eastward vnder our fore-sayle, mayne-sayle and misen, and from noone to noone, we made our way East South-east, fourteene leagues. The night reasonable drie but cloudie, the winde variable all day and night. Our Compasse was varied 4. degrees Westward.

The three and twentieth, very faire weather, but some Thunder in the morning, the winde variable betweene East by North. At noone wee tackt about to the Northward, the winde at East by North. The after-noon very faire, the wind variable, and continued so all night. Our way we made East South-east, till noone the next day.

The foure and twentieth, faire and hot weather, with the wind variable betweene the North and the East. The after-noon variable winde. But at foure of the clocke, the wind came to the East and South-east; so wee steered away North by West, and in three Watches wee went thirteene leagues. At noone our height was 35. degrees 41. minutes, being farre off at Sea from the Land.

The five and twentieth, faire weather and very hot. All the morning was very calme vntill eleuen of the clocke; the wind came to South-east, and South South-east; so wee steered away North-west by North, two Watches and a halfe, and one Watch North-west by West, and went eightene leagues. At noone I found our height to bee 36. degrees 20. minutes, being without sight of Land.

The sixe and twentieth, faire and hot weather, the winde variable vpon all the points of the Compasse. From two of the clocke in the morning vntill noone, wee made our way North by East, seuen leagues. In the after-noon the wind came to the North-east, and vering to the East South-east, wee steered away North-west fifteene leagues, from noone till ten of the clocke at night. At eight of the clocke at night wee sounded, and had eightene fathomes, and were come to the Banke of *Virginia*, and could not see the Land. Wee kept sounding, and steered away North, and came to eight fathomes, and Anchored there; for the wind was at East South-east, so that wee could not get off. For the Coast lyeth along South South-west, and North North-east. At noone our height was 37. degrees 15. minutes. And wee found that we were returned to the same place, from whence we were put off at our first seeing Land.

The Banke of
Virginia.
The Coast ly-
eth South
South-west,
and North
North-west.
Latitude 37.
degrees 15. mi-
nutes.

This agreeth
with Robert
Tyndall.

The seuen and twentieth, faire weather and very hot, the winde at East South-east. In the morning as soone as the Sunne was vp, wee looked out and had sight of the Land. Then wee weighed, and stood in North-west two Glasses, and found the Land to bee the place, from whence wee put off first. So wee kept our loofe, and steered along the Land, and had the Banke lye all along the shoare; and wee had in two leagues off the shoare, five, sixe, seuen, eight, nine, and ten fathomes. The Coast lyeth South South-west, and is a white Sandie shoare, and sheweth full of Bayes and Points. The streame setteth West South-west, and East North-east. At sixe of the clocke at night, wee were thwart of an Harbour or Riuer, but we saw a Barre lye before it; and all within the Land to the Northward, the water ranne with many Ilands in it. At sixe of the clocke we Anchored, and sent our Boate to sound to the shoare-ward, and found no lesse then foure and a halfe, five, sixe, and seuen fathomes.

The Point of
the Land.

A great Bay
and Riwers.

The eight and twentieth, faire and hot weather, the winde at South South-west. In the morning at sixe of the clocke wee weighed, and steered away North twelue leagues till noone, and came to the Point of the Land; and being hard by the Land in five fathomes, on a sudden wee came into three fathomes; then we beare vp and had but ten foote water, and ioyned to the Point. Then as soone as wee were ouer, wee had five, sixe, seuen, eight, nine, ten, twelue, and thirteene fathomes. Then wee found the Land to trend away North-west, with a great Bay and Riwers. But the Bay wee found shoald; and in the offing wee had ten fathomes, and had sight of Breaches and drie Sand. Then wee were forced to stand backe againe; so we stood backe South-east by South, three leagues. And at seuen of the clocke wee Anchored in eight fathomes water; and found a Tide set to the North-west, and North North-west, and it riseth one fathome, and floweth South South-east. And hee that will throughly Discover this great Bay, must haue a small Pinnasse, that must draw but foure or five foote water, to sound before him. At five in the morning wee weighed, and steered away to the Eastward on many courses, for the Norther Land is full of shoalds. Wee were among them, and once wee strooke, and wee went away; and steered away to the South-east. So wee had two, three, foure, five, sixe, and seuen fathomes, and so deeper and deeper.

A small Shal-
lop needfull.

The Norther
Land is full of
shoalds.

Many Ilands.

They strike.

The nine and twentieth, faire weather, with some Thunder and showers, the winde shifting betweene the South South-west, and the North North-west. In the morning wee weighed at the breake of day, and stood toward the Norther Land, which we found to bee all Ilands to our sight, and great stormes from them, and are shoald three leagues off. For we comming by them, had but seuen, sixe, five, foure, three, and two fathoms and a halfe, and strooke ground with our Rudder, we steered off South-west, one Glasse, and had five fathoms. Then wee steered South-east three Glasses, then wee found seuen fathomes, and steered North-east by East, foure leagues, and came to twelue and thirteene fathoms. At one of the clocke, I went to the top-
mast

maist head, and set the Land, and the bodie of the Ilands did beare North-west by North. And at foure of the clocke, wee had gene foure leagues East South-east, and North-east by East, and found but seuen fathoms, and it was calme, so we Anchored. Then I went againe to the top-maist head, to see how farre I could see Land about vs, and could see no more but the Ilands. And the Souther point of them did beare North-west by West, eight leagues off. So wee rode till mid-night. Then the winde came to the North North-west, so wee waighed and set sayle.

The thirtieth, in the morning betweene twelue and one, we weighed, and stood to the Eastward, the winde at North North-west, wee steered away and made our way East South-east. From our weighing till noone, eleuen leagues. Our soundings were eight, nine, ten, eleuen, twelue, and thirteene fathomes till day. Then we came to eightene, nineteene, twentie, and to fixe and twentie fathoms by noone. Then I obserued the Sunne, and found the height to bee 39. degrees 5. minutes, and saw no Land. In the after-noone, the winde came to North by West; So wee lay close by with our fore-sayle, and our mayne-sayle, and it was little winde vntill twelue of the clocke at mid-night, then wee had a gale a little while. Then I founded, and all the night our soundings were thirtie, and fixe and thirtie fathomes, and wee went little.

The one and thirtieth, faire weather and little wind. At fixe of the clocke in the morning we cast about to the Northward, the wind being at the North-east, little wind. At noone it fell calme, and I found the height to bee 38. degrees 39. minutes. And the streames had deceiued vs, and our sounding was eight and thirtie fathoms. In the afternoone I founded againe, and had but thirtie fathoms. So we found that we were heaued too and fro with the streames of the Tide, both by our obseruations and our depths. From noone till foure of the clocke in the after-noone, it was calme. At fixe of the clocke wee had a little gale Southerly, and it continued all night, sometimes calme, and sometimes a gale; wee went eight leagues from noone to noone, North by East.

The first of September, faire weather, the wind variable betweene East and South, we steered away North North-west. At noone we found our height to bee 39. degrees 3. minutes. Wee had soundings thirtie, twentie seuen, twentie foure, and twentie two fathomes, as wee went to the Northward. At fixe of the clocke wee had one and twentie fathomes. And all the third watch till twelue of the clocke at mid-night, we had soundings one and twentie, two and twentie, eightene, two and twentie, one and twentie, eightene, and two and twentie fathoms, and went fixe leagues neere hand North North-west.

The second, in the morning close weather, the winde at South in the morning; from twelue vntill two of the clocke we steered North North-west, and had sounding one and twentie fathoms, and in running one Glasse we had but sixteene fathoms, then seuentene, and so shoalder and shoalder vntill it came to twelue fathoms. We saw a great Fire, but could not see the Land, then we came to ten fathoms, whereupon we brought our tackes aboard, and stood to the Eastward East South-east, foure Glasse. Then the Sunne arose, and we steered away North againe, and saw the Land from the West by North, to the North-west by North, all like broken Ilands, and our soundings were eleuen and ten fathoms. Then wee looft in for the shoare, and faire by the shoare, we had seuen fathoms. The course along the Land we found to be North-east by North. From the Land which we had first sight of, vntill we came to a great Lake of water, as wee could iudge it to bee, being drowned Land, which made it to rise like Ilands, which was in length ten leagues. The mouth of that Lake hath many shoalds, and the Sea breaketh on them as it is cast out of the mouth of it. And from that Lake or Bay, the Land lyeth North by East, and wee had a great streame out of the Bay; and from thence our sounding was ten fathoms, two leagues from the Land. At fise of the clocke we Anchored, being little winde, and rode in eight fathoms water, the night was faire. This night I found the Land to hal the Compasse 8. degrees. For to the Northward off vs we saw high Hills. For the day before we found not about 2. degrees of Variation. This is a very good Land to fall with, and a pleasant Land to see.

The third, the morning mystie vntill ten of the clocke, then it cleered, and the wind came to the South South-east, so wee weighed and stood to the Northward. The Land is very pleasant and high, and bold to fall withall. At three of the clocke in the after-noone, wee came to three great Riuers. So we stood along to the Northermost, thinking to haue gone into it, but we found it to haue a very shoald barre before it, for we had but ten foot water. Then wee cast about to the Southward, and found two fathoms, three fathoms, and three and a quarter, till we came to the Souther side of them, then we had fise and fixe fathoms, and Anchored. So wee sent in our Boate to sound, and they found no lesse water then foure, fise, fixe, and seuen fathoms, and returned in an houre and a halfe. So wee weighed and went in, and rode in fise fathoms, Ozie ground, and saw many Salmones, and Mulletts, and Rayes very great. The height is 40. degrees 30. minutes.

The fourth, in the morning as soone as the day was light, wee saw that it was good riding
Eee 2 farther

Latitude 39.
degrees 5. mi-
nutes.

Latitude 38.
degrees 39. mi-
nutes.
Deceitfull
streames.

September.
Latitude 39.
degrees 3. mi-
nutes.

The Land like
broken Ilands.
The course a-
long the Land
from the
mouth of one
Riuer, to the
mouth of the
Norther Bay
or Lake.
Variation 8.
degrees neere
the Hills.
2. degrees va-
riation off at
Sea.

High and a
bold shoare.
Three great
Riuers.
The Norther-
most barred.
An excellent
Riuer.
Latitude 40.
degrees 30. mi-
nutes.

A very good Harbour.

The people of the Countrey come aboard, they are very ciuill. Yellow Copper. Tall Oakes.

The great Bay in 40. degrees and 30. minutes.

Dried Currants. Mantles of Feathers, Furs, Hempe. Red Copper.

Another Riuer foure leagues to the Northward. A narrow Riuer to the Westward.

Colman slaine, and two more hurt.

Colmans Point.

Treacherous Sauages.

Good Harbour

farther vp. So we sent our Boate to sound, and found that it was a very good Harbour; and foure and five fathoms, two Cables length from the shoare. Then we weighed and went in with our ship. Then our Boate went on Land with our Net to Fish, and caught ten great Mulletts, of a foot and a halfe long a peece, and a Ray as great as foure men could hale into the ship. So wee trimmed our Boate and rode still all day. At night the wind blew hard at the North-west, and our Anchor came home, and wee droue on shoare, but tooke no hurt, thanked bee God, for the ground is soft sand and Oze. This day the people of the Countrey came aboard of vs, seeming very glad of our comming, and brought greene Tabacco, and gaue vs of it for Kniues and Beads. They goe in Deere skins loose, well dressed. They haue yellow Copper. They desire Cloathes, and are very ciuill. They haue great store of Maiz or Indian Wheate, whereof they make good Bread. The Countrey is full of great and tall Oakes.

The fifth, in the morning as soone as the day was light, the wind ceased and the Flood came. So we heaued off our ship againe into five fathoms water, and sent our Boate to sound the Bay, and we found that there was three fathoms hard by the Souther shoare. Our men went on Land there, and saw great store of Men, Women and Children, who gaue them Tabacco at their comming on Land. So they went vp into the Woods, and saw great store of very goodly Oakes, and some Currants. For one of them came aboard and brought some dried, and gaue me some, which were sweet and good. This day many of the people came aboard, some in Mantles of Feathers, and some in Skinnies of diuers sorts of good Fures. Some women also came to vs with Hempe. They had red Copper Tabacco pipes, and other things of Copper they did weare about their neckes. At night they went on Land againe, so wee rode very quiet, but durst not trust them.

The sixth, in the morning was faire weather, and our Master sent *Iohn Colman*, with foure other men in our Boate ouer to the North-side, to sound the other Riuer, being foure leagues from vs. They found by the way shoald water two fathoms; but at the North of the Riuer eighteen, and twentie fathoms, and very good riding for Ships; and a narrow Riuer to the Westward betwene two Ilands. The Lands they told vs were as pleasant with Grasse and Flowers, and goodly Trees, as euer they had seene, and very sweet smells came from them. So they went in two leagues and saw an open Sea, and returned; and as they came backe, they were set vpon by two Canoes, the one hauing twelue, the other fourteene men. The night came on, and it began to rayne, so that their Match went out; and they had one man slaine in the fight, which was an English-man, named *Iohn Colman*, with an Arrow shot into his throat, and two more hurt. It grew so darke that they could not find the ship that night, but labored too and fro on their Oares. They had so great a streame, that their grapnell would not hold them.

The seuenth, was faire, and by ten of the clocke they returned aboard the ship, and brought our dead man with them, whom we carryed on Land and buried, and named the point after his name, *Colmans Point*. Then we hoyfed in our Boate, and raised her side with waste boards for defence of our men. So we rode still all night, hauing good regard to our Watch.

The eight, was very faire weather, wee rode still very quietly. The people came aboard vs, and brought Tabacco and Indian Wheat, to exchange for Kniues and Beades, and offered vs no violence. So we sitting vp our Boate did marke them, to see if they would make any shew of the Death of our man; which they did not.

The ninth, faire weather. In the morning two great Canoes came aboard full of men; the one with their Bowes and Arrowes, and the other in shew of buying of Kniues to betray vs; but we perceiued their intent. Wee tooke two of them to haue kept them, and put red Coates on them, and would not suffer the other to come neere vs. So they went on Land, and two other came aboard in a Canoe: we tooke the one and let the other goe; but hee which wee had taken, got vp and leapt ouer-board. Then we weighed and went off into the channell of the Riuer, and Anchored there all night.

The tenth, faire weather, we rode still till twelue of the clocke. Then we weighed and went ouer, and found it shoald all the middle of the Riuer, for wee could finde but two fathoms and a halfe, and three fathomes for the space of a league; then wee came to three fathomes, and foure fathomes, and so to seuen fathomes, and Anchored, and rode all night in soft Ozie ground. The banke is Sand.

The eleuenth, was faire and very hot weather. At one of the clocke in the after-noon, wee weighed and went into the Riuer, the wind at South South-west, little winde. Our soundings were seuen, fixe, five, fixe, seuen, eight, nine, ten, twelue, thirteene, and fourteene fathomes. Then it shoalded againe, and came to five fathomes. Then wee Anchored, and saw that it was a very good Harbour for all windes, and rode all night. The people of the Countrey came aboard of vs, making shew of loue, and gaue vs Tabacco and Indian Wheat, and departed for that night; but we durst not trust them.

The twelfth, very faire and hot. In the after-noon at two of the clocke wee weighed, the winde being variable, betwene the North and the North-west. So we turned into the Riuer two leagues and Anchored. This morning at our first rode in the Riuer, there came eight and

twentie

twentie Canoes full of men, women and children to betray vs : but we saw their intent, and suffered none of them to come aboard of vs. At twelue of the clocke they departed. They brought with them Oysters and Beanes, whereof wee bought some. They haue great Tabacco pipes of yellow Copper, and Pots of Earth to dresse their meate in. It floweth South-east by South within.

28. Canoes full of men. Oysters and Beanes. Copper Pipes.

The thirteenth, faire weather, the wind Northerly. At seuen of the clocke in the morning, as the floud came we weighed, and turned foure miles into the Riuer. The tide being done wee anchored. Then there came foure Canoes aboard : but we suffered none of them to come into our ship. They brought great store of very good Oysters aboard, which we bought for trifles.

10 In the night I let the variation of the Compasse, and found it to be 13. degrees. In the after-noon we weighed, and turned in with the floud, two leagues and a halfe further, and anchored all night, and had fise fathoms soft Ozie ground, and had an high point of Land, which shewed out to vs, bearing North by East fise leagues off vs.

Variation 13. degrees.

The fourteenth, in the morning being very faire weather, the wind South-east, we sayled vp the Riuer twelue leagues, and had fise fathoms, and fise fathoms and a quarter lesse ; and came to a Streight betweene two Points, and had eight, nine, and ten fathoms: and it trended North-east by North, one league : and wee had twelue, thirteene and fourteene fathomes. The Riuer is a mile broad: there is very high Land on both sides. Then wee went vp North-west, a league and an halfe deepe water. Then North-east by North fise miles; then North-west by North two leagues, and anchored. The Land grew very high and Mountainous. The Riuer is full of fish.

The Riuer a mile broad. Very high and mountainous Land.

The fifteenth, in the morning was misty vntill the Sunne arose : then it cleered. So wee weighed with the wind at South, and ran vp into the Riuer twentie leagues, passing by high Mountaines. Wee had a very good depth, as fixe, seuen, eight, nine, ten, twelue, and thirteene fathoms, and great store of Salmon in the Riuer. This morning our two Sauages got out of a Port and swam away. After we were vnder sayle, they called to vs in scorne. At night we came to other Mountaines, which lie from the Risers side. There wee found very louing people, and very old men : where wee were well vsed. Our Boat went to fish, and caught great store of very good fish.

Very louing people.

30 The sixteenth, faire and very hot weather. In the morning our Boat went againe to fishing, but could catch but few, by reason their Canoes had beene there all night. This morning the people came aboard, and brought vs eares of Indian Corne, and Pompions, and Tabacco: which wee bought for trifles. Wee rode still all day, and filled fresh water ; at night wee weighed and went two leagues higher, and had shoald water : so wee anchored till day.

Maiz, Pompions and Tabacco.

The seuenteenth, faire Sun-shining weather, and very hot. In the morning as soone as the Sun was vp, we set sayle, and ran vp fixe leagues higher, and found shoalds in the middle of the channell, and small Ilands, but seuen fathoms water on both sides. Toward night we borrowed so neere the shoare, that we grounded : so we layed out our small anchor, and heaued off againe. Then we borrowed on the banke in the channell, and came aground againe ; while the floud ran we heaued off againe, and anchored all night.

Shoalds and small Ilands.

The eighteenth, in the morning was faire weather, and we rode still. In the after-noon our Masters Mate went on land with an old Sauage, a Gouvernour of the Countrey ; who carried him to his house, and made him good cheere. The nineteenth, was faire and hot weather: at the floud being neere eleuen of the clocke, wee weighed, and ran higher vp two leagues about the Shoalds, and had no lesse water then fise fathoms : wee anchored, and rode in eight fathomes. The people of the Countrie came flocking aboard, and brought vs Grapes, and Pompions, which wee bought for trifles. And many brought vs Beuers skinnies, and Otters skinnies, which wee bought for Beades, Kniues, and Hatchers. So we rode there all night.

Grapes and Pompions : Beuers and Otters skinnies.

The twentieth, in the morning was faire weather. Our Masters Mate with foure men more went vp with our Boat to sound the Riuer, and found two leagues about vs but two fathomes water, and the channell very narrow ; and about that place seuen or eight fathomes. Toward night they returned : and we rode still all night. The one and twentieth, was faire weather, and the wind all Southerly : we determined yet once more to goe farther vp into the Riuer, to trie what depth and breadth it did beare ; but much people resorted aboard, so wee went not this day. Our Carpenter went on land, and made a Fore-yard. And our Master and his Mate determined to trie some of the chiefe men of the Countrey, whether they had any treacherie in them. So they tooke them downe into the Cabbin, and gaue them so much Wine and *Aqua vite*, that they were all merrie: and one of them had his wife with him, which sate so modestly, as any of our Countrey women would doe in a strange place. In the end one of them was drunke, which had beene aboard of our ship all the time that we had beene there; and that was strange to them ; for they could not tell how to take it. The Canoes and folke went all on shoare: but some of them came againe, and brought stropes of Beades : some had fixe, seuen, eight, nine, ten, and gaue him. So he slept all night quietly.

The two and twentieth, was faire weather : in the morning our Masters Mate and foure more

Oration.

End of the Ri-
uers Nauiga-
blenesse.They returne
downe the
Riuer.Store of Chest-
nuts.Okes, Wal-nut
trees, Chest-
nut trees, Ewe
trees, Cedar
trees, &c.

Mountaines.

of the companie went vp with our Boat to sound the Riuer higher vp. The people of the Coun-
trei came not aboard till noone: but when they came, and saw the Sauages well, they were
glad. So at three of the clocke in the after-noon they came aboard, and brought Tabacco, and
more Beades, and gaue them to our Master, and made an Oration, and shewed him all the Coun-
trei round about. Then they sent one of their companie on land, who presently returned, and
brought a great Platter full of Venison, dressed by themselves; and they caused him to eate with
them: then they made him reuerence, and departed all save the old man that lay aboard. This
night at ten of the clocke, our Boat returned in a showre of raine from sounding of the Riuer;
and found it to bee at an end for shipping to goe in. For they had bene vp eight or nine leagues,

The three and twentieth, faire weather. At twelue of the clocke wee weighed, and went
downe two leagues to a shoald that had two channels, one on the one side, and another on the
other, and had little wind, whereby the tide layed vs vpon it. So, there wee sate on ground the
space of an houre till the floud came. Then we had a little gale of wind at the West. So wee
got our ship into deepe water, and rode all night very well.

The foure and twentieth was faire weather: the winde at the North-west, wee weighed,
and went downe the Riuer seuen or eight leagues; and at halfe ebbe wee came on ground on a
banke of Oze in the middle of the Riuer, and sate there till the floud. Then wee went on
Land, and gathered good store of Chest-nuts. At ten of the clocke wee came off into deepe
water, and anchored.

The fise and twentieth was faire weather, and the wind at South a stiffe gale. We rode still,
and went on Land to walke on the West side of the Riuer, and found good ground for Corne,
and other Garden herbs, with great store of goodly Okes, and Wal-nut trees, and Chest-nut
trees, Ewe trees, and trees of sweet wood in great abundance, and great store of Slate for houses,
and other good stones.

The sixe and twentieth was faire weather, and the wind at South a stiffe gale, wee rode still.
In the morning our Carpenter went on Land with our Masters Mate, and foure more of our
companie to cut wood. This morning, two Canoes came vp the Riuer from the place where we
first found louing people, and in one of them was the old man that had lyen aboard of vs at the
other place. He brought another old man with him, which brought more stropes of Beades, and
gaue them to our Master, and shewed him all the Countrey there about, as though it were at his
command. So he made the two old men dine with him, and the old mans wife: for they brought
two old women, and two young maidens of the age of sixteene or seuteene yeeres with them,
who behaued themselves very modestly. Our Master gaue one of the old men a Knife, and they
gaue him and vs Tabacco. And at one of the clocke they departed downe the Riuer, making
signes that wee should come downe to them; for wee were within two leagues of the place
where they dwelt.

The seuen and twentieth, in the morning was faire weather, but much wind at the North,
we weighed and set our fore top-sayle, and our ship would not stat, but ran on the Ozie banke
at halfe ebbe. Wee layed out anchor to heaue her off, but could not. So wee sate from halfe
ebbe to halfe floud: then wee set our fore-sayle and mayne top-sayle, and got downe sixe
leagues. The old man came aboard, and would haue had vs anchor, and goe on Land to eate with
him: but the wind being faire, we would not yeeld to his request; So hee left vs, being very
sorrowfull for our departure. At fise of the clocke in the after-noon, the wind came to the
South South-west. So wee made a boord of two, and anchored in fourteene fathomes water.
Then our Boat went on shoare to fish right against the ship. Our Masters Mate and Boat-swaine,
and three more of the companie went on land to fish, but could not finde a good place. They
tooke foure or fise and twentie Mullets, Breames, Bases, and Barbils; and returned in an houre.
We rode still all night.

The eight and twentieth, being faire weather, as soone as the day was light, wee weighed at
halfe ebbe, and turned downe two leagues belowe water; for, the streame doth runne the last
quarter ebbe: then we anchored till high water. At three of the clocke in the after-noon we
weighed, and turned downe three leagues, vntill it was darke: then wee anchored.

The nine and twentieth was drie close weather: the wind at South, and South and by West,
we weighed early in the morning, and turned downe three leagues by a lowe water, and ancho-
red at the lower end of the long Reach; for it is sixe leagues long. Then there came certaine
Indians in a Canoe to vs, but would not come aboard. After dinner there came the Canoe with
other men, whereof three came aboard vs. They brought Indian Wheat, which wee bought
for trifles. At three of the clocke in the after-noon wee weighed, as soone as the ebbe came,
and turned downe to the edge of the Mountaines, or the Northermost of the Mountaines, and
anchored: because the high Land hath many Points, and a narrow channell, and hath many
eddie winds. So we rode quietly all night in seuen fathoms water.

The thirtieth was faire weather, and the wind at South-east a stiffe gale betwene the Moun-
taines. We rode still the after-noon. The people of the Countrey came aboard vs, and brought
foure

some small skinnes with them, which we bought for Kniues and Trifles. This a very pleasant place to build a Towne on. The Road is very neere, and very good for all winds, saue an East North-east wind. The Mountaynes looke as if some Metall or Minerall were in them. For the Trees that grow on them were all blasted, and some of them barren with few or no Trees on them. The people brought a stone aboard like to Emery (a stone vsed by Glasiers to cut Glasse) it would cut Iron or Steele: Yet being bruised small, and water put to it, it made a colour like blacke Lead glistering; It is also good for Painters Colours. At three of the clocke they departed, and we rode still all night.

Small skins.
A pleasant
place to build
a Towne on.

Likelihood of
Minerals.

October.

The first of October, faire weather, the wind variable betweene the West and the North. In the morning we weighed at seuen of the clocke with the ebbe, and got downe below the Mountaynes, which was seuen leagues. Then it fell calme and the flood was come, and wee anchored at twelue of the clocke. The people of the Mountaynes came aboard vs, wondring at our ship and weapons. We bought some small skinnes of them for Trifles. This after-noone, one Canoe kept hanging vnder our sterne with one man in it, which we could not keepe from thence, who got vp by our Rudder to the Cabin window, and stole out my Pillow, and two Shirts, and two Bandleeres. Our Masters Mate shot at him, and strooke him on the brest, and killed him. Whereupon all the rest fled away, some in their Canoes, and so leapt out of them into the water. We manned our Boat, and got our things againe. Then one of them that swamme got hold of our Boat, thinking to ouerthrow it. But our Cooke tooke a Sword, and cut off one of his hands, and he was drowned. By this time the ebbe was come, and we weighed and got downe two leagues, by that time it was darke. So we anchored in foure fathomes water, and rode well.

The second, faire weather. At break of day wee weighed, the wind being at North-west, and got downe seuen leagues; then the flood was come strong, so we anchored. Then came one of the Sauages that swamme away from vs at our going vp the Riuer with many other, thinking to betray vs. But wee perceived their intent, and suffered none of them to enter our ship. Whereupon two Canoes full of men, with their Bowes and Arrowes shot at vs after our sterne: in recompence whereof we discharged fixe Muskets, and killed two or three of them. Then about an hundred of them came to a point of Land to shoot at vs. There I shot a Falcon at them, and killed two of them: whereupon the rest fled into the Woods. Yet they manned off another Canoe with nine or ten men, which came to meet vs. So I shot at it also a Falcon, and shot it through, and killed one of them. Then our men with their Muskets, killed three or foure more of them. So they went their way, within a while after, wee got downe two leagues beyond that place, and anchored in a Bay, cleere from all danger of them on the other side of the Riuer, where we saw a very good piece of ground: and hard by it there was a Cliffe, that looked of the colour of a white greene, as though it were either Copper, or Silver Myne: and I thinke it to be one of them, by the Trees that grow vpon it. For they be all burned, and the other places are greene as grasse, it is on that side of the Riuer that is called *Manna-hata*. There we saw no people to trouble vs: and rode quietly all night, but had much wind and raine.

Treacherie of
these Sauages.
A skirmish and
slaughter of
the Sauages.

A Myne of
Copper or
Silver.
The Countrey
of *Manna-hata*.

The third, was very stormie; the wind at East North-east. In the morning, in a gust of wind and raine our Anchor came home, and we droue on ground, but it was Ozie. Then as we were about to haue out an Anchor, the wind came to the North North-west, and droue vs off againe. Then we shot an Anchor, and let it fall in foure fathomes water, and weighed the other. Wee had much wind and raine, with thicke weather: so we roade still all night.

The fourth, was faire weather, and the wind at North North-west, wee weighed and came out of the Riuer, into which we had runne so farre. Within a while after, wee came out also of the great mouth of the great Riuer, that runneth vp to the North-west, borrowing vpon the Norther side of the same, thinking to haue deepe water: for wee had founded a great way with our Boat at our first going in, and found seuen, six, and fve fathomes. So we came out that way, but we were deceived, for we had but eight foot & an halfe water: and so to three, fve, three, and two fathomes and an halfe. And then three, foure, fve, fixe, seuen, eight, nine and ten fathomes.

The great mouth
of the great Ri-
uer.

And by twelue of the clocke we were cleere of all the Inlet. Then we tooke in our Boat, and set our mayne-sayle and sprit-sayle, and our top-sayles, and steered away East South-east, and South-east by East off into the mayne sea: and the Land on the Souther-side of the Bay or Inlet, did beare at noone West and by South foure leagues from vs.

They leaue
the Coast of
Virginia.

The fift, was faire weather, and the wind variable betweene the North and the East. Wee held on our course South-east by East. At noone I obserued and found our height to bee 39. degrees 30. minutes. Our Compasse varied fixe degrees to the West.

We continued our course toward England, without seeing any Land by the way, all the rest of this moneth of October: And on the seuenth day of Nouember, *stilo nono*, being Saturday: by the Grace of God we safely arriued in the Range of *Dartmouth* in *Devonshire*, in the yeere 1609.

CHAP. XVII.

An Abstract of the Iournall of Master HENRY HUDSON, for the Discoverie of the North-west Passage, begunne the seuenteenth of Aprill, 1610. ended with his end, being treacherously exposed by some of the Companie.

Aprill 17.



He seuenteenth of Aprill, 1610. we brake ground, and went downe from Saint Katharines Poole, and fell downe to *Blacke-wall*: and so plyed downe with the 10 ships to *Lee*, which was the two and twentieth day.

The two and twentieth, I caused Master *Coleburne* to bee put into a Pinke, bound for *London*, with my Letter to the Aduenturers, importing the reason wherefore I so put him out of the ship, and so plyed forth.

May.
The Iles of
Orkney.

The second of May, the wind Southerly, at Eeuén we were thwart of *Flamberough Head*. The fift, we were at the Iles of *Orkney*, and here I set the North end of the Needle, and the North of the Flie all one.

Note.
Farre Ilands 62
degrees 24.
minutes.
Westmony.

The sixt, wee were in the latitude of 59. degrees 22. minutes, and there perceiued that the North end of *Scotland*, *Orney*, and *Shotland* are not so Northerly, as is commonly set downe. The eight day, wee saw *Farre Ilands*, in the latitude of 62. degrees 24. minutes. The eleuenth 20 day, we fell with the Easter part of *Island*, and then plying along the Souther part of the Land, we came to *Westmony*, being the fifteenth day, and still plyed about the mayne Iland, vntill the last of May with contrary winds, and we got some Fowles of diuers sorts.

Iune.

The first day of Iune, we put to Sea out of an Harbour, in the Westermost part of *Island*, and so plyed to the Westward in the latitude of 66. degrees 34. minutes, and the second day plyed and found our selues in 65. degrees 57. minutes, with little wind Easterly.

The third day, wee found our selues in 65. degrees 30. minutes, with winde at North-east, a little before this we sayled neere some Ice.

Groneland.

The fourth day, we saw *Groneland* ouer the Ice perfectly, and this night the Sunne went downe due North, and rose North North-east. So plying the fift day, we were in 65. degrees, 30 still encombred with much Ice, which hung vpon the Coast of *Groneland*.

Frobishers
Streights.

The ninth day, wee were off *Frobishers Streights* with the winde Northerly, and plyed vnto the South-westwards vntill the fifteenth day.

Desolation.

The fifteenth day, we were in sight of the land, in latitude 59. degrees 27. minutes, which was called by Captayne *John Davis*, *Desolation*, and found the error of the former laying downe of that Land: and then running to the North-westward vntill the twentieth day, wee found the ship in 60. degrees 42. minutes, and saw much Ice, and many Riplings or *Ouer-fals*, and a strong streame setting from East South-east, to West North-west.

A current West
North-west.

The one and twentie, two and twentie, and three and twentie dayes, with the winde variable, we plyed to the North-westward in sight of much Ice, into the height of 62. degrees 29. minutes. 40

East entrance
into the
Streights.

The foure and twentie, and fife and twentie dayes, sayling to the West-ward about mid-night, wee saw Land North, which was suddenly lost againe. So wee ranne still to the West-ward in 62. degrees 17. minutes.

Iuly.

The fift of Iuly, wee plyed vp vpon the Souther side, troubled with much Ice in seeking the shoare vntill the fift day of Iuly, and we obserued that day in 59. degrees 16. minutes. Then we plyed off the shoare againe, vntill the eight day, and then found the height of the Pole in 60. degrees no minutes. Here we saw the Land from the North-west by West, halfe Northerly vnto the South-west by West, couered with snow, a *Champaigne Land*, and called it, *Desire prouoketh*.

Desire prouoketh.

We still plyed vp to the Westward, as the Land and Ice would suffer vntill the eleuenth day; when fearing a storme, we anchored by three Rockie Ilands in vncertayne depth, betweene two and nine fathomes; and found it an Harbour vnsufficient by reason of sunken Rockes, one of which was next morning two fathomes aboue water. Wee called them the *Iles of Gods Mercies*. The water floweth here better then foure fathomes. The Floud commeth from the North, flowing eight the change day. The latitude in this place is 62. degrees 9. minutes. Then plying to the South-westward the sixteenth day, wee were in the latitude of 58. degrees 50. minutes, but found our selues imbayed with Land, and had much Ice: and we plyed to the North-westward vntill the nineteenth day, and then wee found by obseruation the height of the Pole in 61. degrees 24. minutes, and saw the Land, which I named, *Hold with Hope*. Hence I plyed to the North-westward still, vntill the one and twentieth day, with the wind variable. Heere I found the Sea more growne, then any wee had since wee left *England*.

Iles of Gods
Mercies.Hold with Hope.
A mightie
growne Sea.

The three and twentieth day, by obseruation the height of the Pole was 61. degrees 33. minutes, 60

utes. The five and twentieth day, we saw the Land; and named it *Magna Britannia*. The sixe and twentieth day, wee observed and found the latitude in 62. degrees 44. minutes. The eight and twentieth day, we were in the height of 63. degrees 10. minutes, and plyed Southerly of the West. The one and thirtieth day, plying to the Westward, at noone wee found our selues in 62. degrees 24. minutes.

Magna Britannia.

The first of August, we had sight of the Northerne shoare, from the North by East to the West by South off vs: the North part twelue leagues, and the Wester part twentie leagues from vs: and we had no ground there at one hundred and eightie fathomes. And I thinke I saw Land on the Sunne side, but could not make it perfectly, bearing East North-east. Here I found the latitude 62. degrees 50. minutes.

August.

The second day, we had sight of a faire Head-land, on the Norther shoare six leagues off, which I called *Salisburies Fore-land*: we ranne from them West South-west, fourteene leagues: In the mid-way of which wee were suddenly come into a great and whirling Sea, whether caused by meeting of two streames, or an Ouer-fall, I know not. Thence sayling West and by South seven leagues farther, we were in the mouth of a Streight and sounded, and had no ground at one hundred fathomes: the Streight being there not about two leagues broad, in the passage in this Wester part: which from the Eatter part of *Fretum Danis*, is distant two hundred and fiftie leagues thereabouts.

Salisburies fore-land:
A great and whirling Sea:
A Streight which led vs into the deepe Bay of Gods great Mercies.

The third day, we put through the narrow passage, after our men had beene on Land, which had well obserued there, *That the Floud did come from the North*, flowing by the shoare five fathomes. The head of this entrance on the South side, I named *Cape Worfenholme*; and the head on the North-west shoare, I called *Cape Digs*. After wee had sailed with an Easterly winde, West and by South ten leagues, the Land fell away to the Southward, and the other Iles and Land left vs to the Westward. Then I obserued and found the ship at noone in 61. degrees 20. minutes, and a Sea to the Westward.

Cape Worfenholme.
Cape Digs.

A larger Discourse of the same Voyage, and the succeffe thereof,
written by ABACUK PRICKET.

WE began our Voyage for the North-west passage; the seuateenth of Aprill, 1610. Thwart of *Shepey*, our Master sent Master *Colbert* backe to the Owners with his Letter. The next day we weighed from hence, and stood for *Harwich*, and came thither the eight and twentieth of Aprill. From *Harwich* we set sayle the first of May, along the Coast to the North, till we came to the Iles of *Orkney*, from thence to the Iles of *Faro*, and from thence to *Island*: on which we fell in a fogge, hearing the Rut of the Sea ashoare, but saw not the Land whereupon our Master came to an Anchor. Heere we were embayed in the South-east part of the Land. Wee weighed and stood along the Coast, on the West side towards the North: but one day being calme, we fell a fishing, and caught good store of fish, as Cod and Ling, and Butte, with some other sorts that we knew not. The next day, we had a good gale of wind at South-west, and rayfed the Iles of *Westmonie*, where the King of *Denmarke* hath a Fortresse, by which we passed to rayse the *Snow Hill* foot, a Mountayne so called on the North-west part of the Land. But in our course we saw that famous Hill, *Mount Hecla*, which cast out much fire, a signe of foule weather to come in short time. Wee leaue *Island* a sterne of vs, and met a Mayne of Ice, which did hang on the North part of *Island*, and stretched downe to the West, which when our Master saw, he stood backe for *Island* to find an Harbour, which we did on the North-west part, called *Derefer*, where wee killed good store of Fowle. From hence wee put to Sea againe, but (neither wind nor weather seruing) our Master stood backe for this Harbour againe, but could not reach it, but fell with another to the South of that, called by our *Englishmen*, *Loufie Bay*: where on the shoare we found an hot Bath, and heere all our *Englishmen* bathed themselves: the water was so hot that it would scald a Fowle.

Orkney.
Ferre Iles.
Island.
The South-east part of *Island*.

Westmonie
Island.
Mount Hecla
casteth out fire,
A mayne of Ice.
Or *Derefer*.

Loufie Bay.
An hot Bath:
The first of Iune.

From hence the first of Iune, we put to Sea for *Groneland*, but to the West wee saw Land as we thought, for which we beare the best part of a day, but it proued but a foggie banke. So wee gaue it ouer, and made for *Groneland*, which we rayfed the fourth of Iune. Vpon the Coast thereof hung good store of Ice, so that our Master could not attayne to the shoare by any meanes. The Land in this part is very Mountaynous, and full of round Hills, like to Sugar-loaves, couered with snow. We turned the Land on the South side, as neere as the Ice would suffer vs. Our course for the most part was betweene the West and North-west, till we rayfed the *Desolations*, which is a great Island in the West part of *Groneland*. On this Coast we saw store of Whales, and at one time three of them came close by vs, so as wee could hardly shunne them: then two passing very neere, and the third going vnder our ship, wee receiued no harme by them, prayed bee God.

Island of *Desolation*.
Store of Whales.

From the *Desolations* our Master made his way North-west, the wind being against him, who

else would haue gone more to the North: but in this course we saw the first great Iland or Mountayne of Ice, whereof after we saw store. About the latter end of Iune, we rayfed Land to the North of vs, which our Master tooke to bee that Iland which Master *Danis* setteth downe in his Chart. On the West side of his Streight, our Master would haue gone to the North of it, but the wind would not suffer him: so we fell to the South of it, into a great Rippling or ouerfall of current, the which setteth to the West. Into the current we went, and made our way to the North of the West, till we met with Ice which hung on this Iland. Wherefore our Master casting about, cleered himselfe of this Ice, and stood to the South, and then to the West, through store of floting Ice, and vpon the Ice store of Seales. We gained a cleere Sea, and continued our course till wee meete Ice; first, with great Ilands, and then with store of the smaller fort. Betweene them we made our course North-west, till we met with Ice againe. But, in this our going betweene the Ice, we saw one of the great Ilands of Ice ouerturne, which was a good warning to vs, not to come nigh them, nor within their reach. Into the Ice wee put ahead, as betweene two Lands. The next day we had a storme, and the wind brought the Ice so fast vpon vs, that in the end we were driuen to put her into the chiefeft of the Ice, and there to let her lie. Some of our men this day fell sicke, I will not say it was for feare, although I saw small signe of other grieve.

Iland of Ice ouerturneth.

Danger by Ice.

Hudson entred 100. leagues further then any had been.

Discontents.

Desire growes.

Exercises of pleasure and profit on the Ice. Difference of Tydes and Bayes. Ice about 100. fathome.

A dangerous Rocke.

Iles of Gods Mercie.

Partridges.

The storme ceasing, we flood out of the Ice, where wee saw any cleere Sea to goe to: which was sometime more, and sometime lesse. Our course was as the Ice did lye, sometime to the North, then to the North-west, and then to the West, and to the South-west: but still inclosed with Ice. Which when our Master saw, he made his course to the South, thinking to cleere himselfe of the Ice that way: but the more he stroue, the worse he was, and the more inclosed, till we could goe no further. Here our Master was in despaire, and (as he told me after) he thought he should neuer haue got out of this Ice, but there haue perished. Therefore hee brought forth his Card, and shewed all the company, that hee was entred aboue an hundred leagues further then euer any English was: and left it to their choice, whether they would proceed any further; yea, or nay. Whereupon, some were of one minde, and some of another, some wishing themselves at home, and some not caring where, so they were out of the Ice: but there were some who then spake words, which were remembered a great while after.

There was one who told the Master, that if he had an hundred pounds, hee would giue foure score and ten to be at home: but the Carpenter made answere, that if hee had an hundred, hee would not giue ten vpon any such condition, but would thinke it to be as good money as euer he had any, and to bring it as well home, by the leaue of God. After many words to no purpose, to worke we must on all hands, to get our selues out, and to cleere our ship. After much labour and time spent, we gained roome to turne our ship in, and so by little and little, to get cleere in the Sea a league or two off, our course being North and North-west.

In the end, we rayfed Land to the South-west, high Land and couered with Snow. Our Master named this Land, *Desire promokes*. Lying here, wee heard the noyse of a great ouerfall of a tyde, that came out of the Land: for now we might see well, that wee had beene embayed before, and time had made vs know, being so well acquainted with the Ice, that when night, or foggie, or foule weather tooke vs, we would seeke out the broadest Iland of Ice, and there come to anchor and runne, and sport, and fill water that stood on the Ice in Ponds, both sweete and good. But after we had brought this Land to beare South of vs, we had the tyde and the current to open the Ice, as being carried first one way, and then another: but in Bayes they lye as in a pond without mouing. In this Bay where wee were thus troubled with Ice, wee saw many of those Mountaynes of Ice aground, in fixe or seuen score fathome water. In this our course we saw a Beare vpon a piece of Ice by it selfe, to the which our men gaue chase with their Boat: but before they came nigh her, the tyde had carried the Ice and the Beare on it, and ioyned it with the other Ice: so they lost their labour, and came aboard againe.

We continued our course to the North-west, and rayfed Land to the North of our course, toward which we made, and comming nigh it, there hung on the Eastermost point, many Ilands of floting Ice, and a Beare on one of them, which from one to another came towards vs, till she was readie to come aboard. But when she saw vs looke at her, she cast her head betweene her hinder legges, and then diued vnder the Ice: and so from one piece to another, till she was out of our reach. We stood along by the Land on the Southside ahead of vs, wee met with Ice that hung on a point of Land that lay to the South, more then this that we came vpon by: which when our Master saw, he stood in for the shoare. At the West end of this Iland (for so it is) we found an Harbour, and came in (at a full Sea) ouer a Rocke, which had two fathome and an halfe on it, and was so much bare at a low water. But by the great mercie of God, we came to an Anchor cleere of it: and close by it, our Master named them, the *Iles of Gods Mercie*. This is an Harbour for need, but there must be care had how they come in. Heere our Master sent me, and others with me, to discover to the North and North-west: and in going from one place to another, we sprung a Couey of Partridges which were young: at the which *Thomas Woodhouse* shot, but killed only the old one. This Iland is a most barren place, hauing nothing on it but

plashes

plashes of water and riuen Rockes, as if it were subiect to Earthquakes. To the North there is a great Bay, or Sea (for I know not what it will proue) where I saw a great Iland of Ice aground, betweene the two Lands, which with the Spring-tide was set afloat, and carried into this Bay or Sea to the North-westward, but came not backe againe, nor within sight. Here wee tooke in some Drift wood that we found ashore.

Drift-wood.

From hence we stood to the South-west, to double the Land to the West of vs, through much floating Ice: In the end wee found a cleere Sea, and continued therein, till wee rayfed Land to the North-west. Then our Master made his course more to the South then before: but it was not long ere we met with Ice which lay ahead of vs. Our Master would haue doubled this Ice to the North, but could not; and in the end put into it downe to the South-west through much Ice, and then to the South, where we were embayed againe. Our Master stroue to get the shoare, but could not, for the great store of Ice that was on the coast. From out of this Bay, we stood to the North, and were soone out of the Ice: then downe to the South-west, and so to the West, where we were enclosed (to our sight) with Land and Ice. For wee had Land from the South to the North-west on one side, and from the East to the West on the other: but the Land that was to the North of vs, and lay by East and West, was but an Iland. On we went till we could goe no further for Ice: so we made our ship fast to the Ice which the tide brought vpon vs, but when the ebbe came, the Ice did open, and made way; so as in seuen or eight houres we were cleere from the Ice, till we came to weather; but onely some of the great Ilands, that were carried along with vs to the North-west.

20 Having a cleere Sea, our Master stood to the West along by the South shoare, and rayfed three Capes or Head-lands, lying one aboue another. The middlemost is an Iland, and maketh a Bay or Harbour, which (I take) will proue a good one. Our Master named them *Prince Henries Cape*, or *Fore-land*. When we had layd this we rayfed another, which was the extreme point of the Land, looking towards the North: vpon it are two Hills, but one (aboue the rest) like an Hay-cocke; which our Master named, *King James his Cape*. To the North of this, lie certaine Ilands, which our Master named, *Queene Annes Cape*, or *Fore-land*. Wee followed the North shoare still. Beyond the Kings Cape there is a Sound or Bay, that hath some Ilands in it: and this is not to be forgotten, if need be. Beyond this, lieth some broken Land, close to the Mayne, but what it is I know not: because we passed by it in the night.

Three Capes.
Prince Henries Cape.
King James his Cape.
Queene Annes Cape.

30 Wee stood to the North to double this Land, and after to the West againe, till wee fell with Land that stretched from the Mayne, like a shewer from the South to the North, and from the North to the West, and then downe to the South againe. Being short of this Land, a storme tooke vs, the wind at West, we stood to the North, and rayfed Land: which when our Master saw, he stood to the South againe; for he was loath at any time that wee should see the North shoare. The storme continuing, and comming to the South shoare againe, our Master found himselfe shot to the West, a great way, which made him muse, considering his Leeward way. To the South-west of this Land, on the Mayne, there is an high Hill, which our Master named *Mount Charles*. To the North and beyond this, lieth an Iland, that to the East hath a faire head, and beyond it to the West other broken Land, which maketh a Bay within, and a good Road may be found there for ships. Our Master named the first, *Cape Salisbury*.

Note.
Mount Charles.
Cape Salisbury.

40 When we had left this to the North-east, we fell into a Rippling or Ouer-fall of a Current, which (at the first we tooke to bee a Shoald: but the Lead being cast, wee had no ground. On we passed still in sight of the South shoare, till we rayfed Land lying from the Mayne some two leagues. Our Master tooke this to bee a part of the Mayne of the North Land; but it is an Iland, the North side stretching out to the West more then the South. This Iland hath a faire Head to the East, and very high Land, which our Master named *Deepes Cape*: and the Land on the South side, now falling away to the South, makes another Cape or Head-land, which our Master named, *Worsenhams Cape*. When wee were nigh the North or Iland Cape, our Master sent the Boat ashore, with my selfe (who had the charge) and the Carpenter, and diuers others, to discouer to the West and North-west, and to the South-west: but we had further to it then we thought; for the Land is very high, and we were ouer-taken with a storme of Raine, Thunder and Lightning. But to it we came on the North-east side, and vp we got from one Rocke to another, till we came to the highest of that part. Here we found some plaine ground, and saw some Deere; as first, foure or fve, and after, a dozen or sixteene in an Herd, but could not come nigh them with a Musket shot.

Deepes Cape.
Worsenhams Cape.

50 Thus, going from one place to another, wee saw to the West of vs an high Hill aboue all the rest, it being nigh vs: but it proped further off then we made account; for, when wee came to it, the Land was so steepe on the East and North-east parts, that wee could not get vnto it. To the South-west we saw that wee might, and towards that part wee went along by the side of a great Pond of water, which lieth vnder the East side of this Hill: and there runneth out of it a streame of water, as much as would drive an ouer-shot Mill; which falleth downe from an high Cliffe into the Sea on the South side. In this place great store of Fowle breed, and there is the best Grasse that I had seene since we came from *England*. Here wee found Sorell, and that which

Store of fowle and grasse.
Sorell and Scuruy grasse.

Fowles hanged.

which wee call Scury-grasse, in great abundance. Passing along wee saw some round Hills of stone, like to Grasse cockes, which at the first I tooke to be the worke of some Christian. Wee passed by them, till we came to the South side of the Hill; we went vnto them, and there found more; and being nigh them, I turned off the vppermost stone, and found them hollow within, and full of Fowles hanged by their neckes. Then *Greene*, and I, went to fetch the Boat to the South side, while *Robert Billet* and hee got downe a Valley to the Sea side, where wee tooke them in.

Our Master (in this time) came in betweene the two Lands, and shot off some Peeces to call vs aboard; for it was a fogge. Wee came aboard, and told him what we had seene, and perswaded him to stay a day or two in this place, telling him what refreshing might there bee had: but by no meanes would he stay, who was not pleased with the motion. So we left the Fowle, and lost our way downe to the South-west, before they went in sight of the Land, which now beares to the East from vs, being the same mayne Land that wee had all this while followed. Now, we had lost the sight of it, because it falleth away to the East, after some fife and twenty or thirty leagues. Now we came to the shallow water, wherewith wee were not acquainted since we came from *Island*; now we came into broken ground and Rockes, through which we passed downe to the South. In this our course we had a storme, and the water did shoald apace. Our Master came to an anchor in fifteene fathoms water.

Wee weighed and stood to the South-east, because the Land in this place did lie so. When we came to the point of the West Land (for we now had Land on both sides of vs) we came to an anchor. Our Master sent the Boat ashore, to see what that Land was, and whether there were any way through. They soone returned, and shewed that beyond the point of Land to the South, there was a large Sea. This Land on the West side, was a very narrow Point. Wee weighed from hence, and stood in for this Sea betweene the two Lands, which (in this place) is not two leagues broad downe to the South, for a great way in sight of the East sheare. In the end we lost sight thereof, and saw it not till we came to the bottome of the Bay, into fixe or seuen fathomes water. Hence we stood vp to the North by the West shoare, till wee came to an Island in 53. where we tooke in water and ballast.

Discord & see
without his
Relations fol-
lowing.Michaelmasse
Day, and Bay.

Anchor lost.

Sea of two co-
lours.Footing of a
man.Sticke on a
Rocke.

From hence wee passed towards the North: but some two or three dayes after (reasoning concerning our comming into this Bay, and going out) our Master tooke occasion to reuiue old matters, and to displace *Robert Luet* from being his Mate, and the Boat-swaine from his place, for words spoken in the first great Bay of Ice. Then hee made *Robert Billet* his Mate, and *William Wilson* our Boat-swaine. Vp to the North wee stood, till we raised Land, then downe to the South, and vp to the North, then downe againe to the South: and on Michaelmasse day came in, and went out of certaine Lands: which our Master sets downe by the name of *Michaelmasse Bay*, because we came in and went out on that day. From hence wee stood to the North, and came into shoald water; and the weather being thicke and foule, wee came to an anchor in seuen or eight fathome water, and there lay eight dayes: in all which time wee could not get one houre to weigh our anchor. But the eighth day, the wind beginning to cease, our Master would haue the anchor vp, against the mind of all who knew what belonged thereunto. Well, to it we went, and when we had brought it to a peake, a Sea tooke her, and cast vs all off from the Capstone, and hurt diuers of vs. Here wee lost our Anchor, and if the Carpenter had not beene, we had lost our Cable too: but he (fearing such a matter) was ready with his Axe, and so cut it.

From hence we stood to the South, and to the South-west, through a cleere Sea of diuers sounding, and came to a Sea of two colours, one blacke, and the other white, sixteene or seuen-teene fathome water, betweene which we went foure or fife leagues. But the night comming, we tooke in our Top-sayles, and stood afore the wind with our Maine-sayle and Fore-sayle, and came into fife or fixe fathomes, and saw no Land for it was darke. Then we stood to the East, and had deepe water againe, then to the South and South-west, and so came to our Westernmost Bay of all, and came to an anchor neere to the North shoare. Out went our Boat to the Land that was next vs, when they came neere it, our Boat could not stote to the shoare: it was so shallow: yet ashore they got. Here our men saw the footing of a man and a Ducke in the snowy Rockes, and Wood good store, whereof they tooke some and returned aboard. Being at anchor in this place, we saw a ledge of Rockes to the South of vs, some league of length; It lay North and South, couered at a full Sea; for a strong tide setteth in here. At mid-night wee weighed, and stood to goe out as we came in; and had not gone long, but the Carpenter came and told the Master, that if he kept that course he would be vpon the Rockes: the Master conceiued that he was past them, when presently wee ranne on them, and there stucke fast twelue houres; but (by the mercy of God) we got off vnhurt, though not vnscarred.

Wee stood vp to the East and rayled three Hills, lying North and South: wee went to the furthest, and left it to the North of vs, and so into a Bay, where wee came to an anchor. Here our Master sent out our Boat, with my selfe and the Carpenter to seeke a place to winter in: and it was time; for the nights were long and cold, and the earth couered with Snow. Ha-
uing

uing spent three moneths in a Labyrinth without end, being now the last of October, we went downe to the East, to the bottome of the Bay : but returned without speeding of that we went for. The next day we went to the South, and the South-west, and found a place, whereunto we brought our ship, and haled her aground : and this was the first of Nouember. By the tenth thereof we were frozen in : but now we were in, it behooued vs to haue care of what we had; for, that we were sure of; but what we had not, was vncertaine.

Last of October.

Nouember the tenth frozen in.

Wee were victualled for fixe moneths in good proportion, and of that which was good : if our Master would haue had more, he might haue had it at home and in other places. Here we were now, and therefore it behoued vs so to spend, that wee might haue (when time came) to bring vs to the *Capes* where the Fowle bred, for that was all the hope wee had to bring vs home. Wherefore our Master tooke order, first for the spending of that wee had, and then to increafe it, by propounding a reward to them that killed either Beast, Fish, or Fowle, as in his Iouruall you haue seene. About the middle of this moneth of Nouember, dyed *John Williams* our Gunner : God pardon the Masters vncharitable dealing with this man. Now for that I am come to speake of him, out of whose ashes (as it were) that vnhappy deed grew which brought a scandall vpon all that are returned home, and vpon the action it selfe, the multitude (like the dog) running after the stone, but not at the caster : therefore, not to wrong the liuing, nor slander the dead, I will (by the leaue of God) deliuer the truth as neere as I can.

John Williams dyeth.

You shall vnderstand, that our Master kept (in his house at *London*) a young man, named *Henrie Greene*, borne in *Kent*, of Worshipfull Parents, but by his lewd life and conuersation hee had lost the good will of all his frinds, and had spent all that hee had. This man, our Master would haue to Sea with him, because hee could write well : our Master gaue him meate, and drinke, and lodging, and by meanes of one Master *Venson*, with much adoe got foure pounds of his mother to buy him clothes, wherewith Master *Venson* would not trust him : but saw it laid out himselfe. This *Henrie Greene* was not set downe in the owners booke, nor any wages made for him. Hee came first aboard at *Grauesend*, and at *Harwich* should haue gone into the field, with one *Wilkinson*. At *Island* the Surgeon and hee fell out in *Dutch*, and hee beat him a shoare in *English*, which set all the company in a rage; so that wee had much adoe to get the Surgeon aboard. I told the Master of it, but hee bade mee let it alone, for (said hee) the Surgeon had a tongue that would wrong the best friend hee had. But *Robert Inet* (the Masters Mate) would needs burne his finger in the embers, and told the Carpenter a long tale (when hee was drunke) that our Master had brought in *Greene* to cracke his credit that should displease him : which words came to the Masters eares, who when hee vnderstood it, would haue gone backe to *Island*, when he was fortie leagues from thence, to haue sent home his Mate *Robert Inet* in a Fisher-mag. But, being otherwise perswaded, all was well. So *Henry Greene* stood vpright, and very inward with the Master, and was a seruiceable man euery way for manhood : but for Religion he would say, he was cleane paper whereon he might write what hee would. Now, when our Gunner was dead, and (as the order is in such cases) if the company stand in need of any thing that belonged to the man deceased, then is it brought to the Mayne Mast, and there sold to them that will giue most for the same : This Gunner had a gray cloth gowne, which *Greene* prayed the Master to friend him so much as to let him haue it, paying for it as another would giue : the Master saith hee should, and thereupon hee answered some, that sought to haue it, that *Greene* should haue it, and none else, and so it rested.

Henry Greene bad conditions

Now out of season and time, the Master calleth the Carpenter to goe in hand with an house on shoare, which at the beginning our Master would not heare, when it might haue beene done. The Carpenter told him, that the Snow and Frost were such, as hee neither could, nor would goe in hand with such worke. Which when our Master heard, hee ferreted him out of his Cabbin to strike him, calling him by many foule names, and threatning to hang him. The Carpenter told him that hee knew what belonged to his place better then himselfe, and that hee was no House Carpenter. So this passed, and the house was (after) made with much labour, but to no end. The next day after the Master and the Carpenter fell out, the Carpenter tooke his Peece and *Henry Greene* with him, for it was an order that none should goe out alone, but one with a Peece, and another with a Pike. This did moue the Master so much the more against *Henry Greene*, that *Robert Billet* his Mate must haue the gowne, and had it deliuered vnto him; which when *Henry Greene* saw, hee challenged the Masters promise : but the Master did so raile on *Greene*, with so many words of disgrace, telling him, that all his friends would not trust him with twenty shillings, and therefore why should he? As for wages he had none, nor none should haue, if he did not please him well. Yet the Master had promised him to make his wages as good, as any mans in the ship; and to haue him one of the Princes guard when we came home. But you shall see how the deuil out of this so wrought with *Green*, that hee did the Master what mischief hee could in seeking to discredit him, and to thrust him and many other honest men out of the Ship in the end. To speake of all our trouble in this time of Winter (which was so cold, as it lamed the most of our Company, and my selfe doe yet feele it) would bee too tedious.

Greenes conspiracie.

Their hand wintring.

But I must not forget to shew, how mercifully God dealt with vs in this time; for the

F f f

space

- Store of Partridges. space of three moneths wee had such store of Fowle of one kinde (which were Partridges as white as milke) that wee killed aboue an hundred dozen, besides others of sundry sorts: for all was fish that came to the net. The Spring comming, this Fowle left vs, yet they were with vs all the extreame cold. Then in their places came diuers sort of other Fowle, as
- Other Fowles succeeding in their seasons. Swanne, Geese, Duck, and Teale, but hard to come by. Our Master hoped they would haue bred in thole broken grounds, but they doe not: but came from the South, and flew to the North, further then we were this Voyage; yet if they be taken short with the wind at North, or North-west, or North-east, then they fall and stay till the winde serue them, and then flye to the North. Now in time these Fowles are gone, and few or none to bee seene. Then wee went into the Woods, Hilles, and Valleys, for all things that had any shew of substance in them, how vile soeuer: the mosse of the ground, then the which I take the powder of a post to bee much better, and the Frogge (in his ingendring time as loathsome as a Toade) was not spared. But amongst the diuers sorts of buds, it pleased God that *Thomas Woodhouse* brought home a budde of a Tree, full of a Turpentine substance. Of this our
- Medicivable budde. Surgeon made a decoction to drinke, and applyed the budde hot to them that were troubled with ach in any part of their bodies; and for my part, I confesse, I receiued great and present ease of my paine.
- A Sauage. About this time, when the Ice began to breake out of the Bayes, there came a Sauage to our Ship, as it were to see and to bee seene, being the first that we had seene in all this time: whom our Master intreated well, and made much of him, promising vnto himselfe great matters by his meanes, and therefore would haue all the Knives and Hatchets (which any man had) to his priuate vse, but receiued none but from *John King* the Carpenter, and my selfe. To this Sauage our Master gaue a Knife, a Looking-glasse, and Buttons, who receiued them thankfully, and made signes that after hee had slept hee would come againe, which hee did. When hee came, hee brought with him a Sled, which hee drew after him, and vpon it two Deeres skines, and two Beauer skines. Hee had a scrip vnder his arme, out of which hee drew those things which the Master had giuen him. Hee tooke the Knife and laid it vpon one of the Beauer skines, and his Glasses and Buttons vpon the other, and so gaue them to the Master, who receiued them; and the Sauage tooke those things which the Master had giuen him, and put them vp into his scrip againe. Then the Master shewed him an Hatchet, for which hee would haue giuen the Master one of his Deere skines, but our Master would haue them both, and so hee had, although not willingly. After many signes of people to the North, and to the South, and that after so many sleepes he would come againe, he went his way, but neuer came more.
- Turke. Now the Ice being out of the Sounds, so that our Boat might go from one place vnto another, a company of men were appointed by the Master to go a fishing with our net; their names were as followeth: *William Wilson*, *Henry Greene*, *Michael Perce*, *John Thomas*, *Andrew Moler*, *Bennet Mathewes*, and *Arnold Lodlo*. These men, the first day they went, caught fise hundred fish, as big as good Herrings, and some Troutes: which put vs all in some hope to haue our wants supplied, and our Commons amended: but these were the most that euer they got in one day, for many dayes they got not a quarter so many. In this time of their fishing, *Henry Green* and *William Wilson*, with some others, plotted to take the net and the shallop, which the Carpenter had now set vp, and so to shift for themselves. But the shallop being readie, our Master would goe in it himselfe, to the South and South-west, to see if hee could meete with the people; for, to that end was it set vp, and (that way) wee might see the Woods set on fire by them. So the Master tooke the Sayue and the Shallop, and so much victuall as would serue for eight or nine dayes, and to the South hee went. They that remained aboard, were to take in water, wood, and ballast, and to haue all things in a readinesse against hee came backe. But hee set no time of his returne; for he was perswaded, if he could meet with the people, hee should haue flesh of them, and that good store: but hee returned worse then hee went forth. For, hee could by no meanes meete with the people, although they were neere them, yet they would set the woods on fire in his sight.
- Fishing. Being returned, hee fitted all things for his returne, and first, deliuered all the bread out of the bread roome (which came to a pound a piece for euery mans share) and deliuered also a Bill of Returne, willing them to haue that to shew, if it pleased God, that they came home: and he wept when hee gaue it vnto them. But to helpe vs in this poore estate with some reliefe, the Boate and Sayue went to worke on Friday morning, and stayed till Sunday noone: at which time they came aboard, and brought fourescore small Fish, a poore reliefe for so many hungry bellies. Then we wayed, and stood out of our wintering place, and came to an Anchor without, in the mouth of the Bay: from whence we wayed and came to an anchor without in the Sea, where our bread being gone, that store of cheese we had was to stop a gap, whereof there were fise, whereat the company grudged, because they made account of nine. But those that were left, were equally diuided by the Master, although he had counsell to the contrarie: for there were some who hauing it, would make hast to bee rid thereof, because they could not gouerne it. I knew when *Henric Greens*
- Belly straits.

Greene gaue halfe his bread, which hee had for fourteene dayes, to one to keepe, and prayed him not to let him haue any vntill the next Munday: but before Wednesday at night, hee neuer left till hee had it againe, hauing eaten vp his first weekes bread before. So Wilson the Boatswaine hath eaten (in one day) his fortnights bread, and hath beene two or three dayes sicke for his labour. The cause that moued the Master to deliuer all the Cheefe, was because they were not all of one goodnesse, and therefore they should see that they had no wrong done them: but every man should haue alike the best and the worst together, which was three pounds and a halfe for seuen dayes.

The wind seruing, we weighed and stood to the North-west, and on Munday at night (the eighteenth day of Iune) wee fell into the Ice, and the next day the wind being at West, we lay there till Sunday in sight of Land. Now being here, the Master told Nicholas Simmes, that there would be a breaking vp of chests, and a search for bread, and willed him (if hee had any) to bring it to him, which hee did, and deliuered to the Master thirty cakes in a bagge. This deed of the Master (if it bee true) hath made mee maruell, what should bee the reason that hee did not stop the breach in the beginning, but let it grow to that height, as that it ouerthrew himselfe and many other honest men: but there are many denices in the heart of man, yet the counsell of the Lord shall stand.

Being thus in the Ice on Saturday, the one and twentieth of Iune at night, Wilson the Boatswaine, and Henry Greene came to mee lying (in my Cabbin) lame, and told mee that they and the rest of their Associates, would shift the Company, and turne the Master, and all the sicke men into the shallop, & let them shift for themselves. For, there was not fourteen daies victual left for all the Company, at that poore allowance they were at, and that there they lay, the Master not caring to goe one way or other: and that they had not eaten any thing these three dayes, and therefore were resolute, either to mend or end, and what they had begun they would goe through with it, or dye. When I heard this, I told them I maruelled to heare so much from them, considering that they were married men, and had wiues and children, and that for their sakes they should not commit so foule a thing in the sight of God and man, as that would bee; for why should they banish themselves from their native Countrey? Henry Greene bad me hold my peace, for he knew the worst, which was, to be hanged when hee came home, and therefore of the two he would rather be hanged at home then starued abroad: and for the good will they bare me, they would haue mee stay in the Ship. I gaue them thanks, and told them that I came into her, not to forsake her, yet not to hurt my selfe and others by any such deed. Henry Greene told me then, that I must take my fortune in the Shallop. If there bee no remedie (said I) the will of God bee done.

Wilson & Greene,
their wicked-
nesse.

Away went Henry Greene in a rage, swearing to cut his throat that went about to disturbe them, and left Wilson by me, with whom I had some talke, but to no good: for he was so perswaded, that there was no remedie now, but to goe on while it was hot, least their partie should faile them, and the mischief they had intended to others, should light on themselves. Henry Greene came againe, and demanded of him what I said. Wilson answered, He is in his old song, still patient. Then I spake to Henry Greene to stay three dayes, in which time I would so deale with the Master, that all should be well. So I dealt with him to forbear but two dayes, nay twelue houres; there is no way then (say they) but out of hand. Then I told them, that if they would stay till Munday, I would ioyne with them to share all the victuals in the ship, and would iustifie it when I came home; but this would not serue their turnes. Wherefore I told them, it was some worse matter they had in hand then they made shew of, and that it was bloud and reuenge hee sought, or else he would not at such a time of night vndertake such a deed. Henry Greene (with that) raketh my Bible which lay before me, and sware that hee would doe no man harme, and what hee did was for the good of the voyage, and for nothing else; and that all the rest should do the like. The like did Wilson sweare.

Henry Greene went his way, and presently came Iuet, who because hee was an ancient man, I hoped to haue found some reason in him; but hee was worse then Henry Greene, for hee sware plainly that he would iustifie this deed when he came home. After him came John Thomas, and Michel Perce, as birds of one feather: but because they are not liuing, I will let them goe, as then I did. Then came Moter and Bennet, of whom I demanded; if they were well aduised what they had taken in hand. They answered, they were, and therefore came to take their oath.

Robert Iuet, Sec.
widhoues
notes.

Now, because I am much condemned for this oath, as one of them that plotted with them, and that by an oath I should bind them together to performe what they had begun, I thought good heere to set downe to the view of all, how well their oath and deedes agreed: and thus it was. *You shall sweare truth to God, your Prince and Countrey: you shall doe nothing, but to the glory of God, and the good of the action in hand, and harme to no man.* This was the oath, without adding or diminishing. I looked for more of these companions (although these were too many) but there came no more. It was darke, and they in a readinesse to put this deed of darknesse in execution. I called to Henry Greene and Wilson, and prayed them not to goe in hand with it in the darke, but to stay till the morning. Now, euerie man (I hope) would goe to his rest, but wickednesse

Oath abused.

kednesse sleepeth not; for *Henry Greene* keepeth the Master company all night (and gaue mee bread, which his Cabbin-mate gaue him) and others are as watchfull as he. Then I asked *Henrie Greene*, whom he would put out with the Master? he said, the Carpenter *John King*, and the sicke men. I said, they should not doe well to part with the Carpenter, what need soeuer they should haue. Why the Carpenter was in no more regard amongst them, was; first, for that he and *John King* were condemned for wrong done in the victuall. But the chiefeest cause was, for that the Master loued him, and made him his Mate, vpon his returne out of our wintering place, thereby displacing *Robert Billet*, whereat they did grudge, because hee could neither write nor read. And therefore (said they) the Master and his ignorant Mate would carry the Ship whither the Master pleased: the Master forbidding any man to keepe account or reckoning, hauing taken from all men whatsoeuer serued for that purpose. Well, I obtained of *Henrie Greene* and *Wilson*, that the Carpenter should stay, by whole meanes I hoped (after they had satisfied themselves) that the Master, and the poore man might be taken into the Ship againe. Or, I hoped, that some one or other would giue some notice, either to the Carpenter *John King*, or the Master; for so it might haue come to passe by some of them that were the most forward.

The Carpenter spared.

Now, it shall not bee amisse to shew how we were lodged, and to begin in the Cooke roome; there lay *Bennet* and the Cooper lame; without the Cooke roome, on the steere-board side, lay *Thomas Wydhhouse* sicke; next to him lay *Sydrack Funer* lame, then the Surgeon, and *John Hudson* with him; next to them lay *Wilson* the Boatswaine, and then *Arnold Lodlo* next to him: in the Gun-roome lay *Robert Iuet* and *John Thomas*; on the Lar-board side, lay *Michael Bute* and *Adria Moore*, who had neuer bene well since wee lost our Anchor; next to them lay *Michael Perce* and *Andrew Moter*. Next to them without the Gun-roome, lay *John King*, and with him *Robert Billet*: next to them my selfe, and next to me *Francis Clements*: In the mid-ship, betweene the Capstone and the Pumpes, lay *Henrie Greene* and *Nicholas Simmes*. This night *John King* was late vp, and they thought he had been with the Master, but he was with the Carpenter, who lay on the Poope, and coming downe from him, was met by his Cabbin-mate, as it were by chance, and so they came to their Cabbin together. It was not long ere it was day: then came *Bennet* for water for the Kettle, hee rose and went into the Hold: when hee was in, they shut the Hatch on him (but who kept it downe I know not) vp vpon the Deck went *Bennet*.

They bind the Master.

In the meane time *Henrie Greene*, and another went to the Carpenter, and held him with a talke, till the Master came out of his Cabbin (which hee soone did) then came *John Thomas* and *Bennet* before him, while *Wilson* bound his armes behind him. He asked them what they meant? they told him, he should know when he was in the Shallop. Now *Iuet*, while this was a doing, came to *John King* into the Hold, who was prouided for him, for he had got a sword of his own, and kept him at a bay, and might haue killed him, but others came to helpe him: and so he came vp to the Master. The Master called to the Carpenter, and told him that he was bound; but, I heard no answer he made. Now *Arnold Lodlo*, and *Michael Bute* rayled at them, and told them their knauerie would shew it selfe. Then was the Shallop haled vp to the Ship side, and the poore, sicke, and lame men were called vpon to get them out of their Cabbins into the Shallop. The Master called to me, who came out of my Cabbin as well as I could, to the Hatch way to speake with him: where, on my knees I besought them, for the loue of God, to remember themselves, and to doe as they would be done vnto. They bad me keepe my selfe well, and get me into my Cabbin; not suffering the Master to speake with me. But when I came into my Cabbin againe, hee called to me at the Horae, which gaue light into my Cabbin, and told mee that *Iuet* would ouerthrow vs all; nay (said I) it is that villaine *Henrie Greene*, and I spake it not softly.

The Carpenter leagued.

Now was the Carpenter at libertie, who asked them, if they would bee hanged when they came home: and as for himselfe, hee said, hee would not stay in the Ship vnlesse they would force him: they bad him goe then, for they would not stay him: I will (said hee) so I may haue my cheft with mee, and all that is in it: they said, hee should, and presently they put it into the Shallop. Then hee came downe to mee, to take his leaue of mee, who perswaded him to stay, which if he did, he might so worke that all should bee well: hee said, hee did not thinke, but they would be glad to take them in againe. For he was so perswaded by the Master, that there was not one in all the ship, that could tell how to carrie her home; but (saith he) if we must part (which wee will not willingly doe, for they would follow the ship) hee prayed me, if wee came to the Capes before them, that I would leaue some token that wee had bene there, neere to the place where the Fowles bred, and hee would doe the like for vs: and so (with teares) we parted. Now were the sicke men driuen out of their Cabbins into the Shallop; but *John Thomas* was *Francis Clements* friend, and *Bennet* was the Coopers, so as there were words betweene them and *Henrie Greene*, one saying, that they should goe, and the other swearing that they should not goe, but such as were in the shallop should returne. When *Henrie Greene* heard that, he was compelled to giue place, and to put out *Arnold Lodlo*, and *Michael Bute*, which with much adoe they did.

In the meane time, there were some of them that plyed their worke, as if the Ship had bene entred

entred by force, and they had free leaue to pillage, breaking vp Chests, and rifling all places. One of them came by me, who asked me, what they should doe. I answered, hee should make an end of what hee had begun; for I saw him doe nothing but sharke vp and downe. Now, were all the poore men in the Shallop, whose names are as followeth; *Henrie Hudson, John Hudson, Arnold Lodlo, Sidrack Faner, Phillip Staffe, Thomas Woodhouse, or Wydhonse, Adam Moore, Henrie King, Michael Bute.* The Carpenter got of them a Peece, and Powder, and Shot, and some Pikes, an Iron Pot, with some meale, and other things. They stood out of the Ice, the Shallop being fast to the Sterne of the Shippe, and so (when they were nigh out, for I cannot say, they were cleane out) they cut her head fast from the Sterne of our Ship, then out with their Top-sayles, and towards the East they stood in a cleere Sea. In the end they tooke in their Top-sayles, righted their Helme, and lay vnder their Fore-sayle till they had ransacked and searched all places in the Ship. In the Hold they found one of the vessels of meale whole, and the other halfe spent, for wee had but two; wee found also two firkins of Butter, some twentie senen piece of Porke, halfe a bushell of Pease, but in the Masters Cabbin we found two hundred of bisket Cakes, a pecke of Meale, of Beere to the quantitie of a Butt, one with another. Now, it was said, that the Shallop was come within sight, they let fall the Main-sayle, and out with their Top-sayles, and fye as from an Enemy.

The names of
the company
exposed in the
Shallop.

Then I prayed them yet to remember themselues: but *William Wilson* (more then the rest) would heare of no such matter. Comming nigh the East shoare they cast about, and stood to the West and came to an Island, and anchored in sixteene or seuteneene fathome water. So they sent the Boat, and the Net ashoare to see if they could haue a Draught: but could not for Rocks and great stones. *Michael Perse* killed two Fowle, and heere they found good store of that Weede, which we called Cockle-grasse in our wintering place, whereof they gathered store, and came aboard againe. Heere we lay that night, and the best part of the next day, in all which time we saw not the shallop, or euer after. Now *Henrie Greene* came to me and told mee, that it was the Companies will, that I should come vp into the Masters Cabbin, and take charge thereof. I told him it was more fit for *Robert Inet*: he said, he should not come in it, nor meddle with the Masters Card, or Iournals. So vp I came, and *Henrie Greene* gaue me the Key of the Masters Chest, and told me then, that he had laid the Masters best things together, which hee would vse himselfe when time did serue: the bread was also deliuered me by tale.

Last sight of
the Shallop.

The wind seruing, we stood to the North-east, and this was *Robert Billets* course, contrarie to *Robert Inet*, who would haue gone to the North-west. We had the Easterne shoare still in sight, and (in the night) had a stout gale of wind, and stood afore it, till wee met with Ice, into the which we ranne from thinne to thicke, till we could goe no further for Ice, which lay so thicke ahead of vs (and the wind brought it after vs afterne) that wee could not stirre backward, nor forward: but so lay imbayed fourteene daies in worse Ice, then euer wee met to deale withall, for we had beene where there was greater store, but it was not so broad vpon the water as this: for this floating Ice contained miles, and halfe miles in compasse, where we had a deepe Sea, and a Tide of flood and ebbe, which set North-west and South-east. Heere *Robert Inet* would haue gone to the North-west, but *Robert Billet* was confident to go through to the North-east, which he did. At last, being cleere of this Ice, he continued his course in sight of the Easterne shoare, till he sailed foure Ilands which lay North and South: but we passed them fixe or seuen leagues, the wind tooke vs so short. Then wee stood backe to them againe, and came to an Anchor betweene two of the most Northermost. We sent the Boat ashoare, to see if there were any thing there to be had, but found nothing, but cockle Grasse, whereof they gathered store, and so returned aboard. Before we came to this place, I might well see, that I was kept in the ship against *Henry Greene*'s minde, because I did not fauour their proceedings better then I did. Then hee began (very subtilly) to draw me to take vpon me to search for those things, which himselfe had stolne: and accused me of a matter no lesse then Treason amongst vs, that I had decerued the company of thirtie Cakes of bread. Now they began to talke amongst themselues, that *England* was no safe place for them, and *Henry Greene* swore, the shippe should not come into any place (but keepe the Sea still) till he had the Kings Majesties hand and Seale to shew for his safetie. They had many deuices in their heads, but *Henry Greene* in the end was their Capitaine, and so called of them.

Foure Ilands.

The wicked
flee where
none pursue.

From these Ilands we stood to the North-east and the Easter Land still in sight: wee raysed those Ilands, that our Master called *Rummes* Ilands. Betweene these Ilands and the shallow ground to the East of them, our Master went downe into the first great Bay. We kept the East shoare still in our sight, and comming thwart of the low Land, wee ranne on a Rocke that lay vnder water, and strooke but once; for if shee had, we might haue beene made Inhabitans of that place: but God sent vs soone off without any harme that wee saw. Wee continued our course and raysed Land a head of vs, which stretched out to the North: which when they saw, they said plainly, that *Robert Billet* by his Northerly course had left the Capes to the South, and that they were best to seeke downe to the South in time for reliefe, before all was gone: for we had small store left. But *Robert Billet* would follow the Land to the North, saying, that he hoped in

God to find somewhat to releue vs that way, as soone as to the South. I told them that this Land was the Mayne of *Worsenhome* Cape, and that the shallow rockie ground, was the same that the Master went downe by, when he went into the great Bay. *Robert Inet* and all said, it was not possible, vnlesse the Master had brought the ship ouer Land, and willed them to looke into the Masters Card, and their course how well they did agree. We stood to the East, and left the mayne Land to the North, by many small Islands into a narrow gut betweene two Lands, and there came to an Anchor. The Boat went ashore on the North side, where wee found the great *Horne*, but nothing else. The next day wee went to the South side, but found nothing there, save Cockle grasse of which we gathered. This grasse was a great releefe vnto vs, for without it, we should hardly haue got to the Capes for want of victuall. The wind seruing we stood out, but before we could get cleane out, the wind came to the West, so that we were constrained to anchor on the North side.

Cockle grasse.

The next day, wee weighed and doubled the point of the North Land, which is high Land, and so continueth to the Capes, lying North and South, some five and twentie or thirtie leagues. To the North we stood to see store of those Fowles that breed in the Capes, and to kill some with our shot, and to fetch them with our Boat. We raised the Capes with joy, and bare for them, and came to the Islands that lie in the mouth of the streight: but bearing in betweene the Rockie Iles, we ranne on a Rocke that lay vnder water, and there stucke fast eight or nine houres. It was ebbing water when we thus came on, so the floud set vs afloat, God guiding both wind and Sea, that it was calme, and faire weather: the ebbe came from the East, and the floud from the West. When wee were afloat, wee stood more neere to the East shoare, and there anchored.

A Rocke.

Note.

July 27.

The next day being the seuen and twentieth of Iuly, we sent the Boat to fetch some Fowle, and the ship should way and stand as neere as they could: for the wind was against vs. They had a great way to row, and by that meanes they could not reach to the place where the Fowle bred: but found good store of *Gulls*, yet hard to come by, on the Rocks and Cliffes, but with their Peeeces they killed some thirtie, and towards night returned. Now we had brought our ship more neere to the mouth of the Streights, and there came to an anchor in eighteen or twentie fathom water, vpon a Riffe or shelve of ground: which after they had weighed their Anchor, and stood more neere to the place where the Fowle bred, they could not find it againe, nor no place like it: but were faine to turne to and fro in the mouth of the Streight, and to be in danger of Rockes, because they could not find ground to let fall an Anchor in, the water was so deepe.

Sauages.

The eight and twentieth day, the Boat went to *Digges* his Cape for Fowle, and made directly for the place where the Fowle bred, and being neere, they saw seuen Boates come about the Easterne point towards them. When the Sauages saw our Boate, they drew themselves together, and drew their lesser Boats into their bigger: and when they had done, they came rowing to our Boat, and made signes to the West, but they made readie for all assaies. The Sauages came to them, and by signes grew familiar one with another, so as our men tooke one of theirs into our Boate, and they tooke one of ours into their Boate. Then they carried our man to a Coue where their Tents stood toward the West of the place, where the Fowle bred: so they carried him into their Tents, where he remayned till our men returned with theirs. Our Boat went to the place where the Fowle bred, and were desirous to know how the Sauages killed their Fowle: he shewed them the manner how, which was thus, They take a long Pole with a snare at the end, which they put about the Fowles necke, and so plucke them downe. When our men knew that they had a better way of their owne, they shewed him the vse of our Peeeces, which at one shot would kill seuen or eight. To be short, our Boat returned to their Coue for our man, and to deliuer theirs. When they came they made great joy, with dancing and leaping, and stroking of their breasts: they offered diuers things to our men, but they only tooke some *Morfes* Teeth, which they gaue them for a Knife, and two glasse buttons: and so receiuing our man they came aboard, much rejoycing at this chance, as if they had met with the most simple and kind people of the World.

Sauages manner of fowling.

Greene's confidence.

And *Henry Greene* (more then the rest) was so confident, that (by no meanes) we should take care to stand vpon our Guard: God blinding him so, that where hee made reckoning to receiue great matters from these people, he receiued more then he looked for, and that suddenly by being made a good example for all men: that make no conscience of doing euill, and that we take heed of the Sauage people, how simple soeuer they seeme to be.

The next day, the nine and twentieth of Iuly, they made haste to be ashore, and because the ship rid too farre off, they weighed and stood as neere to the place where the Fowle bred, as they could: and because I was lame, I was to go in the Boat, to carrie such things, as I had in the Cabbin of euery thing somewhat: and so with more haste then good speed (and not without swearing) away we went, *Henry Greene*, *William Wilson*, *Iohn Thomas*, *Michael Perse*, *Andrew Mote*, and my selfe. When we came neere the shoare, the people were on the Hills, dancing and leaping: to the Coue we came, where they had drawne vp their Boates: wee brought our Boate to the East side of the Coue, close to the Rockes. Ashore they went, and made fast the Boat

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Boat to a great stone on the shoare, the people came, and euery one had somewhat in his hand to barter: but *Henry Greene* swore they should haue nothing, till he had Venison, for that they had so promised him by signes.

Now when we came, they made signes to their Dogges (whereof there were many like Mongrels, as bigge as Hounds) and pointed to their Mountaine, and to the Sunne, clapping their hands. Then *Henry Greene*, *John Thomas*, and *William Wilson*, stood hard by the Boate head, *Michael Perse*, and *Andrew Moter* were got vp vpon the Rocke, a gathering of Sorrell: not one of them had any weapon about him, not so much as a stick, saue *Henry Greene* only, who had a piece of a Pike in his hand: nor saw I any thing that they had wherewith to hurt vs.

Sauages dogges.

Sauages trecherie

10 *Greene* and *William Wilson* had Looking-glasses, and Iewes Trumps, and Bells, which they were shewing the people. The Sauages standing round about them, one of them came into the Boats head to me to shew me a Bottle: I made signes to him to get him ashoare, but he made as though he had not vnderstood me, whereupon I stood vp, and pointed him ashoare. In the meane-time, another stole behind me to the sterne of the Boat, and when I saw him ashoare, that was in the head of the Boat, I sate downe againe: but suddenly I saw the legge and foote of a man by mee. Wherefore I cast vp my head, and saw the Sauage with his Knife in his hand, who strooke at my brest ouer my head: I cast vp my right arme to saue my brest, he wounded my arme, and strooke 20 me into the bodie vnder my right Pappe. He strooke a second blow which I met with my left hand, and then he strooke me into the right thigh, and had like to haue cut off my little finger of the left hand. Now, I had got hold of the string of the Knife, and had woond it about my left hand, he struing with both his hands, to make an end of that he had begunne, I found him but weake in the gripe (God enabling me) and getting hold of the sleeue of his left arme, so bare him from me. His left side lay bare to me, which when I saw, I put his sleeue off his left arme into my left hand, holding the string of the Knife fast in the same hand: and hauing got my right hand at libertie, I sought for somewhat wherewith to strike him (not remembring my Dagger at my side) but looking downe I saw it, and therewith strooke him into the bodie, and the throate.

Whiles I was thus assaulted in the Boat, our men were set vpon on the shoare. *John Thomas* and *William Wilson* had their bowels cut, and *Michael Perse* and *Henry Greene* being mortally wounded, came tumbling into the Boat together. When *Andrew Moter* saw this medley, hee came running downe the Rockes, and leaped into the Sea, and so swamme to the Boat, hanging on the sterne thereof, till *Michael Perse* tooke him in, who manfully made good the head of the Boat against the Sauages, that pressed sore vpon vs. Now *Michael Perse* had got an Hatchet, wherewith I saw him strike one of them, that he lay sprawling in the Sea. *Henry Greene* crieth 30 *Coragio*, and layeth about him with his Truncheon: I cryed to them to cleere the Boat, and *Andrew Moter* cryed to bee taken in: the Sauages betooke them to their Bowes and Arrowes, which they sent amongst vs, wherewith *Henry Greene* was slaine out-right, and *Michael Perse* receiued may wounds, and so did the rest. *Michael Perse* cleereth the Boate, and puts it from the shoare, and helpeth *Andrew Moter* in: but in turning of the Boat, I receiued a cruell wound in 40 my backe with an Arrow. *Michael Perse* and *Andrew Moter* rowed the Boate away, which when the Sauages saw, they ranne to their Boats, and I feared they would haue launched them, to haue followed vs, but they did not, and our ship was in the middle of the channell, and could not see vs.

Trecherie iust to vniust Traytors.

Greene slaine.

Now, when they had rowed a good way from the sheare, *Michael Perse* fainted, and could row no more: then was *Andrew Moter* driuen to stand in the Boat head, and waft to the ship, which (at the first) saw vs not, and when they did, they could not tel what to make of vs, but in the end they stood for vs, and so tooke vs vp. *Henry Greene* was throwne out of the Boat into the Sea, and the rest were had aboard, the Sauage being yet aliue, yet without sense. But they died all there that day, *William Wilson* swearing and cursing in most fearefull manner: *Michael Perse* liued two dayes after, and then died. Thus you haue heard the Tragicall end of *Henry Greene* and his 50 Mates, whom they called Captaine, these foure being the only lustie men in all the ship.

Wicked and wretched end of wretched wicked men.

The poore number that was left, were to ply our ship to and fro, in the mouth of the streight, for there was no place to anchor in neere hand: besides, they were to goe in the Boate to kill Fowle, to bring vs home, which they did, although with danger to vs all. For if the wind blew, there was an high Sea, and the eddies of the Tydes would carrie the ship so neere the Rockes, as it feared our Master, for so I will now call him. After they had killed some two hundred Fowle, with great labour on the South Cape, wee stood to the East: but when wee were fixe or seuen leagues from the Capes, the wind came vp at East. Then wee stood backe to the Capes againe, and killed an hundred Fowle more. After this, the wind came to the West, so wee were driuen to goe away, and then our Master stood (for the most) along by the North shoare, till he fell in- 60 to broken ground about the *Queenes Pore-land*, and there anchored. From thence wee went to *Gods Mercies*, and from thence to those Ilands, which lye in the mouth of our Streight, not seeing the Land, till we were readie to runne our Bosprite against the Rockes in a fogge. But it cleered a little, and then we might see our selues inclosed with Rockie Ilands, and could find no ground

Miserie pursueth the rest.

ground to anchor in. There our Master lay atrie all night, and the next day the fogge continuing, they sought for ground to anchor in, and found some in an hundred and odde fathomes of water. The next day we weighed and stood to the East, but before wee came heere, we had put ourselues to hard allowance, as halfe a foule a day with the pottage: for yet we had some meale left, and nothing else. Then they beganne to make triall of all whatsoeuer: wee had slayed our Fowle, for they wil not pull: and *Robert Inet* was the first, that made vse of the skins by burning of the Feathers: so they became a great dish of meate, and as for the garbidge, it was not throwne away.

Poore Diet.

After we were cleere of these Ilands, which lie out with two points, one to the South-east, and the other to the North, making a Bay to the sight as if there were no way through, we continued our course East South-east, and South and by East, to raise the *Desolations*, from thence to shape our course for *Ireland*. Thus we continued diuers dayes: but the wind comming against vs, made vs to alter our course, and by the meanes of *Robert Inet* who perswaded the company, that they should find great reliefe in *Newfound Land*, if our Country-men were there, and if they were gone before we came, yet should we find great store of bread and fish left ashore by them: but how true, I giue God thanks, we did not trie. Yet we stood to the South-west, and to the West, almost to fiftie seuen degrees: when (by the will of God) the winde came vp at South-west. Then the Master asked me, if he should take the benefit of this wind, and shape his course for *Ireland*. I said it was best to goe, where we knew Corne grew, and not to seeke it, where it was cast away, and not to be found. Towards *Ireland* now wee stood, with prosperous winds for many dayes together: then was all our Meale spent, and our Fowle restie and dry: but (being no remedie) we were content with the Salt broth for Dinner, and the halfe Fowle for Supper. Now went our Candles to wracke, and *Bennet* our Cooke made a messe of meate of the bones of the Fowle, frying them with Candle-grease, till they were crispe, and with Vineger put to them, made a good dish of meate. Our Vineger was shared, and to euery man a pound of Candles deliuered for a weeke, as a great daintie. Now *Robert Inet* (by his reckoning) saith, wee were within sixtie or seuentie leagues of *Ireland*, when wee had two hundred thither. And sure our course was so much the longer, through our euill steeredge: for, our men became so weake, that they could not stand at the Helme, but were faine to sit.

Robert Inet's death.

Then *Robert Inet* dyed, for meere want, and all our men were in despaire, and said wee were past *Ireland*, and our last Fowle were in the steep-tub. So, our men cared not which end went forward, inso much as our Master was driuen to looke to their labour, as well as his owne: for some of them would sit and see the fore-sayle, or mayne-sayle flie vp to the tops, the sheetes being either flowne or broken, and would not helpe it themselves, nor call to others for helpe, which much grieved the Master. Now in this extremitie it pleased God to giue vs sight of Land, not farre from the place our Master said he would fall withal, which was the Bay of *Galloway*, and we fell to the West of the *Derfes*, and so stood along by the coast, to the South-west. In the end, there was a joyful cry, a sayle, a sayle, towards which they stood, then they saw more, but to the neereft we stood, and called to him: his Barke was of *Fowly*, and was at anchor a Fishing: he came to vs, and brought vs into *Bere Hauen*. Here we stayed a few dayes, and delt with the *Irish*, to supply our wants, but found no reliefe: for in this place there was neither Bread, Drinke, nor meny to be had amongst them. Wherefore they aduised vs to deale with our Country-men, who were there a fishing, which we did: but found them so cold in kindnesse, that they would doe nothing without present money, whereof we had none in the Ship. In the end, we procured one *John Waymouth*, Master of the Barke that brought vs into this Harbour, to furnish vs with money, which hee did, and receined our best Cable and Anchor in pawne for the same. With this money, our Master with the helpe of *John Waymouth*, bought Bread, Beere, and Beefe.

A sayle of *Fowly* Bere Hauen in *Ireland*.

Now, as wee were beholding to *Waymouth* for his money, so were wee to one Captaine *Taylor*, for making of our contracts with *Waymouth*, by whose meanes hee tooke a Bill for our Cable and Anchor, and for the mens Wages, who would not goe with vs, vnlesse *Waymouth* would passe his word for the same: for they made shew, that they were not willing to goe with vs for any wages. Whereupon Captaine *Taylor* swore hee would presse them, and then, if they would not goe, hee would hang them.

They arrive at *Plimouth*.

In conclusion, wee agreed for three pound ten shillings a man, to bring our Ship to *Plimouth*, or *Dartmouth*, and to giue the Pilot five pound: but if the winde did not serue, but that they were driuen to put into *Bristow*, they were to haue foure pound ten shillings a man, and the Pilot fixe pound. Omitting therefore further circumstances, from *Bere Hauen* wee came to *Plimouth*, and so to an anchor, before the Castle: and from *Plimouth*, with faire winde and weather without stop or stay, wee came to the *Downes*, from thence to *Gransend*, where most of our men went a shoare, and from thence came on this side *Erith*, and there stopped: where our Master *Robert Billet* came aboard, and so had mee vp to *London* with him, and so wee came to Sir *Thomas Smiths* together.

Forasmuch as this report of Prickett may happely bee suspected by some, as not so friendly to *Hudson*, who returned with that Companie which had so cruelly exposed *Hudson* and his, and therefore may seeme

to lay heavier imputation, and rip up occasions further then they will beleene; I haue also added the report of Thomas Widhoufe, one of the exposed Companie, who ascribeth those occasions of discord to Iuet. I take not on mee to sentence, no not to examine; I haue presented the Euidence iust as I had it: let the Bench censure, hearing with both eares, that which with both eyes they may see in those, and these notes; to which, I haue first prefixed his Letter to Master Samuel Macham.

M After Macham, I heartily commend mee vnto you, &c. I can write vnto you no newes, though I haue seene much, but such as euery English Fisherman haunting these Coasts can report better then my selfe.

Wee kept our Whitsunday in the North-east end of Island; and I thinke I neuer fared better in England then wee feasted there. They of the Countrey are very poore, and liue miserably: yet we found therein store of fresh Fish and daintie Fowle. I my selfe in an after-noon killed so much Fowle, as feasted all our Companie, being three and twentie persons at one time, onely with Partridges; besides Curlew, Plover, Mallard, Teale, and Goose. I haue seene two hot Bathes in Island, and haue bene in one of them. Wee are resolved to trie the uttermost, and ly onely expecting a faire winde, and to refresh our selues to aroyd the Ice, which now is come off the West Coasts, of which wee haue seene whole Islands, but God bee thanked, haue not bene in danger of any. Thus I desire all your prayers for vs. From Island this thirtieth of May, 1610.

Islanders
poore.

The cause of
their stay at
Island.

A note found in the Deske of Thomas Wydownse, Student in the Mathematickes, hee being one of them who was put into the Shallop.

T He tenth day of September, 1610. after dinner, our Master called all the Companie together, to heare and beare witnesse of the abuse of some of the Companie (it hauing bene the request of Robert Iuet) that the Master should redresse some abuses and slanders, as hee called them, against this Iuet: which thing after the Master had examined and heard with equitie what hee could say for himselfe, there were prooued so many and great abuses, and mutinous matters against the Master, and actions by Iuet, that there was danger to haue suffered them longer: and it was fit time to punish and cut off farther occasions of the like mutinies.

It was prooued to his face, first with Bennet Mathew our Trumpet vpon our first sight of Island, and hee confess, that hee supposed that in the action would be man-slaughter, and prone bloodie to some.

Secondly, at our comming from Island, in hearing of the companie, hee did threaten to turne the head of the Ship home from the action, which at that time was by our Master wisely pacified, hoping of amendment.

Thirdly, it was deposed by Philip Staffe our Carpenter, and Ladlie Arnold, to his face vpon the holy Bible, that hee perswaded them to keepe Muskets charged, and Swords readie in their Cabbins, for they should be charged with shot, ere the Voyage were ouer.

Fourthly, wee being pestered in the Ice, hee had used words tending to mutinie, discouragement, and slander of the action, which easily tooke effect in those that were timorous; and had not the Master in time preuented, it might easily haue ouertrowne the Voyage: and now lately being imbayed in a deepe Bay, which the Master had desire to see, for some reasons to himselfe knowne, his word tended altogether to put the Companie into a fray of extremitie, by wintering in cold: leaving at our Masters hope to see Bantam by Candlemasse.

For these and diuers other base slanders against the Master, hee was deposed; and Robert Bylot, who had shewed himselfe honestly respecting the good of the action, was placed in his stead the Masters Mate.

Also Francis Clement the Boatson, at this time was put from his Office, and William Wilton, a man thought more fit, preferred to his place. This man had basely carryed himselfe to our Master and to the action.

Also Adrian Mooter was appointed Boatsons mate: and a promise by the Master, that from this day Iuats wages should remaine to Bylot, and the Boatsons ouerplus of wages should be equally diuided betweene Wilton and one Iohn King, to the owners good liking, one of the Quarter Masters, who had very well carryed themselves to the furtherance of the businesse.

Also the Master promised, if the Offenders yet behaved themselves henceforth honestly, hee would be a meanes for their good; and that hee would forget iniuries, with other admonitions.

These things thus premised touching Hudsons exposing, and Gods iust iudgements on the Exposers, as Pricket hath related (whom they reserued as is thought, in hope by Sir Dudley Digges his Master to procure their pardon at their returne) I thought good to adde that which I haue further receiued from good Intelligence, that the Ship comming aground at Digges Island, in 62. degrees 44. minutes, a great flood came from the West and set them on floate: an argument of an open passage from the South Sea to that, and consequently to these Seas. The Weapons and

Arts

Arts which they saw, beyond those of other Sauages are arguments hereof. Hee which assauleth *Pricket* in the Boate, had a weapon broad and sharpe indented of bright Steele (such they vse in *lava*) riueted into a handle of Morfe tooth.

CHAP. XVIII.

The Discoveries of M. M. NICOLO, and ANTONIO ZENI, gathered out of their Letters, by FRANCISCO MARCOLINO: whereto is added QVIRINO his Ship-wracke.

They are related by Master Hakluyt, in his 3. vol pag. 121.

Frisland.



In the yeere 1380. Master Nicolo Zeno being wealthy, and of a haughtie spirit, desiring to see the fashions of the world, built and furnished a Ship at his owne charges, and passing the Straits of *Gibraltar*, held on his course Northwards, with intent to see *England* and *Flanders*. But a violent tempest assailing him at Sea, hee was carried hee knew not whither, till at last his Ship was carried away vpon the Ile of *Frisland*; where the men and most part of the goods were saued.

In vaine seemes that deliuerie, that deliuers vp presently to another Executioner. The Ilanders like *Neptunes*, hungry groomes, or his base and blacke Guard, set vpon the men whom the Seas had spared: but heere also they found a second escape, by meanes of a Prince named *Zichmui*, Prince of that and many Ilands thereabouts: who being neere hand with his Armie, came at the out-crie, and chasing away the people, tooke them into protection.

This *Zichmui* had the yeere before giuen the ouerthrow to the King of *Norway*, and was a great aduenturer in feates of Armes. He spake to them in *Latine*, and placed them in his Nauie, wherewith hee wonne diuers Ilands. *Nicolo* behaued himselfe so well, both in sauing the Fleet by his Sea-skill, and in conquest of the Ilands by his valour, that *Zichmui* made him Knight and Captaine of his Nauie.

Saint Thomas Monasterie in Groenland. Here Spring and the strange effects thereof.

After diuers notable exploits, *Nicolo* armed three Barks, with which hee arriued in *Engroenland*: where hee found a Monasterie of Friers of the *Preachers* Order, and a Church dedicated to *Saint Thomas*, hard by a Hill, that casteth out fire like *Vesunius* and *Aina*. There is a Fountaine of hot water, with which they heate the Church of the Monasterie, and the Friers chambers. It commeth also into the Kitchin so boyling hote, that they vse no other fire to dresse their meate; and putting their Bread into brasie Pots without any water, it doth bake as it were in an hot Oven. They haue also small Gardens, which are couered ouer in the Winter time, and being watered with this water, are defended from the violence of the Frost and cold, and bring forth Flowers in their due seasons. The common people astonished with these strange effects, conceiue highly of those Friers, and bring them presents of Flesh and other things. They with this Water, in the extremitie of the cold, heate their Chambers, which also (as the other buildings of the Monasterie) are framed of those burning stones, which the mouth of the Hill casts forth. They cast water on some of them, whereby they are dissolved, and become excellent white Lime, and so tough, that being contriued in building, it lasteth for euer. The rest, after the fire is out, serue in stead of stones to make walls and vaults, and will not dissolve or breake, except with some Iron tooles.

Their Winter lasteth nine moneths: and yet there is a faire Hauen, where this water falleth into the Sea, not frozen: by meanes whereof there is great resort of wild Fowle and Fish, which they take in infinite multitudes. The Fishers Boates are made like to a Weauers shuttle, of the skinnies of Fishes, fashioned with the bones of the same Fishes, and being sowed together with many doubles, they are so strong, that in foule weather they will shut themselues within the same, not fearing the force either of Sea or winde. Neither can the hard-hearted Rockes breake these yeelding Vessels. They haue also as it were a Sleeue in the bot tome thereof, by which with a subtill deuce, they conuey the water forth, that soaketh into them. The most of these Friers spake the *Latine* tongue.

Estotiland.

A little after this, *Nicolo* returned and dyed in *Frisland*, whither his brother *Antonio* had before resorted to him, and now succeeded both in his goods and honour; whom *Zichmui* employed in the Expedition of *Estotiland*: which happened vpon this occasion. Sixe and twentie yeeres before, foure Fisher-Boates were apprehended at Sea by a mightie and tedious storme; wherewith after many dayes, they were brought to *Estotiland*, about a thousand miles West from *Frisland*: vpon which, one of the Boates was cast away, and sixe men that were in it, were taken and brought to a populous Crie; where, one that spake *Latine*, and had been cast by chance vpon that Iland, in the name of the King asked them what Country-men they were; and vnderstanding their case, hee acquainted the King therewith. They dwelt there sixe yeeres, and found it to be an Iland very rich, being little lesse then *Iseland*, but farre more fruitfull. One of them said hee saw *Latine* bookes in the Kings Librarie, which they at this present doe not vnderstand.

stand. They haue a peculiar Language, and Letters or Characters to themselves. They haue mines of Gold and other Mettals, and haue Trade with *Engroneland*. They sow Corne, and make Beere and Ale. They build Barkes (but know not the vse of the Compasse) and haue many Cities and Castles. The King sent these Fisher-men with twelue Barkes Southwards, to a Countrey which they call *Drogio*: in which Voyage escaping dreadfull tempests at Sea, they encountered with *Canibals* at Land, which deuoured many of them. These Fishers shewing them the manner of taking Fish with Nets, escaped, and for the presents which they made of their Fish to the chiefe men of the Countrey, were beloued and honoured. One of these (more expert it seemeth then the rest) was holden in such account, that a great Lord made warre with their Lord to obtaine him: and so preuayled, that he and his companie were sent vnto him. And in this order was hee sent, to five and twentie Lords, which had warred one with another to get him, in thirteene yeeres space: whereby hee came to know almost all those parts, which, he said, was a great Countrey, and (as it were) a new World. The people are all rude, and voide of goodnesse: they goe naked, neither haue they wit to couer their bodies with the Beasts skinnes which they take in Hunting, from the vehement cold. They are fierce, and eate their enemies, hauing diuers Lawes and Gouvernours. Their liuing is by hunting.

Drogio.

Further to the South-west, they are more ciuill, and haue a more temperate ayre: They haue Cities and Temples dedicated to Idols, where they sacrifice Men, and after eate them; and haue also some vse of Gold and Siluer.

Hee fledde awry secretly, and conueying himselfe from one Lord to another, came at length to *Drogio*, where hee dwelt three yeeres. After this time finding there certaine Boates of *Estotiland*, hee went thither with them: and growing there very rich, furnished a Barke of his owne, and returned into *Friesland*: where hee made report vnto his Lord of that wealthy Countrey. *Zichmuis* prepared to send thither: but three dayes before they set forth, this Fisherman dyed. Yet taking some of the Marriners which came with him in his stead, they prosecuted the Voyage, and encountered after many dayes an Iland; where ten men of diuers Languages, were brought vnto them, of which they could vnderstand none, but one of *Iseland*. Hee told them, that the Iland was called *Icaria*, and the Knights thereof called *Icari*, descended of the ancient pedigree of *Dedalus*, King of *Scots*, who conquering that Iland, left his Sonne there for King, and left them those Lawes, which to that present they retayned. And, that they might keepe their Lawes inuiolate, they would receiue no Stranger. Onely they were contented to receiue one of our men, in regard of the Language, as they had done those ten Interpreters.

Zichmuis sayling hence, in foure dayes descried Land, where they found abundance of Fowle, and Birds egges, for their refreshing. The Hauen they called *Cap Trin*. There was a Hill, which burning, cast out smoake: where was a Spring, from which issued a certayne water like Pitch, which ranne into the Sea. The people of small stature, wilde, and fearefull, hid themselves in Caues. *Zichmuis* built there a Citie, and determining to inhabite, sent *Antonio* backe againe, with the most of his people to *Friesland*.

This Historie I haue thus inserted at large, which perhaps, not without cause in some things, may seeme fabulous; not in the *Zeni*, which thus writ, but in the relations which they receiued from others. Howsoeuer, the best Geographers are beholden to these Brethren, for that little knowledge they haue of these parts; of which none before had written: nor since haue there beene any great in-land Discoveries.

*Abrah. Ortel.
Chart. 6.
Hak. vol. 3.
Botero.
Maginus.
Hondius, &c.*

The Ship-wracke of Master PIERO QUIRINO, described by CHRISTOFORO FIORAVANTI, and NICOLO DI MICHEL, who were present there: heere contracted.*

IT semeth to bee a conuenient dutie to make a memoriall, and not suffer to bee buried in oblivion, that most lamentable, and cruell Voyage full of innumerable and extreame miseries, which befell a *Venetian* Ship, wherein wee carryed aboue seuen hundred Buttes of Wine, Spices, Cottons, and other Merchandises of great value, furnished in *Candia* with threescore and eight men, to goe towards the West. The Master whereof was Master *Piero Quirini*, a *Venetian* Gentleman, in the yeare 1431. Who after many troubles, misfortunes, and wants befallne him, after his departure from *Candia* towards the West, on the sixth of Nouember, in the foresaid yeere of the Lord, by chance came into the mouth of the Channels of *Flanders*, and went farre beyond them, by a storme from the South, towards the North-west, about one hundred and fortie miles, running still vpon the Iland of *Vssenti*, where, by agreement, wee *Christoforo Fioravanti*, and *Nicolo Michiel*, say, that at noone wee sounded the bottome of the ocean, and these parts the Ponent or West. * These are particularly related by *Quirino* the Patron or Owner. They lost their Rudder on a Rocke, not farre from *Cales* in *Spain*, and were faine to make thither to repaire it: and other diasters followed.

* There is also the relation hereof by *Quirino* himselfe, extant together with this in *Ramusio*, Typ. 2. Out of which I haue heere added diuers annotations. * The *Italians* call the sayling into the *Mediterranean*, the *Leuantor* East; and thence into the *Spanish* Ocean.

Sea

Sea with the Lead, and found our selues in five and fiftie fathome of water, and afterward toward the Evening wee sounded, and found our selues in ninetie fathomes and more, but the storme and furie of the windes was so great, that it brake five of the hinges off our rudder.

On the twelfth, in the morning, the storme not ceasing, but increasing every houre more and more, beat vpon our weake rudder with so great violence and furie, that it broke away all that held it, in such sort, that it hung on the one side, where, for the last remedie, wee fastened a great Cable vnto it, with the which, for three dayes wee drew it after vs, not being able to doe it otherwise, in which time in our iudgement, wee thought wee had runne two hundred miles and more, against our wills.

Afterward we tooke away the two Rudders, and with many pieces of Timber we made another, which might rather be called a shadow then a true Rudder, and wee put it in his place to guide and direct the ship. But it could not endure longer, then till the six and twentieth of November, when the violence of the Sea carried it all away: so that then wee remayned deprived of all hope of government and direction. On the fourth of December, the furie of the winde grew so outrageous againe, that it carried away all this third sayle, and so being spoyled and bereft of Sayle and Rudder, we went at aduenture vntill the eight day, alwayes wandering, not knowing by any meanes how to provide for our safetie. Afterward the winde alwayes increasing from the East, and with so great violence and furie, that the Sea beganne to swell so high, that the waues seemed Mountaynes, and farre greater then we had euer scene before, with the darknesse of the extreame long night, so that we seemed to goe in the bottomlesse depth of Hell: whereby you may imagine how great the anguish and trembling of our hearts was, because although we were living, yet at that instant wee seemed to bee dead, expecting death every houre, which we saw present: In this darknesse the Heauen was sometimes scene to open with the lightnings and sudden flashes of fire so bright, that they tooke away the sight of our eyes. And sometimes we seemed to touch the starres, the ship mounted so aloft, and then againe we saw our selues buried in Hell, inso much as being all astonished, we had lost our strength and force. And being in this miserable case we did nothing else, but with pittie behold one another, & running with so great violence for many houres, in the end a surge of the Sea came ouer the ship vnder the wind with such furie, that the water entred into it, filled it almost halfe full, whereby being now much weakened, it was readie to sinke, and turned vp the Keele. And surely that was the last houre, and our end, and truly we had bene swallowed vp of the Sea, if our Lord Iesus Christ had not bene, who forsaketh not them that religiously call vpon him, who put such power and strength into our afflicted minds, that seeing the ship in so dangerous a case, full of water, as it could not be cast out by any humane force, we determined to cut downe the mayne Mast, and cast it together with the mayne Yard and Tackling into the Sea, and so wee did, whereby the ship being disburdened, paused awhile, and we then taking courage, beganne to cast out the water, which with our great trouble and labour we ouercame in the end. In this manner wee went scouring away all that long night. Now when the day was almost come, they agreed to make readie the Boat and the Schiffe, with that little prouision of victuall which was remayning, equally parted. And the Patron said, With your consent I command you *Nicolo di Michiel* the Notary, that you set downe in a note the names of those that are willing to enter into the Schiffe and Boat: so presently he gaue him fortie five persons in a note, who were willing to enter into the Schiffe, which was capeable but of one and twentie men only, and therefore it was necessary to cast Lots who should goe therein: and so it was done, and they prepared it, and set it in order, and did the like to the Boate, into the which the Master with fortie seuen men entred. The one and twentie persons to whom the lot fell, entred the Schiffe, and a rate was giuen them according to the proportion of the victuall which was remayning of Bisket, and also of *Frisoppi*, three hundred pound weight, of Cheefe of *Candia* eightie pounds, of dried Bacon eight pounds, of Tallow to trim their Schiffe fortie pounds, of Oyle about two pound waight and no more: but besides wee bestowed there seuen *Carrattells* of *Tyrian* Wine, which is a kind of *Malua*, for the Pinnasse or Schiffe would hold no more. In like manner fortie seuen men, reckoning the Master, entred into the Boate or Pinnasse, vnto whom rateably fell their proportion of victualls, adding thereto a little Greene Ginger in Sirrope, and Sirrope of Limons, with some small quantitie of Spices, which wee had taken. We were (in our iudgement) distant from the neereist Iland or Land about five hundred miles or more, from the point of Land to Lee-ward of the North part, and we sayled with these Conserues in a quiet and calme Sea, that little time of the day together with our one and twentie companions, comforting our selues in that which we had scene the beginning of so faire a fortune. But when the night came, a darke mist rose, which was a token of the euill successe and end, which our companions of the Schiffe were to haue, of whom we had now lost the sight, so that we neuer saw them any more.

The nineteenth day, the morning appearing, and not seeing any token of the Schiffe, it made vs suspitious of their death, whereupon our mindes were much troubled, doubting what might befall them, because the windes raged in such manner, that a waue of the Sea mounted with so great

They leaue the ship.

The Schiffe lost.

great violence into the Pinnasse, behinde the Poop, where wee *Christopher* and *Nicholas* were set downe, that through the force of the furie thereof, two staves were battered and bent, which left a token of vnsupportable trouble and grieve, by meanes that the Pinnasse was more charged with the weight of the water, then with her owne burthen. Wherefore to remedie it, wee ranne all to lade it out with our hands, and being constrained through feare and necessitie, for the freeing of her, wee were faine to cast out all that, whether with water or without, which came most fit and ready to our hands. The Pinnasse becomming drie againe, presently in this storme, wee agreed to cast over-boord the greatest part of the Wine, and wee found our selues in so great extremitie, that if wee would taste thereof to comfort our troubled senses, no more then one gob-
10 let of Wine apeece fell to euery mans share for the whole day, and who so would drinke more, was constrained to take the Sea-water: and this measure and quantitie of Wine held out eight dayes, and no more.

And afterward being driuen to greater necessitie, wee brought our selues to a greater extremitie, by restrayning our proportion to halfe a goblet a day, and none of vs could securely sleepe, for the diuers doubts and dangers, wherein wee alwayes presently stood. Wee continued euery day and night, foure or sixe of vs at the Helme, and those that were at the Pumpe, stood alwayes firme and vpright changing their courses, where wee endured cold beyond comparifon farre
20 greater then that, which not many yeeres since was in *Venice*, when all the Channels were frozen, so that from *Margara* to *Venice*, not onely Men and Women, but Oxen, Horses, Carts, and Waggon, went ouer vpon the Ice in great multitudes, to the admiration of all the people, because that Region is (without comparifon) much colder then the Countrey of *Italy*. Now consider what our case was, being without Clothes to couer vs, and not hauing any thing to eate, or drinke, or other necessary thing for the maintenance of mans life, except a few *Frisoppi* which were left, and the nights one and twentie houres long, and also darke. Through the which cold,
30 wee began to lose the feeling of our feete, and by little and little, the cold becomming more vehement, possessed the whole body, procuring a dogged and raging appetite and hunger, so that euery one sought to deuoure that which was hid in a corner, and whatsoeuer hee had next at hand, wherefoeuer hee could finde it, as well as hee might, with that weake and litle strength which hee had remayning. Afterward, death seasing vpon them, you might see them shake the
35 head, and fall downe presently dead.

In the which Diseases, of seuen and fortie men (which wee found in that case) sixe and twentie yeelded vp the ghost, and it was not any wonder, considering wee could not haue any succour, nay, it is a diuine miracle that any one remayned alieue. And those few of vs that are remayning, liue onely to commend to memorie, and highly to exalt the great power of God. Those
fixe and twentie dyed, from the three and twentieth of December vntill the fifth of Ianuary, now one, now two, and sometimes more, in one day, whom we buried in the Sea.

The one and thirtieth of December, our Wine being wholly spent, and hauing seene the cruell and lamentable experience of our fixe and twentie Companions, who dyed with drinking of the Sea-water, necessities gaue vs a good stomacke, that is to say, to take our owne water to
40 quench our thirst. Now, there were some of the companie exceedingly troubled with giddinesse: for, wanting the abundant plentie of Wine, they were not able to indure thirst, nor to expell it, but they accounted it a great fauour to bee able to obtayne of their companions, whereof there were some who denyed it to their dearest friend, to keepe it for themselues. It is true, that some of vs warily mortified it, by mingling a litle sitrop of greene Ginger, or Limons therewith, which by chance we had remayning. During this time, vntill the fifth of Ianuary, we were
euery houre more accustomed to greater extremities.

The third of Ianuary, 1431. wee had sight of the first Land, which gaue vs great hope, although it so fell out, that it was very farre distant, where wee saw certayne Rockes to weatherward couered to the top with infinite heapes of Snow, to the which, the windes being con-
50 trary, wee were not able to approach with the sayles, and much lesse with Oares, because our armes were exceedingly weakened: wherefore wee stroue to come neere them with the winde, but passing beyond them through the current of the water, wee lost sight of them altogether.

And after difficult escape from the Rockes, sayling forward towards a very high Rocke, wee had sight of a Valley scituated betweene the two next Mountaynes, into the which desiring to enter about the fourth houre of the night, the cruell and outrageous windes would not suffer vs. Notwithstanding, inflamed through an exceeding great desire to goe on Land, wee tooke courage and strength, and (through force of the Oares, and the helpe of God) entred into the sayd Valley, at a point of Land in the least doubtfull and dangerous place, as it were at the very be-
60 ginning and entrie thereof, in the which, as soone as they perceiued the Pinnasse to touch vpon the sand, fise of our companie being more desirous of drinke, then of any other refreshing and recreation, leaped into the water without any regard, although it were very deepe, and went their way toward the Snow, and so glutted themselues therewith, that it was an incredible
G g g thing

Hard dyet.

Great Frost as Venice.

Extrem cold

The death of fixe and twentie.

Great thirst.

Sight of Land.

Hot strong stomackes to cold small drinke.

thing. And afterward, they brought a great quantitie thereof vnto vs, who remayned in the Pinnasse, to defend it from the beating of the Sea, of the which wee also with great greedinesse, receiued without measure.

And running according to our iudgement, as wee had runne in this Pinnasse for eightene dayes, from the day that wee departed from the ship, vntill this sixth of Ianuarie, sayling alwayes betweene the North-east and the East, and not with lesse winde then after sixe miles an houre, wee had runne about two thousand five hundred miles and more, without euer seeing any Land.

They goe on Land.

Iland of Saints or Santi, bearing off the coast of Norway. See Ortelius his Map of Scandia: hee placeth Santi and Rustene in 74. degrees, but too Northerly then they are from the North Cape, from which this Rocke (saith Quirino) bare Westward 70. miles other Rockes: not farre distant, some inhabited some not. This is off Rustene three miles in compass, and called in their Language for the extreame remotenesse, *The arse of the World.* Foure dye and others after.

Great weaknesse.

Miserable cold

Abundance of Lice.

They finde a Fish.

On the sixth of Ianuary, at the time of the solemne day of the *Epiphanie*, nineteene of vs went on land in this desolate and drie place, called the *Iland of the Saints*, in the Coast of *Norway*, 10 subiect to the Crowne of *Denmarke*, leauing two other to looke to the weake Pinnasse, that it might not bee broken with the beating of the Sea. And being landed there by meanes of an Oare, we endeauoured to kindle fire, and with a tynder boxe and Steele to strike fire, wee retired our selues into the closest place from the winde, and at the sight of the fire, nature thereby receiued a little strength.

Finding this Iland not inhabited, and seeking to goe in the Pinnasse to another Iland five miles off, shee so leaked, that part of vs landing, as it were all in the water, and some of vs vp to the middle in shallower water, wee stroue to draw her on land, and despairing to bee euer able to goe in her againe, wee determined to fit her in such sort, that shee might serue our turne to couer vs, after the best manner that wee could. Wee broake her into two parts: and of the greater 20 wee made a shelter, or Cottage for thirteene of vs, and of the lesser a shedde, capable of five men, vnder the which wee entred couering them with part of our sayles, and with the rest, and the cordage of the sayd Pinnasse, wee made continuall fire to preferue our liues.

Now being vterly destitute of all sustenance of meate and drinke, wee went wandring vpon the Sea shoare, where Nature gaue vs food to maintayne life, with certtine Perewinkles, or Shel-fish and Barnacles. And of these, not as many nor when wee would, but in very small quantitie. And remouing the Snow in some places, wee found a certayne Herbe, which together with the Snow wee cast into the Caldron, and when wee thought it was boyled, wee ate it. Nor could wee satisfie our selues therewith, and thus wee liued for thirteene dayes together, with small charitie amongst vs, by reason of the great scarcitie of all things and extreame 30 famine, leading rather a brutish life, then the life of men.

Continuing in this rude and homely kinde of life, it happened, that through the intollerable wants foure of our companions of the greater retiring place, failed euen where the afflicted Master was, with those remedies and slender comforts for their soules and bodies: so that you may thinke their bodies remayning nere vnto vs, who being very weake had lost all our strength, wee were not able to remooue them two yardes out of sight: and yet I will say more, that wee had no sooner taken the frozen or warme water in our mouthes, but presently Nature of it selfe cast it vp againe, wee not being able to abstaine from it, nor almost to stand on our feete.

The cold season of the yeere had brought vs to such necessitie, that (to warme vs) wee stood close thronged, in such sort, that wee seemed (as it were) to bee sewed together. Wherefore I entred vnder the sayles, which couered both our Cottages round about downe to the ground, the smoake not being able to issue forth, which proceeded (as I thinke) from the Pitch which was within certaine peeces of the Pinnasse, which we burned, so that our eyes were swolne that wee could not see: neuerthelesse wee indured all, that wee might bee warme. And our garments which wee neuer put off, were full of vermine, and the Lice swarmed in such number, that taking them from our backs, wee cast them by whole handfuls into the fire, and they had entred into the flesh in such manner through the skinn, euen to the bones, that finally they brought a young man of our company (that was a Notarie) euen vnto death, so that hee was neuer able to defend himselfe from so loathsome a litle vermine. A thing of most manifest example, to abase and abate our pride, and haughtinesse of minde.

Now concord sayling among vs, every one vsed his owne proper aduise, whereupon part of our companie wandring through the Sauage and vn-inhabited place, came to the knowledge of a solitarie and ancient retiring place made by the Shepherds heretofore, for the time of their abode, and it was seated on the highest part of the Coast of the sayd Iland towards the West, distant from ours about a mile and a halfe. Vnto the which, sixe of the companie of the number of those eight, which were found in that first and greater retiring place, determined to remooue themselves to that new-found solitarie habitation, for their lesse inconuenience leauing the other two, their other companions alone, in an abandoned and forsaken place, as well because they were not able to trauell, as also for that wee were altogether vnable to conduct them.

It came to passe, that those sixe through the gracious goodnesse and gift of God, found an exceeding great Fish, to the which I know not what name to give, whether Whale, or Por 30 pisse

pisse of the Sea, which wee are to thinke was sent from the Diuine and excellent bountie to feed vs. And considering that wee saw it cast vp by the Sea vpon the shoare, dead, fresh, good and great, and at the time of our so great necessitie, wee rendred thanks vnto our most gracious Lord God, who at that time would sustayne our so weake and diseased bodies, with that foode, appeased peraduenture through the prayers of some vigilant and deuout soule.

With this Fish, wee fedde our selues for nine dayes sufficiently. And as it happened, those very nine dayes were so tempestuous with windes, rayne and snow, that by no meanes the cruell storme would haue suffered vs to goe one pace out of our Cottage.

10 The miraculous Fish being spent, the furious tempest was somewhat asswaged, wherefore not hauing wherewith to maintayne life, like Wolues that oppressed with famine, goe to seeke out other places of abode, wee arose out of the Cottage, and went wandring through the desert Rockes to finde any succour to sustayne our life with Perewinckles of the Sea and Barnacles; with the which wee were of necessitie to bee contented, although they were very little thinges, and so wee maintayned our selues vntill the last of Ianuary, 1431. and therefore wee were leane, pale, afflicted, and but halfe aliue. In which time finding certayne dung of Oxen scorched and dried with the cold and winde, (whereof wee gathered euery day to make a fire) wee certainly knew that place to bee frequented by Oxen: which thing gaue vs assured hope of some good end, and through this perswasion wee indured part of our grievous cares and sorrowes.

1431 in Fo.
raine account,

20 In the end the houre came, wherein our benigne Creator and most gracious Lord, purposed to conduct his little flocke so much afflicted, into the Hauen of their safetie: and it was in this manner. Two young Heifers of a Fisher-man neere vnto this Iland within fve miles, beeing strayed the former yeere from the place where hee vsed to dwell, and neuer vnderstanding any newes of them within the yeere, nor hauing any hope to finde them againe, on the very first day of February, 1431. at night, one of the Sonnes of the said Fisher-man of *Rustene* (for so the said Iland was called) being of the age of sixteene yeeres, dreamed that certainly the two Heifers were escaped, and gone vp to the Iland of *Saints* distant from them, where wee were lodged, at the point of the West part, vpon the which no man durst euer goe at the low water. Whereupon the Sonne who had such a vision or dreame, prayed the Father, and an elder Brother of his, that they would accompany him to goe to seeke them.

Ile of *Rustene*.

30 And so, all three in a Fisher-boate tooke their way towards the sayd Iland, and came to the point where wee were, and the sayd young men landing there, left their Father to looke to the Boate, and hauing ascended a little vpon the Cliffe, they saw a smoake arise in the ayre, from their retiring place which they had formerly vsed. Whereupon through feare and astonishment they maruelled, and that not a little, how, whence, and by what meanes it might come to passe. Wherefore, they stood a long time much amazed. And desiring to know the cause, they began to talke one with another. And although wee perceiued the noyse, and heard the voyce; yet wee could not conceiue whence it should bee, but rather iudged it to bee the crying of Crowes, then the voyce of men. And wee were the rather induced thereunto, because some few dayes before, wee had seene (vpon the miserable Carkasses of our eight companions cast to the winde) multitudes of Crowes, that rent the ayre with their croking, feeding themselves vpon them: whereupon wee thought it could bee no other.

40 But continuing from good to better, the voyces of the children of God sent to saue vs, wee cleerely perceiued that they were the voyces of Men, and not the crying of Fowles. And at that instant *Christophoro Fiorauanti* arose out of the Cottage, and seeing the two young striplings, crying with a loude voyce came towards vs, saying, Reioyce, behold two come to seeke vs. Whereupon, inflamed with an earnest desire, wee raysed our selues on our feete, going rather with the heart then with the feete, and drawing neere vnto them, wee perceiued that through the sudden and extreame strangenesse of the matter, they were afraid, and their countenances began to waxe pale. But contrarily wee cheered our selues, and being comforted with an assured hope, shewed with actions and gestures of humilitie, that wee came not to offend them in any wise. Diuers thoughts came in our mindes, whether wee should detaine one of them or both, or whether one or two of vs should goe with them. The first determination was against vs, because wee knew not with whom, nor with how many wee had to doe, for that wee vnderstood not them, nor they vs.

50 But being aduised by the holy Ghost, wee went downe to their Boate, in the best and most amiable manner that wee could, where the Father was, who expected them: and when he saw vs, hee also remayned astonished and amazed. In this meane space, wee looked whether there were any thing in their Boate to succour our necessities, to maintayne life: but wee found nothing there. So, they moued through pitie, seeing vs affamished, by signes and actions which wee made vnto them, were contented to carrie with them *Ghirardo da Lione*, a Sewer, and *Cola di Otranto*, a Marriner, who had some knowledge, and were able to speake the *French* and the high *Dutch*, leauing vs in great hope of present safetie and helpe.

A Germaine
Priest.

Their Boate comming to *Rustene* with our two companions, all the people flocked together, and seeing the countenance and habite of our companions, astonished at so great and strange a matter, they demanded among themselves, whence, & how such like fellowes as these appeared, or from what place they landed: and that they might be the better aduertised, they attempted to speake vnto them in diuers Languages, but in the end an *Almaine* Priest of the Order of the Preachers, spake with one of the said companions in the high *Dutch*, and by that meanes, they were certified what wee were, from whence, and how wee had arriued there. The which matter the morning following, which was the second day of Februarie dedicated to the glorious Mother of Christ, the said Priest published to all the people of *Rustene*, exhorting them, that through our misfortune, they would bee moued to pitie and to helpe vs, according to their abilitie.

In this meane space, through the Catholike remembrance of the *Almaine* Priest, on the third day of Februarie, 1431. at the very instant of the day of Saint *Biagio*, the courteous and pittifull Inhabitants of *Rustene* came vnto vs with great plentie of all sustenance, which they vse for their provision, to feed vs and preserue vs, being desirous to conduct vs to their kinde habitations, to refresh our weake bodies. And so wee were guided and receiued into *Rustene* vpon the sayd day, where wee had great restoratiues, which were rather hurtfull for vs, through the exceeding abundance thereof, because wee could neuer satisfie our selues with eating, and our weake stomackes not being able to indure it, it made our hearts to grieve, so that wee thought wee should haue dyed.

There were remayning in the first and greater of our two retiring places, two of the companie which were impotent and weake, who knew nothing of this our so miraculous succour. Wherefore giuing these Catholike Countrey people notice of them, and likewise of the other eight that were dead and vnburi'd, assembling themselves together, they went with the Priest singing Psalmes and Hymnes, as well to burie those eight that were dead, as to conduct to the Haue of safetie the two that were remayning behinde, and arriuing at the Island of *Saints*, they performed a worke of mercy to the eight that were dead, to the which number, one of the two remayning was added, whom they found dead. Now imagine, how the other could continue being depriued of companie and all humane sustenance, and yet hee was brought to *Rustene* with some little shew of life, where, at the end of two dayes hee departed this transitorie life.

Eleuen of vs being come to *Rustene*, wee landed and went into the house of our Guide, Host, and Lord, as hee and the rest desired, whereinto our most prudent Master, Master *Piero Quirini* entring, vsing his wisdom and discretion, performed an action of exceeding great humilitie, as soone as hee saw the companion of our Conductor and Sergeant Maior, declaring by semblance that hee would acknowledge her to bee the Mistresse of the house, hee cast himselfe downe at her feet: but shee refused and lifted him vp from the ground, embracing him and bringing him to the fire, and with her owne hand gaue him somewhat to eate.

Rustene described.

Stock-fish in
stead of money.

Their drinke
and bread.

Halibuts very
great.

Sinceritie.

In this Island there are twelue little Houses, with about one hundred and twentie persons, for the most part Fishermen, and they are by nature indued with vnderstanding to know how to make Boates, Buckets, Tunnes, Baskets, Nets of all sorts, and euery other thing necessarie for their vse and trade. And they are very courteous one toward another and seruiceable, desirous to please rather for loue, then for hope of any gift or good turne to bee done them againe. Fishes called Stock-fish, in all their payments and bartering, are vsed in stead of coyned money, and they are all as it were of one bignesse and measure, of the which euery yeere they drie an infinite number in the winde: and in the time of May freight themselves with them, carrying them through the Realmes of *Denmarke*, that is to say, *Sweden*, *Denmarke*, and *Norway*, being all Subject to the King of *Dacia*: where they barter and exchange the said Fish, for Leather, Cloathes, Iron, Pulse and other things, whereof they haue scarcitie.

Few other things for maintenance of life are found there, except Fish, yet at certaine times, they haue some small quantitie of Beefe, and Milke of Kine, of the which, with Rice, and I know not what other mixture, they make Bread of a naughtie taste. Their Drinke is sowre Milke, displeasing vnto them, who haue not beene accustomed thereunto. They vse also Ale, that is to say, Wine drawne out of Rie. Wee eate of the Plaice or Halibut fish, which are exceeding great, so that you would not beleue it. Wee saw some of them somewhat longer then sixe feete of the common *Venetian* measure, aboue two foote broad vpon the Chine, and more then three quarters of a foote in thicknesse: a wonderfull thing to bee spoken. They cloath the men with redde Hides, and likewise blacke, able to defend them from the water, and they vse cloathes very course, of azure, redde, and ash-colour, brought from *Denmarke*, of small price and estimation.

These Countrey people vse much to frequent the Church, because they are very deuout, and yeeld great reuerence to the worship and seruice of God. Auarice, is as it were altogether extinguished, for, they vnderstand not in any sort, nor know not what thing of anothers may become theirs, but by barter: and therefore they vse not to locke Doore, House, nor Windows,

dowes, nor any Chest for feare to bee robbed, but onely by reason of the wilde Beasts.

The Inhabitants of this place both young and old, are of so great simplicitie of heart, and obedient to the Commandement of God, that they neither vnderstand, know, nor imagine in any wife, what Fornication, or Adulterie may bee: but vse Marriage according to Gods Commandement. And to giue you a true prooffe hereof I *Christophoro* say, that we were in the house of our foresaid Host, and slept in one and the same Cottage, where hee also and his Wife slept, and successiue in one Bed neere adjoyning, were their Daughters and Sonnes of ripe age together, neere to the which Beds we also slept, almost close adjoyning to them: so that when they went to sleepe, or when they arose, or when they stripped themselves naked, and wee in like manner, we indifferently saw one another, and yet with that puritie, as if wee had bene little children. But I will tell you more, that for two dayes together, our said Host, with his elder Sonnes arose to goe a fishing, euen at the time of the most delightfull houre of sleepe, leaving his Wife and Daughters in the Bed, with that securitie and puritie, as if he had properly left them in the armes and embracements of the Mother, not returning to his home in lesse time then the space of eight houres.

The Inhabitants of this Iland, especially the elder sort, are found so vnited in their wils to the will of God, that in euery casualtie of naturall death, which befalleth Father, Mother, Husband, Wife, Children, or whatsoever other Kinsman, or Friend, when the houre of their passage vnto another life appeareth, presently without any griefe of heart and complaining, they assemble themselves together vnto the Cathedrall Church, to thanke and prayse the Heauenly Creator, who hath permitted such an one to liue so many yeeres, and at that present, as his creature vouchsafed to call him, or her into his gracious fauour, and neere vnto him: and at the appointed houre they cause them to be washed cleane, to haue them pure and neate, as they were borne. Whereupon rejoycing and contenting themselves with his infallible will and pleasure, they giue him prayse and glorie, not shewing any passion either in words or gestures, as if properly they had but slept. Surely we may say, that from the third of February 1431. vntill the fourteenth of May 1432. which amounteth to an hundred dayes and one, we were within the circuit of Paradise, to the reproch and shame of the Countreies of *Italie*.

There at the beginning of May we saw great varietie and alteration. First, their women vse to goe vnto the Bathes, which are very neere and commodious, as well for puritie, as for the custome they obserue, which they hold agreeable vnto Nature: they vse to come forth of their houses starke naked, as they came out of their Mothers wombe, going without any regard to their way, carrying only in their right hand an heape of grasse, in manner of a broome, as they say, to rub the sweat from their backe, and the left hand they hold vpon their hip, spreading it as it were for a shadow to couer their hinder parts, that they should not much appeare: where hauing twice seene them, we passed away by them, as easily as their owne people, the Countrey was so cold, and the continuall seeing of them, that it caused vs to make no account thereof. On the contrary part, these very women were seene on the Sunday to enter into the Church in long and comely Garments. And that they might not by any meanes be seene in the face, they wear on their head a thing like a compleat Morion with a Gorger, which hath an hole to see through at the end, like the hole of a Pipe, through the which they behold within that, no further off from their eyes then the hole is long, so that they seeme to haue it in their mouthes to pipe: and worse then that, they can neither see nor speake, vlesse they turne themselves a yard or more, from the hearer. I thought good to note these two extreame varieties, as worthy to bee vnderstood.

From the twentieth of Nouember, vntill the twentieth of February, the night continueth and lasteth there about one and twentie houres or more, the Moon neuer wholly hiding her bodie or her rayes at least. And from the twentieth of May vntill the twentieth of August, either the whole Sunne is alwayes seene, or elsie his beames neuer faile.

In this Countrey there is infinite plentie of white Birds, in their Language called *Muxi*, but we called them Cockes of the Sea, which by nature conuerse, and willingly abide where men inhabit, whether they find them in Barks or on the Land. And they are so domesticall and tame, as House-dowes are with vs.

In this Iland, and in the Countreies of *Suecia*, we saw very white skins of Beares as white as Armelins, much longer then twelue *Venetian* feete. Wee abode in *Rustene* three moneths and eleuen dayes, expecting a fit time to passe with our Host into *Sueden*, with his vsuall freight of Stock-fish, which is in the time of May, when these Countrey people depart, carrying with them infinite plentie thereof through the Realmes of the foresaid King of *Dacia*.

On the fourteenth day of May 1432. came the houre so much desired, to turne our faces towards our amiable and beloued Countrey, as our minde and desire alwayes was, and leaue the charitable place of *Rustene*, which was the last succour and refreshing to our miseries. So wee tooke our leaue of our Domesticall friends of the House; and of our Mistresse and Hostesse, to whom in token of our loue we left, not that whereunto we were in dutie bound, but what wee had remayning: and that was certayne small trifling things of little value in our opinion, as

Simplicitie. Thus the *Indians* thought in regard of their differing ielousie, which scarcely permits the growne Sonne or Brother to sleepe vnder the same roose with the Mother or Sister. *Quirino* saith in the same Chamber, their houses being built of timber in round forme, with one light in the top, which in winter by reason of the vsupportable cold is covered with skinned great fishes, which cast a great lustre. Their children after foure daies old are set vnder the same for the snow to fall on them, that they may bee hardened for the cold. From the first of Febr. to the 14. of May, it almost alway snows. Their garments are of coarse cloth of *London*, &c. more then of Lether. Funerall. Bathing. Long nights. *Quirino* saith, that it is three moneths night with continual light of the Moone: and three others day with continual light or light at least of the Sunne. Birds, *Muxi*. They remaine.

Goblets, Girdles, and small Rings. And likewise wee tooke leaue of the Neighbours, and the Priest, and generally of all, shewing them by signes and words, as the Interpreter might vnderstand then, that we acknowledged our selues bound vnto them all. And hauing performed due salutations, we entred into a Barke of the burthen of twentie tunnes, or thereabouts, laden with the said fish, guided by our Patrone and Host, with three of his Sonnes, and certayne of their Kindred. And we departed on the said day bending our course towards *Bergie*, which is the first conuenient and fit Hauen for the dispatch and riddance of such fish, which place is distant from *Rustene*, about some thousand miles. So we conducted the said Barke through certaine direct and safe channels, rowing most commodiously and at ease.

Bergie.

Tokens of the Skiffe drowned.

But after we were about two hundred miles off from *Rustene*, wee found certaine Relikes of the planks and ribs of our Skiffe, whereby we plainly knew, that our companions which were in it, were perished and drowned, the first night that they departed from vs.

Trondon.

The nine and twentieth of May 1432. we arrived with the said Barke at *Trondon*, vpon the Coast of *Norway*, the Princely Seate of the King of *Denmarke*, where the Honourable bodie of our Voyage: but not finding it, because we would lose no more time, wee tooke leaue of our beloued Host, his Sonnes and the rest, to proceed on our journey by Land.

Saint Olaus.

Vastena.

The ninth of Iune we departed from *Trondon*, traouelling on foot, going towards *Vastena*, a place subject to the King of *Denmarke*, within the Prouince of *Sweden*, where the cheek-bone and part of the bone of the head of *Saint Bridget* remayneth. Being there, wee vnderstood by the *Venetians*, that the Inhabitants for the reuerence of their glorious King *Saint Olaus*, vnto whom (as they well knew) our Signorie of *Venice* did great fauour in his going and returning from his Voyage to *Hierusalem*, were disposed with deeds to prouide for vs by their counsell, helpe and money. And first, they aduised vs not to goe the direct way into *Dacia*, by reason of the dangers of wilde beafts, which might befall vs, but to adresse our selues to goe directly to *Stichimborgi*, to find out a valiant *Venetian* Knight called *M. Gionan Francho*, from whom wee should receiue fauour and helpe in plentifull manner, for loue of our Countrey, although the way were thirtie dayes iourney, quite contrary to our direct way. On the eighteenth day we came to the Court of the said *Cavallier M. Gionan Francho*, an Honourable Baron, and highly esteemed of the Crowne of *Dacia*, where (with great joy) we found our two straggling companions.

Venetian Knight.

The valorous Knight being now informed of our comming, with a cheereful countenance declared well vnto vs how great the loue of his Countrey was, and especially knowing the calamitie and penurie of vs his Countrey-men, and being easily able to releue it. And therefore he could not sufficiently satisfie himselfe in honouring, clothing and feeding vs, but gaue vs money for our necessities, and furnishing vs afterward with good Horses, in his owne proper person, together with his only Sonne *M. Mapheo*, with an hundred and twentie Horses of his owne Seruants he accompanied vs many dayes journeyes through his Territories, traouelling alwayes at his owne charge. Afterward, vpon his limits and bounds wee tooke our leaue to depart, thanking him with the most reuerent and kind speeches that possibly we could. Whereupon he being departed, left vs for our Guide, his said sonne *M. Mapheo* with twentie seruants on Horse-backe, who kept vs company vnto *Vastena*, the place from whence about fortie dayes before we had departed, vnto the which place, for the auoyding of two monethes trauell, wee were faine to returne: so that on the thirtieth day of Iuly wee entred into *Vastena*, where wee abode vntill the second of August, being alwayes accompanied, and our charges borne by the said *M. Mapheo*.

Lodese.

* *Quirino* saith when he set foot on *England*, hee seemed to bee come out of Hell and returned. Hee came to *Combridge*, an Vniuersitie where a *Benedictine* gaue him sixteene Crownes, thence to *London*, where he stayed two moneths, &c.

On the second of August, we tooke our leaue of the foresaid *M. Mapheo*, yeelding him such thanks as we could. And being departed from him wee went to *Lodese*, where wee arrived the eleuenth of the said moneth: in which place we found two passages, the one for *England*, and the other for the *Low Countries*: and there we voluntarily diuided our selues into two parts.

The two and twentieth of August 1432. we *Christophoro Fiorauante*, one of the Councill of the vnfortunate ship, together with *Girardo da Lione*, the Sewer, and *Nicolo di Michiel* of *Venice* the Notarie, now Writer of this present Discourse, departed from the other eight of our companions, they going towards *London* and we to *Venice*, by the way of *Rostoch*, pretending to goe to *Rome* for a Pardon: and after many troubles and molestations, passing ouer Mountaynes, Valleys, Riueres, sometimes on foot, and sometimes on Horse-backe, through the helpe of the Omnipotent God, we came vnto our so much desired Countrey of *Venice*, on the twelfth of October, 1432. safe and sound, leauing the said *Girardo da Lion* at *Vasenech*, who from thence went vnto his Countrey: and those that went into *England* were these, Master *Francesco Quirini*, Sonne of Master *Iacomo a Venetian* Gentleman, being Merchant of the vnhappy ship. Master *Piero Gradenico*, Sonne of Master *Andrea*, of the age of eightene yeeres, a young Merchant, *Bernardo da Caghire*, Pilot of the ship, whose Wife being young, aswell through the long delay of time passed, as for that it was many times certainly reported, that the said ship with all them that were therein, were in great danger, and no token at all appearing to the contrary, being aduised more hastily, then vpon mature consideration, as is the manner of needie women, she

she married her selfe at *Trinifo*. But hearing of our comming, and the certayne newes of her li-
ving and true Husband, she presently separated the bond of the second Marriage, and shut her
selfe vp in an honest Monasterie, aswell to declare the Integrity of her minde, as to expect the
returne of her true Husband, who about some three moneths after came to *Venice* safe and sound,
and tooke her againe vnto him, &c.

CHAP. XIX.

Ancient Commerce betwixt ENGLAND and NORWAY,
and other Northerne Regions.

Great Alexander is said in hearing a Flatterers Historie of his conquests, making
them (how great soeuer in themselves) farre greater then they were, to haue cau-
sed that booke to bee throwne into the Sea, with iust indignation exclaiming,
that those incredibilities would make that which hee had indeed done, seeme in-
credible to posteritie. And a Liar (said Alexanders Master, *Aristotle*) gets this by
lying, that when he speaks truth he cannot be beleueed. So hath it fared with
that *Brittish* worthy, King *Arthur*, whose Great Acts by great Flatterers, seeking to light can-
dles to the Sunne, haue made others suppose it to be night, and his worth to be a worke of dark-
nesse and lyes. Neither doth the later posteritie know how to distinguish the one from the
other; and the Writers for and against the truth of thee *Brittish* storie, as *Ieffery* of *Monmouth* and
William of *Newbridge* of old, and others since, haue seemed to me to let the truth (as in altercation
is vsuall) to fall downe betwixt them, for others more moderate spirits to take vp. Although
therefore many things related of *Arthur* are absurd, yet so are not all, nor that altogether which
is spoken of his Northerne conquests, eleuen hundred yeeres since, and of commerce at least, if
not some kind of tributarie acknowledgment, of *Guillemarus* the King of *Ireland*, *Gunsacius* of
the *Orcades*, *Maluasius* of *Iceland*, * *Doldanis* of *Gotland*, *Aschilus* of the *Danes*, and *Lot* King of
Norway. Some * adde, that King *Arthur* left people to inhabite the Ilands, and that the *Nor-*
wegian Nobles tooke them *Brittish* wiues, and that the *Norwegians* professing their *Brittish* blood,
and liking *Englands* fertilitie better then that their own sterilitie and rockie barrenesse, fought
by force of warres often to conquer that which would not be peaceably yeelded; till King *Ed-*
ward, a maintainer of peace, with consent of the Kingdome, permitted them to dwell heere at
pleasure, as sworne brethren to the *English*. *Osther*, subiect and seruant to King *Alfred* about se-
uen hundred yeeres since, related to his said Lord his voyage from *Helgoland* (where he then
dwelt) to the North Cape, and (as probable circumstances argue) along the coast to the Bay of
Saint Nicolas.

Edgar, that famous founder of Monasteries, is said by *Ranulphus Cestrensis* to haue in annuall
use foure thousand ships, and by *Flores Historiarum* foure thousand eight hundred, vsing yeerely
to compasse this Iland, with his Nauie quadripartite, twelue hundred in the East, as many in the
West, and like proportions on the North, and on the South coasts, to scoure the Seas and secure
his subiects: And in the Charter of the foundation of the Cathedrall Church of *Worcester*, he vseth
these words; *Mihi autem concessit propitia diuinitas cum Anglorum Imperio, omnia Regna Insula-*
rum Oceani cum suis fercissimis Regibus usque Norwegiam. Maximamque partem Hyberniam, cum
sua nobilissima ciuitate Dublinia, Anglorum Regno subiugare, &c. Hee also stileth himselfe King and
Emperour of the Ocean, and the Ilands about *Britaine*, beginning, *Ego Edgarus Anglorum Basi-*
leus, omniumque Regum, Insularum, Oceanique Britanniam circumiacentis cunctarumque Nationum
que infra eam includuntur, Imperator & Dominus. So potent was he first of the *English* Kings (for
Arthur was a *Briton*) by his strong shipping, and well manned and mannaged Nauie.

Florentius Wigorniensis stileth him, *Flos & decus antecessorum Regum, Pacificus Rex Edgarus*
non minus memorabilis Anglis quam Romulus Romanis, Cyrus Persis, Alexander Macedonibus, Ar-
faces Parthis, Carolus Magnus Francis: and addeth, as before is notified, *Is itaque dum uiueret*
3600. robustas sibi congregauerat naues, ex quibus Paschali emensa solemnitate omni Anno 1200. In
orientali, 1200. in occidentali, 1200. in septentrionali insula: plaga coadunare & ad occidentalem cum o-
rientali classe, & illa remissa ad borealem cum occidentali, ipsaque remissa cum boreali ad orientalem
classen remigare, eoque modo totam insulam omni astate consueuerat circumnavigare, viriliter hoc a-
gens ad defensionem contra externos Regni sui, & suum suorumque ad bellicos usus exercitium. Both
Florentius and *Malmesbury*, and *Mat. Westminister* record, that hee sitting at the Sterne, was
rowed by eight Kings his Tributaries; *Kined* King of *Scots*, *Macolm* of *Cumberland*, *Macon* of
Man and many Ilands, *Dusnal* of *Demetia*, *Siferth* and *Howel* Kings of *Wales*, *Iacob* King of *Gal-*
wales, and *Iukul* of *Westmar*, hauing the same day there met at his summons, and sworne fealtie
and assistance to him by Sea and Land. These rowed him in the Riuer *Dee*, to the Monastery from
his Palace, and thence after seruice backe againe: So rightly did he instile himselfe in his Charter

Galf. Monmouth.
1.9. c. 10. 12. 19.
& 1. 11. c. 17.

* *Ser. Mercator.*
Lambart his
Agratopoulus.
f. 137.

Osther's voyage
see *Hak. 10. 1.*

Edgars great-
nesse.

Ranulphus Ce-
strensis saith
4000.

Matthew West-
minster hath
4800. viz. 1200.
for the South
coast also.

to Malmesbury, Ego Edgarus totius Albionis Basileus, nec non Maritimorum seu insularum Regum circumhabitantium, &c.

Danes.
Wicinga Sig.
a Pirate.

Scanza is the
Chersonesus,
containing the
Country of
Norway, Swe-
den, &c.
Men sacrificed
to Thur.

* Mat. West.

This Sunne being set, darke and stormy times followed, by reason of Danish incursions. These Danes (as M. Camden recordeth) began to be knowne to the world, about the yeere of Christ 570. for their piracies called Wicingas; of them Dudo de S. Quintino hath this testimony, Dani e Scanza (that is, Scandia) velut examen apum e canistro & gladius e vagina, diuersitate multimoda, &c. The Danes, like a swarme of Bees out of their bive, and a sword out of a sheath, in diuersified manner and barbarous custome leaped forth from Scanza (or Scandia) after that with petulant lust they had multiplied their innumerable generations. These being growne, contended with their parents and progenitors about their possessions, and overflowing their native Bankes, a multitude of them (according to their ancient custome) are compelled by lot to seeke forraigne places, where by force they might plant themselves. In the consummating this expulsion or expedition, they anciently sacrificed to Thur, not with beasts, but the blood of men, esteeming that the most precious Holocaust. Their Priest used to diuine with yokes of Oxen, the heads of each chosen by lot being clouen asunder by one stroke, the heart veyne on the left side being searched, and with the blood thereof the heads of theirs being anointed, they presently set sayle. Dumarus, somewhat ancienter then Dudo, mentioneth a place, called Lederun, where euery ninth yeere in Ianuary, they all assembled and sacrificed ninetie nine Men, and as many Horses, with Dogs and Cocks, in stead of Haukes, to pacifie their Gods. Hereby wee see that by Danes, in our English stories, are intended not onely those which now we properly so call, but * Norwegians also, Gotes, Vandals,

HONDIVS his Map of NORVVEGIA and SVETIA.



Lambert's per-ambulation of Kent. Frieſlanders, and the Inhabitants generally of thoſe North-eaſterne parts, three Ships of whom, in the yeere 787. landed in the Weſt parts, ſlew the Reene of Beorhricke King of the Weſt Saxons, and were by the Countrey people forced backe to their Ships. Ann. 795. a few Ships of them made the like aſſay in Scotland, and ſoone after ſome of them entred Tynemouth Hauen, in the North part of England, and returned with the ſpoyle of the Churches of Hereſes and Tynmouth. This was in the yeere 800. Thirtie three yeeres after, in the reigne of Egbert, they were beaten at Dunmoth, but ſpoyled Sheepee, with murders and robberies, entring Thames with thirtie ſixe ſayle.

sayle. The next yeere they preuailed in battell against King *Egbert*, and after that ioyned with the *Welshmen* to inuade and destroy this Kingdome, but were both chased by the victorious power of the King; and *An. 836.* another hoatt of them was beaten. Another Fleet of thirtie foure Ships landed at *South-Hampton*, *An. 838.* and slew Duke *Ethelhelm*: after which they proceeded with continuall incursions (two *Hydras* heads still succeeding, when any *English Hercules* had cut off one) that it breeds horror to read or thinke of the spoyles, rapes, fires, murthers, barbarisme, heathenisme, desolation and destruction, which they brought euery where with them. And although *Alfred*, *Edward*, and *Adelstane* somewhat healed the Land of that pestilence; yet in *Etheldreds* time such a mortall relapſe happened, that first he charged the people with an insupportable tribute of *Danegelt*, arising to 48000. pounds yeerely (euen after the account of those times) and buying herewith nothing but perfidie on their part, and beggerly on his, by the aduice of one *Hu-*
10 *na* the Generall of his Armie, he wrote Letters to all places, that on Saint *Brices* day (which is the morrow after Saint *Martins* night, the *Danes* not hauing digested that drunken solemnitie should be all massacred, which accordingly was effected on man, woman, and child, not sparing those which fled to the Altars. A few in *London* escaped, and caused *Sweyne* with a *Danish* Army and vnspeakable crueltie to repay that butchery. *Etheldred* fled with his wife and children into *Normandie* (the seed of a new Conquest) so that *Suanus** hauing made the sheepfold a shambles and shepheardlesse, proclaimed himselfe King of *England*, which *Canutus* or *Cnuto* and his two sonnes, *Harold* and *Hardicanute*, held after him some thirtie yeeres space.

Danegelt continued till *Edward* the Confeſſor. *A. 1012.*

* This *Suanus*, or *Sueno* had killed his father.

* *A. 1042.* *Hocktide* I haue seene kept with publike feasting in the street, the women also binding men, or compelling them to some ranſome; the Tuesday fortnight after Easter.

English Conquest in *Sweden*. *A. 1024.*

20 And such was the *Danish* tyranny, that euery *Dane* was stiled *Lord Dane*, and had at his commandement the wiues, daughters, and the whole household where hee became. But after the death of *Hardicanutus*, that title was turned into the reproachfull terme of *Lurdane*, and the day of his death* (as the *Roman Fugalia*) was celebrated with open pastime and feasting in the streets, called *Hocktide* or *Hucktide*, as if *England* (then absolutely freed) made a mocke or scorne of her enemies. *Canutus* by treason of *Eadrike Streona* obtained the Kingdome, first as partner with *Edmund Ironside*, and after his death the whole by other perfidie, slaying *Eadwy* brother of King *Edmund*, and sending *Edmunds* two sonnes, *Edward* and *Edmund*, to the King of *Sweden* to be there made away. But hee hating such crueltie, sent them to *Salomon* King of *Hungary* to bring vp, where *Edmund* dyed, and *Edward* married *Agatha* daughter of *Henry* the Emperour, by whom hee had *Edgar Athling*, and *Margaret* married to *Malcolm* King of *Scots* (the mother
30 of *Maud* wife to *Henry* the first) and *Christine* a Nun.

Canutus diuided the Kingdome into foure parts, of which hee reserued *West Saxonie* to himselfe, *East England* hee committed to Earle *Turkill*, *Mercia* to Duke *Edrike*, and *Northumberland* to Earle *Erike*. Soone after, he caused Duke *Edrike* (which treacherously had aduanced him to the Crowne) to bee slaine, (a iust reward of treason) and then banished Earle *Turkill* and Earle *Erike* picking quarrell with them (weary of any stalking horses) the former of which was presently after his landing in *Denmarke* slaine. And now did *Canutus* seeke to win the fauour of the *English* by building and endowing Monasteries, making good Lawes, and marrying *Emma* the relict of King *Ethelred*. Thus hauing *Denmarke* by inheritance, and *England* by conquest & treachery, his ambition next aimed at *Sweden*, where first he had the worſe, but after compelled *Vlf* and *Eiglaſ* the
40 Kings of that Countrie to composition with him, Earle *Godwin*, the Generall of the *English*, prouoking and animating the *English* to recouer their pristine glory, and by solid vertue to ouercome them, who had ouercome their new Lord, whose fortune had subiected the *English*. Thus *Canutus* preuailed by *Godwins* policie and *English* valour, they by night without the Kings knowledge, or assistance of the *Danish* Armie, assaulting and ouerthrowing the *Swedens*: hee, the next day, missing the *English*, and fearing they had turned to the Enemy, till giuing the onſet with his *Danes* vpon the forsaken Campe of the Enemy, he found there nothing but carkasses and spoyle.

Anno 1027. hauing intelligence that the *Norwegians* contemned their King *Olaue* for his Saint *Olaue*.
50 simplicitie, he sent great summes of Gold and Siluer to the *Grandes* of *Norway*, to corrupt them, and caused them to reject *Olaue*, and to choose him for their King. For peruerſed with gifts they sent him word to come to them, whom he should find readie to entertayne him. *An. 1028.* he went with a fleet of fifty sayle to *Norway*, and expelled *Olaue*, subjecting that Kingdome to himselfe. *Olaue* which had beene the King, Doctor, Preacher and Apostle of the *Norwegians*, (as *Florilegus* stileth him) the sonne of *Harald* King of *Norway*, was slayne, *Anno 1030.* and cruelly butchered by his treacherous *Norwegians* with an Axe or Hatchet, for disanulling their Pagan superstitions, and hee since is there superstitiously worshipped for a Saint, whom then trayterously they permitted not to reigne or breathe. The same yeere perished at Sea, or (as some say) was slayne in one of the *Orcades*, Earle *Hacun*, whom *Canutus* fearing had banished in co-
60 lour of sending him Embassadour.

His greatnesse (hauing to wife his sisters daughter) made him grow suspicious: And according to the deuotion of that time. *Anno 1031.* *Canutus* or *Cnuto* went to *Rome* on Pilgrimage, and there made magnificent Offerings, and obtayned diuers Immunities of the Emperour and Pope. After his returne he inuaded the *Scots*, and ouercame King *Malcolme* with two other Kings.

Romish Pilgrimage a protection for tyrannous usurpation of Norway & England, without restitution to the right Heires: as if Peters pretended key were a Pick-locke to open Heaven to whomsoever.

Kings. He going from Rome to Denmarke, sent a Letter to his English subjects thus beginning: *Canutus Rex totius Angliae, & Danemerciae, & Norreganorum, & partis Suanorum, Aethelnotho Metropolitano & Alfrico Eboracensi Archiepiscopo, omnibusque Episcopis & Primatibus & toti Anglorum genti, tam nobilibus quam plebeijs, salutem. Notifico vobis me noniter inisse Romam, oratum pro redemptione peccaminum meorum & pro salute Regnorum, quique meo subiacerent regimini populorum. Hanc quidem protectionem Deo iam olim deuoveram: sed pro negotijs Regni & causis impediens huc usque perficere non potui. Nunc autem ipsi Deo meo Omnipotenti valde humiliter gratias ago, qui mihi concessit in vita mea Sanctos Apostolos suos Petrum & Paulum, & omne Sanctuarium quod iuxta urbem Romam aut extra addiscere potui expetere, & secundum desiderium meum presentialiter venerari & adorare. Ob id ergo maxime hoc patraui, quia a sapientibus didici sanctum Petrum Apostolum magnam potestatem a Domino accepisse ligandi atque soluendi, clauigerumque esse Regni Coelestis, & ideo speciale eius patrocinium apud Dominum diligenter expetere valde utile duxi, &c.*

HONDIUS his Map of Denmarke.



Canutus before his death set his Sonne Suanus in possession of Norway, and Hardecnutus his Sonne over the Danes. Harald and Hardecnutus divided England betwixt them after his death. Anno 1035. and Harald dying. Anno 1040. that quarrell was ended; and soone after, by the others death the Danish Empire in England; the small space of King Edward interceding that, and another Conquest of the Normans, descended also of like Northerne, namely of Norwegian Originall, Canutus his Daughter Cunilda was married to Henry the Emperour, and being accused of Adultery, against a Giantly Champion appeared in her defence a childish English Dwarfie which serued her, who Que the Giant and presented his head to the Ladie, who thereupon diuorced her

herfelfe, and became a Nunne. *Sueno* King of *Norway* after five yeeres deceased, and *Cannus* his ill-gotten *English* and *Norwegian* wings were quickly not only pulled, but cut off.

The *English* had occasion of further inuasion to and from *Norway*. For *Suanus* deceased, the *Norwegians* chose *Magnus* the Sonne of Saint *Olaue* for their King; which when *Hardecannus* vnderstood (as the *Danish* Storie set forth by *Erpold Lindenbruch* testifieth) hee inuaded *Norway* with his *English* and *Danish* forces, where he and *Magnus* came to composition that the Suruiuour should enjoy both Kingdomes. When *Hardecannus* was dead, *Sueno* the Sonne of *Estrid* his Sister, succeeded, and *Magnus* King of *Norway* fought with *Sueno* to obtrayne his co-uenanted Kingdome of *Denmarke*, and ouercame him. *Sueno* fled into *Sweden*, and there abode till the death of *Magnus*, after which he recovered his *Danish* Scepter. *Florentius* writeth that

Historia Danica.

Second *English* Expedition into *Norway*.

Suanus sent to King *Edward* the Confessor, intreating his aide with a Naue against *Magnus*; Earle *Godwine* counselled to send fiftie ships, but Earle *Leofrike* and the people refused; and *Magnus* with a great Naue fought with *Suanus*, and expelled him his Kingdome, which hee after recovered.

Harald Harnager the Sonne of *Siward* King of *Norway* and Brother by the Mothers side to Saint *Olaue* obtayned *Norway* after his Nephew *Magnus*, and sent an Embassage to King *Edward*, whereby Peace and Amitie was concluded betwixt both the Kings. He (after King *Edward*'s death) inuaded *England* with a great Naue of three hundred ships, and discomfited the Earles *Edwine* and *Morcar* neere *Torke*; but five dayes after *Harald* then King (Sonne of Earle *Godwin*) slue his Brother *Tosti* and *Harnager* at *Stamford Bridge*, permitting his Sonne *Olaue* to retorne vpon conditions to *Norway*. But while he conuerted the spoyle to his owne proper vse, he gaue such disgust to the *English*, that a few dayes after in the battayle with *William* Earle of *Normandie*, they were lesse zealous of his cause; where a new *Norman* period beganne: those Northerne quarrels hauing had no other end but this succession.

m Trecentis coggonibus.

From 787. to 1065.

vid. sup. l. 8. c. 6. §. 1.

I shall not need to adde what followed (the *Norman* Acts in *Italie*, *Palestina* and other places I haue handled else-where) little occurring of *Mars*, but *Mercurie*, of which I haue by me Letters from King *Henry* the Third, the first yeere of his Reigne to *Hacon* or *Haguin*, then King of *Norway*, for mutuall Trafficke betwixt both their subjects. It is remarkable that the Northerne humour of spoile, slaughter and blood continued while they were Pagans, and expired in manner with their Paganisme both in *Norwegians* and *Danes*: as if God would first by them punish the vices of those times, and withall conquer the Conquerours, with the Religion of the conquered, and by so strange a way bring the Northerne World (by this way of destroying) to saluation. Since that time, the State of *Norway*, *Island* and other parts hath decayed in numbers of shipping, courage of men, and other meanes of Earthly greatnesse. Somewhat yet for History and an Historians sake, I will adde of *Matthew Paris* an *Englishman* his Voyage to *Norway*.

Note.

In the yeere 1247. *Matthew Paris* recordeth, that on the day of Saint *Olaue*, a famous Saint in the Regions and Ilands of *Norway*, *Hacon* was crowned King, and solemnely anointed at *Bergaby* the Bishop of *Sabine* then Legate (from the Pope) in those parts. For the honour whereof the said King gaue the Pope 15000. Markes sterling, besides inualluable Gifts which the Legate himselfe had; and five hundred Markes by him extorted (saith our Author) from the Church of that Kingdome. The King also receiuing the Crosse for the *Holy Land* Expedition, obtayned of the Pope the third part of the Ecclesiasticall Reuenues of that Kingdome towards his charges. Which *Lewis* the French King knowing, writ in friendly termes to *Hacon*, to beare him company in the said Expedition, offering him full power (in regard of his Seaskill) ouer his Naue, and ouer the French Army. This Letter was carried by our Authour *Matthew Paris*, to whom King *Hacon* answered that he gaue great thanks to that deuout King: but knew in part the nature of the French, & as saith the Poet, *Omnisq. potestas Impatiens consortis erit*, and I say, *Omnisq. superbus, Impatiens consortis erit*. My people is impetuous, indiscreet, and impatient of wrongs, which might occasion irreparable damage; and therefore it is fitter for each to goe by himselfe. But I haue written to the King for quiet passage thorow his Countrey, and prouisions as need required. The Kings Answer thereto and Letters Patents were also deli- uered to him by this our Author in this forme.

Ma. Paris p. 981.

The Pope and his Legates deere friends to all Kingdomes. Saint *Lewis* his offers.

Ludonicus Dei gratia Francorum Rex, vniuersi amicis & fidelibus suis, Balliis, Maioribus, & Prepositis, ad quos presentes literae peruenerint, salutem. Cum clarissimus noster Illustris Hacon Rex Norwegia in subsidium Terra sancta transfretare proponat, sicut nobis per suas literas intimauit, vobis mandamus, quatenus si eundem Regem vel ipsius Nauigium per mare contiguum terra nostra transire contingat, vel in Terram nostram, vel in feuda nostra alicubi applicare, ipsum & suos benigne & honorifice recipiatis, permittentes eosdem in terra nostra victualia emere, & sibi per forum legitimum de sibi necessarijs providere. Actum apud Sanctum Germanum in Laia, A. D. 1248.

His Letter.

When the King of *Norway* had read this (for hee is a discreet, and modest, and well learned man) hee reioyced much, and was gratefull to the bearer, respecting him with Royall and bountifull gifts. Thus writeth *Matthew Paris* of himselfe, and his employment. The cause of his going into *Norway* he further relateth, that King *Cnut* (or *Cannus*) hauing founded a fa-

M. Par. his voyage to Norway. John Abbe.

mous

Monkesigno-
rants of their
owne order.
Popes long
hands and
Lime-fingered
Appeales.

mous Monastery of Saint Benet, of Holm in Norway (of which title and order hee had founded another in England) it happened that the said Abbie, with the appurtenances was almost ruined by an impious Abbat, who forsaking his Order, and stealing away priuily the Seale of the Chapter, either sold, or by forged writings fraudulently engaged almost all the possessions thereof: wherein hee had the Sacrist, the keeper of the Seale, his copartner, both in this fugitiue apostacie and treacherie. Heereupon the Archbishop of Nidrosia, in whose Diocesse the said Abbie was situate, seiled the same and the appurtenances into his hands, alledging that the Monkes had only the habite, but were altogether ignorant of Monastike order, and Saint Bennets rule, some of them also theeuues and fugitiues. The Monkes appealed to the Pope (which caused the Archbishop to suspend his proceedings) and the Prior recouering somewhat, and gathering together a summe of money, went to the Roman Court, where the Abbat had bene a little before, and intangled by writings the said house in five hundred markes; which caused the Prior to returne frustrate and full of grieve. But in his way, hearing that the said Abbat was dead, in the Abby of Saint Alban in Selio (in Norway) he and the Couent made choice of an Abbat, and this Prior, with another Monke, and three hundred markes in mony, together with the Kings letter, being sent to Matthew Paris to take paines for their freedome, it was procured happily that the temporalities of the said house were freed from the Causines (the Popes Vsurers) then residing at London, within one yeeres space. But their Spiritualities were much maimed, they by bribes purchasing delays, lest the Archbishop should take possession of the Iland which wholly belonged to the Abby, and of it also, expelling the Monkes.

Now the Cardinall Bishop of Sabine then comming Legate into Norway, the Monkes sought to him for succour, and hee counselled them to go and petition the Pope to prouide them of an Instructor and Reformer, and he would write in their behalfe.

The Abbat therefore and Prior went with Letters from the King and Legate to the Pope, who gaue them leaue to chuse any man of whatsoeuer Region or Monasterie to be their Instructor. They answered the next day, that all the World had not Monkes of that Order liuing in more composed order then England, nor England any comparable by report, to Saint Albans: of which House they desired Matthew to be their Reformer, of whose wisdom and faithfulness they had had experience; a man also almost familiar and friendly to their King, and able by his meanes to order the rebellious and vnruely. Hereupon the Pope gaue them this Brieve to the Abbat of Saint Albans,

Innocentius, &c. Dilecto Filio Abbati Sancti Albani in Anglia Ordinis S. Benedicti, &c. Cum sit ex parte dilecti filij Abbatis Monasterij de Holm, Ordinis S. Benedicti Nidrosiensis Diocesis, fuit propositum coram nobis; idem Monasterium propter Predecessorum suorum negligentiam, sit in his que ad Monasticum Ordinem pertinent deformatum; nec inueniatur in illis partibus aliquis qui statuta & obseruantias eiusdem Ordinis bene sciat: Nos ad supplicationem eiusdem Abbatis, discretionem tuam rogamus, attentius & hortamur per Apostolica tibi scripta mandantes, quatenus dilectum filium Fratrem Mattheum Monachum tuum, qui dicitur probata vita ac religionis experta, ad idem Monasterium ut dictum Abbatem & Monachos suos in regularibus disciplinis & statutis que ad eundem ordinem pertinent, informet & instruat, transmittere pro diuina & Apostolica sedis ac nostra reuerentia non postponas. Datum Lugduni, &c. Hereto the Abbat obeying, and Matthew to his Abbat, the business luckily succeeded, and Monkerie both in that of Holm, and other Norwegian Monasteries was reformed.

1 Of these see
Hak. tom. 1.

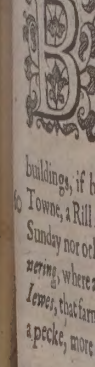
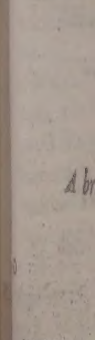
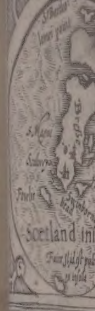
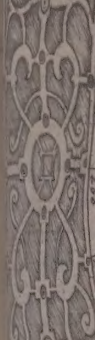
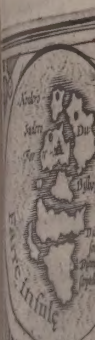
King Haralds
children.

n See pag. seq.
Frier of Linne.

Hen. 4.

T. of Woodstock.

I might here shew the great stirres which in the first Ages after the Conquest the Norwegians haue caused in Ireland, Wales, Man, Anglesey, the Hebrides, and Orcades: as also of Harald (whom the Conquerour slue) his two sonnes and daughter fleeing to Sueno King of Denmarke, who gaue the daughter in Marriage to Ierusalem, or Waldemarus King of Russia: and of Nicolas de Lynna, a Franciscan Frier and Mathematician of Oxford, before mentioned, of whom Iacobus Cnoyen saith in his Iournall that he learned of a Priest who had descended of those which King Arthur had left to people the Ilands of Norway, Anno 1364. that in the yeere 1360. the said Frier had come into those Ilands, and proceeding further by Art Magicke, had described those Artike parts (as the Map presents) with foure Whirl-pooles or In-draughts. Yea (as Master Dee addeth) at the Northerne Ilands, the Record whereof at his returne he gaue to the King of England, the Booke being called *Inuentio fortunata* or *fortune*, contayning a description from fiftie foure degrees to the Pole. I might also adde out of Thomas of Walsingham, the Trauels of Henrie Earle of Darbie, (afterwards Henrie the Fourth, King of England) into Prussia and Lettow, or Lithuania, where by his helpe especially was taken Vilna the chiefe Citie (Skirgalle the King of Lettow, hauing fled thither for refuge) his Colours being first aduanced on the walls, foure thousand slaine, of which the King of Polands Brother, and three thousand captiued. Also I might adde the Voyage of Thomas of Woodstocke Duke of Glocester, sonne to King Edward the Third, along the Coasts of Denmarke, Norway, and Scotland. Other Letters likewise of King Edward the Second to Haquin or Hacon, King of Norway in behalfe of English Merchants there arrested: with Entercouries betwixt the English and the Dutch Knights in Liesland. But hauing only brieue mentions of these, and them or the most of them recorded by Master Hakluyts



industrie before, I doe here but *Index*-wile referre the Reader thither. I rather choose to giue new things and rare : and such may seeme these Notes which Anno 1605. I writ from the mouth of Matter George Barkeley.

HONDIUS his Map of the Arctike Pole, or Northerne World.



CHAP. XX.

A briefe Memoriall of the great Trauells by Sea and Land, of Master GEORGE BARKLEY Merchant of London ; in Europe, Asia, Africa, and America, and their Ilands.

BEing a childe, he was transported into the East Countries, and the first place of his landing was *Schagen*, from thence vnto *Eisenore*, a Towne as bigge as *Brentwood*, where the *Danish* Custome is taken ; and where he hath seene at one time the *Dane* making stay of all shipping fourteene dayes, for ostentation to a forreigne Nobleman, seuen hundred sayle. From thence to *Copenhagen*, thence to *Bornholme*, thence to *Danske*, a Towne subject to the Pole, being in continuall

buildings, if by any meanes they may fortifie themselves against the *Hilles* ouer-looking the Towne, a Rill running betweene, whence they haue their fresh water : they spare no time Sunday nor other. There lyeth here in the Sea by casting vp of sands a long Iland called *Frista* uering, where alongst, as on *Samaiden*, is gathered by the *Danske* Officers there, and here by the *Jewes*, that farme it of the Pole, *Amber*, cast vp by the Sea in great abundance, pieces as bigge as a pecke, more or lesse. The Bores that find it and gather, haue so many firkins of some other

Hhh

meane

Schagen.

Eisenore.

Copenhagen.

Danzik.

Amber.

Salt.

A Frogge in a piece of Amber.

Strange report of Swallows. The Vistle.

High wall.

Marienberg.

Dutch Knights of our Ladies. in See Tom. 1. lib. 3.

meane commoditie: and if they keepe and sell it, they dye for it. Hée hath scene one piece of Amber taken vp, in the middest whereof was to be scene through the transparent Amber a Frog in similitude and full proportion: (Matter Vassall, his brother, a friend of mine, told me of a piece of Timber in the keele of a ship, where by occasion of a sinner, one cutting nine inches within the Timber every way, he found a great living Tode in the hollow thereof at Woolwich) betwixt this Frishnering and the Land is a great water Frishhoff, where at Saint Georges day they begin to fish, of which there is exceeding plentie, and for three halfe pence one may buy a cast as much as they shall draw the next time. One here in his Net drew vp a company or heape of Swallowes as bigge as a bushell fastned by the legs and bills in one, which being carried to their stoues, quickned and flew, and comming againe suddenly in the cold Aire dyed.

From Danske he went to Marienberg, a Towne also standing on the Vistle, whereby it runneth in another channell, and betwixt both these makes an Island wherein stands Nerdeich, which Island is compassed with a wall to fortifie it against the comming downe of the Vistle in the Spring at the thaw of the snowes, &c. This wall seemeth in some places as high as Pauls Steeple, and other-where as high as Pauls Church, where yet it hath sometime beene overflowne: full it is of Hoffes and Villages belonging to the Lords of Danske.

Marienberg is a free Towne for Religion (Danske then professing only Lutheran) saue certayne Friars and Nunnes liuing in Cloysters closely. There a Lutheran when he preacheth must make an end at his houre, and then a Iesuit preacheth to the Rom. Catholikes as long, the former both company, and Preacher being auoyded of himselfe, or by force. It was built by the Kreitzherne (Dei-parvini milites) Knights of the Crosse, who hauing lost their footing in the Holy Land, by consent of the Empire assaulted and conquered Prussia, being in this Conquest fixtie foure

HONDIVS his Map of BORVSSIA, or PRVSSIA.



yeeres, who after carried themselves so tyrannously, that the people yeelded themselves to the Pole, and destroyed the Kreitzberne, save those that made a head about the North parts, with whom after some doubtfull fights, was made a league, that This Order should cease; Their Cap-
tayne should be married, and should have seuentie two Townes in Prussia, to him and his Heires
Males, and in defect of such Heires to returne to the Pole. His Townes are not adjoynd toge-
ther, but the Poles Townes betwixt. Kinningburg is the Dukes Court.

Thence he went to Elbing, a faire Towne, where our Trade is now for Flaxe, which was be-
fore at Danske, thence remoued for their insolencies. Here our men only pay Custome: others
are free, and this they did voluntarily, and haue in this respect very much authoritie amongst
IO the Lords there: the Towne still flourisheth with buildings, &c.

Thence he went to Bransperg, (the Poles Towne) where is a Colledge of Iesuites: From this Bransperg.
place to Kinningberg, and thence to Liba in Curland, thence to Samaiden, and thence to Risa, or Rigato.
Risa in Liestland also. (This Risa is vnder the Pole) thence to Derpt, and thence to Reuel. At Derpt
he went to schoole three yeeres: it is vnder the Pole. Linonia is exceedingly distracted betwixt

HONDIUS his Map of LIVONIA or LIEFLAND.



the Sweden, Russe, and Pole. King Stephen recovered part from the Russe, who before had partly
60 killed, and partly carried captiue the Handicrafts men, in such desolate manner, that the Townes
are ruinate, the stone walls of Houses and Churches standing with trees of great bignesse grow-
ing through their vncovered roofes; the Woods (whereof they haue excellent stately) being
strowed with bones of dead carkasses; and himselfe did once in one of those Woods eat Honey
out of a Mans skull wherein a swarme of Bees were, and bred as it hanged on a Tree. Hee con-
Hhh 2 que.

Russian cruelty.

Renell.
Straw Castle.

Momese & Sacs

Idolatri.

Marriage.

Hospitalitie.

Houles.

Peibus.

Sowed Ships.

Letto.

Vilna.

quered all saue *Renell*: against which he made a Castle with water and straw, the frost binding them together as fast as they were laid. The Countrey is inhabited with the ancient *Indigena*, called *Momese*, and others of the *Dutch* called by them *Sac's*. Who by occasion of shipwracke being cast on these Countreys, did buy of the simple Inhabitants so much ground as a Rose hide, &c. to building in one place *Renell*, in another farre distant *Rie*, and so other Townes; by this meane commanding and subduing all the Countrey. *Derpt* was one Turfe of ground bought as before.

The *Momeses* are almost *Saluadoes*, retaining still their old superstitions, as to worship the Sun, or the first Beast they meet with, and especially they haue in religious reckoning their *Leane*.

This which they call *Se-leane*, or the *Groues*, is a company of Trees, which it is religious to touch; and he knew a *Dutchman*, *Martin Tekell* of *Derpt*, who breaking a bough was swelled a yeere together as big as his skinn would hold. Heere at Marriages and Burials they pray, but without Image. Their marriage is thus. The man and his Bride are set stridling on a Horse, and blinded; and so led into *Se-leane*, there taken downe and married by their Rites; then set vp againe, blinded as before, and conueyed with their company, and Musicke to their house, singing *Kosoku Kosoku Coniku, scamoha*: there taken downe and had to bed, still blinded till the next morrow, in the meane while they rest drinking, &c.

They mourne when one is borne, reioyce and make merry at death. Their mourning (in *Curland*) is then, and when they walke alone, or fetch wood, *Yerom, yerom, yerom, masculine babe*: the words themselves vnderstand not, but thinke it to haue remained since that *Babylonish Towre*. When the *Momeses* die, they are buried in their *Leanes*, with their knife vnder their arme, and their coate hanging ouer the graue. The *Momeses* are very ignorant, and aske who learne the Hares in the woods their prayers. At *Rie* the women haue a thing of Red veluet on their heads, made like a Ship with the keele vpward, at each end a lock of hayre.

The women of the *Sacs* differ in their fashion of attire each City from other, a pleted Petticote, with a damaske Vpper-body, a veluet Square on their heads, and thereon a Cloke, &c. The maid vncouered, if she haue had a child and refuse to goe couered, she is brought to the Pillory, her haire cut off, and there nayled, and a Kerchiefe put on. Here and in *Norway*, and in *White Russia*, &c. strangers pay nothing for entertainment, but salute, sit downe, and expect the Hosts expences. Their bed they must bring with them, which is commonly a Beares skin, or else they there haue a Locke of straw. To offer money is a disgrace, which yet might seeme to arise of the baseness of the coyne. Their houses are all of Timber beames laid square, and others laid on them in notches, so till they come to the rooffe, which they couer with straw, diuided in two roomes; the inner being the Parlour or stoue, where they haue as it were one Ouen ouer another: the middle hearth being of stones set grate-wise, the fire is put in on the Back-side or Hal-side, & there also the Sinke issueth. Before that mouth in the Stoue is set a vessell of water, which, when they wil haue the heat exceeding, they besprinkle on those hot stones. A fire lasteth a day, at night they renew it. Sometimes the old *Prusces* on the borders of *Curland*, according to their old heathenish Rites do sacrifice their Priest in fire.

From *Derpt* hee went to the *Peibus*, whereinto runne seuentie two Riuer making a great Lake full of Fish. In the *Peibus* betweene *Plesko* and *Narue*, the Ships (whereof are many, and some an hundred Tunne, with one Mast) are sowed together with Oiers, hauing no Iron workes, called *Boidacks*. They goe to Markets in Sleds, where coming to a walled Towne, and waiting the opening of the Gates, the Sled is drawne in sometime, with his Master sitting as before starke dead with cold. Thence he went to *Narue*, which runneth out of this Lake, where the Riuer being twice so bigge as the *Thames*, hath a fall a mile steepe on a Rocke. Here the *Sweden* (as is reported) made a Bridge ouer with the bodies of *Russes*, as the *Russe* had done before with his owne people about 40000. hence to *Iuanogrod*. These 40000. were onely bearded men slaine, &c. not women or children; these hee dashed by the heeles, the dried braines whereof hee hath seene on the wals, &c. these all out of two Townes, *Narue* and *Iuanogrod*. The Castle of *Iuanogrod* is so fortified, that it must bee thrice conquered before conquered, and built in a yeere, of Stone, which none else is in *Russia*. Hence hee went to *Yerastane*, where he and his companion were apprehended by the *Russes*, for traouelling without licence, and as they came at any Towne, blinded, and after some feares sent thence into *Letto*, or *Lithuania*: passing through Woods full of Beasts, Beares, &c. none hurtfull but *en luxe*, a kind of ounce or Cat-a-mountaine, with a tayle a handfull long, spotted, as big as a Dogge, in forme like a Cat, which would from off a tree leap on Travellers and kill them. Here they came to the *Weild* or *Vilna*, the chiefe Citie where the old Dutchesse a *Caluinist* (whom therefore they called the *Englishe Queen*) kept her Court. Her two sons being summoned to the Parliament in *Poland*, went garded with 30000. Here they vsually steale their wiues; a man viewing one to his content comes with his company to the place where she dwels, and lies in ambush till night when she comes forth to make water, and then they catch her, and on a Sled carry her away, &c. her friends not knowing what is become of her perhaps a moneth, and yet know what to suspect because of the custome. Their Churches are thin, and in the Villages they haue a Crosse of Wood, with a Pentise, and a Crucifixe,

HONDIVS his Map of LITHVANIA.



Crucifixe, and there say they their prayers once perhaps in a quarter, having a Priest come to them, or they goe to him in their Church twenty miles off. They worship also a Snake, which they keepe vp in their houses, saying, they haue reason for it, because it keepe their children: these Snakes goe often into the Woods, and thence returne, and before the fire vomit vp milke, which the men eat. Here they hunt the Vrochs, and other beasts. When the Lord will hunt, his Tenants or Slaues (as they are heere, and in Sweden, Poland, &c.) doe make fires in the Woods, bringing the beasts into a corner, & there they assault them. From Vilna he went to Grodno in the Mase, where are the best Poles souldiers, & they are Roman Catholikes. From hence to Cracovia. From thence to Warsonia, where is a Bridge (couered ouer with a Pentice, where toll is paid, twice so long as London Bridge) ouer Vistula, which soone after he was passed ouer, brake, and there were drowned many Polonish Gentlemen that came thither to the Parliament at that time there assembled.

To this Parliament came a Tartar to sue for his two daughters, taken captiue by the Christians: but not speeding he returned; and with him went our Author Master George Berkley, and stayed with him fixe moneths. This Tartar liued with his hord of about a thousand households of a kindred. They sowed a three square graine (Totarke) had cattle, liued at ease, euery day hunting; these worshipped Mahomet. Their manner is to make sudden Inrodes on the Christians, and prey on them, who therefore are readie for such assaults: the Polonish Gentleman at dinner hauing his two Peece by him, and his Seruing-men, which are Souldiers with their Peece also, when the Christians make head against them, they cannot most what find them. They are resolute, and wil ride with their Bowes in face of a Peece. If this Tartar could haue gotten his daughters, he would haue bestowed one on him, &c. if he would haue liued with him, and he said he neuer liued in all his life so pleasantly as with these Tartars. Hee returned into Poland againe. In Poland all are Gentlemen and Slaues. Punishable it is not for their Gentlemen to keepe Concubines, whose children they bring vp as their other, saue that they doe not inherit. There is freedome of religion. So many Cranes feathers as they weare in their Hats, so many Tartars or

H h h 3

Turkes

His going into
Tartaria.

HONDIVS his Map of POLONIA.



Turkes are holden to be slaine by them. No Townes very strong but Cammenieck built within a Rocke, the light let in at holes. The Turke went ouer it but could not win it.

The Polanders had a great murraine of beasts attributed to the Jewes: two Jewes comming to a woman offered her mony for some of her milke, she answered, her child but then sucked, they left their glasse there, promising to fetch it anon and to fatishe her: her husband meane while comming home and seeing so strange a thing as a glasse, asked from whence it came, and why; being answered two Jewes had left it there for milke for a medicine, bid her fleet Cowes milke and fill the glasse: which the Jewes receiuing, and hauing entertained a Boy, caused him to climbe vp one of the Ladders which there stand together with their three square gallows made of stone, with wooden rafters crosse, and to poure it into the mouth of one of the dead men (which there alway hang after execution) his mouth, who presently cryed like a beast, as the boy reuealed, and they thereupon cryed they were cofined: a murren followed which should haue been a plague. Many Jewes executed for it; which yet the Jewes said to bee a pretence for their money. The Jewes that farmed the Custome at Samaiden in Curland, killed a Polonish Merchant without punishment, beating out his braines for delaying to open his packe. Hee returned out of Poland into Prussia to Torne, the first place obtained by the Kreutzberne, where they built a Castle about an Oake which standeth there still, but is dead. Thence along the Vistla (where the Poles haue their Mafts, &c. with wares three miles together tyed downe the streame) to Dantzike; thence into Pomerland farre more barren then Prussia, to Cassubia, Coslin, Colberg. Thence to Statin, euery way exceeding pleasant and good. Thence to Rostock in Meckelberg. Thence to Lubbeck, a fairer Citie then Danske, so to Oldsloe, to Hamberg, to Brame, to Limenberg, to Mansuelt, to Bamberg, and thence through Bohemia into Silesia, to Breslaw, where hee went to schoole three yeeres: whence into Polonia againe, and thence to Pruss. Thence home into England.

Hee went againe into Norway, to Nilus, Bashus, &c. It is a barren soyle, as being nothing but Rockes and Valleys: the Rockes are couered with grasse, and the ground betweene they digge and sow with Corne, which yet is not able to fatishe the Country. The difference betweene the

Gentlemen

Gentlemen and Bore, is in his command, being otherwise, as raggedly apparrelled as hee, with twentie patches on his breech, and barefoot in winter.

In Sweden he was, at *Stockholm* the chiefe Citie. These now vnder Dake *Charles*, hold warre with their King, yet all things passing vnder his name, but so hating the *Poles*, that though of another Nation, neither the long attire, neither their Curb, or hooked Sword can pass safely among the Bore for suspicion of being *Poles*; and the rather because they were made beleecue that the *Pole* was ayded against them by the *Tartars* that were man-eaters. They are strong in shipping and had giuen the *Dane* the ouerthrow at the battle at *Bornaholm*, had he not bene assisted by the *Lubeckers* with money, &c. One also of whose Ships with a shot fired and blew vp the

10 Admirall of the Sweden. The *Lubeckers* therefore pay no custome to the *Danes*, and for their costs hold *Bornaholm* till they be satisfied out of the Reuenues thereof.

In Sweden (as in *Friesland* and other those Countries) the Lord holdeth the other his Tenants as Villaines and Slaues, and at his pleasure ships their Horses and Daughters to *Renell*, and there sells them; a bushell and halfe a Culmet of Salt for a woman, which yet is of person and complexion very comely, and very able to doe worke. He came againe to *Leesland*; and thence to *Finland*, where hee was with an *English* Captaine in a Castle; and thence into *Livonia*, and so into *Russia*, &c.

20 Betides those his Easterne trauels, he hath bin in our neerer neighbor places, as in *Belgia*, *France*, *Spain*, *Portugall*, &c. and passed to the West Indies by the Ilands of *Cape Verd*: in three of which *S. S. Ant on Vincent*, *Lucie*, the Inhabitants cannot prosper nor liue long, saue in those Ilands which yet are vnkind to other forrainers. He hath also bene in *Guinea*, in *Barbary*, in the Straits, at *Caribage*, where the old ruines remaine, and the Stones of Marble, &c. worth the bringing home, in *Italy*, *Slauonia*, *Morea*, at *Venice* often, at *Ferrara*, *Padua*, *Mat. Angelo*, thence to *Fermo*, to *Loretto* (where he visited the Ladie of *Loretto*) it is one street, walled about, the Temple faire, and in the Temple of our Ladies house inscriptions innumerable of diuers languages, affirming it to haue fled the *Turkes* conquests from *Iury* into *Sclauonia*, and from thence also hither. Here forsooth it was placed in a piece of ground belonging to two Brethren, which because of this new quest and request could not agree on the proprietie: and to auoyde further suite, in the night it was found remooued to a vacant place by the high-way, and there this Temple built whither resort Pilgrimes in troopes, as to a Mart from diuers Nations. The street on one side all

30 Innes, on the other makers of Images, Beades, and such other holy bables heere sanctified by touch of *Madonne*.
The Temple is hanged about with Monuments of their exploits, vpon vowes conceiued in distres of Warres, Diseases, &c. here hang the old Swords, &c. There are two Vestries of incredible wealth, and Priests of diuers Nations for their proper Pilgrimes. The House low and meane builded with white Bricks, such as in *Barbarie* they burne in the Sun. There are two roomes, in one whereof the Chimney where shee dressed her meate, and her dishes, &c. In the other her selfe, or statue with a Childe, aloft of blacke colour: to whom one whose office it is, on a staffe like a Musket-rest doth lift vp Beades, &c. by her touch to bee hallowed. The *French* Queene sent 40 her a Present to hang about her necke, which present would pull her in peeces by the weight. It is round, two foot in diameter made like a Sunne, in the center a Carbuncle, the rest set with Diamonds, the rayes pointed with orient Pearles, the Bricks (miraculously) cannot bee remooued, to which end they report of a Bishops superstitious steale: who was not able to passe without restitution.

Trauellling in diuers places of *Italy*, *Rome*, &c. hee returned by the *Alpes*, from *Venice* to *Me- stre*, thence to *Trenise*, so to *Seruaalle*, a Towne of Blade-smithes, which with Water-workes grinde and hammer their Mettals: thence vp the *Alpes* by a passage so narrow cut out of the Rocke, that sometime the Horse hooft hung ouer, it beeing a steepe mile high, a Riuer running vnder. Thus to *Basil*, thence backe to *Tiroll*.

50 After all these trauels in these parts of Europe better knowne, and those others in the more unknowne, and in *Africa* and *America*, hee much affecting the *Virginia* businesse and especially that of *Bermuda*, went thither to order publike affaires. And after all this (as you haue heard) went in place of *Cape Merchant* to the *East Indies*, and being Captaine of the *English* House at *Bantam*, there and thence trauelled to his long home. This I thought good to adde to the former relations, which I receiued many yeeres since from his owne mouth, beeing my louing and familiar friend, and for a generall Traueller by Sea and Land, in hote and cold Countries of the old and new world, not easily matchable. Had hee liued, I would haue better perfected these short Notes; but Death it selfe hath not taken from mee his loue, shall not from the world his memory; I rather chusing to giue the world these vnpolished Notes, as his, then either to burie them with him, or by refining and illustrating to make them mine. The best illustration 60 seemes that of *Mappes*, some of which out of *Hondius* I haue added.

CHAP. XXI.

Collections out of MARTIN BRONIOVIVS de Biezerfedea sent Ambassadour from STEPHEN King of Poland, to the Crim Tartar: Contayning a Description of Tartaria, or Chersonesus Taurica, and the Regions subiect to the Perecop or Crim Tartars, with their Customes private and publike in Peace and Warre.

The fields Sauranenses and Oczacowenses, betwixt the Rivers Bogus and Nester.

Long miles in those parts: and so vnderstand in the rest of this storie. Sharpe winter.



Raslaw is a Towne in Podolia with a Castle, numbred about five hundred Inhabitants, good Gunners, and well exercised in Tartarian skirmishes. They are good Guides in the Playnes to auoyde the Tartars and Kozackes. From thence thorow Woods not very thicke, after some miles journey to the small River Silnica, where the Braslawens keepe good guard alwayes against the Excursions of the Tartars and Walachians. Downe the River Bogus or Hipanis, you may goe almost to Oczacow. In the way are the Rivers Tristenet, Bersad, Olsank, Sauran (whence they are called the Fields of Sauran) a stone Bridge and Bathe sometimes belonging to Vitoldus, Great Duke of Lithuania, ruines and graues, Sinawod Riueret, the strong rockie Ile Probite, a good refuge for ours against the Tartars (the Braslawens in May and Iune, vse there and in the other many Ilands of Bogus to fish, armed with their Pieces) Ceretna Riuer the greater and the lesse, and that of Capcacley, and Hancocricus (the Tartars call it Cham) and the Lake Berezania. That Field is fiftie miles, or as they call it seuen dayes journey to a speedie traveller, from Braslaw to Oczacow. There are wilde Beasts, Bisonts, Elkes, Horses, Harts, Rammes with one horne, Goates, Swine, Beares: which ten yeeres since were sayd to bee killed with the sharpnesse of the Winter, and huge heapes of their bones are found in the fields. They had also innumerable herds of Horses, Turkish and Tartarian; Kine and Sheepe which fedde there, by the borders of Russia, Volinia, Kiow, Podolia, and Moldania, not long since destroyed. The hills called Mogili, are testimonies of Burials and Warres. The Field is fertile, rich of pasture and pleasure.

HONDIYs his Map of TAVRICA CHERSONESVS.



Passing

Passing ouer Prut or Hieras, a Riuer of Moldania, you come to Stepanouetia or Iassi, chiefe Towne of Valachia; or righter to Prutum Technia, a Towne and Fort of the Turkes, not long since fortified on the Nester; and there are found some Moldavian passages in the Nester, right into the champaines. It diffuseth it selfe into the Lake Vidono or Obidono (so called, as some fabulously conceue of Onidus) and soone after disembokes into the Euxine Sea, ouer against Bialogrod (named by the antients Moncastrum) not long since taken by the Turkes, from the Valachian or Moldavian Princes, & holden by them. In the very mouth of Tyras or Nester, bearing name of Neoptolemus as may seeme by Strabo, who there-awayes placeth Niconia on the right hand, and Ophiusa on the left hand of the Riuer.

Part of Moldavia or the lower Valachia, called sometimes Bessarabia. Lake Vidono in Nester. Bialogrod.

10 After followeth Beriboncum with deepe and large ditches neere the Sea, washed by the Lake where sometimes was a good Port. Adzigoli hath three Ditches, many salt Lakes nigh the Sea, where many Cozaks resort and often kill each other in mutuall warres and quarrels, which makes it terrible to Trauellers. Then follow Domnina Dolina, and the Lake Berezania, and the Bay Carcinitum. Strabo placeth fise hundred furlongs in the Sea, from the mouth of Tyras the Iland Lenca sacred to Achilles.

Beriboncum. Adzigoli. Domnina Dolina. Berezania, Carcinitum. Lenca.

Oczacovia called antiently Olbia, Olbis, and Olbiopolis, is seated on Boristhenes or the Carcenite Bay; sometimes builded by the Meletians: the Tower is of Stone, the Towne but meane, is subject to the Turkes. Boristhenes or Neper, a deepe, wide and swift streame, runneth from the North into the Bay, and neere to Oczacovia into the Euxine. Foure miles higher Bogus empties it selfe into Boristhenes. There the Turkes exact Customes. The Isthmus betwixt Boristhenes and the Sea, is a dayes iourney, ouer sandie plaines, with Hills, Lakes, Salt-pits; with Deeres, Beares, Goates, wilde Swine well stored. It is extended to Perecopia about thirtie miles in length, containing Medowes, Riuers, and Tartarian Cottages (which they call vlns) made of small pieces of wood, daubed with mud or myre and dung of beasts, and thatched with reed. The Tartars liue not in them in Summer and Autumne, but in April begin their progresse, with their wiues, children, slaues, and houses which are round, couered with clothes, scarcely commodious for foure or fise men, carried on two-wheeled carts, with one or two Camels or Oxen, together with their household. They carry with them Camels, Horses, Flockes, and Herds innumerable, leauing others in commodious pastures. They goe towards Perecopia, and sometimes into Taurica, or

Oczacovia. Boristhenes or Neper. Bogus. The Isthmus.

Their houses and pastures progresse.

30 ouer against Perecopia, to Ossow or Azaph, as the Turkes call it, a Towne by the Don (Tanais, a great and swift Riuer) sometimes fortified by the Greekes, and since by the Genuois; where the Turkes now haue a Garrison, and a Commander. They alway trauell into the Isthmus, or the large Plaines which are betwixt Boristhenes, and the Lake Meotis, and the Pontike Sea, where they find best pastures. In October the raynes, colds, and perpetuall windes force them to returne to their Cottages. For they are afraide of our Nizonian Cozaks, which passe downe the streame in Boats, and the Gunners, which then make incursions on them. Neper is frozen ouer in Winter. Ptolemy calls that Isthmus, Zenos Chersonesus, and Strabo writes that the Roxans and Roxolans (whom we call Russians) pastured those Fields twixt Tanais and Boristhenes (describing their life like that of these later Tartars)

Tanais or Don.

40 Perecopia (antiently called Eupatoria, Pompeiopolis, Holy Grove, Achilles Race, Gracida, Hera-clea) is seated in the confines of Taurica, or the Scythian Chersonesus, the Towne obscure and small, the Tower of stone, not well fortified; in which the Tartar Chans haue their perpetuall Palatine or Beg, which keepeth the Marches and passages of Boristhenes and Don, with all the borders, and is Generall Lieutenant ouer all the Tartars in the Playnes adioyning. Strabo writes that there was a deepe Ditch made, whence the Towne had, and still in the Tartarian and Turkish language hath the name. When Sachinbgierai reigned there (hee ouerthrew the Nagay Tartars at Perecopia with a memorable victory) there were seuentene stone Forts raised in that Ditch, some of them of the Skuls of the slayne, and the ditch repayred. Heere the Tartars keepe continuall Guard, permitting no Stranger thence to passe without the Chans Letters. And there 50 in occasions of Warres is their principall assembling.

Perecopia.

Ossow is seuen miles distant on the right hand, on the shore, where the Chan hath a perpetuall garrison. Ingermenum is hence twelue miles or more: it hath a stone Fort, a Temple, and Vaults vnder the Cattle and ouer against it, with wonderfull Art cut in the stone, being situate in a great and high Mountaine; and therefore the Turkes giue it the name of the Vaulis. It hath beene a wealthy Towne. Ouere against it the Promontorie trendeth some furlongs broad, and three or foure miles long. There appeare euident signes in the stonie Mountaines, that the ancient Greekes thence cut huge stones and carried them by Ships to build Chersona a Citie in those times famous, as the Greeke Christians still report. The Heraclians of Pontus sent thither a Colony. The Fort of Ingermenum was also built by the Greekes, as appeareth by Greeke Inscriptions and Scutcheons therein: and thorow all the Isthmus to the walls were sumptuous buildings, and innumerable Wells digged. There were also two great High-wayes or Caues of stone. There were many good Vineyards and Gardens, now called Belbec, and possessed by Greeke Christians, or Italians, and Iewes, and a few Turkes. Of the ruines the Turkes and Tartars make great Stalls and Enclosures for their beasts. This Chersonesus, Corsunum, or Chersona the Turkes called Sari

Ossow.

Ingermenum.

Chersonesus.

German.

Germenum, or *Yellow Tower* of the colour of that Tract; whereof admirable ruines remaine to testifie the *quondam* splendor. There are channells or conduits of hewen stone vnder ground foure miles to the Citie walls, still containing cleere water. From a place where is a Village of note, and not farre off, neere the Sea is a *Greeke Monastery* of *Saint George*, with anniuersarie deuotion frequented of the *Greekes* remaining in *Taurica* with great concourse. The Citie hath not bene inhabited these many ages; the Walls and Towers sumptuously built are yet seene entire. But the *Turks* carry thence excellent Marble, and Serpentine Columnes and great stones by Sea, for the vse of their publike and priuate buildings. Of the Temples the very ruines are vtterly ruined, and the houses lye buried in that Monument and Selfe-sepulchre.

Kion.

The walls of a *Greeke Monasterie* remayne very large, but without rooffe, and the ornaments spoyled. The *Russian* and *Polonian* Chronicles relate that *Volodimir*, great Duke of the *Russians* or *Kion*, carried thence two doores of *Corinthian* Brasse, and some artificiall *Greeke* Images which *Broslaus* the second King of *Poland* translated from *Kion* to *Gnesna*, there yet in the great Church to be seene. *Volodimir* tooke that Citie from *Iohn Zemisca* the *Constantinopolitan* Emperour: but after, marrying *Anna* the sister of Emperour *Basilus*, and being baptized in that Monastery after the *Greeke* Rites by a certayne Patriarch, hee restored it, as is still related by the *Christian* remainders in those parts. Before the Citie was the Promontorie *Parthenium* with a Temple and Image of that Goddesse, and other Antiquities by *Strabo* related.

Parthenium.

The Citie Balachei, or Lamboli.

That which the *Greekes* called *Lamboli*, the *Turkes* haue stiled *Balachei*, as the *Towre of fishes*, in regard of the plentie in that Sea. It was fortified in a high, great and stonie Mountayne by the *Genuois*, whiles the proud cowardly *Grecians* which held that part of *Taurica* quarrelling amongst themselves, lost it to them. There they had a notable Port, a strong and sumptuous Fort; and there the *Towres*, houses and walls with the *Genuois* Ensignes and Inscriptions, lye ruined. It is now inhabited of a few *Greekes*, *Iewes* and *Turkes*, and frequented by fewer Merchants and strangers by Sea.

Marcopia, or Mangat a City.

Marcopia stretcheth further to the Mountaynes, and Woods, and is not so neere the Sea: it hath had two Castles, *Greeke* Temples and Houses sumptuous, with many cleere Riis running out of the stone: but eightene yeeres after that the *Turkes* had taken it (as the *Greeke Christians* affirme) it was destroyed by a sudden and horrible fire. Neither hath any thing remayned of note but the higher Fort, in which is a goodly Gate, adorned with *Greeke* writing and store of Marble, and a high house of stone. Into that house the Messengers of the *Musconites* are by the barbarous *Chans* sometimes thrust, and there endure hard keeping. There remaynes the *Greeke* Church of *Saint Constantine*, and another meane one of *Saint George*. One *Greeke* Priest and some *Iewes* and *Turkes* dwell there; Obluion and Ruine hath deuoured the rest; nor are there men or Stories of the *quondam* Inhabitants, which I with great care and diligence euery-where sought in vaine. An old Priest which I saw there, said that a little before the *Turkes* besieged it, two *Greeke* Dukes of the Imperiall bloud of *Constantinople* or *Trapezond*, there resided, which were after carried alieue into *Constantinople*, and by *Selim* the *Turkish* Emperour slaine. In the *Greeke* Churches on the walls are painted Imperiall Images and Habits. The Tower and Citie *Marcopia* is nigh to *Cerceffigermenum* a new *Turkish* Fort taking name from *Cerceffium*; but the *Turkes*, and *Tartars*, and *Greekes* also haue now lost the name. The *Greeke* Dukes are said to haue there committed much wickednesse. And in that stony Hill whereon it is seated, it hath houses cut with admirable Artifice in the Rocke, which still for the most part remayne entire, although the place be become wooddie. A Temple adorned with Marble and Serpentine Pillars, now laid prostrate on the ground, testifie the *quondam* glorie.

Cerceffigermenum.

Admirable Vaults.

Baccasaray.

Salaticum.

The Palaces or Houses of the *Chans* reach vnto the *Mediterranean Taurica* (as *Strabo* calsit.) It hath a famous Towne, and a principall Store-house, called *Baccasaray*, wherein he perpetually resideth. That Towne is situated betweene two Mountaynes, and a little River flowes betweene, whereof the Towne is named. There is a stone *Mosche*; and the *Chans* Sepulchres built within the Townes Liberty of the *Christians* ruines. Not farre also from that Towne there is a *Mahometan* Monasterie, and very many *Tartarian* Graues curiously rayled out of the *Grecian* ruines. In the further end of that Towne, there is another Towne called *Salaticum*, adorned with faire buildings by the *Turkes* there inhabiting. The Royall Seate or Mansion of the *Chans* is sumptuously garnished by the ancient *Tartarian* Princes with Houses, Temples, Sepulchres, and exquisite Baths. When the Princes with their Wiues, oft giue themselves to ease, pastimes, pleasures, and recreation, they go thither. For that place or Region is commodious for huntings, it hath Orchards, Vineyards, Gardens, and many store of good grounds, and it is watered with Chrystalline streames. There are Mountaynes and store of Woods, wherein are seene very many ruines of Houses, and large Forts and Cities, yet they remayne desert, and are of few or none inhabited.

Almassaray.

Almassaray at the meeting of the River *Alma*, is a house of the Kings, where he is woont not often to reside, because he liues not there so commodiously, as in other places, and cannot lodge there with his Court: for there is only one base Village. There are some more obscure bordering Townes and Fortresses, where they are woont to maintayne their Wiues. Also not a few Castles

Castles where the *Sultans*, the *Chans* brothers, or their sonnes and wiues perpetually dwell. That part of *Chersonesus*, which the *Chan* with his *Tartars* possesse from *Perecopia*, toward the Fenne or Lake to the Citie *Cremum*, is cultivated, plaine, champian, fertile, and plentifull of grasse; but toward the Sea and the Palace of the *Chan*, and his Townes, Castles, and Villages, the Countrey is Mountaynous, woodie, well husbanded, and very fruitfull. The Mountaynes in that Coast are huge and remarkable. But the greatest is the highest of all, and hath in the top a Lake of no small quantitie. And although I did not ascend it, yet it is well discerned many miles off, and demonstrates no ordinary height and greatnesse. Plentie of Rivers and no small ones runne from those Mountaynes. Also they haue much fish, but not of any greatnesse (for the Riuer is shallow) yet very saourie and daintie. But because the *Tartars* doe not often feed on fish, the *Christians* only and our strangers when they come thither take paines to catch them. There is also abundance of delicious Fowles, which sometimes *Christian* or *Turkish* Gunners are wont to seeke after, seldome our strangers. There is much game of Harts, Goates, Boares, and Hares neere the Sea vnder the *Tartars* and *Turkes*. Oftentimes also the *Chan* himselfe is wont to hunt some dayes there, but more often he goes into the champion with *Turkish* and *Tartarian* hunting Dogges.

Sortassus is a *Tartarian* Village adjoyning to the *Chans* Regall Mansion, wherein the *Lettow* and *Muscovie* Ambassadors doe often lodge; it is spacious and delightfome. But when *Taurica* or the Peninsula beganne subiect to the *Chans* Dominion, diuers *Italian* Gentlemen *Genuois* after *Capha* was taken by the *Turkes*, or *Tartar* Princes, hauing their Charters written and sealed of their right and proprietie (which I haue seene among them) they held that Village with speciall Priuiledges, or purchased it with that Gold which they carried with them out of their Countrey, or with their seruice to the *Chans*. In going Ambassador to *Christian* Princes, it was permitted them to build a Catholike Temple in that Village, wherein I sometimes entred while I abode there. There was in that Temple one Priest a *Franciscan* Fryer, whom those *Christians* had then redeemed with their money from *Turkish* slauerie.

Cremum, or as the *Tartars* call it *Crimum*, is a Citie and a Castle much vnlike in the antiquitie, magnitude, and height of the wall, amplenesse and renowme, to the other Cities of *Taurica*; It is vnlike the *Mediterranean* (for so *Ptolomie* calls it) perhaps this was called by *Ptolomie* *Taphros*, but by *Plinie* *Taphra*. Now in these latter times before the comming of the *Genoes* into *Taurica*, it seemes to haue beene husbanded and inhabited by a great *Mahometan* Nation, who remooued thither out of *Asia*. For there are seene ancient *Mosches* or *Mahometan* Temples not only in the Citie it selfe, but also beyond the Citie very many with *Chaldaicke* Characters engrauen in great stones. There are very few *Turkish* or *Tartar* Inhabitants, yet the *Greekes* are fewer, who report this, that their Ancestors haue constantly deliuered, that that Citie was whilome dwelt in by the *Persian* Nation, and that it was a *quondam* noble and excellent Store-house of Mechanick Mysteries. A man may certainly conjecture by the ruines and largenesse of the place that it hath beene a famous Citie and a great Colonie of people. The *Tartars* are now vulgarly nominated from that place *Crimis*. They haue a Mint in that Citie. In the Towre which is the greatest in the Citie, the *Chans* wiues are alway kept and spend their liues.

Sidagios of the *Greekes*, but *Sudacum* of the *Genoes*, was called a Castle and Citie. The *Tartars* are vterly ignorant of it. In a loftie rockie and spacious Mountaine standing neere the Sea in the top of it, it hath a higher Towre, a second indifferent, and a third of baser esteeme. The *Greekes* or *Italian* *Genoes* founded their Castles enuironed and fortified with Walls and Towres. There are seene innumerable *Grecian* Churches, and seeme but few, as though they were Chapels, not a few vndermined, but very many are ruined, and lye ouerturned in the dust. The haughtie dissentious and idle *Greekes* being ouerthrowne and weakened by the *Italian* *Genoes*, lost that Citie. There are seene no contemptible signes of the *Genoes* much more illustrious then those of the *Greekes*.

But it is euident by the ruines, that it was once a famous place, & so it is reported by the *Greek*, *Christians*, of whom there are a very few Relikes. Moreouer, many *Christians* haue erected a multitude of Temples which they report to haue beene some hundreds. There are three great Catholike Churches, Houses, Walls, Gates, and faire Towres with Arrace and Ensignes of the *Genoes*, are seene in the lower Castle. I heard from a certayne Metropolitane a *Greeke* and an honest man, who then came thither from the *Grecian* Isles to visit their Priests, and entertayned mee, That when the most barbarous Nation of the *Turks* had besieged that Citie with a great Armada, it was valiantly and manfully defended by the *Genoes*: but when the *Genoes* could no more hold out the daily siege and famine, neither could longer sustaine the violence of such a great Armie of *Turkes*, some hundreds, or, as hee auouched, about a thousand stout-hearted men conueyed themselues into the greatest Church which yet abides entire, and some dayes hardly and courageously preferuing themselues in the lower Towre, into which the *Turkes* forceably entred, hauing made a notorious and memorable slaughter of the *Turkes*, at the length they were all slaine in that Temple. The doores and windowes of that Temple being stopt vp with a wall by the *Turkes*, the slaine bodies lye vnburied to this day. I was prohibited by the *Saniak* of *Capha* sometimes

times a *Turke*, that I should not enter into that Temple. The Custome of the Citie is not meane: it hath very fruitfull Vineyards and Orchards, which doe extend about two miles, now manured by *Caphaes*, *Turkes*, *Jewes*, and *Christians*: For the best Wine of all *Taurica* growes there; all that tract abounds with pleasant Rivers, which runne downe from the highest and middle Mountaynes and Woods, which are there very frequent.

Orium and Oxon.

Having now passed over those vpper Cities, and at the last *Sudaco*, also as farre as *Theodosia*, which the *Italian Genoes* call *Capha*, the banke of *Taurica* is in Longitude a thousand furlongs, craggie, mountaynous, and tempestuous with North windes. Before the Citie the Promontorie that is there seene, doth hang out into the Sea on the South-side toward *Paphlagonia*, and the Citie *Amastrium*, and *Strabo* relates, that it is called of the *Greekes*, *Orium* and *Oxon*, the *Rammes* forehead. And there is another Promontorie *Carambis* of the *Paphlagonians* opposite to it, whereby the *Euxine* Sea is diuided into the double Sea, and *Enripus* straightens them both. *Strabo* sayth, that *Carambis* is distant from the Citie of the *Cheremestay*, two thousand five hundred furlongs, but from the *Rammes* forehead, a farre lesser quantitie. Behind that hilly Countrey, as *Strabo* calls it, hee affirms the Citie *Theodosia* to bee founded, and that it hath large Fields notable for fertilitie, and a Hauen able to receive a hundred Ships, and that that Limit was assigned to the territorie of the *Bosphorines* and *Taurikes*.

Theodosia, now Capha.

Capha or *Theodosia*, is the excellentest and best defended Citie of all *Taurica*. It was built by the *Italian Genoes*; and is placed by the Sea. It hath a Hauen alway frequented. It is perspicuous, that in the times of the *Genoes*, it was a wealthy and populous Citie. But after it was taken from the *Genoes* by the *Turkes* about a hundred yeeres since, the *Italian* Christians were brought into such a straight, that there are but a very few and obscure remaines of them left. The Citie hath in a manner lost her pristine splendour. The *Romish* Churches of *Christians* are demolished, the Houses cast downe, the Walls and Towers, wherein are seene many tokens of honour of the *Genoes* and *Latine* inscriptions, are fallen. Onely two *Catholicke* Temples and two *Armenian* remayne whole, in which it is granted them of the *Turke*, after their owne custome to maintaine their proper Priests, and to bee present at their publike deuotions. It is replenished with *Turkes*, *Armenians*, *Jewes*, but very few *Italian* and *Greeke* Christian inhabitants: Now also it is famous over all that part of *Taurica* for Nauigation and the Hauen. It hath almost innumerable Vineyards, Orchards and Gardens. Men sayle often to *Capha*, from all the bordering and remote Islands of *Greece*, but oftner from the Citie *Constantinople*; for with a prosperous winde they come thither by Ship, in the space of two dayes or little more.

Petigorenses or Colchis.

The *Petigoren* Prouince, or *Colchis* is enlarged, as farre as the *Caspian* or *Hircan* Sea, and is much subiect to Mountaines and very large Woods, which are now seene in these Confines. It is a very free people, and hath many braue Commanders, to whom all the Nations and Families obey. Moreouer they professe themselues *Christians*, and it is manifest in the time of the *Genoes* very many of them were *Christians*, but now wanting Priests and Churches, they onely retayne the opinion of Religion. Most and the greatest part of them are Idolaters, amongst themselves rapacious and cruell, but to Strangers hospitall and free-hearted. The Parents, although they bee of the more Noble or of the Rustickes, sell their owne Children, their Sonnes for Slaues, their Daughters for Wiues to the *Turkes* and *Tartars*, also to many *Christians*, and those which they are wont to steale secretly among themselues, they sell closely beyond the Sea to barbarous strangers after a more then barbarous manner.

Idolaters.

Betweene *Perecopia*, *Cremum*, and *Cusfoma*, are Townes on the North. *Taurica* or the *Peninsula* is exceeding plaine, not very hilly, and altogether champaine. It hath a very fertile soyle, in great part stonie, but great scarcitie of good water. Yet there are found in diuers places very many extraordinarie deepe Fountaynes or Wells of a wonderfull profunditie and difficultie, in times past digged and made by the elder *Greekes*, or those great and antique Nations, who inhabited the *Peninsula* before the *Greekes*.

Deepe Wells.

From *Perecopia* the space of a mile, there is a great Lake congealed naturally of admirable Salt, from whence the purest and best Salt is continually gathered, as if it were frozen; it hath many other Salt lakes. In certayne commodious and in very many places, in Mountaynes and Groues are found in great number, ancient huge *Grecian* ruines of Castles, Cities, Temples and Monasteries, which while they haue many ages bene destitute of inhabitants, by reason of their antiquitie, haue lost their names. All *Taurica* or that *Peninsula*, from the West and North is plaine and champaine, and hath few Townes, many Villages; extends in length the summe of fiftie miles. But from the South and East, it is mountaynous and wooddie, and hath euery where marvellous high, large, stony Mountaynes. In which, betweene *Cremum* and *Capha*, it is reported that veynes of Gold and Siluer, and the best Iron, were whilom found by the Inhabitants. It hath a very fruitfull ground, Floods, delightfome Rivers, Fishes, Meadows, Pastures, abundance of wilde Beasts, Harts, Goates, Boares, Beares, Vineyards, Orchards, Territories, Champaines, Townes, Villages, Hamlets, many and large Granges. *Taurica* or the *Peninsula*, is spread in Latitude after a sort into a circle; in some places, the distance of one or two dayes journey, but in most places about the quantitie of one.

Salt Lake.

The

The Castles and Sea-cities, and the rest of all the *Peninsula*, which are described in their order, with many Villages and Hamlets of *Greeke Christians*, except the Holds and Sea-townes, and many lesse suspected walled Townes in *Perecopia* and *Casslonia*, and a few Villages of *Greeke Christians*, are subiect to the *Turkish* Emperour, and all obey his behests, and are kept with a sure Garrison. The *Peninsula*, which lyes in the middle from the East and South against *Perecopia*, hath a milde winter and temperate ayre. For in the end of December is the beginning of winter, but in the midst of Februarie the sharpnesse of winter, which is more snowie then cold, or subiect to Ice, neither yet doth that endure about three dayes together, neither continues it any longer then to the beginning of March. Therefore about the beginning of the Spring, and alway in a hot Autumne the ayre is very contagious.

10 In *Bratistavia*, the *Sauranen*, *Oczaconien*, and *Bialodogroden*, Plaines are situate betweene *Hipanis* or *Bogus*, *Tyra* or *Nester*. From the North toward *Neper* or *Boristhenes* and *Bogas*, are somewhat plaine and champion grounds, but from the West towards the River *Nester* and *Pruth* or *Hicrasus*, more wooddie and hilly. *Podolia*, *Cameneccia*, and *Moldavia* betweene the streames *Nester* and *Pruth*, euery where border on the middle *Tachnia* and *Bialogrod*, which is by the Lake *Uidono* or *Obidono*, and the *Euxine* Sea, on the West confine on the Plaines, and on the *Euxine* Sea, on the South *Bralogrod*, *Kibia*, and the River *Danubius*. *Oczaconia* hath on the North *Boristhenes*, (into which *Bogus* there dischargeth it selfe) and spacious Plaines, on the South the *Euxine* Sea, and the overflowing Salt meere *Berezania*, from the West the adioyning River *Nester*.

20 Further, that Continent which is betweene *Oczaconia* and *Boristhenes* in the fashion of an Ile, hath into the West *Boristhenes*, as though it were betweene *Boristhenes*, the Fen *Meotis*, and the *Euxine* Sea; on the North the Rivers *Tanais* or *Donum*, on the South the *Euxine* Sea, and that *Isthmus* or Continent, but beyond *Oczaconia* and *Boristhenes*, as far as *Perecopia*, that Continent is verie narrow in many places: but beyond *Perecopia* to the Castle *Ossonum*, a ranke soyle, and all champion and plaine: For in that neck of Land almost all the *Perecopian* and *Ossonian* *Tartars* feed their Flockes and Cattle, and liue there all Summer and Autumne. That Continent or *Isthmus* from *Oczaconia*, as farre as *Ossonum*, for there it is limited, is stretched out in Longitude, as is manifest out of the *Tartars* Diaries more then a hundred miles, but in Latitude not after an equall manner. For it is larger, as well beyond *Perecopia*, as toward *Oczaconia*, or *Boristhenes*.

30 The *Taurican* or *Chersonesen* *Tartars*, who are now called *Perecopen* or *Crims*, doe certainly seeme by the ancient Writers of the *Schythians* to haue been the *Iauolgenses*, and to haue had their originall and appellation from *Rha*, or the River *Volga*. Moreover between the famous, deepe, and great Rivers of the North *Tanais*, or *Don* and *Boristhenes*, it manifestly appeare that they passed by little and little into the Plaines, and a hundred and sixtie yeeres since, or very little more to haue come into *Taurica* or the *Peninsula*.

The stocke of the *Chans*, or of their *Tartar* Princes was antiently called *Cyngis* race, from whom was *Lochtonus* a certaine *Chan*, of whom all the *Chans* take their originall. Hee was the first Emperour of *Taurica* or *Chersonesus* in *Taurica*, or the *Peninsula*. They haue procreated the *Sirinen*, *Bachinien*, *Manguten*, and other *Kinazij* or Dukes, from whom are the *Caiacei*, who are the *Chans* Counsellours and chiefe Officers, who also marry the *Chans* daughters and sisters. The *Vlani*, which are antiently descended of the *Chans* blood, and (if the lawfull posteritie faile) succeed in the Regall Throne. It is very true that the *Mursies* are the noblest of each, now also their posteritie remaine & other warlike *Tartars*, of whom it is certaine he had diuers Hords, of some ten thousand a piece in his company passed into *Taurica*, or the *Peninsula* with him.

40 The *Chans* predecessors sincerely and constantly much esteemed the *Grecian* Chiefetaines, who inhabited at *Mancopia*, and *Ingermene*, and the *Italian* *Genoes*, who dwelt at *Iambold* and *Capha*, as also the other people they found in the *Peninsula*, with whom they had friendship, peace, and league, vntill they were overcome by the *Turkes*, and consumed in warre: they had also many yeeres common mony which I haue seene there.

50 But *Selim*, Emperour of the *Turkes*, compelled and subiugated *Mechmet Gererius Chan* to his Empire. Those Nations being weakned, almost all the Castles and Cities of the *Maritime Peninsula*, being taken and possessed: *Sachmates* the Prince of the *Iauolgan* *Tartars* put him to flight, with a singular and memorable slaughter hauing destroyed his Armie of a hundred thousand. Since which time the *Chans* acknowledge, as chiefe, the Empire of the *Turkes*. The Vice-royes, or Princes of the *Tartars* of *Taurica*, or the *Peninsula* are constituted by them, they receiue thence a Banner, and giue their sonnes and brothers *Soldans* for perpetuall pledges to the *Turkes*.

60 Notwithstanding, after the ancient custome of their Nation, they make a *Galga* or successor to the Empire (as the *French* doe their *Dolphines*) the brother or eldest sonne and more sufficient, who hath the greatest sway in peace and warre, but the *Chans* themselues perpetually depute and elect them, but with the approbation of the *Tartar* Nobles. And if also any dissention or war be raised betweene the *Soldans* or the *Chan* about the Empire, the *Turkish* Emperour neglects not to dispatch

dispatch the *Soldans* pledge, with an Armie and Standard into *Taurica* or the *Peninsula*: and is is sufficient for him to be Prince, the *Chan* and *Sultan* being appeased or forced to goe away by warre, for which cause he hath alwaies many *Ianizaries* in *Taurica*, or the *Peninsula*.

Election of the
Chan.

The election of the *Chans*, after the ancient custome of the Nation, did whilesome consist in the free suffrages of the *Dukes*, *Murshes*, and noblest *Tartars*. Furthermore, for their frequent discord and hidious warres which were occasioned by the *Nogaiens Tartars* bordering on *Taurica*, or the *Peninsula* about the Empire, *Sachibgiereins* and *Dealetigereins*, being *Chans* over the *Tartars*, hauing by subtilty destroyed the more noble and potent *Tartars*, and cast them into fetters, began absolutely to domineere ouer the *Tartars*, and by force to draw the election to their posteritie, the Emperour of the *Turkes* ayding them.

Sachibgiereins.

But if the *Chan* will not constitute his brother *Galga*, but his owne sonne, as it often fortunes, by reason of those discords and reciprocal butcheries among themselves, hee circumuents craftily and subtilly all the *Soldans* brothers, and couertly makes them away. Yet most of them flye to the *Turke*, of whom they are bountifully entertained and comforted, and receiue a perpetuall stipend of him.

The *Soldans* younger sonnes of the *Chans* are educated and tutored by the *Tartars*, or more noble *Murshes*, lest that when they are at mans estate, by reason of their pluralitie, dissentions, or warres might arise: for each *Chan* acknowledge a supreme Dominion, and when they are growne vp, those that are fit are set ouer certaine *Tartar* troupes, and allure many voluntary *Tartars* vnto them, notwithstanding they make leaders of the *Nogaiens Tartars*, and remunerate with monyes and horses most of their parents, whom they esteeme more speciall and substantiall. Very often also through feare of treacheries or seditions among themselves, being ayded by their Gardians fauour, they flye vnto the *Christian* or bordering Princes of their people.

Attalike.

The *Chan* hath *Attalike* Councillours, whom they so terme from the care of their women, parents, or their wiues, by whom those *Sultans* also are continually from their youth educated and provided for: hee hath *Hamiatts*, who are the Agents for exotick Princes affaires with him, and also perpetuall Court Officers. But especially hee conuocates to him the *Dukes*, *Coracei*, *Vlani*, and the nobler *Murshes*, and alwayes vseth to consult with them in weightie affaires. Hee hath principall and meet men Ministers of his Court, whose seruice hee vseth in his Ambassages, and in his diuers other necessary busineses and imployments, who also are exalted to Counsellours and Court Officers. He alwayes maintaines those who are chosen out of the more renowned and illustrious *Tartarian* youth, who are conuersant in his Court by moneths intexchangeably, and when they are made fit, are honoured with those dignities. Yet hee is chiefly and most delighted with the *Cercefins*, *Nogaiens* and *Petogorens*, who are very industrious, valiant, bold, and warlike. On the principall hee bestowes honourable gifts and annuall pensions, and of these his Court is alwayes replenished. In the Princes Court, the better reputed and nobler *Tartars*, are very richly and ciuilly decked, not to pride or superfluous luxurie, but for necessitie and decencie. For they are so enriched by the lazie cowardise, and especially by the irreligious impiety of the neighbouring *Christians*, through making often inrodes, and getting rich booties, that the greater nobler of them in priuate wealth and domestick splendor, are little inferiour to the *Turkes*. They may haue as many women by the *Mahometicall* Law as they will, and for the most part, they buy wiues of the *Petogorens*, which although they sustaine and maintaine, not proudly, but very comely and ciuilly according to the countrey guise, but those by whom they haue issue very honourably and gorgeously. They deliuer their sonnes in their infancie to be instructed in the *Arabike* Letters, but they keepe not their daughters at home, but commit them to the neereft in blood to be provided for. They place their sonnes growne to mans age in the *Chans* or *Sultans* seruice, their mariageable daughters in wedlock to the more honourable and nobler *Tartars* or *Turkes*.

Hamiati.

Wines and
children.

Arabike letters

Mahometan
Religion.

Government
and Lawes.
The *Cadi* and
Begs.

No Attornies
nor Lawyers:
they plead
their owne
cause.

Those *Tartars* are *Mahometans*, and haue Priests and *Mosches*, they vse the *Chaldaick* or *Arabike* Letters, which they haue receiued somewhat corrupted from the *Turks*, although before they came into *Taurica* or the *Peninsula*, they seeme to haue beene a sauage and brutish Nation, and of very sauage conditions, which now also is very perspicuous by the rusticks: for they wanted then altogether those Lawes, Rites, Letters, and Manners. But the *Tartars* being taught by the *Turks* humanitie, and that false worship, the more nobler now generally practise hospitality.

Law or Iustice, is administred in the Towns or Cities of the *Chan* & other *Sultans* among the *Tartars* after the *Mahometane* Law. There are alwayes presbiterall *Cadi* or Iudges in the Villages. *Begi* or Iustices, who heare and decide particular iniuries: but causes of life, blood, theft, which we call Criminall, or of Land, which we call Ciuill or Officiall, the *Chan* himselfe decideth with his Counsellours. In resoluing of which they need no Lawyer, nor vse tricks of law, calumnies, exculpations nor procrastinations. The *Tartars* or Strangers, of meane condition, lay open themselves very freely their wrongs before the Iudges and *Chan*, of whom they are alwayes heard and speedily discharged, for at any time any may haue access to him. When hee comes in publicke, men of the basest degree are not excluded, but being seene of the *Chan* are examined, to wit,

it they haue
the Lawes:
Mahometan
and optimo
mandat fuit
conuocatis,
celle, luxury
heard I Crimi
d omittit.

In the Prin
weapon; ex
They are
are left late
their Horles.

Although
old estate,
Oxen, Kine,
dell, meate,
and macerate

they vie Mar
burthen, and
men dwell no
were Woods

hat Lands and
houses, which
houses are of
Towns, labour
being hired at
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Christian Sl
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The Chan
Polonia, the
Tartars. Th
whom some
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Chan name
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When as the
Nation, and
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if they haue any fuit, that they relate it. For they doe not onely performe great obedience to the Lawes: they adore and venerate their Princes in Gods steed. All spirituall Iudges (after *Mahomets* Law) are accounted among them for Saints, men of all equitie and integritie, fidelitie and opinion. The Princes and Magistrates execute and dispatch whatsoeuer is bidden or commanded suddenly and faithfully, with alacritie, promptnesse, and great feare. They are far from controuersies, criminations, iustices, vnnecessary and personall brawlings, enuy, hatred, filthy excesses, luxury, and ambition in their victualls and array. I abode their nine moneths, neither heard I Criminall or Ciuill Act to haue happened among them, or any composition by reason of enmitie.

Great peace-
ableness to
the shame of
alway lawing
Gospellers.

10 In the Princes Court they weare not, nor at home Swords, neither Bowes nor any other weapon; except Wayfarers and Trauellers, to whom they are very courteous and friendly. They are alwayes secure from Spoylers; but except they keepe perpetuall watch, they are lesse safe from High-way-theeues, and Night-robbers, who steale nothing from them but their Horses.

No daily vse
of weapons.

Although they haue a rich soyle, yet very few Gentlemen, or Plebeians prouide for the household estate, for many neither till nor sow their ground: they abound with Horses, Camels, Oxen, Kine, Sheepe and Flockes of all Cattle, and thereof liue. Yet the Gentlemen haue bread, flesh, meate, distilled * wine and *Metheglin*; but the rusticks want bread, but vse stamp Miller, and macerated with milke and water, which they vulgarly call *Cassa*, for meate (and for drinke they vse Mares milke) and cheesse. They feed on Camels, Horses, and Oxen vnprofitable for burthen, and kill them when they are about to dye, sometimes eate sheeps flesh. The Gentlemen dwell not in the Plaines, but in the Villages of *Taurica* or the *Peninsula*. They which are neere Woods liue in them, although many doe not possesse proper Villages; yet they haue peculiar Lands and Manors. They vse the *Yngarian*, *Russian*, *Moschouian*, *Valachian*, or *Moldauian* slaues, which they keepe, and whereof they haue great plentie, as beasts to euery worke. Their houses are of Timber, much after the *Turkish* fashion: but the *Greeke Christians*, who are in a few Townes, labour and till their grounds as beasts. The *Tartars* serue the *Chan* or *Tartarian* Nobles, being hired at no price, but onely that they may haue meate and apparell: but the rest, and the greatest part of them are alwayes idle. In the Cities or Townes are very few Merchants: but some few practise Mechanick crafts, and some Merchants or Artificers are found there, either *Christian* Slaues or *Turkes*, *Armenians*, *Iewes*, *Cerceassians*, *Petigorens*, (which are *Christians*) *Phylistins*, or *Cyngans*, men of obscure and lowest degree. Those *Tartars*, which liue in the Plaines beyond *Perecopia*, or in the *Peninsula* haue no woods, euery where digge Wells. They vse in stead of Wood Beasts dung, which their Bond-mengather in the Fields, and dry in the Sunne, and houses of the same forme, whereof mention is made in the former description. Those *Tartars*, which are Slaues and Subiects of the *Chans*, *Sultans*, and other Noble-men, are drudges, and alwayes keepe and pasture their Lords innumerable Herds of Cattle; and although they goe from place to place, into the Plaines and Pastures, in seuerall Streets, Hamlets, Townes, or Villages, by separated troupes (or hords) whereof they beare the Names, and of their Masters, so that men may easily find there, those *Tartars* Slaues which they seeke to buy.

* Aquavit.
Meat and
drinke.

Slaues.

Merchants.

Tartar Slaues.

40 The *Chan* hath alwayes by the leagues and agreements, an annuall Donatiue of the King of *Polonia*, the great Dukedome of *Lituania*, the *Palatine* of *Moldania*, and *Cercassian*, and *Nogaien* *Tartars*. The Legats, Orators, Messengers, Truchmen of those Princes come to him yeerely, whom sometimes he entertaines benignely and bountifully, but sometimes receiues, misuses, and detaynes a great while after a more then brutish manner. When therefore they come into *Perecopia*, one of the *Chans* men meets them in the Summer, in the Medow or Plaine, where they rest vnder a Tent: in the Winter they are opportunely and commodiously conuayed into the Village of *Alma*, or *Bacchasanium* more safely bordering on the Towne of the Kings Palace. But after they are lodged there, they are saluted by the Counsellours or Seruants of the Court in the *Chans* name, which procure them refreshing or victualls, two oxen, or one, some sheepe, bread, wine, and barley, not liberally, but in a kind of hospitalitie, and moderately sufficient for once. But when they are called to the *Chan*, hee heares them, the *Soldans*, *Tuians*, *Vlans*, *Marzies*, chiefe Counsellours, and many other Ministers of his Court and principall *Tartars* being present, they are conducted onely by one man to the *Chans* gate, but are brought in by two Counsellours. When as therefore they are entred in, they reuerence the *Chan*, after the ancient custome of the Nation, and hauing saluted him on bended knees declare their message, and are admitted to eate with him. They are honoured with cups and goblets gilded and embossed with gems, filled with Mead or *Methegline* reached from the *Chans* hand, after the order of that people, in signe of clemencie and beneuolence, which they drinke on bended knees. And when they are dispatched, the *Chan* inuites them againe to a Feast. The Feast being ended, they goe backe a little from the Palace doores, and are rewarded with Silke Vests wouen with Gold as low as the ankles, prepared after the guise of the Nation, with one Horse or two, not seldome with Captiues of their owne people. And so attired with those Vests they returne againe to the *Chan*, and render thanks to him for his hospitalitie and liberalitie, and hauing saluted him, depart from the Ban-

Tribute.

Embassadors.

Alma.
Bacchasanium.

Audience.

THE BANQUET

ket. Sometimes a small prouifion is procured for them by one of the *Chans* men in his Dominions when he takes his iourney, and he is conuayed by him as farre as *Boristhenes*.

The *Turkish* Emperours haue made that authoritie constant to the *Chan*, in *Taurica*, or the *Peninsula*, so that when the *Bassa* of *Capha*, or the *Saniak* dye, he rules all the *Signories* in the *Peninsula*, vntill the *Turke* hath sent thither another *Saniak*, or whom he will preferre ouer *Capha*. The *Chan* hath a common Custome-house with the *Turke*, at *Perecopia*, *Caslouia*, *Capha*, and other Cities of *Taurica*, or the *Peninsula*, which are of the *Turkish* Empire. Hee demands annually a contribution of the *Tartars*, *Armenians*, *Iewes*, *Cercasians*, *Petigorens*, and *Grecian Christians*, of whom he hath very few in his Dominion; the *Turkes* are only excepted: euery day are paid for a perpetuall stipend out of the *Turkes* Exchequer twentie five Dollers to the *Chan*, twelue Dollers and a halfe to the *Galga*, to the *Soltan* pledge two and a halfe, and to the same Hostage, Villages, and ample Farmes neere *Adrianople*, called *Ianbola*, are giuen by the *Turke*. To the Dukes, *Caiaks*, *Vlans*, and *Murzies*, and many others which take pay, are giuen constant wages according to each of their estates. Notwithstanding the *Chan* alwayes payes euery yeere to the *Turkish* Emperour Captiues taken in warre of both sexes, the most excellent and precious Furs, and also baser, Butter and Salt, wherewith *Taurica* or the *Peninsula* abounds. And into whatsoeuer warre he shall bee sent or called, he may refuse; neither may hee wage warre with any, but the Duke of *Moscho*, without the Emperour of the *Turkes* leaue or knowledge. The *Chan* exacts annuall pecuniarie Rents from the better sort of Captiues taken in warre, three pieces of Gold; of the raskalitie one Doller, and a tenth of them; but from each of the Fountaines, which are many in his Dominions, in the Plaines of *Taurica*, or the *Peninsula*, one Horse of the *Tartars*; but any necessitie enforcing the *Chan*, all the *Tartars* decree a certaine contribution to him. The *Tartars* Nobles, alwayes at home, and in warre also, yeeld him sustenance of diuers sorts; for hee neither tills nor sowes. Hee hath alwayes proper Herds of Horses, Camels, Oxen, and infinite Flockes of Sheepe. Hee hath a peculiar money of base Copper, which is coyned in *Crimum*, a Towne of his Dominion, round money, whereof tenne are esteemed at a *Turkish* Siluer Asper, which makes one *Polonian* Groat or lesse. But I being present, there were stamped greater Copper money siluered ouer, which was valued at five Aspers. In coyning it he hath a great and plentifull gaine; for in three or foure yeeres, of the same money, which is carried by all the *Tartars* or Strangers into the Mint, new inuented money is alway stamped. For in all *Taurica*, or the *Peninsula*, it is lawfull for none (*Tartar* or stranger) euen in the Cities of the *Turkes* Dominion, vnder a capitoll punishment and confiscation of goods, of what estate soeuer hee bee, to exchange *Turkish* pieces of Gold, or the Doller of Strangers, or the *Turkes* Siluer Asper into *Tartar* coyne of the other value. Neither is it lawfull to buy with Gold or Siluer coyne, but *Tartarian*, which all strangers (none excepted) perpetually receiue by the *Chans* Edict.

Prouifion for warre.

When the *Chan* is about to go to any war, he first signifies to all the *Tartars* of his Dominions by the Seruitors of his Court, and commands them that they prepare themselves for war, within three (or at the most) in foure weekes, and that they prouide for themselves victualls for three or foure moneths. That sustenance is carried in Leather-bags, and those Bags among the Gentlemen are carried on Horses. And they carrie with them food of Millet parched in the fire, or stamped, or ground; for they haue Mills, and thereof steeped in water, the most make meate or drinke. They carry Cheefe and Flesh, and Mares-flesh dried in the Sun: they cut them in pieces boyled or drie, and taking out the bones put them in Sackes. They liue with Mares-milke and Cheefe, and sowre milke, which they tempering with a certaine Art, hold an excellent food. The *Chan* hath only one Chariot with him for any danger of sicknesse; also a few Camels, whereon is carried for his owne person *Aquanita*, or some other prouifion wherewith he is easily satisfied. But the *Tartars* seuerally set meat before him and his Courtiers, the gentlemen (yet very few of them) not seldome carry a little drie bread, and a little *Aquanita* on Camels, or in lighter Carts.

Manner and Art of warre.

But after the *Chan* hath determined any warlike Expedition, he prepares very speedily some exercised men in an indifferent number, and chooseth them sometimes *Tartars*, but more frequently *Cercasians*, *Petigorens*, and those which are accounted spies of Regions and Prouinces of other Princes, and expert Way-leaders, they verie well know each particular passage of Places and Borders, and Fords of Riuers. And when they come into the Marches, they goe into the neere confining circuits, and each in sundrie places view all things, and diligently seeke for Captiues, which when they haue intercepted, they returne with them speedily to the *Chan*, of whom, vsing interrogatories, the *Chan* quickly is acquainted with the estate of those Prouinces where his skouts haue beene. Forthwith therefore hee assigns the day of progression to the *Tartars*, wherein hee stirres alone, and premiseth speedily some seruants of his Court, through all that Hord or Prouince. They constraine and inforce to goe to warre and follow the *Chan* all *Tartars* and *Christians* of his gouernment, men and youth, if they can but sit on horses (besides impotent old men and children) who although they want Armies and Horses, yet are accommodated by the welthier in hope of spoyle. But in eight, or at the vtmost in ten dayes after the *Chans* departure, al of them follow him into certain new defined places, which are beyond *Perecopia* toward *Boristhenes*; the *Galga*, *Soltans*, *Dukes*, *Murzies*, & the most approued valiant and chiefe Warriours

Warriours and Souldiers, being gathered and conuocated together : and they being called to his Councell, first the later Captiues and priue Searchers also are examined, at length they suddenly consult of the seasonableness of time, places, occasion of well ordering the matter, and whether the warre be then commodiously to be prosecuted. And mutuall consent and counsell being made and determined ; yet none of these things is confusedly diuulged to the multitude.

From the same place therefore the Ministers of the Court of the *Chan*, *Galga*, and *Soltans* going before the companies of the Dukes, *Murzons* and other *Tartarian* Nobles (which they lead and rule according to the ancient claime of their kindred, and call them by various appellations in their Language) the *Chan* moues the Armie vnder the Ensignes, following in a meane order after the ancient custome of the Nation: but after they haue set foot in their enemies Land, againe he sends before a certaine number of the most experienced and skilfullest Espials. They goe before the Armie, and send backe to the *Chan* whatsoeuer Countreymen or others they shall take and meet with ; from whom hee may bee certified of the condition and armie of the enemies. But when the *Chan* is certainly informed that no armie of enemies comes out against him, he againe makes a Campe-councell with his Nobles and Peeres, how farre and wide he ought to endamage his enemies Dominions. Then at length he goeth slowly forward in a perfect order with all his Hoast, and commands vpon penaltie of their heads to kill all the obuious Rusticks, lest after they should be taken by the *Tartars*, they should peraduenture make an escape; and certifie his enemies of his bands to the hurt of his men. Moreouer, they kill not women nor children, nor lay hold on them, nor dare lay hands of any of the prey, lest his armie should be surcharged with it, and cause some stay in his proceeding.

But when the *Chan* comes with his armie to the Castles, Townes, Villages, Hamlets and manured places, he elects ten, or at the most fifteene thousand Souldiers with their Dukes, *Murzons*, and chiefe of his Court, and most notable, best tryed, and principall men of Armes of all his Hoast, and leaues them in his owne iurisdiction in his standing Campes, or in the siege of some Fortresse ; then he makes ready the *Galga*, other *Soltans*, Dukes, *Murzons*, and the rest of the Armie, which then is mustred some thousands. And that Armie being spread abroad in diuers bands, ouer each of which the best esteemed and ablest men are made Captaynes, is extended in longitude more then ten miles, and in latitude as much. And as they assemble among themselves at the farthest in seuen or eight dayes, but at the soonest in three or foure running about in troupes through diuers places, and leading straying preyes, and wasting with fire and Sword whatsoeuer they meet with, returne to the Campe : but if they come not backe at the prefixed day to the fortified Campe, they waite not for them, but all the Armie with wonderfull celeritie moue in their arrayes, out of the standing Campe.

And when as then also the *Chan* is truly signified that no Armie pursues him ; he prouides for places not medled with by his troupes, an Armie of some thousands of selected Horsemens, and as yet vnwearied. He employes as many more also in ambushes in diuers places neere the Townes and Castles obuious to the *Tartars*, lest that Armie might without delay fall into the lying in waite on any of their companies. But if he bee certified by his Scouts of any numerous hoast of Enemies, he neuer commits the matter to an vniuersall fight, but goes forward slowly and cautelously with his bands: but if the *Chan* be certainly assured that the Troupes of his Aduersaries are many and valiant, he retires a little, and seekes for the better husbanded and peaceabler places, and with wonderfull agilitie in his precipitious flight, spoyles them with fire and sword, and intends to returne home with the bootie that hee had hastily driuen away. But if then hee hopes his enemies cannot ouertake him, he marcheth with his Armie, yet not too securely, almost in the order to his confines.

But assoone as the *Chan* is entred into his Borders, he takes the tenth of the principall Captiues throughout all the Armie. But the Captaynes of companies, and they which haue brought a greater number of captiues, cull out of each Band the principall for themselves. The other *Tartars* of the promiscuous multitude diuide the Prisoners among their troupes. Notwithstanding before they come to that partition, they first satisfie all those which running about by Bands haue lost Horses, Garments, or any thing else. They sell to the *Tartars* both Noble and Ignoble captiues, if they shall appoint no price whereby they may free themselves, because the *Chan* being viciated with the Merchants gifts hath set a great value on them.

The condition of captiues is very miserable among the *Tartars*, for they are grievously oppressed by them with hunger and nakednesse, and the Husbandmen with stripes, so that they rather desire to dye then to liue. Many of them moued with the present calamitie, and follie, tell the *Tartars* that they are Gentlemen, and haue wealthy and rich parents and friends. They promise of their owne accord a great and almost inestimable ransom, which the barbarous, impious, couetous, hungry, and cruell Nation seekes almost daily to increase with all kind of subtilties and Examinations, tyes them in fetters, vseth them therefore more hardly. But when they vnderstand that an Agent of their people is come to the *Chan*, they meete him with their captiues, of whom sometimes they require the price falsly nominated by themselves, or some-

The Chans tenth.

Miserie of Captiues.

Manner of
redemption.

*Ars deluditor
Arts.*

times promised by the Prisoners: but the Agent who wel knowes the craft and deceitfulness of the *Tartars*, finds fault with the captiues foolishnesse, and tell the *Tartars* that they are neither noble nor rich, and that they knew not, nor will euer be able to pay the price, and as though they were neither moued with Pietie nor Religion reject them. Yet the Agent is diligent that they be inscribed in the Catalogue, and if they haue a purpose to ransom any with their own mony, they hold it expedient to suborne *Jewes* or *Tartars*, and other Merchants being corrupted with mony: by whom, being as it were neglected and rejected by the Agent, they are releated at a far easier rate. Nothing therefore is more frequent to the captiues, then to promise and offer to the *Tartars* this price, for which they are sold to the *Turkes*, *Jewes*, and stranger Merchants, and others beyond the Sea, or a little more, or twice so much, if they bee able to performe it: but if they cannot learne of the Rustickes or others what they are, as the *Tartars* are for the most part, went often to enquire of their captiues, they are content with little. Neither doe they sell them to strangers, but rather to the Agent of their Nation: but if they are not redeemed by the Agent, they command them to write to their Parents or Kinsfolke. Also many captiues are deliuered with the exchange of *Tartar* captiues, in prouiding for and freeing of whom, the *Tartars* exhibite and shew farre greater pietie, friendlinessse and care, then our *Christians*. For disrepecting all price, they first demand their *Tartar* captiues in exchange of ours, which often promising the same and not able to performe it, vse to bring vpon themselves a farre greater discommoditie. For they aske of them almost an vnualuable summe, wherewith they prize their *Tartars*, which when they are not able to pay, they sell them to barbarous Nations ouer the Sea for perpetuall slaues, for as great a price as they can, and very often at an excessiue rate, or if the *Tartars* are wealthy, they condemne them to perpetuall slavery.

The *Chan* hath all his *Tartar* Armie gathered of Horsemen, except some hundred Gunners *Ianizaries*, Footmen, which are either *Turkish* Auxiliaries, or some of his owne which he maintaynes. He is accustomed to carrie with him some smaller Ordnance to warre. From *Taurica* or the *Peninsula* the *Perecopens*, and *Crimis*, *Ossouiens*, *Nogariens*, *Cerceessians*, are Tributaries and Souldiers for aide, the Duke of the *Cerceessians*, *Petigorens* are Stipendiaries and Mercenaries, and are wont to goe voluntaries to the *Chans* warres. The *Oczacouiens* and *Bialogrodens*, also they who by the continuall couenants which they haue with the *Turkish* Emperour, sometimes also the *Dobruccen Tartars* and Inhabitants of *Dannubius*, by the command of the Emperour of the *Turkes* follow him to warre. All that Hoast collected out of those *Tartars*, is wont to make the number of a hundred and twentie thousand, sometimes also thirtie thousand more, but not seldome to exceed that Summe. I haue bin truly informed by many credible *Christians*, which often follow the *Chans* warres, and by some captiued Gentlemen of our Nation, who haue many times seene his Armie.

Their Horses.

All haue according to their vse *Tartarian* Horses, neat, excellent, stomackfull, swift, and indifferent good and commodious to vndergoe great labours. The *Chan*, most of the *Soltans*, and *Tartar* Nobles vse in warre *Turkish*, *Caramanian*, *Arabian*, and other *Asian*, *Tartarian*, and the best Out-landish Horses. The swiftest Horses are accounted among them at a great and almost inestimable price. They alwayes feed them Summer and Winter in the Plaines of *Taurica* or the *Peninsula*, but very often as farre as the Riuer *Boristhenes* and *Tanaïs*: the Gentlemen nourish at home very few Horses, only for their vrgent occasions, not for any arrogancie or luxurie. They seldome put their Iades and vnprofitable Horses for riding in the Waggon, for they doe all their businesse with Camels and Oxen.

Their Armes.

The *Tartars* vse their ancient weapons, a two-edged Sword, or *Tartarian* Cymiter somewhat long, and a *Turkish* Dart, or a *Persian*, shorter and broader of the best Iron, and well wrought; a peculiar *Tartarian* Bow, a long Arrow, and swift, a *Quiuer*, sometimes a short Speare after the old guise of their people. They goe with Brest-plates and Helmets, and in *Persian* or *Moscouian* Armes, wherewith they abound being enriched by the spoyle of *Christians*. They haue ancient Saddles and Bridles after the custome of the Nation, very fitting, not for pride or superfluitie: the Nobles haue them prepared very elegantly, strongly and compendiously for their vse. But most in the *Tartar* Armie are altogether vnarmed and cowards, and they carrie with them to warre by reason of their great Hoast, almost an infinite number of Horses. For a *Tartar* euen of the basest condition will scarcely be content with one or two Horses, but three, foure, and more, which he may haue alwayes readie with him at his hand. Therefore the Armie of the *Tartars* is made so numerous, great and terrible, which when it is seene as farre off, is deemed by our men almost an infinite and innumerable Hoast.

Store of Horses.

Now when the *Tartarian* Armie is come into their enemies Country, the *Tartars* ranke not themselves in bands or troupes, but all set forward and proceed leisurly. They dispose many Watchmen in all parts throughout their companies, which they make greater or lesser for their supply, but after that the foremost of them haue descryed their enemy, they counterfeite a flight, that they may more easily allure them into those troupes, which they haue laid in ambushments, and

Flight fayned.

and so ouer-charge him. But when they espie a great Armie of enemies, they make a retraite quickly and speedily to their Armie, Rankes, and Banners.

There is great celeritie in constituting and gouerning their troupes, seeing that they are not ruled onely by the aduertizements of the Generals and Praefects of their Regiments, but also by the shew of Whips, as is the long continued practice of the Nation: and they are subject so to a becke, that they are very easily brought into their Ranges, whensoever it is necessary.

The Chan is alwayes fortified in warre, with a band of some thousands of noble and courageous Tartars in number, some hundreds of Janizaries, Footmen, and some small Ordnance. In the Chans Regiment a very great white Mares tayle, and a piece of Greene and Red Silke of the Turkish Emperour is carryed before on a great Pike for the Standard. There appeare in the troupes of the other Tartars, many Ancients and Ensignes of various colours.

Their Discipline.

His strength. The principall Ensigne a Mares tayle.

The more famous Souldiers, and they which are notable in reputation, dexteritie and warlike Prowes, and haue archieued in warre some Noble Seruice and Enterprize, are greatly honoured by the Chan, Soldans, Kiniazons, and Murzons. And that respect is had to them, that the Chan doth not only reward them with certayne great beneficts and such liberalitie, as he can shew them, but also is so mindfull of their deserts and merits, that he assignes them and their successors in the Assembly, and as the fashion is, at his Table a perpetuall place of honour among his more noble Murzons. That dignitie among the Tartars is the greatest, and Hereditary, for they going to warre able and experienced men which possesse that place, are dignified by the Chan, with the glorie of leading the Troupes. The Chan also frees some Tartar captiues with the permutation of captiues, and in ransoming others he largely powres out his owne Treasure, and willingly comforts them as he is able.

CHAP. XXII.

DITHMAR BLEFKENS his Voyages, and Historie of Island and Groenland.

IN the yeere 1563. two Hamburg Merchants ships determined to sayle to Island, the Mariners, by an ancient custome, desirous to haue a Minister of Gods Word with them, commend this care to the Ministers of the Church of Hamburg, and intreat them to prouide them a Minister. One Doctor Paulus ab Etzen was then Superintendent of the Church of Hamburg. While therefore I stayd at Hamburg, expecting my Library from Rostoch, I entred into some familiaritie with Paulus, and the rest of the Ministers. This Office was bestowed vpon me, which I vndertooke the more willingly, because I had a longing desire to know strange things, and diuers Countries, yeelding to their perswasion. Taking ship therefore the tenth of Aprill, wee sayled vpon the Coast of England and Scotland, and passing beyond the Ilands Orcades, in number fifteene, whereof the most part lye vnmanured for the barrenesse; Ferow and Hitland are inhabited: Here wee saw a very high Rocke, which in the top representeth the head of a cooled Monke, where also there is a safe Harbour against all winds, and this Monke deliuereth many from present dangers. The fourteenth of Iune we descryed Island, which seemes as farre off, like winter clouds. The next day we attayned the Land and Hauen of Haffensford toward the South.

He published this Booke Anno 1607.

Island is a rough, hilly and snowie Land, which is supposed to bee twice bigger then Sicilia: it is thought to be a hundred leagues in length, which also Olans Magnus testifieth in his eleuenth Booke. It hath the name of the perpetuall Ice, and coldnesse of the Ayre, which is there most sharpe: for eight whole moneths it is troubled with Ice: It burneth notwithstanding with heat and inward fire in many places. The extremitie of cold increaseth this heate in the bowels of the earth, which cold continueth the greater part of the yeere (a few Summer moneths excepted) and so bindeth the pores in the vpper part of the Earth, that it can haue no free vent. And this Island hath so great a Latitude from the Equator, that the Arctick Circle diuides it in the middest, that is to say, sixtie five degrees and a halfe. The Ilands called Ebuda, are obiect to the North part of this Island. But whether that be of these, which Ptolemie, and ancient Writers call Thule, or rather Iseland, that great Island, I dare neither affirme, nor altogether denie, because there is no Island found where Ptolemie set Thule. Now, the later Writers make another manner of longitude about Scotland, and the bordering Ilands, then Ptolemie euer thought.

I will draw the Descent of this Nation from their first originall, following the truth of the Iseland Chronicles. In the yeere of Christ 900. in the time of Alebrand Bishop of Breme, certayne of the Nobilitie of East Frisia, and of the Countrey of Breme, desirous to discouer strange Countries toward the North, set sayle from Weser, and passing beyond the Orcades, found this Island almost in the vtmost skirts of Europe, yet habitable, but full of Snow: which they called Iseland, for the coldnesse and roughnesse thereof. And when they had sayled further towards the North about two hundred leagues, they found another Island, which (by contraries) they

Of the Iselanders Religion.

IN the yeere of Christ 1398. *Woldemarus*, the second of that name gouerned the *Danish* Kingdome, whereunto *Norway* was added, whose posteritie held it, vntill *Ericus* Duke of *Pomerania*, and *Christopher Banar*. Vnto this *Waldemar* all the *Aristoian* Colonies obeyed, so that now, vnder that *Woldemarus*, the *Iselanders* were first instructed in the Christian Religion, when before they had worshipped strange Gods. And when almost all Christian people, in that lamentable darknesse and title of a Church, as it were by Witchcraft deceiued, were detayned in most deepe bonds of superstition; it could not bee but they, who were furthest removed from the societie of Learned men, and dwelling vnder an vnciuill and barbarous Climate, should fall into most foule Idolatrie, when sometimes (as hereafter shall bee declared) they had Deuils to serue them, as familiar as domesticall seruants. But after *Luther* began to bee knowne, *Christianus* the King of *Denmarke* procured purer Doctrine to himselfe, and purged the Churches in the Kingdome of *Denmarke*, *Norway*, and all the Ilands subiect vnto him; sending Ministers into *Iseland*, to sow the seede of the Gospell there. Hee sent a Printer also out of *Denmarke*, to set forth the Bible, the common places of *Philip Melancthon*, the Workes of *Urbanus Regius* and others, in the vulgar Tongue, to the Pastors who were ignorant of the *Latine*, as at that time almost all of them were. And also sent for fit and apt young men out of *Iseland*, whom hee maintayned in the *Haffnian* Vniuersitie at his owne costs, and gaue them charge ouer Churches and Schooles.

The Christian care of King Christian.

King *Woldemare*, as soone as they should professe *Christian* Religion in *Iseland*, ordayned them two Bishops, one in *Scalholden* in the East part, and another in *Hollen* in the West, whose Successours at this day retayne nothing but a shadow, and a bare Title, for they haue no other reuenues but Butter and Fish. But when that reformation (whereof I spake) was made by King *Christian* in the Churches of *Iseland*, one of the Bishops in *Scalholden*, conspiring with the people, reiects the Doctrine of the Gospell, and making a rebellion they kill the Kings Lieutenant. The yeere following, which was 1535. the King sent a Noble man of the Order of Knighthood, one *Paul Hirselt* (whom I saw an old man in *Denmarke*) furnished with a Fleet, Souldiers, and Munition into the Iland. The seditious being slaine, hee renueth the reformation of the Doctrine of the Gospell, and returneth into *Denmarke*, leauing a certayne Noble man to take charge of the Church and Iland.

Two Bishops in Iseland.

The greatest man in *Iseland* at that time was one *Tadde Bonde*. Hee, after the Kings Armie was departed, conspiring with the principall men (whom by his Authoritie hee drew to take his part) revolted from his Allegiance, and perswaded the rest of the Ilanders to follow. They meete together in a place called *Waloec*, and conspiring to rebell, and cast off the Kings subiection, they impart their counsels together, and *Tadde* had his possessions not in one place, and many re-tayners, and for these causes hee thought they could not easily bee suppressed. The Bishop who dwelt in the East, had a speciall care to acquaint the Kings Lieutenant with all that was done (for the Lieutenant was absent in the West part of that Iland) and the Bishop hated *Tadde* a long time. For in that first Rebellion, hee had fallily accused him to the Lieutenant as guiltie, and author of the Rebellion. This accusation onely brought great and extreame calamitie vpon him.

Tadde Bonde.

Waloec.

The Lieutenant being certified what was done, hee perswadeth by fit instruments, some of the Complices of the faction, to continue in their Allegiance, propounding rewards and punishments. Then many of them when they saw the greatnesse of the danger, leauing him, came humbly to the Lieutenant, and begge pardon, and obtayne it. *Tadde* therefore is adiudged an Enemy, both of the King and of his Countrey, they promise therefore by an Oath and giuing of their Faith, that they will pursue him. Then hee, through feare of the danger, with a few of his Domestickes which hee had gathered together, kept himselfe at the foote of *Hekelued*, but being circumuented they were all slaine, and hee taken. They that tooke him, brought him to the Bishop, to commit him to Prison, but hee refused to receiue him. Therefore they draw him to another certayne man. of those who had the chiefe place in Iustice, neither would hee receiue him, fearing the hatred of the people. There was at that time there a certayne *Iselander*, *Ionas* by name, a man of courage. I know (sayth hee) to whom I will commit him, that will diligently keepe him, and forthwith hee slew him and buried him. And so the Sedition was appeased. And from that time vntill this day, the Word of God is taught amongst Barbarous men, after the manner of the Coufession of *Augusta*.

The Life and Manners of the Iselanders.

IN the whole Iland, there are three sorts of men, who are held in any reckoning and account: Three sorts of people. For the common people, by reason of the scarcitie of Ships wherewith they fish, make themselves slaues to the richer. Of those three sorts, the first is of them whom they call *Loeshmaders*, that

- that is to say, *Men of Iustice*: for *Loch* in their language, signifieth *Law*. These men administer Iustice, and there are many of them, but twelue of them onely haue the yeerely charge of Iustice. All men obey their Iudgement and Decrees. Another sort is of them, who are called *Bonden*: They are in the place of Nobles, and as euery one of them is richest in Shipping, and Cattle, so hee hath most Fishers, and followers. This onely power they know. The third sort is of Bishops and Ministers of the word of God, of the which many are found euery where throughout the whole Iland.
- Twelue Iustices each yeere** 10
- Strength.** There are many of the *Islanders* very proud and high minded, especially by reason of the strength of body which they haue. I saw an *Islander*, who easily put an *Hamburg Tunne* full of Ale to his mouth, drinking off it as if hee had had but one small measure.
- Habite.** Both Sexes in *Island* haue the same habite, so that by the garments you shall not easily discern whether it bee Man or Woman. They want Flaxe, except it bee brought vnto them by our Countrey-men. The Women-kinde there are very beautifull, but ornaments are wanting.
- Superstition and Witchcraft.** The whole Nation of the *Islanders* is much giuen to Superstitions, and they haue Spirits familiarly seruing them. For they onely are fortunate in Fishing, who are raised vp by night of the Deuill to goe a fishing.
- Night Rauens.** And although the Ministers of the Gospell vse all diligence in dissuading them from this impietie; yet this wickednesse hath taken roote, and sticketh so deeply in their mindes, and they are so bewitched of Sathan, that they can admit no sound Doctrine and Dehortation. Yea, by the Devils meanes, if you offer them money, they promise a prosperous wind and performe it, which I know, as hereafter shall bee spoken. *The like* Olaus Magnus *wructh of the Finlanders in his third Booke*. They hold Ships also by inchantment almost immoueable, and that in a prosperous wind.
- Sweet sacrifice for the Deuill, letice surable his lips.** And truely it is a wonder that Sathan so sporteth with them. For hee hath shewed them a remedie in staying of their Ships, to wit, the Excrements of a Maide being a Virgin: if they annoynt the Prow, and certaine planckes of the Ship, hee hath taught them that the Spirit is put to flight, and driuen away with this stinke.
- Learning.** In the rest of the carriage of their life, they thus behaue themselves. The Parents teach their male Children (euen from their child-hood) letters and the Law of that Iland, so that very few men are found throughout the whole Iland, but they know Letters, and many Women vse our letters, and haue also other characters, with the which they expresse some whole words of theirs, which words can hardly bee written with our letters. They giue themselves to hardnesse, and fishing from their Infancie; for all their life consists in Fishing. They exercise not Husbandrie, because they haue no Fields, and the greatest part of their foode consisteth in Fish, ynsauerie Butter, Milke and Cheese. In stead of Bread they haue Fish bruised with a Stone. Their Drinke is Water or Whay. So they liue many yeeres, without medicine or Physitian. Many of them liue till they bee one hundred and fiftie yeeres old. And I saw an old man who sayd hee had then liued two hundred yeeres. Nay, *Olaus Magnus* in his twentieth Booke sayth, that the *Islanders* liue three hundred yeeres.
- Fiwing & fish. Drinke.** The greater part of *Islanders* hath neuer scene Bread, much lesse tasted it. If our men at any time sell them Meale or Corne, they mingle it with Milke, and lay it vp for a long time, as delicacies for Nobles. They call this sauce or mixture, *Drabbell*.
- An old man or a loud lie.** The *Germanes* that trade in *Island* haue a place in the Hauen of *Hessensford* fenced by Nature, where vnder Tents they set their Merchandise to sale, as Shooes; Garments, Glasses, Kniues, and such kinde of Merchandise of no price. The *Islanders* haue Oyle molten out of the bowels of Fishes, knowne to our Tanners and Shoemakers: they haue Fish, Brimstone, white Foxe skinned, Butter and other things. They barter all these for our Commodities, nor is the bargain ratified, before they bee well stuffed with our Meat, Wine or Beere, together with their Wiues and Children whom they bring with them, how many soeuer they haue.
- Bread.** Comming into the Hauen, they haue their Daughters with them which are marriage-able: they after they haue inquired of our companie, whether they haue Wiues at home, or not, they promise a nights lodging for Bread, Bisket, or any other trifling things. Sometimes the Parents yeeld their Daughters freely, euen for a whole moneth, or as long as they stay. If shee prooue with Child by that lying with her, the parents loue their Daughter better then before, and the Child being borne, they bring it vp some yeeres, while either the Father returne, or they giue it to their Sonne in law that shall bee, for a Dowrie with their Daughter, who doth not despise it, because it is borne of the *Germane* blood. If any Virgin haue familiaritie with a *Germane*, shee is honoured among them, and therefore shee is sought of many Suiters. And the time was before this, that Whoordome, which was without the degrees of Consanguinitie and Affinitie, had no Infamie. And although Preachers crie out against it, and the offenders are seuerely punished, yet they hardly abstaine.
- Whoores.** They lay not vp Wine and Beere which they buy of our Countrey-men, but quasse it vp house by house by course one with another, and that freely or for nothing. While they drinke, they sing the heroicall acts of their ancestors, not with any certaine composed order or melodie, but as it commeth in euery mans head. Neither is it lawfull for any one to rise from the Table to make
- Commodities.** 40
- Drinking and singing.** 60

make water, but for this purpose the daughter of the house, or another maid or woman attendeth alwayes at the Table, watchfull if any becken; to him that beckeneth shee giues the chamber-pot vnder the Table with her owne hands; the rest in the meane while grunt like Swine, least any noyse bee heard. The water being powred out, hee washeth the Bason, and offereth his seruice to him that is willing, and hee is accounted vnciuill who abhorreth this fashion. They entertaine them that come vnto them with a kisse, and they behold and looke each on other, if paraduenture they may see Lice creeping on their garments, which greatly trouble them for want of linnen: if thy see any, each taketh them from the other, and as often as he taketh away one, so often doth he thanke him, with his head discouered, and this they doe one to the other, as long as they see one.

Louing
wormes.
Lousie louts

- 10 By night the Master of the house, with all his family, his wife and children lye in one roome, Lodgings
couered with a cloth made of Wooll which they make. And the like clothes they lap vnder them, without straw or hay put vnder. All of them make water in one chamber-pot, with the which in the morning they wash their face, mouth, teeth, and hands; they alledge many reasons thereof, to wit, that this makes a faire face, maintaineth the strength, confirmeth the sinewes in the hands, and preserueth the teeth from putrifaction. If Catle perishe in the waters or snow (which often commeth to passe) they say, they are killed of God, and are accounted among the delicacies. And it happened in the yeere 1564. in a place called *Ackermisse*, that in the month of Ianuary some Kine strayed in the darke, and the fogge was so great, and the depth of snow, that they could not be found. In the moneth of April they were first found vntainted, and without any euill smell, and being distributed among the neighbours, some part was brought to the Gouvernour, with whom I liued at that time, which was not lawfull for him to despise, yet he commanded it to bee giuen to the poore.

- 20 In the Winter time, before and after the *Solstitium*, when the Sunne declineth, and being in *Sagittarius*, *Capricornus*, and *Aquarius*, it departeth from them, neither doth it ascend about the Horizon, while it touch *Pisces*, therefore they haue no light but of the Moone and Starres. In like manner about the Summer *Solstitium*, when the Sunne ascendeth to *Gemini*, *Cancer*, and *Leo*, it neuer goeth downe vnder the Horizon, therefore at that time they haue no Night. In the Winter time, they keepe their Beds many dayes, and exercise themselues in the game of Chessie, Chessie.
the inuention wherof is due to *Xerxes* the Philosopher: the meane while the seruants bring them
30 their meate dressed to their beds. They keepe Lampes of the oyle of Fish continually burning, others burne Tallow candles.

- In the moneth of Februarie, as soone as the Sunne ascends about the Horizon, by little and little the dayes grow longer, then they begin to Fish, whereof there is so great plentie, that it is scarce credible; for the Fishes which for three whole moneths swamme in the darke, as soone as they see a fish of Tinne fastened to an Iron, they ranne to it in schoales, that they are not onely drawne vp by the jawes, but wherefoeuer the Iron toucheth them. Hauing taken them, they plucke out the bones, and lay vp their bowels, and make Fat or Oyle of them. They heape vp their Fish in the open ayre, and the puritie of the ayre is such there, that they are hardened onely with the winde and Sunne, without Salt, better surely then if they were corned with salt.
40 And if they kill any Beasts, they preferue the flesh without stinke or putrifaction, without salt, hardened onely with the winde.

Dryed Fish

Of the wonderfull standing Pooles, Lakes and Fountaynes in Iseland.

- IN diuers places almost throughout the whole Iland, are Bathes and scalding Fountaynes, which flow out in great abundance. This water as soone as it begins to coole, hath a Sulphurie substance in the top thereof. In these scalding waters, wherein I could scarce dippe my finger, red Diue-doppers are seene afarre off, if you come neerer, they vanish, if you depart, they appeare againe, so all day long (if any please) they play boe-peepe with men. Whether they bee Diue-doppers indeed, I leaue it to others to decide.
50

Hot Bathes.

Diue-doppers.

- At the West of this Iland, there is a huge smoakie Lake, and very cold, which turneth all things that are cast into it into stones, and that in few dayes, and (which is worthy of great admiration) if you put a stick vpright into the bottome, the lower part which is flucke into the earth, hath the resemblance and hardnesse of Iron after two dayes, that which was in the water hath the hardnesse and shew of a Stone, the vpper part which remayned about the water, keepeth his wonted forme: And I twice proued the truth of this thing, but when I put the lower part (which represented Iron) to the fire that it might melt, it burned like a Coale.
60

Stone-making water.

Note.

- There are two Fountaynes of most different qualitie, in a place vpon the Sea coast, which is called *Turlocks* Hauen, the one cold, the other hot; these Fountaynes by pipes are drawne into one place, and tempered for bathing, they make a most wholesome Bath. Not farre from these Fountaynes, there is a certaine other Fountayne, which bubbles foorth liquor like Wax, which notably cureth the French disease, which is very common there.
60

French disease

Not farre from the Hauen *Haffnesforde*, there is a cleft in a Rocke like to a Fountayne of vnmeasu-

measurable depth. If you looke into it, you cannot see the water, but if you cast in a stone, halfe an houre after you shall heare it falling, as if it fell into brazen Vessels, and forthwith the water ariseth, and it is filled to the top of the Wels brimme, and it is a most cleere water, which notwithstanding no man dare touch, nor taste, neither doth it flow out, but so long after, as the stone which is cast in, sinketh to the bottome. There is another Lake in the middle of the Iland, which casteth forth a pestiferous fume, insomuch as it killeth Birds flying ouer it with the poyson thereof.

Of the wonderfull Mountaynes in Island.

There are three Mountaynes in *Island* very admirable, the one is called the Mountayne of the *Crosse*, the other *Snenelsjockell*. These two pierce the cloudes with their heigh, whose heads, or tops no man euer saw, nor are they euer seene without Ice and Snow; in those, Lightnings and horrible Thunders are daily heard, when neuerthelesse, in the neighbouring Valleyes the Aire is faire and cleere, as in Summer time. The third Mountayne lyeth on the North of the Iland, and not very high, but it hath burned very many yeeres; with what fire or matter, it is vnknowne; but seeing Brimstone is digged out of the Earth throughout the whole Land, it seemeth, that the Sulphurie matter is sometime inflamed. This Mountayne is not farre from the Sea, and the Sea on one side beates vpon it: it is called *Hecla*, sometimes it casteth forth flame, sometimes fierie water, then blacke ashes and Pumis stones, in so great abundance, that it darke-
neth the Sunne. No man also can dwell neere it by fixe mile, neither are there any pastures about it. Sometimes bold men, and such as regard not their liues, cast stones into the hollow places; for sometimes there is a wonderfull calme in the Mountayne; especially when the Westerne wind blowes, it casteth backe the stones flung into it with an horrible noyse and sound: the common people thinke the soules of the damned to be tormented heere: it is certayne that diuers and horrible spirits are obserued in this Mountayne and about it; for if a Battaille be fought in any place, the *Islanders*, especially they that sayle and fish in the Sea neere to *Hecla*, know the day of the Battaille fought, although they know not where it be done: for they see (as they report) wicked spirits going forth, and returning, and bringing soules with them. And such a storie is reported all *Island* ouer.

Hecla a burning Hill.

Conceit of Purgatorie.

Collusions of men, or Illusions of Devils. Arngimlonas an Islander scoffes at it as fabulous.

A Fisherman sayling by *Hecla*, met with another ship, both had a prosperous wind, and when (after the manner of Saylers) he was demanded who hee was and of what place, hee answered, that hee had the Bishop of *Breme* in his ship, whom hee would conuay to *Hecla*: and it was knowne that the Bishop dyed the same day, which notwithstanding, I would not set downe for truth. If any perish by Sea, or otherwise dye, sometimes leaving their Friends and Acquaintance, they appeare very heauie, being demanded whither they goe, and from whence, they answer they are brought to *Hecla*, vnder a cruell Master the *Denill*, and so vanish. And they are so bewitched of Satan, that they thinke them the soules of the departed.

But because no man that is well in his wits, will thinke that Hell is in this Mountayne, yet it may be demanded, whence the Hill hath this matter, whereby it should bring forth so many yeeres flames, so many ashes, and such abundance of Pumis stones? For wee see the most solid and firme bodies, and all things to be consumed by fire: and for that cause some thinke, that it shall come to passe that these flames shall once be extinguished: for the cause sayling, they deny that any effects can follow. But heere (what I thinke) I will freely speake, yet sauing other mens judgements. It is manifest by watry Meteors, that there is a continuall generation of water, by the vapours gathered together in the cauities of the Earth; which issueth forth by Fountayns; but the efficient and materiall causes abiding perpetually, the effects also continually remayne: so also in the bowels of the Earth, there are certayne places, which by their owne nature draw vnto them a hote and dry exhalation, and that it resolues it into flames, ashes, and Pumis stones, which may easily be done in this Mountayne, by reason of the Sulphur matter, which is found in *Island* throughout the whole Land. And as Fountaynes send forth more abundance of water in the Winter time, then in the Summer, nay, some of them are dry, because matter faileth; so is it with this Mountayne: for sometimes matter failing, it hath neither flames, nor smoke, and all is quiet, whereby it appeareth that the matter and efficient cause faile. However it bee, I know this, that no man may come to the foot of the Mountayne without danger and feare, as hereafter shall be declared.

Strange Story.

The same yeere I was in *Island*, the nine and twentieth of Nouember, about midnight in the Sea, neere *Hecla*, there appeared a flame, which gaue light to the whole Iland, so that all of vs astonished, wondred, and carefully expected the issue thereof: the elder sort and such as were skilfull in this matter, said, that this light came from *Hecla*: an houre after, the whole Iland trembled, as it should haue bene moued out of the place: after the Earthquake followed a horrible cracke, that if all warlike Ordnance had bene discharged, it had bene nothing to this terrour. It cannot be thought, much lesse expressed by word, how horrible it was. Wee thought that the whole frame of the World would fall, and that the last Day was at hand: but it was knowne

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knowne afterwards that the Sea went backe two leagues in that place, and remayned dry.

About the beginning of Iuly, at a certayn time of the yeere great store of Ice suddenly floteth to the Island about *Hecla*, and there goes a rumour through the whole Island, nay it is beleued, that the damned soules are tormented in this Ice by course, in the Flame, in the Mountayne, and after in the Ice. This Ice for three whole moneths swimmeth only about *Hecla*. If you take any part of this Ice out of the Sea, and wrap it in a linnen cloth, and lay it vp in a Chest, it remayneth so long vnmelted, as it swimmeth in the Sea; but if the Ice in the Sea vanish, which suddenly in one night happeneth, this appeareth not, nor leaueth any signe of moysture in the linnen cloth, which is not a hard thing for Satan to doe, to take away the Ice without moysture, to increase their incredulitie. *Olaus Magnus maketh mention of this Ice in his eleventh Booke.* But because I determined to search out all things diligently, I sayled not without great feare vnto this Ice, and I obserued, that this Ice was violently cast against the Rockes by force of the winds, and so made a mournfull sound afarre off, as if miserable howlings were heard there. Hereupon the *Islanders* thinke the soules of the damned are tormented in this Ice.

Another wonder.

Of the Riches of the Islanders.

I haue said that *Island* was a rough and snowie Countrey, and besides, it is full of Rockes and stones; and so truly, that there is not a field in the whole Island: they haue not so much as Gardens, wherein they may haue Pot-herbes or Pulse: they know no kinde of Corne nor Apples, Peares, nor Cheries, nor any fruit of Trees. And, which is almost incredible, they neither vse Bread nor Salt, yet they are well liking, and strong. There is no Citie in the whole Island: they seldome haue two or three dwellings together. They haue their Cottages on the Sea side for fishing, and vnder ground by reason of the fierce windes.

No fruits.

There is no lone of money among them, for wares are changed for wares. Brimstone groweth on the South part, and almost throughout the whole Island, which is digged out in great abundance: they sell this stuffe purged for a small price. Mines of Gold or Siluer, nor of any other mettall they haue none. They vse Iron, but such as is brought vnto them. You shall scarce finde a man, who hath not Iron Nayles in a Bagge, wherewith Horse-shoes are fastened.

Bartar.

Brimstone.

All their houses are vnder ground, for they haue no matter for building. There is not a tree in the whole Island, except the Birch-tree, and that in ones place, which also exceedeth not the stature of a man in length, and that by reason of the vehemencie of the winds, that it cannot grow higher. This Birch-tree after the Summer *Solstitium* beginnes first to bud, the leaues haue a most sweet smell, and of so fragrant a sauour, that the *Germanes* put them in their Tents, and vpon their meats for a singular delight. Yet sometimes great abundance of Firre-trees from *Tartaria*, or else where carried by force of the waues and the Ice, arriued in *Island*. The chiefe vse of them is in building Cabbins vnder the ground: you shall scarcely find a house out of the earth, by reason of the strong winds, which sometimes ouerthrow Houses and their Riders. They haue great plentie of Butter, for the fatnes of the grasse: for the *Island* grasse is so fat,

Birch-tree.

Great winds.

Fat grasse.

that Oxen after a certaine time are to be driven from the Pastures, lest they burst. And it is of so pleasing a sent, that our men lay it vp in their Chests with singular care for their garments. The most part (for scarcitie of Vessels) lay their Butter aside in the corners of their Houses, (as we doe Lime or other matter) and that without Salt. They haue domesticall cattle, as kine; but many of them are without hornes. All their Horses are amblers & very fit for carrying of burdens. They haue very great sheepe, they keepe not a Hogge nor a Hen, for want of graine, if fodder or hay faile them in the Winter, they feed their cattle with fish. They haue rough Dogs bred without tayle and cares for their pleasure, which they sell deere and greatly esteeme, when notwithstanding they offer their children to any that will aske them, and that freely. Besides, this Island hath white Foxes, and huge Beares of the same colour. They haue no Birds but water-fowle,

Their kine,

horses, and

sheepe.

Dogs of more

price then

children.

Beares and

Foxes.

White Crowes

whereof there are diuers kinds and sorts found there, vnkowne vnto vs. Crowes sometimes are changed white; and excellent Falcons, and some among them white, which being taken and gotten, with the great cost of the *Spaniards* and *Portugals*, are also carried away in great number, which thing was done, while I was in *Island*, to my great profit. *Island* also hath white Partridges. There are also euery where through the whole Island most pleasant Riuer, which yeeld the Inhabitants fish in great plentie, Salmon Trowes, and Sturgeons. There is one only bridge in all the Island, made of the bones of a Whale. They that goe from one part of the Island to another by the Continent, haue no way which they may follow, for the solitarinesse thereof: but as Saylers in the Sea, so they by the helpe of the Load-stone performe their journeyes. The depth of the Sea neere *Island* is very exceeding. In these gulfs there are Whales of wonderful bignes, and many

Riuers.

Whale-bone

bridge.

Trauell by

compasse.

Whales.

Sea-monsters which cannot bee killed or taken of men, the Ice only through the force of the winds dasheth them against the Rockes, and killeth them. I saw such a Monster cast vpon the shoare dead, whose length was thirty ells, his heighth more then a very long Warlike Pike.

A Whale being dead or killed, the Inhabitants make Buildings and Dwellings of the bones thereof with great dexteritie and skill, they make also seates, benches, tables, and other

Huge Whale,

Note.

Orca.

vtensils, smoothing them so that they seeme like Iuery. They that sleepe in these houses, are said alwayes to dreame of shipwrack. And although it bee a huge and fearfull creature, and haue great strength, yet notwithstanding oftentimes he is not onely withstood, but overcome of his capitall enemy (not so great) which is called *Orca*; this fish hath the shape of a ship turned vpside-downe, and vpon his backe very sharpe and long finnes, wherewith hee woundeth the soft of the belly of the Whale, and killeth him, and the Whale so feareth this fish, that in shunning him, he often dasheth himselfe against the shoare.

A Sea-monster.

The *Island* Sea hath a Monster also, whose name is vnkowne. They iudge it a kinde of Whale at the first sight, when hee shewes his head out of the Sea, hee so feareth men that they fall downe almost dead. His square head hath flaming eyes, on both sides fenced with long hornes, his body is blacke, and beset with blacke quills; if he be seene by night, his eyes are fiery, which lighten his whole head, which he putteth out of the Sea, nothing can either bee painted or imagined more fearfull. *Olaus Magnus* maketh mention of this Monster in his twentieth Booke, and saith, that it is twelve cubits long. Such a Monster at that time tore in pieces with his teeth a Fisher-boate, wherein there were three Fisher-men, so that they were drowned, one of them, who held in his hand a little cord, wherewith hee vsed to draw the hooke, and the fishes, laid hold of the boord which floated in the Sea; so he was saued getting out of the bottom vpon the planke and swam forth, and declared this to the Kings Gouvernour in my presence, adding moreouer that he was saued from heauen, that he might get maintenance for his children, who otherwise were readie to perish with hunger, when the other two though married, yet were without children.

Hacfal, another Monster.

Another Monster also is often there seene and taken, of ten or twelue elles long, it is called *Hacfal*, it is all fat; it is taken after a wonderfull manner: they haue a very long pike wherunto they fasten an Iron with a forked point, that it cannot goe backe, vnto the staffe a cord of a maruailous length is fastned; they sticke this speare in the Monster, which swimmeth vnto it for prey, perceiuing a man in the little boates; as soone as the Monster feesles himselfe strooken and wounded, forthwith he hides himselfe in the Deepe, and there (his blood being powdered out) dyes, afterward the Fishers draw him to the land by the long cords fastned to the speare.

Dog-fish.

Besides, it hath diuers Sea Monsters: a Dogge fish, which putting his head out of the Sea barketh, and receiueth his whelps sporting in the Sea againe into his belly, while they come to more growth. It hath Horses and Kine, and what not? and it is a maruell, how skilfull Nature sports, in expressing the shape of all earthly Creatures and Fowles in the Sea. Neither should any man perswade me that these things are true, although ten *Aristotles* should affirme them vnto me, vnlesse I had seene most of them with mine eyes. Let no man therefore presently cry out, that what he knowes not is fabulous.

Note.

The men of *Lubeck*, *Hamburg*, and *Breme*, were often wont to goe to this land, and leaue their seruants in the winter lodgings; but now it is provided by the Kings authoritie, that no *Germaine*, either by reason of trading or learning of the language, leaue his seruants there in the winter; but vpon what occasion this came to passe, the matter standeth thus. In the yeere of Christ 1561. there was a Citizen of *Hamburg*, one *Conradus Bloem*, left by an other in *Island* in the winter lodgings with the Bishop in *Scalholden*, for trading and learning of the tongue: the Bishops fishers find a whole Vnicornes horne in the Ice, brought out of *Groneland* (as it is thought) where yet at this day Vnicorns are said to be; & thinking it to be a Whales tooth, nor did the Bishop beleue otherwise, they bring it to their Master, who gaue it to *Conradus* begging it; he being somewhat craftie, sold it after at *Antwerp* for some thousands of Florins. When this thing came to the King of *Denmarks* eares, he forbade that no *Germaine* should winter in *Island* in any cause.

Horne of a Sea-fish. See *Ionas Poole* and *Basson*, l. 4.

Of the iudgement of the Islanders.

There is a most pleasant place almost in the midst of the land, you would say it were a Paradise in the Spring time, where sometimes there was a high Mountaine, which burned with inward fire, as *Hecla* doth at this day; which matter after it was consumed, made a Plaine, but the Rocks which were erected about the Mountaine, stand yet, therefore this place is so fenced by Nature, that they that enter it, must goe one by one. This place is famous for two great falls of water, where two Riueres from the highest Rocks cast themselves steepe downe one against the other, with an astonishing and horrible dashing of the waters against the Rocks. These Riueres meete together in the middle of the field, and by a great whirlepoole are swallowed vp into the ground.

Islanders terme

Heere yeerely the nine and twentieth of Iune, the Inhabitants who haue any controuersie, meete together: for in no other place or time Iustice is administred; after they are entred, standings are placed by the Gouvernours guard, who admit all that desire to come in, no man hath libertie to goe out, without the consent and authoritie of the Gouvernour. When they are come thither, the Gouvernour offreth his Charter to bee publikely read, whereby hee procureth credit to his Office, and hauing spoken before somewhat of the Kings goodwill, and his owne towards the Islanders, he exhorteth them to communicate Iustice vnto all, without respect of persons, hee after

after departeth, and keeps himselfe in his Tent, hauing heard a godly Sermon, the twelue men, whom they call *Lochmaders*, as it were men of Iustice, sit downe on the ground, each of them hath a Booke in his hand, contayning the Law of that Iland, written in the vulgar tongue. Accusation and answer being made, they goe apart into seuerall places, euery one reads ouer his Booke diligently, going afterwards againe to his place, without Scribe, without replication or doubling, and iuglings of such brabbling Lawyers, they conferre of the sentence and pronounce it: If any thing bee worthy of deliberation, it is brought to the Gouvernour for consultation and for his honours sake, when notwithstanding they leaue no power of deciding it to him.

Manner of
trials and
suites.

There are many accusations of Theft and Adulteries, they make no question of their Bonds, of their Fees, their Hereditarie fields, or any summe of money: there are no controuersies there. These twelue men, ouer which one is chiefe, are greatly honoured amongst them. These doe determine, and diligently inquire of all publike Controuersies. If there bee any wicked Act committed that yeere, if Murther bee committed any where, if Theft, if Adulterie, if Cattle be stolen away (which vseth oft to bee done) then these men set downe the punishment. They that are condemned to dye, are beheaded: the rest, who are any way to bee punished, they burne with a marke, this punishment with them is most grievous: for they are marked in the forehead: they that are so marked are accounted in the number of wicked men: others are beaten with rodde: and I saw when the Father and the Sonne for theft (for they were Cattell stealers) were held Captiues, that the Father was compelled to beate his Sonne with rodde, and hee afterwards beheaded.

Sentence and
execution.

of Groneland.

Iseland by Nature is somewhat long, it hath *Norway* on the East, the *Orcades* and *Scotland* on the South, *Groneland* on the West, and the *Hyperborean* or *Congeaed Sea* vpon the North. Although I purposed to passe ouer *Groneland* with silence, yet seeing I touched vpon the Land, and saw some few things, I thought it was to bee added. There was in a certaine Monasterie in *Island* called *Helgasfel*, a certayne blinde Monke left (for the Abbot of the Monasterie had conuerted the Reuenues to the Kings vse) who liued miserably there: hee was borne in *Groneland*, of a darke complexion and broad face. The Gouvernour commanded him to bee brought vnto him, that hee might know some certaintie of the state of *Groneland*. Hee sayd, there was a Monasterie of *Saint Thomas* in *Groneland*, into the which his Parents thrust him when he was but young, and after that, hee was taken out by the Bishop of *Groneland*, when hee was thirtie yeeres of age, to saile with him into *Norway*, to the Archbishop to *Nidrosia* (or *Dronten*) to whom the *Island* Bishops are subiect: in his returne hee was left in a Monasterie by the Bishop, whose Countrey *Groneland* was: this was done (as hee sayd) 1546. Hee said, that Iland was called *Groneland*, Antiphrastically. For that it seldome or neuer waxeth greene, and that there is so great cold there throughout the whole yeere, except Iune, Iuly and August, that being clothed and couered with Furies, they could scarce bee warme; and that they had at home certayne round peeces of wood, which being continually mooued with the feete, kept their feet warme. Hee sayd, it aboundeth as *Island* doth with Fishes, and that they had Beares and white Foxes, nay *Pigmies*, and *Vnicornes*, and that day did not appeare, till the Sunne had runne through *Pisces*.

Their *Pigmies*
are Beasts and
Vnicornes,
Fishes.

This Monke told vs maruellous strange things: that there was in the Monasterie of *Saint Thomas* (where hee liued) a Fountayne, which sent forth burning and flaming water, that this water was conueyed through pipes of stone, to the seuerall Cells of the Monkes, and that it made them warme, as *Stoaues* doe with vs; and that all kinde of meates might bee boyled in this Fountayne and fierie water, no otherwise, then if it had bene fire indeed. Hee added moreouer, that the walls of the Monasterie were made of Pumice stones, out of a certayne Mountayne (not farre from the Monasterie) like to *Hecla*: for if yee powre these burning Waters vpon the Pumice stones, there will follow a slimie matter, which in stead of Lime they vse for Morter.

After the Gouvernours conference with the Monke, I came priuately vnto him, to demand certayne particular things touching the *Pigmies* and other things; hee had little skill in the *Latine* tongue, hee vnderstood mee speaking *Latine*, but answered by an Interpreter. Hee sayd, the *Pigmies* represent the most perfect shape of Man, that they are hairy to the vttermost joynts of the fingers, and that the Males haue beards downe to the knees. But although they haue the shape of men, yet they haue little sense or vnderstanding, nor distinct speech, but make shew of a kinde of hissing, after the manner of Geese; that his Abbot kept two of them in his Monasterie, male and female, but they liued not long, and that they were vnreasonable Creatures, and liue in perpetuall darknesse. That some say, they haue warre with the Cranes, that hee knew not.

Pigmies, our
men haue not
seene such.

He affirmed, that the same maner of food was in *Groneland*, as in *Island*, to wit, of fish but not of cattle, because they haue no cattle, & that the country is not populous. Forthwith from *Island* begins the *Hyperborean Sea*, which beats vpon *Groneland*, and the Country of the *Pigmies*, which at this day is called *Nona Zembla*, & there the frozen Sea hath a Bay which is called the *White Sea*.

Of this the
Englishe Discou-
eries in this
and the next
Booke will
giue better
light.

or *Mare Album*, and there are there certayne passages whereby they sayle into the *Scythian Ocean*, if they can for Ice. And the Gouvernour had the King of *Denmarkes* Ship, furnished with all necessaries : but when hee heard (by the Monke) of these passages, and short cut into the Kingdome of *China*, hee affected this commendation, that hee might open these passages and Ice vnto the Kingdome of *China* by the *Tartarian Sea*, which had often bene attempted by others, but in vaine.

The Authors
Voyage for
Discoverie.

The last day therefore of March, in the yeere 1564. hee commanded that Ship to sayle to those places, and mee also together with them, being willing of mine owne accord : and enioyned me to marke diligently the scituation of the places, and whatsoeuer wee met with worthy of sight or report. Wee were in the Ship threescore and foure men, as well *Danes* as *Islanders*, and the twentieth day of Aprill wee arriued at a certayne Promontorie of *Gronland*, and when wee found no Hauen, to the which wee might safely commit our selues, and letting downe the lead, wee had sounded the depth of the Sea, it was such as wee could not anchor there, and the abundance of Ice was so great, that it was neither safe nor possible to sayle neerer to the Rocks ; foure and twentie therefore of vs armed, with great labour and danger went on shoare in our Skiffes among whom I also was) to trie whether wee could finde a harbour, and what kinde of men *Gronland* had. In the meane time, the great Ship floated in the Sea and Ice, in a great calme, halfe of our companie abode in the shoare to keepe the Skiffe ; another part (and I with them) ranne abroad to discover : they that were left on shoare to keepe the Skiffe, going hither and thither, found a little man dead with a long beard, with a little Boate, and a crooked Hooke of the bone of a Fish, and a leather cord : foure fish Bladders were bound vnto the Boate (as is supposed) that it should not bee drowned, whereof three were sunke and fallen flat : This Boate (because it was very vnlike ours) the Gouvernour sent to the King of *Denmarke*.

In Sir Thomas
Smiths Hall in
London is a
kind of Boate
somewhat like
of Barke fowed
Seales skins.

Olaus Magnus in his first Booke writeth, that there is a Rocke in the midst of *Island* and *Gronland*, called *Hutisocke*, which wee sayled by, and that there they haue Ships of leather, which hee testifieth hee saw, but it was not such an one : but *Petrus Bembus* in his senenth Booke, in the *Venetian Historie*, describeth a Ship, which was like vnto this, where hee writeth thus : While a French Ship kept her course not farre from Britaine, shee tooke a Boate built of Osiers the midst being cut out, and the solid barke of Trees ioyned together, wherein there were seven men of a middle stature, somewhat darke coloured, of a large and broad face, marked with strange scarres and violet colour ; these had their garments of Fishes skinnes, full of spots, they bore a painted Crowne of reede woven in, as it were with seven eares ; they did eat raw Flesh, and drunke Blood, as wee doe Wine ; their speech could not bee understood, sixe of them dyed, one young man was brought alive to the *Aulercos*, where the King was.

It is not unlikely to bee true, that this Ship with these seven men, were driuen out of *Gronland*, into the Britaine Ocean : seeing the description of Bembus his Ship agreeth with that found in *Gronland*.

A Beare.

Wee wandred in the meane season, in a Land vnkowne vnto vs, which was couered with Snow and Ice, wee found neither footing of men, nor any habitation, nor fit Port, but the Sea was closed and fenced on euery side with craggie Rockes. Yet we met with a great white Beare, which neither feared vs, nor could bee driuen away with our cries, but came full vpon vs, as to his certaine prey, and when hee came neere vnto vs, being twice shot through with a Gunne, hee stood bolt vpright with his fore-feet as a man standeth, till hee was shot through the third time, and so fell downe dead : his Skinne was sent to the King of *Denmarke*. We agreed amongst our selues before wee went on shoare, if wee found a fit Harbour, or else had need of their helpe, that wee should plucke vp our standerd, which wee carried out with vs for that purpose, and that they, if they would call vs backe, should signifie the same with their Ordnance. A tempest arising in the meane while, the Master of the Ship giues vs a signe to returne, by the discharging of a piece of Ordnance, and calls vs backe vnto the Ship : all of vs therefore returned with great labour after three dayes vnto the Ship with the Beares skinne ; wee sayled therefore to the other side of the *Iland* toward the North, to the Countrey of the *Pigmies* or *Nona Zembla*, that by the mouth of the *White Sea*, wee might come into the *Scythian*, or *Tartarian Sea*, from whence (they say) there is a passage to the Kingdome of *China*, and *Cathay* ; but beeing hindred by the Ice, wee could not passe the mouth of that Sea : therefore without doing any thing, wee returned into *Island* the sixteenth of Iune.

The Authors
Journey to
Mount Hecla.

I sayd before, that the *Islanders* the nine and twentieth of Iune yeerely came together almost in the middle of the *Iland* to Iudgement, and after our returne, the Gouvernour went thither, and I with him. Some of the next inhabitants of *Hecla* then came to Iudgement, whom the Gouvernour inuited twice or thrice to dinner and supper. These men while they were at supper, reported wonderfull things of the Mountayne *Hecla*, and other things ; I was forthwith inflamed with a desire to see and heare all. Wherefore the Gouvernour commended mee to these men, that they should bring mee thither, and commanded all things should bee shewed me, which they knew there worthy to bee seene. This Gouvernour was a *Dane*, a Noble man, and excellently well learned : to this man surely I am much bound for his great liberalitie towards mee, in that

that he caused me to be conueighed at his charge to diuers places of the Iland, where any notable thing was to be seene. I accompanied with two *Islanders*, and a certaine *Dane*, who carried provision, and a Tent on Horse-backe, spent foure whole dayes, while we go through rough places, Hilly and desolate vnto this Mountayne. For some Miles about *Hecla*, all was full of blacke ashes and Pumis stones. The *Islanders* aduised me that I should goe no neerer, leading away the Horse, which they had lent me.

I, because I purposed to see, and search out all things diligently; accompanied with the *Dane*, came neerer, as though I went to climbe the Hill, and although at the first sight we were afraid, yet I would not leaue off my purpose, and by reason of my young yeeres, not vnderstanding the danger, I went through the ashes and Pumis stones alone to *Hecla*, leauing the *Dane*. There was there at that time a wonderfull calme, so that I saw neither fire nor smoke. But behold, suddenly in the bowels of the Earth, a great noyse was heard, after this, followed flames of a greene colour, which had almost killed me with their Sulphurie and filthy stinke, so that I scarce escaped to my forsaken horses and companions. Vpon that sudden astonishment I fell into a sicknesse, and yebement cogitation, seeing these horrible flames were alwayes present before mine eyes: insomuch that my *Island* companions were compelled to carry me away vnto their house, with whom I lay sicke two whole monethes: while in the meane time the *Dane* returned to the *Gouernour*, and to the *Hamburgers*, and acquainted them with my state. I liued miserably amongst the *Barbarians*, sicke and vnknowne; they had Bisket which I sleept in Milke, and and so for that time, I indured hunger, while (being stronger) I might returne to the *Gouernour*.

The *Hamburgers*, by reason of the time of the yeere, least they should loose the opportunitie of sayling, despairing now of my returne, set sayle (for they depart before the foure and twentieth of August, lest being hindered after by the Ice, they cannot get out) yet with speciall care commended me to the *Gouernour* (if at any time I did returne) leauing Bisket, Wine, and Beere. The *Gouernour* hath a dwelling fit enough for the manner and fashion of this Countrey, on the South of this Iland, not farre from the Hauen of *Hafnesford*, the place is called *Bestede*. I was brought hither of the *Islanders*, to the *Gouernour*, who, for our common studies, entertayned me willingly and honorably. But although wee were plentifully furnished with all necessaries, yet being very wearie of that life in such darknesse, I expected the ships out of *Germany* the next yeere with great desire.

There grew then warre betweene *Ericus* of *Suetia*, and *Fredericke* the Second King of *Denmarke*; which was continued with great courage for ten yeeres after. The *Lubekers* were Conforts and Confederates of Warre vnto the *Dane*. So most part of the Cities on the Sea-coast, vpon the *Balticke* Sea, hindred or intangled with this Warre, intermitted their sayling into *Iland* this yeere, therefore wayting in vaine, I must stay. The yeere following, when I had wayted till the end of Iune, all hope of returning into *Germany* that yeere was taken away, and which was worse, the yeerely ship came not from *Denmarke*: and bread and Wine failed vs almost foure monethes.

There lay *Portugals* at anchor at that time in *Iland* in a small ship; who came thither to fowle, they caried away excellent Falcons, and white ones among them, in great number. I thought good rather to crosse ouer into *Portugall* with them, then to wayte another yeere, either for *Danes* or *Germanes*. And when they gaue the *Gouernour* his Custome, he dealt with them in my behalfe concerning the charge, that I might passe with them, and he liberally paid the charges, and honorably sent me away with a worthy Present. Not far from the Kings house, there was a certayn Minister, *Ionas* by name, he familiarly saluted me before I departed: for the time I was in *Iland*, I had some familiaritie with him, to whom also I left my Bookes when I departed: he for friendships sake, knit three knots in a handkerchiefe, and promised me a prosperous wind, say ing, if by chance the winds at any time grow contrary at Sea, open these knots, and then remember me. When therfore about the twentieth of September we had sayled, and now *Spaine* was in our view, there was so great a calme, that we felt not a breath of wind, and that for three whole dayes. In this calme my friends promise came into my minde, and I desired to proue it. I loosed the first knot, by and by, after one houre, there arose a very prosperous winde, but blowing very gently, I vntye the second and the third, forthwith a Tempest beganne more and more to grow, so truly that after two dayes we ridde in the Riuer *Tagus*, which beateth vpon *Lisbone*.

Hafnesford.
His abiding
there two win-
ters.

His Nauigati-
ons on the
Coast of *Afri-
ca*, &c. hee
mentions in
his Preface,
which I haue
for breuitie
omitted.

CHAP. XXIII.

Extracts of ARNERIM IONAS * an Islander, his
Chrymogæa or Historie of Island: published,
Anno Dom. 1609.

* This learned Islander published A. 1593. one Booke of Island, which M. Hak. translated and set forth in the first Tome of his Voyages. This worke is larger in three Booke out of which I have taken some things which I held conducent to our purpose. In the former worke he confuteth the errors of diuers Authors which write falsly many things of his Countrey. *Hola* in 65. degrees 44. minutes. Diuers names of Island. *Sneland*. *Naddoc* first Discoverer. *Farrellands*.

§. I.
Of Island, the Situation, Discoverie, Plantation
and Language.



Island is an Island of the North, compassed about with the huge Ocean: whose Cosmographically latitude towards the North, to wit, at *Hola*, the Episcopall Seat of North Island, is 65. degrees, and 44. minutes: and the longitude 13. degrees and 30. minutes, or thereabouts: for I will not precisely affirme the same, by reason of that scruple, arising from the Paralaxis of the Moone in the obseruation of the Eclipses to be doubted: which only way of finding out the longitude, that most famous man, *Gudbrandus Thorlacius*, now Bishop of North Island, hath hitherto shewed: who hath imparted vnto vs this longitude and latitude of his Sea: and was the first, that I know, among our Countreymen, who hath deliuered any certaintie in Writing, concerning this matter. And surely, that which at this day, and so from the first entrance of Inhabitants, beareth the name of *Island*, (while as yet it remained barren and desolate) had diuers names allotted orginen vnto it from diuers Discoverers: whereof three are mentioned. For first of all it was called *Snelandia*. For a certaine Pyrate called *Naddocus*, going towards the *Fareusian* Islands (commonly called *Farenar*, for the multitude of Egges) was brought vnto the shoares of East Island, through a Tempest, not farre from the Mountayne *Reidarfiell*, (so called after ward) to the Bay *Reidarfiard*: who ascending the Mountayne, and beholding the bordering Countrey farre and neere, found it all Desert. And departing from the Coast about Autumne, he perceiued the higher tops of the Mountaynes to bee couered with exceeding much Snow; and therefore, as the present case required, he called the Island *Snelandia*, that is to say, *The Snowie Countrey*.

Gardar second Discoverer.

A.D. 864.

Gardarsholme.

Floco third Discoverer.

Rauen Guides.

Another following him, one *Gardarus* the sonne of *Suarnus* a *Suecian* borne, perswaded through the report which *Naddocus* had brought concerning *Snelande*, went to seeke it: he found it, who arriued also neere the Easterne shoare, and from thence being carried about the Island, he abode in the Bay of North Island called *Skialfanda*, and wintered there in the yeere of Christ 864. and called the name of the Hauen, *Husawich*, from the wintering places, or houses built there. But the Spring beginning, *Gardarus* being about to depart into *Norway*, the ship Boat was driuen away by a tempest, into an Hauen neere vnto the former, and in the same Boat there was a certayne Mariner called *Nairare*: from whom also this hauen had the name of *Narfawicke*. Moreouer, *Gardarus* returning to his friends, called that new Countrey *Gardarsholme*, as it were, the Island of *Gardarus*, neglecting the name of *Snelande*. Moreouer, the desire also of visiting a Countrey newly discovered, possessed many. For the third also, one *Floco*, and he a most famous Pirate purposing to visit *Gardarsholme*, set sayle out of an Hauen of *Norway*, which lyeth neere the watch-towre or rather *Pharus Flokawarda*, situate in the limits of the Prouinces of *Hordalandia*, and *Rogalandia*: and passing by *Hietlandia*, (misnamed by some *Schetlandia*) called a certayne Hauen by the name of *Flokawogur*, and there the deepest part of the Sea (where *Geirbilda* the daughter of *Floco* by chance was drowned) was caled *Geirbildarvata*, from her: no otherwise then that Sea was called *Hellefontus*, wherein by misfortune *Phryxus* lost his sister *Helle*. There was yet no vse of the Mariners Compasse: wherefore *Floco* leauing *Hietlandia*, tooke certayne *Rauens* vnto him: and when hee thought hee had sayled a great way, he sent forth one *Rauen*, which flying aloft, went backe againe to *Hietlande*, which she saw behind. Whereupon *Floco* perceiuing that he was yet neerer to *Hietland* then other Countreies, and therefore courageously going forward, he sent forth another *Rauen*: which because she could see no Land, neither before nor behind, light into the ship again. But lastly, the third *Rauen* was sent forth by *Floco*, and hauing for the most part performed his Voyage, through the sharpnesse of her quicke sight attayning the Land, which the Mariners desired, she speedily flew thither: whose direction *Floco* following, beheld first the Easterne side of the Island, as his Predecessors did: and from thence directing his course to the South, found a very wide and open Bay twelue Islandish miles broad, betweene the two Promontories or high Lands, afterwards called *Renkanes*, and *Snafelsnes*. And hearing by a certayne Mariner (whom he had with him) a *Scot* borne, named *Faxa*, that the Bay they now met with, was the huge mouth of a Riuer or Floud;

Flood; Floco to reprove the folly of Faxa, supposing so huge a Bay of the Sea to be the mouth of a River, called the name of the Bay inclosed between the foresaid Promontories, Faxaas; which signifieth the mouth of Faxa. This Bay, by reason of the multitude of Hauens, was afterwards called Hafnafiordur: which name Hafnafiordur at this day is more specially vsed of a most safe Hau-
 uen of the same Bay.

After this, Floco sayling along the West side of the Island, entred somewhat within the Bay Breidafiord, remaining in a certaine Hauen of the Prouince Bardestraund, called Watnsfiordur (for I vse the names giuen them afterwards) and there preparing wintering places, he liued very commodiously and well with fish of diuers kindes, wherewith that Bay doth abound. But ha-
 10 uing the Spring time here very vntemperate through cold, hee found a Bay (which entreth this part of the Land on the North) to be filled with Ice of the Sea, which wee call Gronelandish Ice. From which Ice, Floco deuised the third name for the Island, and called it Island. Moreouer also Floco turning to the South side, passed another Winter in Island: and returning into Norway (from the Rauens, which hee vsed in stead of the Mariners Compasse) he allotted it the surname of Rafnastoke.

The name
 Island of Ice.

And Island surely obtained these names consequently from the finders, or discoverers thereof. For as touching the fourth, Thule, imposed vpon this Land by some, I cannot bee perswaded to
 20 beleue, it is true; chiefly by this argument; That Thyle, or Thule among the ancient Writers, was often in the mouth and writings not onely of Pliny in his second booke of Naturall Histories 75. Chapter and fourth booke, and sixteenth Chapter (and Pliny flourished about the eigh-
 tieth yeere of Christ) and of him who was more ancient then Pliny, Pythias Massiliensis: but also of Pub. Virgilius, who liued not aboue fourteene yeeres after Christ: but Island, till the yeere of Christ 874. remained altogether desert, as hereafter I shall speake. Thule therefore, which Vir-
 gil said should serue Augustus (Geor. 1. tibi seruiat ultima Thule: where euen every child knoweth that Thule is Synecdochically spoken, for the Inhabitanes of Thule) not onely inhabited in the times of Augustus and Virgil, but also knowne to the Romanes, is not Island, which many ages af-
 30 ter began first to be inhabited. Besides, Plinie himselfe seemeth in the later place recited to reckon Thule with the Islands of Britaine: for, saith hee, *Vltima omnium qua memorantur est Thule*: to wit, of the Britishe Islands, for hee speaketh of them. It is likely also that Virgil meant the same, who said Thule was the last, in the place before recited: and likewise, *Penitus toto diuisos orbe*
 Britannos: that is to say, the last. Let me yet vrge the same argument further, from the age of Claudianus Alexandrinus, and Pub. Papinius Statius, farre more ancient then he. For Claudianus about the yeere of Christ 390. writeth thus concerning the successe of the Getick Wars atchieued by Theodosius.

Island is not
 Thule.

Thule further
 of the Britishe
 Isles.

*Famaque ingranes succincta paucioribus alas,
 Secum cuncta trahens, a Gadibus usque Britannum
 Terruit Oceanum: & nostris procul axe remotam
 Insolito Belli, tremescit murmure Thulen.*

Then blackwing'd Fame Feare girt, frights all the World with Warre.
 From Cades to Britaine, from Our World shakes Thule farre.

40 But did Report and Fame cause Island not inhabited, and desert to tremble? And Statius more ancient by three hundred yeeres then Claudian, in his third Booke Sylua, writeth thus:

*Quamquam etsi gelidas irem mansurus ad Arctos,
 Velsuper Hesperia vada caligantia Thules.*

Though I should dwel in Arctike frosts,
 Or mytie shelues of Thules West coasts.

You heare, not onely a slight report of Thule came to Statius eares, but that the shallow places, quicke sand, or shelues found in approaching to the Island were sufficiently knowne vnto him, by
 50 the often relation of Nauigators: of which sort in the circuit of Island, there are none that I know, which experience speaketh: but in coming to the Islands of Britaine they are very ordinarie and common, as they say.

The Longitude thereof from the East vnto the West, hath not hitherto beene expressed by any certaine or assured measure that I know, nor yet the Latitude from North to South; saue that in an ancient Codicall or Writing I found that the Longitude was twentie dayes iour-
 ney: and the Latitude (where it is broadest) foure dayes, but the iourneyes, as elswhere, so also with vs are not alike, (yet here I vnderstand Pyngmannaleid twentie; in the Authors owne hand-writing it is Dagleider) nor is it expressed whether of Horse-men or Foot-men. But the
 60 Latitude it selfe is not euery where the same; by reason of Bayes on both sides, to wit, from the South and North entring the Land it selfe with vnequall distances. The Easterly bound is Austurhorn: the Westerne Raudestrandur (for the Promontory Sna-fellones lyeth more toward who proueth out of Pompenius, Ptolemens, and Procopius, that Island is not Thule but (as the name sounds) Tylemarke, a Region in Norway, or all Scandia, of which that is a part, still retaining the name.

* The Author
 proceedeth in
 this disputati-
 on, further
 then our Rea-
 der perhaps
 would permit.
 vs. The lear-
 ned and curi-
 ous may there
 find enough:
 and more yet
 in Ortelius his
 both Theatrum
 and Tabulum,

the

the South-west) but the North bound is *Langanes*, and the South *Reikranes*. The Island also from the foure quarters of the World, is diuided into North, South, East and West, and the Promontorie *Langanes* diuideth North Island from East Island; from West Island, the Bay *Ratassfordur*: from South Island, the vast and huge deserts of rough, and inaccessible places extended the whole length of the Island. But South Island, opposite to the North, through these rough and inaccessible places lying between the Riuer *Ioculsa*, running through the deserts of *Solseimasande*, diuideth from East Island: from West Island also, a famous Riuer, named *Albis*, emptying it selfe into the Bay *Borgarsford*: So that, if it pleased me to represent the Island in humane shape, East Island should haue the proportion of the head. The two more famous Promontories *Langanes* and *Reikranes*, or bounds; the one Northerly, the other Southerly (as hath been said) should serue in stead of armes. And the deserts extended the whole length of the Island should make the backe, or backe bone: then North and South Island, the shoulders with the sides; the two opposite Bayes *Borgarsford*, and *Ratassfordur*, the one on the South, the other on the North, should diuide the forepart about the short ribs, from both the thighs or hips. But West Island should resemble the rest of the parts of a mans bodie, from the forepart about the short ribbes: which the Bay *Breidissfordur* comming in from the West, should contract and straighten into the right and left foot.

The Circuit.

The circuit also of the Island, is no more certainly knowne; yet an ancient rumour and opinion (as in another place where it is noted) reckoneth one hundred and fortie foure *Norwegian* miles (as I thinke) that is to say, two hundred-eightie eight *Germane* miles, *Chytræus* accounting the *Norwegian* mile, to equall two *Germane* miles, sayling from one Promontorie to the other, not by the Bayes: whereof North Island is esteemed to haue cleuen, East Island, twentie one, South Island fixe, and West Island seuentie.

* *Harald Hare-fagre* finding many pettie Princes made an absolute Monarchy of Norway, whereupon some fought to free themselves by new discoueries: and hence arose the plantation of Island

Haraldus Pulcricomus * swaying the Scepter in Norway, much neglected the chiefe Nobilitie of Norway: which the *Norwegian* Historie setteth downe at large, yet particular Histories of noble Families expelled by *Pulcricomus*, more largely prosecute the same, as hereafter wee purpose to write. For *Pulcricomus* not contented with Kingly authoritie, or chiefe soueraignetie, that is to say, with the right of Lawes, Magistracie, and appeale of Warre and Peace, challenged all vnto himselfe, by the right of a proprietarie. Insomuch, as very many chose rather to leaue their Countrey and rich inheritances, then to exchange their Generositie for slauerie and tributes: for they thought it altogether vnworthy and ill befeeming their owne valour and their ancestours. Hence, for the most part arose mutuall iniuries against the King, or the Kings partakers; as murdering of the Kings friends, allies, or faction; then the exercises both at Sea and Land were rapines and robberies. From these noble Families therefore, refusing the violence of *Harald*, this our Island, with the neighbouring Islands began first to be inhabited, and that almost by these steps and voyages.

A.D. 874.
Ingulfus.

In the yeere of our Redemption 874. a certaine Inhabitant of Norway, one *Ingulfus*, going out of his Countrey, following the steps of *Naddocus*, *Gardarus*, and *Floco* mentioned before, was made Standard-bearer of the Inhabitants which were to bee conueyed into Island, and that vpon this occasion. *Ingulfus* was famous for his parentage and riches, whose father, called *Orne*, which signifieth an Eagle, was Duke of *Fyrdasylce* in Norway; the sister of *Ingulfus* was *Helga*, a Virgin indued with all womanly ornaments, and his cousin germane *Leifus*; who for a notable sword, which through his singular warlike prowesse he got in Ireland, was named *Hiorleifus*. For *Hir* is a Sword. Moreover, at that time among the Nobilitie of Norway, there were three naturall brothers, *Hallstenn*, *Holmstenn*, and *Herstenn*; the sonnes of *Atlas*, or *Atlantes*, a certaine Baron of Norway: who bore certaine priuie grudges to the foresaid *Ingulfus* and *Hiorleifus*; which presently after brake forth into cruell and bloudie slaughters. For when by chance they feasted together, after the manner of that age, they inioyned euery one to make some solemn Vow. *Herstennus* therefore first vowed, that he would take *Helga*, *Ingulfus* sister to wife, or marrie none. Then presently *Ingulfus* vowed, that hee would admit none into his Fathers Inheritance with him, saue only *Hiorleifus*: meaning thereby that his sister *Helga*, by his consent should marry none but *Hiorleifus* (contrary to the vow of *Herstennus* for the marrying of her only.) After that *Helmstennus* vowed, that if he were chosen Arbitrator betweene the aduerser parties, he would by no meanes be compelled, to suffer an vniust sentence. And so the rest after them. Not long after succeeded the Vow of *Ingulfus*, for *Hiorleifus* tooke his Cousin Germane *Helga* to wife. For at that time the Mariages of Cousin Germanes were lawfull. From hence arose the extreame hatred, and enmitie of *Herstennus*, against the foresaid *Hiorleifus*, and *Ingulfus*: who therefore joyning with his Brother *Holmstenn*, with fixe ships filled with Souldiers, let vpon *Hiorleifus* vnawares, hauing but three ships only, preparing his Voyage into ferreine Countreyes. Whose violence *Hiorleifus* a long time, and stoutly sustayning, holpen by a certayne friend comming in the meane-while, hauing slaine *Herstennus* got the vpper hand. But *Holmstennus* providing for himselfe by flight, and not a little exasperated and grieved through the violent death of his Brother, after some few monethes, came with an armed power to *Ingulfus* and *Hiorleifus* to surprize them suddenly at home. Whereof they being certified by Spies, receiue him with an armed force, and kill him. *Hallstennus* the third brother, wiser then the rest, who

Rash voves and bloudie quarrells ensuing.

comforted

conforted not with the vnjust routes of his Brethren, remayned yet aliue; to whose arbitrement *Ingulfus* with *Hiorleifus* commit the whole matter to be determined, holding him mindfull of his Vow, concerning equitie not so be violated. *Halstennus* therefore pronounceth his brother *Hersennus* to be iustly flaine: But not *Holmstennus* who compelled through bitter grieffe, desired to reuenge the death of his brother, by any slaughter whatsoeuer. For killing therefore of him, he commanded them both to be banished out of the Prouince of *Fyrdasilse*. They readily obey his award, to whom they willingly committed the censure, & with a purpose to leaue their Countrey, they sell their Lands and Possessions for mony and Merchandizes, and conceiue in their minds a worthy attempt of planting a strange people in a strange Countrey: and that not to gratifie *Halstennus* (with whom through this agreement they returned into fauour; with whom they might otherwise easily haue contended in strength) but also for feare of *Pulericomus* himselfe, raging against his Countrey, and innocent Countreymen, for the obtayning (as hath beene said) not only of the Monarchie, but *Pampesia*, of all their Possessions: nor was that to bee doubted, concerning the violence and oppression of *Harald*: for in the Historie of *Haquinus Adalstenius* his succeeding Sonne it is expressly read, that he was contented with Kingly authoritie, and restored to euery one their owne, which his Father vnjustly challenged vnto himselfe.

It was the yeere of Christ 870. wherein *Ingulfus* with *Hiorleifus* first visit *Island*, but they inhabit it not presently, but foure yeeres after, in the yeere 874. as hath beene said: bringing many Families thither.

Island first inhabited, A. 874

Moreouer *Ingulfus* comming within view of the Iland, casteth the postes of the houses which he had in *Norway* into the water, after the manner of *Ethnickes* accounting it for an Oracle, that that place was fatally chosen for his Habitation, which the postes cast out vpon the shoare should note or signifie. That custome many of the *Norwegians* retayned by turning vp the ground. But *Ingulfus* arriued not where he cast in the postes, but at the Promontorie of the South shoare (elsewhere erroneously, the West shoare) called by his name *Ingulfhofde*. Yet notwithstanding wanting the postes of the houses three whole yeeres, at length he found them in that place, which is named *Reychiarwich*, and there he erected his Habitation. But *Hiorleifus* more estranged from *Ethnick* superstition, seated himselfe in the Promontorie *Hirleiffhofda*; so called likewise from his name. There he built great houses: one of one hundred twentie six, and another of one hundred thirtie five feet long: who, the first yeere being ended, began to till the ground and sow seed.

Superstitions

In which worke, when he had exercised ten seruants or slaues, which hee brought with him out of *Island*, they fayned that *Hiorleifus* his labouring beast was slaine by a wilde Beare (for it was afterwards manifestly knowne, that *Island* hath no Beares; but such as came thither by chance) which when *Hiorleifus* (with a purpose of reuenge) sought in the next neighbouring Wood, he was deceitfully slaine by these slaues lying in ambush: together with some other companions which he tooke with him: the Seruants aswell rauishing the Wiues as spoyling the goods of the slaine; and flying into the Ilands not very farre distant from the shoare: which after of the same slaues, were called *Westmasyar*, because they were of *Ireland*. The *Norwegians* call the *Irish*, *English*, and *Scots Westmen*, that is, men of the West: seeing those Countries are distant from *Norway*, to the West. *Ingulfus* pursuing these Murtherers, set vpon them suddenly, and destroyed them euery man in the same Ilands, being much grieued in minde for the vntimely and cruell death of his deere friend and allies.

First houses, Island had anciently faire houses then now; (hauing Timber from *Norway*, &c.) & likewise Tillage was then in vte. *Hiorleifus* slaine, *Westmasyar* and *Westmen*.

But *Ingulfus* found and possessed *Island* altogether barren and desolate; on euery side beset with very thicke Woods, and scarcely fertile of any but Birches, so that hee was faine euerywhere to open the Woods with the Axe, for journeyes and habitation. Yet in the meane space, we might gather by certayne signes, I know not what Mariners had sometimes touched vpon certayne shoares of the Countrey, but not inhabited them. For *Ingulfus* found little sacring Bells and wooden Croffes, and other things made by the workmanship and arte of the *Irish* and *Britaynes*: but no tokens of culture, or habitation. Whereupon it is likely, that *Irish*, or *Scottish* Fishermen (as also the *English* at this day) accustomed to fish neere *Island*, as sometimes it cometh to passe, went ashore, and so by chance left sacring Bells and Croffes, the Vtenils of Christian Religion. For at that time the *Irish* were instructed in Christianisme as they say. And those whosoever were the ancient *Islanders*, they called *Papa*, or *Papas*: from whom, as seemeth probable to me, the Iland of East *Island* called *Papey*, deriued the name; because they were often wont to touch there: or their Monuments (such as I sayd) were chiefly found there.

Woods.

Bells and Croffes.

This side of *Island*, to such as sayle from *England*, *Ireland*, and *Scotland*, is most exposed towards the North-west. Moreouer, what and from whence these *Papa*, or *Pappa* came, I cannot sufficiently speake: vnlesse peraduenture from the Ilands of *Scotland*, whereof one is named *Pappa*, and another *Westrapappa*, as we may see in the Mappes: vnto which conjecture let euery one giue what credit he pleateth. Furthermore, very many of the *Norwegians*, afterwards boldly following the steps of *Ingulfus* going into *Island*, with their wiues and children, and great multitudes of their Kindred and friends, restored themselves to libertie. Whose names and large Families are recited in the Chronicles; as by the second Booke is vnderstood. Besides, it is there recounted what coasts, what shoares, what middle-land places euery one possessed: and at what

time

time: and also how the first Inhabitants gaue name to Straights, Bayes, Hauens, narrow straights of Land, Ferryes, Clyffes, Rockes, Mountaines, Hills, Vallies, rough and inaccessible Places, Fountaines, Flouds, Riuer, Villages, Farmes or Habitations: whereof at this day many are yet retained and in vse. Which *Topography*, supposing it would bee tedious, especially to a forraigne Reader, I haue here omitted; applying my selfe rather to the description of the Inhabitants, who in sixtie yeeres space so replenished with their multitudes, the habitable parts of *Island* now possessed.

Chap. 3.
Of the language of the
Nation.
Islanders only
retaine the
ancient Gottish

Concerning the language of the *Islanders*, the matter it selfe speaketh, that it is the *Norwegian*; I say, that old and naturall speech, deriued from the ancient *Gottish*, which onely the *Islanders* now vse vncorrupted: and therefore we call it *Islandish*. Of the letters of which tongue we will first speake somewhat: and afterwards in the Chapter following there shall be a short discourse of the originall thereof.

Two kinde of
letters.

And surely that language seemeth to haue double letters: to wit, the Old, and New. The New, which commonly wee vse at this day, are common almost to all *Europe* together with vs. Which, when they first began to bee vsed is not certainly knowne. Surely as yet, some crosses written in ancient letters, are yet seene among our Country-men, which letters also many yet know, and both reade, and write: and this naturall language it selfe is contained in the same, nothing at all changed. Moreouer it seemed good to mee, thus to present the name and shape of the ancient Characters, such surely as was offered vnto mee, placing the New or Compacie of ours, with those of *Vlphila*, the Bishop of the *Goths*: whom *Iohannes Theodorus*, and *Iohannes Israel*, brethren and Citizens of *Francosurt*, report to haue inuented these letters: by whose relation hee agreeth with vs in all things, saue where the disagreement shall bee noted here. Moreouer also, I thought it not amisse to set downe in writing the letters of certaine other Nations, to some of our Country letters, out of the same *Francosurt* copie, which the Types or Figure subscribed will demonstrate.

A	Ar	Λ	
b	Biarkan	B	
z	Knesol	η	
d	Stunginntyr	4	or 1 and <i>Vlphila</i> thus p.
e	Stunginn ls	†	
f	Fe	ρ	
g	Stunginn kaun	ρ	
h	Hagall	⊗	
i	Is	I	
k	Kaun	ρ	
l	Langur	ρ	or Ω: <i>Vlphila</i> thus Λ: it is also Ω, the <i>Moscouit</i> L.
m	Madur	Y	
n	Nand	Λ	<i>Vlphila</i> thus Λ
o	Os	Λ	
p	Plastur	K	<i>Vlphila</i> thus B
r	Reid	R	
s	Sol	δ	<i>Vlphila</i> thus η
o	Tyr	1	<i>Vlphila</i> thus 1
u	Ur	Ω	<i>Vlphila</i> thus Ω
y	Yr	Λ	<i>Vlphila</i> thus ρ
p	Puss	ρ	4 the <i>ethiopian</i> ρ d. } of the <i>Arabians</i> .

Here wee see twentie one Characters, but the ancient numbred onely sixteene. And the third η, they would not acknowledge for theirs: because z. of the *Greekes*, that is to say z. or ds. (as they would haue it) they might write it in their language with distinct letters. But the fourth 1 from the eighteenth, they distinguish with some point, or an ouerthwart line, almost thus 1: otherwise it is altogether the same in shape and name, *Tyr*, but d. *Stunginntyr*, that is to say, pointed *Tyr*, as p. kaun.k, and pointed kaun p. g. So Is pointed for e. but

but *Plastur* resembleth *B*. with both the bellies open above and beneath. Besides these, the rest are numbred sixteene, as I said. For they reckoned the Diphthongs to the Syllables.

Moreover, it retained the last new Consonant of the old Alphabet, changed in name, but not in shape: which is *p*. This being set after a vowell in the same syllable, hath the sound of *d*, as *Blap* for *Blad*, which is a leafe: which kind of writing was more vsuall with the ancient, but at this day is almost growne out of vse: but being set before a vowell, it hath a peculiar force and pronunciation, not altogether *Th*, but sounding somewhat more grossly, as it were *Tzh*, putting forth the tongue almost between the fore-teeth: as *pa*, that is to say, then. In times past it had the name of *Puff*: at this day it is called *Porn*, or *Thorn*, if you put *p*. for *th*: and therefore it cannot be written or pronounced at all, but by it selfe.

They also of later time write the Consonant *f*. after this manner *ℱ*. The Moderne Writers also doe sometimes asperate *L. N. R.* the ancient very seldome, and almost neuer: as *Hlatur* in old time *Latur*, that is, a thing. *Hnissur* in times past (as also sometimes at this day) *Knissur*; that is to say, a Knife: *Hratur*, in old time *Ratur*, that is to say a Ram. In like manner sometimes *Iod*, and *Vaf*, or *Iand* *u*. Consonants: as *Hiel*, that is, a Wheele: *Hualur*, that is, a Whale: which also I thinke the ancient did concerning *Iod*, and *Vaf*.

In Vowels and Diphthongs, as also abbreviations proper to this language, the varietie is farre greater, which I purpose not to touch. Moreover also, the due handling of the letters, as of the rest of the *Etymologie* and *Syntaxis* of this tongue, would bee the copious matter of a peculiar worke, especially if any would adde the Poetrie, purposing to write the Grammer of the *Islandish* tongue, which would bee no more difficult, then that wee haue seene done, concerning the *Germane* and *French* tongue, besides others.

About the yeere of the Lord 1216. one of our Country-men wrote in his Countrey language, *Island Gram-* concerning the letters of the proper, or mother tongue: where hee affirmeth these ancient Cha-*matian.* racters to be peculiar to this language, and handleth them both, as well new as old after a legitimate and due manner of tractation, by his definitions and diuisions of the letters into Vowels and Consonants, and of the five *Latine* Vowels, maketh eighteene of his language, distinguished in sound and pronunciation: He diuideth the Consonants naturally into halfe Vowels, and Mutes, and those into Liquids and Firmes, these into open and shut; performing the part of a pretie Logician. And in deliuering the force and pronunciation of the letters, hee artificially assumeth for euery definition all the Instruments of framing the voyce, as well the lungs and throat, as the auxiliary parts of the mouth and tongue. The letter *p*. also, he calleth *the*, peradventure in imitation of the *Greeke Theta* (which almost, as we said, although not altogether it expresseth) or *Tau* of the *Hebrewes*, which *Hebrew* letter, if *th*. or *t*. of the *Latines* rightly expresse, as is reported by some, *Thau* shall come nothing nearer to our *p*. then *Theta*. The same Country-man of ours, from absolute letters, proceedeth to set downe in writing, the figures of the word and sentence in the Mother tongue, and illustrate them with examples of our language, retaining the *Greeke* titles of the Figures, or names of *Epizeusis*, *Anadiplosis*, &c.

And from this Writer of our Countrey, we receiued the Types of the old Alphabet: for there are Historicall fragments yet extant, concerning *Norus* the Name-giuer of *Norway*, and founder of the Kingdome, and those *Toparchi*, or little Kings, whom hee vanquished before hee obtained the Monarchie. *Norus*, of whom *Norway* is named.

§. II.

A discourse of the first Inhabitants of the Northerne World, supposed to be Giants expelled from Canaan. Of the Islanders Houses, Fewell, Victuall.

Moreover concerning some of the ancestors of *Norus*: among whom his father *Porro* (whom they call *Thorro*) King of *Gotland*, *Finland*, and *Kuenland*: an excellent Prince of his age, from whom the moneth of the old *Norwegians*, and now *Islanders* hath the name of *Thorre*, which in the *Julian* Calender beginneth the 10. 11. 12. 13. 14. 15. or 16. of Ianuary: for it hath a moueable beginning after the manner of their Calender. And seeing King *Thorro* this month accustomed to sacrifice vnto his gods; the *Kuenones* instituted yerely sacrifices in the same month to him, being dead, as to a certaine god, in token of an happy yeere, which they began with the winter, after the maner of the old *Lacedemonians*; & called the same month *Porre*, of *Thorro*; no otherwise then the *Lacedemonians* gaue diuine honor to *Lycorgus* being dead, building a Temple in memory of him, where hee was honoured for a god; to whom his familiar friends instituted set Feasting-dayes, and solemne assemblies which remained a long time, and the dates wherein the assemblies were celebrated, they called *Lycorgide*: concerning which matter looke *Cragius* in his third booke of the Common-wealth of the *Lacedemonians*.

Chap. 4.
Of the first
Inhabitants of
the North
parts of the
world.
Thorro.

Of

Fermotus.

Of the Ancestors also of *Norus*, all are mentioned euen to his Great-grandfather, who was *Fermotus* King of *Finland*: Moreouer, one of the three sonnes of *Fermotus*, and therefore Great vncler of *Norus*, called *Logie*, which signifieth a flame; who for the excellencie of his beautie was called *Halogie*, that is to say, an high or excellent flame. Hee was Monarch of the *Halongian* Prouince, bordering vpon the Prouince of *Nidrosia*.

Goe.

Goe also the daughter of *Thorro*, by the sister of *Norus*, is there recorded, for recouerie of whom, being stolne away (as *Cadmus* was sent by his father *Agenor* to seeke his daughter *Europa*) *Norus* was sent by his father *Thorro*: which, that it might more happily succeed, *Thorro* instituted new sacrifices to the Gods, in the moneth next following the former (afterwards called *Thorra*) and intituled the same moneth with the name of *Goe*, after the name of his daughter *Goe*: which name of the moneth likewise the *Islanders* that now liue, doe yet retaine. Furthermore, ancient Histories make mention of *Gorus*, the naturall brother of *Norus*: as also the nephew of *Gorus*, named *Gylus*, hauing the soueraigne authoritie in *Suecia*; in whose time *Odinus* happened to come (others call him *Othinus*) Stander-bearer of the *Asian* Immigration, made in the foure and twentieth yeere before Christ was born, which we mentioned before: and *Gylus* had a father called *Geiterus*, and an Vncler *Beiterus*, the sonnes of *Gorus*; from *Beiterus*, the Hauē neere the Citie *Nidrosia*, is named *Beitstod*.

Gorus.

I thought good to exhibit these things in a Table.

29

Fermotus King of Finland,

Hlar.	Kare.	Logie.
The same also is <i>Agier</i> , which other-wise signifieth the <i>Sea</i> : hee is supposed another <i>Neptune</i> , to haue dominion ouer the <i>Sea</i> .	That is to say, the <i>Winde</i> , for in the number of the Gods, after death, he is thought to be another <i>Æolus</i> , to rule the <i>Windes</i> .	Signifieth a <i>Flame</i> , honoured in stead of <i>Vulcan</i> after death (as hauing power ouer the <i>Fire</i>) and for the excellency of his beautie was called <i>Halogie</i> , so named of the Prouince of <i>Halogalande</i> in <i>Norway</i> .
	<i>Froste.</i> Otherwise called <i>Iokul</i> , both from the <i>Frost</i> and <i>Cold</i> .	
	<i>Sner.</i> That is to say, <i>Snowe</i> : furnished the <i>Ancient</i> , because hee is reported to haue liued three hundred yeeres: he left one sonne, and three daughters.	
<i>Drysa.</i> A snowy shower.	<i>Porre.</i> King of <i>Gothland</i> , <i>Kuenland</i> , and <i>Finland</i> .	<i>Fannu.</i> Signifieth <i>Snowe</i> gathered together in thicke heapes by a <i>Tempest</i> .
		<i>Miel.</i> Is thin <i>Snowe</i> descending without winde.
<i>Goe.</i> A daughter.	<i>Nor.</i> Of whom <i>Norway</i> is named, and the first Monarch.	<i>Gor.</i> Beiter-Geiter.

From this *Norus*, *Haraldus Pulcricomus* is the twelfth of them that descended from the right Line, whom some make the first Monarch of *Norway*, but amisse, being ignorant of Antiquitie: seeing hee was the third Restorer of the Monarchy of *Norway*: for betweene him and *Norus*, *Hemngus* the sonne of *Odinus* * obtayned the Monarchy also.

These (I say) besides many other things, are the manifest tokens of the Inhabitants of the Northerne World, farre more ancient then the immigration of *Odinus*: of whose originall notwithstanding, there is not one word. But because it is most repugnant to a Christian man, knowing the Bookes of *Moses* concerning Originals, to affirme themselves to be *Autochthona*, as both others, but especially the *Greekes* did concerning their Ancestors (yet with better leaue then the rest of the people of *Europe*: who next to the *Chaldees*, *Egyptians*, and *Iewes*, might worthily boast of Antiquitie in comparison of other people.) It were better truly to confesse the vnkknown originall of Ancestors, then to be carried away with the opinion and error of Earth-bred men: lest surely wee should heare some such thing, as sometimes one wittily vpbraided the *Grecians* with, so much boasting by reason of their pretended selfe-originall, to wit, that *Moses* the Law giuer of the *Iewes*, was more ancient then the Gods of the *Grecians*.

In the meane space, because through the onely confession of ignorance or doubt, truth doth

not

* This *Odinus* is said to haue made his plantation with his *Asian* followers, about four and twentie yeeres before Christ was borne.

Earth-bred or Land-sprung men, which had their originall in that Land.

40

50

60

not so soone appeare; somewhat is to be alleaged touching the proposed question: that the historicall Reader may haue some thing here which hee may either confute or confirme. Wee are therefore by probable reasons to inquire, who were the first inhabitants of the Northerne World, and from whence they came: then, when they began to inhabit this our World: that from hence some coniecture may arise concerning the originall of the language. And that I may here acquit my selfe without circumstances; I thinke the first inhabitants of the Northerne World, were of the number of Giants, nay, mere Giants; men that inhabited the mountaines of an huge and sometimes a monstrous body, and of monstrous and exceeding strength: and that they were the posteritie and remnant of the *Canaanites*, expelled from the Territories of *Palestina*, about the yeere of the World 2500. by *Iosua* and *Caleb* remoouing into *Palestina* through Gods pleasure and direction: and that this Countrey of the World euen vntill those times, or peraduenture longer, remayned altogether not inhabited.

Giants first inhabitants of the Northerne parts of the World.

Their originall from the *Canaanites*.

A long discourse of the Authour to proue that there haue bin Giants, is omitted.

For thus *Saxo Grammaticus* argueth in the Preface of his *Dania*. But (sayth he) the stones of exceeding bignesse fastened to the Tombes and Canes of the ancient, testifie that the Countrey of *Denmarke* was sometimes troubled with the inhabiting of Giants. But if any doubt, that it was done by monstrous strength; let him looke vpon the high tops of certayne Mountaynes, and say, if he know it well, who hath brought Rocks of such huge greatnesse to the tops thereof? For enery one that considereth this Miracle, shall perceiue that it is beyond common opinion, that the simple labour of mortalitie, or vnsuall force of humane strength, should rayse so huge a weight (hardly, or not at all moueable vpon the plaine ground) to so high a top of mountaynous sublimitie.

This *Saxo* writeth, who shall be a sufficient Author vnto vs concerning the first Inhabitants of *Denmarke*, that is to say, his owne Countrey. So concerning *Norway* and *Suecia*, and the bordering Countreies, as whatsoeuer is most ancient; so it most resembleth a Giant-like disposition and nature. Whereof examples are to be taken out of Histories, which would bee tedious here. For that I may omit ancient examples, those things are knowne of late memory to haue beene done: Concerning the Giant *Doffro*, inhabitant of the Mountayne *Doffrasiall* in *Norway*; and Foster-father of *Haraldus Pulcricomus* King of *Norway*. Also concerning *Dunabo* who liued in the time of *Drefton*: from whom the Bay *Boddick* or *Bothnicke*: in time past was called *Dumbshaff*, who in a Sea-fight, encounteringe eightene Giants alone, sent twelue of them first to Hell before he himselfe was slaine. Of thirtie Giants at once destroyed by fire, by *Dumbos* Sonnes left, in reuenge of their Fathers death. There is yet a later example of certayne Giants of *Norway*, destroyed by authoritie of *Olau Triggø* King of *Norway*, about the yeere of Christ 995. But the latest in the yeere 1338. *Magnus* the Sonne of *Ericus*, being King of *Norway*, that a Giant of fiftene Cubits was slaine by foure men: as it is found recorded in the Chronicles. Hereunto adde, that a certayne Prouince of *Norway*, or bordering vpon *Firmauchia*, in ancient time was called *Risalande*, that is to say, the Land of Giants (for *En Rise*, and *Rese*, signifie a Giant) from whence *Iotum Heimar*, that is, the habitation of Giants is not farre dissonant (whereupon as yet, *En Iat*, is said to be a Giant) that I may speake nothing heere of *Iotumland*: by which name, that which at this day is called *Istland*, was sometimes called by our Countrey men, and very many other also, the Land of the *Cimbri*, or *Chersonesus*: the same name also being giuen it of *Kemper*, that is, fighting Giants of *Nephilheimar*, and *Karnephill*, else-where, and peraduenture by others shall be spoken, as also of the *Gothes*, and *Getts* (peraduenture also *Ietts*) and such like others. Moreouer, the remnant of the Giants came into *Istland*, whose Names, Habitations, worthy Acts and Enterprizes, are sufficiently knowne, and before our eyes. Seeing therefore Giants first inhabited this our World; it is demanded, when, or whence they came?

Giants in the time of *Haraldus Harefayre* and *siace*.

1338. a Giant reported of 14 Cubits.

Istland.

Gill. Genebrand. Chronol. Lib. 1. The first Age, sayth hee, (from the Creation of the World vnto the Flood) seemeth to haue beene passed and spent within the mid-lands of the World, and that they came not to the borders of Asia, Atrica, and Europe. *Bodinus* sayth, that *Moses* wrote the Historie of the whole World (he meaneth inhabited) euen to the yeere of the World, 2450. And *Genebrand* againe, *Lib. 1. Chronol. pag. 11.* As the first Originall of Mankind was in Armenia, Mesopotamia, Chaldaea, and Syria: and men before the Flood dwelt only there: so other Countreies themselves, were first inhabited after the Flood. Also *Genebrand* sayth yet further, *ibid. pag. 35.* Before three thousand yeeres (for hee wrote in the yeere of Christ 1597.) almost all Europe was emptye, that is, about the yeere of the World 2541. which is chiefly to bee vnderstood of the Northerne World, if of the rest of Europe. But hee said, almost, not altogether, that hee might not take away the migrations of the Nations then presently beginning after the yeere of the World 2500. wee doe not therefore tye the time (wherein this further Europe began to bee inhabited) to the yeere of the World 2500. But wee say, that that troublesome time wherein the Nations (and among them the Giants of *Canaan*) were cast out of their places and dwellings, and compelled to seek new habitations, euen in Europe, happened in this yeere: as was proposed by vs in the beginning. And that Europe receiued her Inhabitants from hence, among the Ancient, *Procopius* is my Author, a Writer borne at *Casaria* of *Palestina*, Collector of the worthy Acts of *Iustinianus*, about the yeere of the Lord 530. who to proue this very thing, allea-

geth diuers Writers of the Historie of the Phœnicians. The words of Procopius are these, in his fourth Booke of the Warres of the Vandalls, not in one place only, cited by D. Cythraus: out of the which, among other things, I gather mine opinion. The Hebrewes (saith Procopius) after they returned out of Egypt, and remayned still in the borders of Palestina, Moses (who led them in their iourney) dieth: whom Iosua the sonne of Nun succeeded, who also brought the people into Palestina, and shewing strength and courage far beyond the nature of man, obtained the Country; where by destroying Nations, he easily vanquished many Cities, seeming inexpugnable vnto all. Then therefore all the Countrey vpon the Sea-coast, from Sidon euen to the borders of Egypt, was called Phœnicia: ouer which one long since raigned; as all witnesse, who writ the ancient History of the Phœnicians; here great multitudes of people dwelt: the Gergalites, Iebusites, and others named in the Hebrew Volumes, who when they saw the Armie of the strangers to be inexpugnable, leauing their Country bounds went into Egypt next adioyning, and there increasing in number and posteritie, when they found not sufficient, and conuenient place for so great a multitude, they entred into Africa, where inhabiting very many Cities, they possessed all that Coast, euen vnto the Pillers of Hercules, vsing the halfe Phœnician Tongue and Dialect, and built the Towne Tingen in Numidia, most strongly fortified in the situation thereof: where two Pillers of white stone are erected neere the great Fountayne, whereon in the Phœnician Language these Letters are ingrauen. Nos sumus Cananai, quos fugauit Iesus Latro. For Iosua in the Hebrew is Iesus. This Procopius writeth, to which purpose the Historians of the Hebrewes are cited by Genebrand: Iosua (saith he) partly expelled the Canaanites; and partly slue them. The remnant of these are reported to haue gone into Germany, Sclauonia, and the next adioyning Countreies, &c. Into Se- 20 der Olam, &c. Also: And surely in that Age, that the whole West was emptie and vnepeopled, saue that the Nations of the East came by little and little into the Countreies thereof, it appeareth by the often infusions. This Genebrand writeth. And Bodinus Method. Hist. chap. 9. The Canaanites being cast out of the Land of Palestina, by the Hebrewes, went into Illyricum and Pannonia (to wit, by those migrations and remoues, which out of the place before alleadged by Procopius, wee vnderstand) as Rabbi David Kimchi witnesseth at the end of Abdias.

Chap. 5.
Of their Cu-
stomes and
manner of life.
Separate dwell-
ings.

The ancient Islander seeme to haue bene ordayned for great frugalitie, wherein first their habitations or buildings are briefly to be touched, next their food and manner of apparell: and lastly, the rest of the exercises of their common life.

Houses.

For first as touching their habitations, the Islanders haue followed the first and most ancient 30 manner of dwelling. To wit, not by Cities and Townes; but as Tacitus speaketh of the Germanes of his time, they dwelt asunder, as a Field, as a Fountayne, as a Wood, as an Hill, or Valley, Shoare, or Bay of the Sea pleased them: Not only imitating here the example of the first Age of the World, but also of the latter Age: as the people of Athens and Laconia, in the beginning dwelt by Villages (as they write) not together or by Cities: and as in the time of Tacitus, about the yeere of Christ 120. with the Germanes there was no vse of Mortar nor Tyles: (whereupon any man may rather judge the like concerning the Northerne World) so, nor after, with the Islanders, but they built their houses with Timber and Turffe. Nor surely was it momentany worke which lasted but a while, nor yet deformed in shew, the walls were sometimes made only of Turffe, sometimes of rough Stones, adding Turffe in stead of Mortar: which af- 40 terwards they couered with workmanship of planks, as also the raftering it selfe; especially in more notable buildings. And so you might see the Roofe with the walls before mature old age ouer-growne with greene grasse every yeere, for you must vnderstand, that the Roofe and walls were couered with greene Turfe. Windowes were made in the Roofe, seldome in the walls, and certayne Roofes not very high, such as is reported the building of houses with the Easterne people was wont to be. The Inhabitants had store of Timber, cast vpon the shoare by the swelling of the waues of the Sea; through the miraculous testimonie of Gods Prouidence, considering their Woods at home yeelding plentie, as I thinke only of Birches, were not sufficient for their huge houses: which yet were a great helpe also; with those which the Inhabitants, as oft as they would, fetched out of bordering Norway, and peradventure also out of Groneland: for the 50 Islanders sayled yeerely to both a long time. Every one therefore had the houses of their Villages almost joyning together on their ground: besides the stalls of their Herds, seated some distance from the houses themselves. Also certayne piles of fuell, not altogether joyning together, to auoid the danger of fire: peradventure also certayne store-houses, which being solitary, might better receiue the Ayre and drying winds.

Fuwell.

Turfes of two
sorts, both vsed
in England; the
one in fennie,
the other in
heath grounds.
Einarus the In-
uenter of
Turfe-fewel in
the Orcaides.

Some maintayned their fires with home-growing Wood: others with clammie Turfe (as I thinke H. Iunius aptly calleth it) whereof there are two kindes with vs: the one soft and spongie, growing vnder the superficies of the Earth; which wee call Suordur: Another more thicke, and therefore more weightie; which peradventure wee may very well call digged Turfe, by the opinion of the same Iunius: because it is taken out of the deepe Quarries or Mines, dig- 60 ged a great depth out of the Earth. And both kindes of Turfe (but this much more) must bee first baked with the Sunne and winde, before it be fit to burne. This latter kind we, as also some of the Germanes call it Torff: the inuenter whereof in the Orchades a certayne Orchadensian Duke is said to be; one Einarus the Sonne of Raugnualdus a Norwegian Duke of Mere, in the time

time of *Pulericomus* King of *Norway*, who was therefore called *Torffeinarus*. He had a brother called *Rolfuo*, whom *Crantzius* nameth *Rello*, who possessed part of *France*, afterwards called *Normandie* of the *Normans*, or *Norwegians*. The Inhabitants chiefly wanted fewell to expell the distemper of cold, besides other vses sufficiently knowne: especially in the Winter time, when Hot-houses and Chimneyes are in vse, heaped together of Rocks and stone, through which the flame might easily breake forth; which as soone as through the force of the fire they were thoroughly heat, and when the Hot-house began now to leaue smoking, the cold parts of the Chimney were besprinkled with hote glowing stones: by which meanes heate vseth effectually to disperse it selfe throughout the whole house, which also is very well so preferred by the wall, and Roofe couered with Turfe.

Stoues:

Yet lest the *Islanders* might seeme through meere pouertie or want of knowledge, to haue v-sed rude buildings and poore houses; I can cal to remembrance certayne houses of an hundred and twentie sixe foot long, and some of one hundred thirte sue, as I haue before declared concerning the buildings of *Ingulfus*: and some of one hundred and twentie feet in length, and sixtie feet broad: whereof we shall hereafter speake; some also, whose hollowed rafters, and boarded feeling of the walls carued by art, report the ancient Histories, of worthy and memorable Acts. They therefore inclosed their habitations built after this manner, with certayne spaces of fruitfull fields ordayned for tillage, which spaces through toyle some labour, they afterwards compassed about with a banke cast vp, to keepe out the Heards of cattle. Moreover, sufficient huge pastures were assigned to euery Farme or plot of ground, diuided by certayne limits, or inclosures from others, whereof we shall speake in the eight Chapter. And euery Farme or Habitation for the most part, and in like manner euery plot of ground receiued the name from the first Founders: sometimes also from some other: so Mountaynes and Riuers as hath bene aduertized before; so that by this meane the places themselues, euen by their names only declared to all posteritie their first Inhabitants, and *πατριμοσι*.

Greater houses in Island, in old times.

I proceede from buildings to their victuals, and tillage of the field and ground, which partly succeeded well to the first Inhabitants, to procure Corne and fruit from thence: but I know not whether euery where alike. Yet in the meane space, that *Hiorleifus* mentioned before, exercised his slaues in tillage of the ground: and one *Gunnernus* of *Lidarenda*, sowing his Seed, was wounded by the enemy on the ball of the cheeke: and likewise *Hofchuldus Huitarnesgode* busily employed in sowing the Seed, was slaine. Hence from the fields there are proper names of certayne places. Hence came that Law concerning the gathering together, and carrying of Corne after Harvest (where they speake of the seruices which the Lawyers call *pradiall*.) All which are manifest tokens of the tillage of the ground, amongst the first *Islanders*: which also, euen vnto this day, I heare, is practised by some Inhabitants of South Island, but with lesse increase: the ground and temper of the Ayre degenerating from the first goodnesse thereof after so many Ages: peradventure also the care of the Husbandmen beeing lesse diligent, may bee the cause; since Corne comming from forreigne parts began more to be in vse. And because that tillage of the ground seemed in the beginning either not vsed of all, or lesse

Victuals and Husbandry.

Tillage anciently in vse.

fruitfull for Corne, and all manner of graine; a peculiar manner of tillage of the ground presently began: whereby they compassed with dunge those fields or spaces, which I said they inclosed within their owne circuit, especially with kowes dunge, at the mowing of the best hay, to the intent they may the better feed the Heards; and especially the Kine, that they might yeeld the more plenty of Milke. Which tillage of the ground is yet retayned: and they only exercise the same for the most part, almost by mid-land Inhabitants: seeing such as dwell vpon the Sea-coast liue most by fishing: whither also those more remote or mid-land people yeerely send their Seruants to fish. Both Plaines, that is to say, the ground and the Sea, was to bee ploughed after a sort by the *Islanders*, for the comforts of life. To whom besides instead of victuals, Sheep, Oxen, Swine and Kiddes, sufficiently abounded: and also fishes of diuers kindes, besides

Sea-fish out of the Flouds, Lakes and Riuers, they met with euery where: so that they might take them as it were out of a certayne weele, especially in that Age: also Milke and White-meate, with goodly plentie of Butter from the Heards of cattle. Besides Fowle in great number, some tame, as Hennes and Domesticall Geese, or Fowle of another kind liuing in the open Ayre, wandring also solitarily in Mountaynous places: which the possessors marked in the feet, that euery one might more easily demand his owne. They had others also not tame, which they tooke by certayne ginnes: as Geese and Duckes of the Medow, Partridges, and Swannes: and very many Sea-fowle, whose names and properties I doe not know. But Fowle of either kind tame or wilde, they either presented their Egges or themselues, or both, for the vse of men. Besides the naturall Drinke or pressed Whay of Milke (whereof the great plentie is so much the better, as the Milke is more excellent: so that halfe an ounce of water mixed with an ounce of Whay, doth not wholly diminish the taste thereof; but that it reliseth more of the Whay then of the water) they also boyled Barley Flowre, sometimes adding thereto the Honey Combe, or Water mingled with Honey: sometimes also a Liqueur made of certayne Berries growing heere. Moreover, the ancient *Islanders*, Ale.

Beasts:

Fowles:

Fishes:

Drinke:

Whay:

Mead:

Ale:

brought in drinke made of Corne, from forreigne parts, as also all manner of graine, and other things: for they were furnished with ships of their owne; wherewith they yeerely visited at their pleasure, *Denmarke, Norway, Suecia, Scotland, Saxonic, England, and Ireland.*

Our ancient *Islanders* wanted not honest Banquetings and meetings: and that surely without miserable sparing, whether we respect the number of the guests, or the time of the Banquets exhibited. For *Theodorus* and *Thornaldus*, brethren, and Citizens of *Hialtad* of North Island, solemnizing the Funerals of their Father *Hialta*, made a Banquet for fourteene dayes together, of twelue hundred persons, presenting the men of better note with some gift. And an Inhabitant of West Island, surnamed *Olaus Pa*, with his two brethren, were at the charge to banquet nine hundred men, euen for fourteene dayes space; not sending the chiefe men away without reward.

I find money was not vsuall with the *Islanders*, I meane, those of ancient time: but siluer was weighed by the ballance: and bartering of Merchandizes was very commonly vsed. Moreouer, Rings of Gold, and Bracelets, were both often sent for tokens of remembrance from Superiours to priuate men, or from one friend to another.

III.

Of their Politie, and Religion in old times.

Chap. 6.
Of their Common-wealth & Religion.

He *Islanders* going about to establish an *Aristocratie*, or State of Nobilitie (considering they dwelt scattered in the Countrey, and not together) first diuided their Citie into Fourths or *Tetrades*, named from the foure principall quarters of the World, and distinguished besides by setting of bounds (such also as was the Geographical partition of the Island it selfe, mentioned before at the end of the first Chapter) diuided into North, East, South, and West quarter. And againe, they diuided the Fourths into Thirds, except the North quarter: For this, as it was larger then the rest, was parted into Fourths. But these Thirds they subdiuided againe into their parts: some Tenth and others somewhat otherwise. For the which not finding a fit name, I haue retayned the proper name of the Countrey, that which with them is *Hreppar*, wee may counterfeitly call *Reppe*: vnto the which also we may imagine no vnapt *Etymon*, from the word *Repo*. For here was the first *apportion* of them that executed any publike Office, for equitie either of opinion and judgement, and the equall ballancing of mindes, to be preserved in the rest of the Magistrates, worthily ought to begin there, vntill any could rather thinke they had respect heere vnto *Reeb*, that is to say, Coards, with the which the diuision was made, after the most ancient manner of the *Hebrewes* themselves. Every *Reppa* regularly containd twentie Inhabitants at the least (for oftentimes it containd more) limited by a certayne increase of the wealth of their Family, vnder which they might not be reckoned to the poorer *Reppes*; to the richer they might.

Seats of Iustice and Religion.

Idols.

For and Thors day.
Frejr Niordur and As.
Odinus the same that Woden in our Saxon storie.
Odinus, Odin, or Oden by his Sorcery (which made him a Deuill) made a God.
Wednesday, or Wednesday.

Moreover in every Third, as also in the Fourths of the North *Tetrad*, (which Iurisdiccions in times past they called *Pyng*, at this day also *Syslu herad*) they appointed three more famous places consecrated to the Seat of Iustice and Iudgements; besides also dedicated to *Ethnicke* Sacrifices, which they call *Hoff*: we call them Holy Places, and Temples. Every Chappell after the manner of this Countrey was sumptuously built: whereof wee reade of two, of one hundred and twentie foot long. One in the Iurisdiction of *Walsdall* of North Island: the other in *Rialarnes* of South Island: and this surely sixtie foot broad. Moreouer, euery such holy place had a kind of Chappell adjoyning. This place was most holy. Heere stood the Idols and Gods made with hands, vpon a low stoole or a certayne Altar; about which the cattle which were to be sacrificed vnto them, were orderly placed. But the chiefe and middlemost of the Gods was *Iupiter*, by them called *Por*, from whom these Northerne Kingdomes yet call *Thors*-day *Thorsdagh*. The rest of the Gods were collateral vnto it; whose certayne number, and names I haue not heard. Yet in the ancient forme of oath (whereof mention shall be made hereafter) three besides *Thorus*, are specially noted by name: *Frejr*, *Niordur* and *As*: whereof the third, to wit *As*, I thinke to be that famous *Odinus*, not accounted the last among those *Ethnicke* Gods (of whom I made mention before) Synecdochically called *As*: because hee was the chiefe of the people of *Asia*, who came hither into the North: for in the singular number they called him *As*, which in the plurall they called *Asar*, or *Aser*. This *Odinus*, as aforesaid, for his notable knowledge in Deuillish Magicke; whereby like another *Mahomet*, hee affected a Diuinitie after his death, was reckoned among the number of the Gods: from whom at this day, *Wednesday*, is called *Odens Dagur*, the day of *Odinus*: whereupon peradventure, I shall not vnaptly call *Odin* (*Mercurie*) as *Thon* *Iupiter*. Yet the ancients honoured *Odin* in the place of *Mars*: and such as were slaine in the warres, they say were sacrificed to *Odin*. And the companions, or dr. Sonnes of *Odin* were *Frejr* and *Niordur*: who

through

through the same artes which their Father or Prince *Odinus* practised, obtaigned an opinion of Diuinitie. I haue before aduertised you, that chiefly in the North Countrey, Kings, after their death, are honoured for Gods. But the worshipping of them hath not yet come vnto the *Islanders*: wherefore we will speake nothing of them in this place.

Before that seate of the Gods placed in the foresaid Temples, stood an Altar erected, couered above with Iron, that it might not be hurt with fire, which must bee continually there. A Caldron alio or brasen vessell was set vpon the Altar, to receiue the blood of the sacrifices, with an holy water sticke or sprinkle, to bedew the standers by with the blood of the sacrifices.

The Altar.

Holy water
sprinkle.

Besides, on the Altar a siluer Ring was kept (or of copper) of twentie ounces, which being anointed with the blood of the sacrifices, they who executed any office pertayning to Iustice, being now readie to take their oath, religiously handled while they were tworne. Foure-footed beaists, for the most part, were appointed for sacrifices; to bee conuerted to the food of the Sacrificers. Although in the meane space, I finde (a lamentable matter) that the blinde *Ethnicks* in the foresaid place of *Rialarnes* vsed also humane sacrifices: where at the doore of the Temple, was a very deepe Pit, wherein the humane sacrifices were drowned; which Pit was called *Blockell-da*, from the Sacrifice.

Holy Ring.

Sacrifices.

Humane-inhu-
mane sacrifices

Demill-circle.

Also in West Island, in the Prouince of *Thornsting*: in the middle of the Market place there was a round circle, into the which, men appointed to be sacrificed to the Gods, were gathered: who being violently smitten against an exceeding great stone set there, were cruelly flaine. The indignitie whereof, that stone is reported to haue declared many ages after, by the bloody colour, which no shower of raine, or water, could euer wash away. An abominable crueltie surely, yet not wanting examples, deriued euen from the most ancient times. I omit those of later time, and found in the neare bordering Countries, as the humane sacrifices of the *French*, whereof *Cicero pro Fonteio*, speaketh: and also the custome of nearer bordering Countries. I doe not mention the *Roman* sacrifices: among which, *Lupercus Valeria*, appointed to be sacrificed, was deliuered from present death by an Eagle. Let the *nepheux*, and sacrificing of noble Virgins of the *Greekes*, not be remembred: with whom *Helena* was likewise freed from imminent perill of sacrificing, by the benefit of an Eagle. But who is it, that can be ignorant of *Benhennon* or *Gehennon* of the *Hebrewes*, and their crueltie farre greater then this, exercised not vpon slaues or guiltie persons, but euen vpon their dearest children? Concerning which matter I thought good to set downe the wordes of *Christoph. Adricomus Delpbus*. *Gehennon*, saith he, was a place in the suburbs of Ierusalem ouer against the East, under the Mountayne of Offence, neare the Fishpoole of the Fuller, most pleasant, like Tempe. In this Valley stood a Pavilion, and the brasen Idol of Moloch, cunningly wrought in the shape of a King, hollow within; whose head resembling a Calfe, the other parts a man, had armes stretched forth to sacrifice children: who through the vehement heat of the Idol, were burned amidst these cursed embracements: For when by the fire put vnder in the concavity of the Idol, it became all fiery, then the most wicked parents, with incredible crueltie, deliuered their dearest children, to wit, their Sonnes and Daughters to be burned within these detestable embracements. And least the miserable cry of the children in horrible torment being heard, might mooue the bowels of the parents, the Priests of Moloch filled the ayre and skie on euery side with the harsh sound of Trumpets, and striking up of Drummes, so long as the sacrifice continued. Whereupon also the place was named Tophet, which signifieth a Drumme. This *Adricomus* writeth. And least any might thinke, that the common people onely of the *Iewes* became thus blinde; behold Kings: *Abaz*, 2. King. 16. 2. Paralip. 28. *Manasses* there in the 21. and 33. where also the ancient custome of the Nations may bee alleaged.

Of this place
and these cries
of the children
confused with
sounds of in-
struments and
the vnnaturall
horror, Hell
was called *Ge-
henna* and *To-
phet*.

But that crueltie, and those sacrifices of *Saturne* seeme not to haue continued long with the *Islanders*: and surely, they were vsed no where else, saue in the two places assigned. Nor yet of all the Inhabitants of that Prouince, where it was exercised. For it is reported of *Horleifus*, the companion of *Ingulfus* before mentioned, that he altogether abhorred the worshipping of Idols. And *Helgo* also surnamed *Biola*, descended from the Barons of *Norway*, an inhabitant of the Prouince of *Rialarnes*, fauoured the *Ethnick* Religion but a little: for he receiued an *Irish* man, a banished *Christian*, into his neighbourhood; one named *Ornulfus*, with his families (which came with him:) and did not onely receiue him, but also permitted him to build a Church consecrated to Saint *Columbe*, in the Village of *Esenberg*. A yong man also of the same Prouince, called *Buo*, destroyed that most accursed Temple of humane sacrifices with fire, and burned all the Gods, although afterward it was repaired by the Proprietors.

Moreover, *Torchillus* surnamed *Mane* (it may bee because hee honoured the Moone, called *Mane*, and the rest of the Starres, with more Religion then the rest) a man of a very vpright life, and famous among the *Nebilitie* of *Island*, a little before the agonie of death, caused him- selfe to bee set forth ouer against the Sunne, and openly admiring the workmanship of Heauen, and the whole World, commended his Soule departing when he was readie to die, to that God who created the Sunne, and the rest of the Starres. He liued about the yeere of Christ 976. The same, or the like may be reported of very many others, while *Ethnicisme* yet continued. As of *Hallerus* a certaine inhabitant of South Island: who, because hee followed not the worship of

Of this place
and these cries
of the children
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sounds of in-
struments and
the vnnaturall
horror, Hell
was called *Ge-
henna* and *To-
phet*.

Idols, was called *Godlaus*, that is to say, *god*, as was also his sonne *Helgo*.

Chap. 7.
Of Magistrates
and Courts.

The publique Offices, some of them are distinguished from hence; others haue their originall from some other place. Those which are taken from hence, are a *Reppagogie* (that I may deuise a word) and the administration of Prouinces, to wit, as that partition into *Reppes*, and Prouinces, ended as it were in sundrie species, but both had some kinde of gouernment ioyned with it. For aswell the *Reppagogi* (for so I may call the Masters of *Reppes*) as the prouinciall Gouernours, proclaimed Assemblies, established Iudgements (euery one in their Court) and punished the guiltie: whereby it is euident that they also vsed the Law of Appeale in forren Causes (for in their own, euen priuate men had libertie of Appeale) so that I need not doubt that the *Reppagogi* also were comprehended vnder the Title of a Magistrate. Who is defined by *Bodinus* to bee *Hee, that hath part of a publique gouernment*. *Mesbo. hist. cap. 16.* I added, saith he; the word *Publique*, that it might be distinguished from the gouernment of a Master, or a Father. If therefore any would desire a more perfect distinction of a Magistrate, it should be such: A Magistrate is inferior, or superior. The inferior is a *Reppagogie* or Gouernour of five men, which five inhabitants chosen for gouernment of the *Reppes*, vied in euery *Reppe*, whom we are here compelled to call *Reppagogie*, and *The five men*, they call them *Hreppstior ar*, appointed first for their wisdome and integritie, next for the possession of immoueable goods; vnlesse concerning this latter, it seeme good to doe otherwise, by the common opinion.

A Magistrate,
who.

Care of the
Poore.

Moreouer, the Office of the *Reppagogi*, is limited by the care of the Poore. But that which the care of the Poore required, euery one within the bounds of their *Reppe*, endeouored to attaine by these two meanes. First, that they should prouide, that none should bee suddenly brought to extreme pouertie: as much surely as consisteth in mans pollicy. Secondly, how they might prouide for such as were become Beggars, to be maintayned by the common aide.

Lawes against
Beggars.

And surely, they attempted the first part of their office three manner of wayes: first, by making Lawes against such as through their owne fault (speaking after the manner of men) became beggars: of which sort are those, *titul. de exheredandis, cap. 3.* *Parentibus mendicis natus, & ipse hostiatim victum querendo educatus (nisi morbo affectus) hereditatem nullam adito &c.* that is to say, So long as he liueth from doore to doore: The 18. chapter of the same; and the first three yeere, next from the time of begging, *cap. 20.* Least any vnder a feigned shew of vertue, should deceiue and abuse the Lawes. Also, *Altera lex de eiusmodi mendicis impune castrandis, etiamsi cum eorundem nece coniunctum foret, titul. de pupillis, cap. 33.* to wit, Left liuing from doore to doore, they might beget children like vnto the parents, which afterwards should be a burden to the Commonwealth. Also, a third Law, *De iisdem mendicis non alendis, titul. de mendicis cap. 39. 63.* (not repugnant to the commandement of the Apostle, *Hee that laboureth not, let him not eate, 2. Thes. 3.*) and of not receiuing them, so much as into their house, *cap. 45.* of the same: a grieuous penaltie being inflicted, if any offended against this Law; in the same place.

Inordinate
men.

By which Decree, what other thing I pray you is meant, then the custome of the *Athenians* in times past? among whom the *Areopagus* inquired of the particular Citizens, by what art euery one liued; and prouided to haue them called in question, who gaue themselves to filthy and slothfull idlenesse? What other thing, I say, then what was meant by the Decree of the *Massilienses*, who forbade them to enter their Citie, who knew no arte whereby to sustaine their life? and lest any should practise either vnprofitable or dishonest artes: they gaue no place to Players, counterfeit Iesters, laughing Companions, sawcy Scoffers and Iugglers. To conclude, What other thing, then what the Decree of *Solon* meant, who ordained a Law, that the children should owe no thanks nor fauour to their parents, by whom they had bene instructed in no honest arte to get their liuing? The ancient World had so great and vehement prouocations vnto Vertue, euen with our Countermen, which in this last age (ah, too degenerate) you may finde wanting with griefe; all these Constitutions being taken away. Wherefore the number *τῶν ἀνέλκων* (that I may vse the word of *Paul*) is more abundantly increased, that is to say, of them, who being void of all discipline, liue infamous to themselves, and grieuous and troublesome to their common Countrey, in slothfull and filthy idlenesse, inuerting and changing that order instituted by God himselfe. The care of which thing, if the Magistrate would yet vnder- take, surely many should fare the better.

Our tithings
and hundreds
in their origi-
nall, had some
resemblance
thereof.

The second meanes and way of preventing pouertie, was a Law or Edict, concerning those who desired to be admitted into a *Reppe*, or become Citizens of *Reppes*. For none was to be receiued into a *Reppe*, vnlesse hee had first gone vnto the solemn assembly of that *Reppe*, and desired that he might be admitted; which they might not iustly denie, vnlesse to one conuicted of theft, or otherwise of some other crime, or so poore, that therefore hee was vnfit for the *Reppes*, and that hee could not sustaine himselfe and his family without the common almes of the beggars. But if any could not be present at this assembly, hee was bound to intreat leaue of cohabitation of five inhabitants, hauing lands of their owne, and next vnto him, whom hee was about to goe vnto. If any of honest fame and rich in abilitie, would notwithstanding goe into the *Reppes* without demanding leaue, hee retained his habitation, but yet was excluded from the Law and priuiledges of the *Reppes*. But if any wicked and dishonest person had thrust himselfe in with-

out leaue (although he had lawfully hired void and emptie land from the Lord and Owner thereof) the same was to be expelled by force: *Tullius de Reppis cap. 48.* To the same purpose appertaineth that Edict concerning seruants taken out of the *Rep. cap. 47.* of the same.

The third Statute against pouertie was, concerning the restitution of priuate losse in the title recited before *cap. 47.* whereof an example shall bee giuen, first in houses by chance consumed by fire: and those of foure sorts. For if a Store-house, Kitchin, Bed-chamber, or Bed, and Chappel had been burned; the losse receiued was to be valued within fourteene dayes, by five of the next neighbours, as well of the house it selfe, as of the most necessary things contained therein: as of the prouision of victuals, apparell, and household-stuffe daily vsed onely, properly belonging to the Master of the family, excluding other mens goods, as treasures, and other things more precious; because a man might bee a sufficient Citizen of *Reppes* without these. Then the halfe part of the losse valued by the whole *Reppe*, was to bee restored within an appointed time, by Subsidies contributed in common, according to the abilitie of euery Inhabitant. Another example of this liberalitie enioyned by the Lawes, is, concerning Cattle destroyed by the Murren or Rot: for if the fourth part of any mans Cattle, or more dyed, the losse likewise being valued within fourteene dayes after the Murren ceased, was to bee releued by common supplies for the halfe part, as the former was. But concerning both, there was a caution added, that this benefit should not be performed the fourth time; least any thing through too much carelesnesse, and retchlesse negligence, should procure damage to himselfe, *De Reppis cap. 47. & 48.*

20 The other part of the Office of the *Reppagogi* was imployed about the care of the poore, concerning the maintaining of such with certaine contribution of almes as were now become beggers, either through sicknesse or age, or other casualties not in their owne power: and also concerning the excluding of others, who should not appertaine vnto the almes, and diuers cases thereunto belonging. This almes was either priuate or publike. Priuate, for the which a law was made concerning the receiuing of the beggers, into the number of their family by their kindred, or cousins, one or more, inabled by a certaine increase of wealth limited by law, and to bee maintained by certaine lawes, according to the degree of hereditarie succession: For as any was next to the inheritance of the begger, if hee possessed goods, so was hee accounted the first that should sustaine him. But the next degree failing, or the same being poore, or not hauing wherewith to maintaine himselfe and his, besides that begger, that necessitie was imposed vpon the second, or third degree of kindred, &c. to be releued.

Lawes of Almes.

30 Publike almes was, as often as the kindred or cousins of the beggar failed, they liued by the helpe and reliefe of the *Reppes*: euery one was to bee maintained in his *Repp*; whereof there are prescript constitutions of lawes, to wit, what beggars should belong to what *Repp*, and what not; and concerning the driuing away and expelling of them by proesse of law, who appertaine not thereunto. Therefore the *Reppagogi* partakers of a publike Office limited with these bounds, proclaimed assemblies: Some surely both in time and place, standing, or ordinary: others not standing, or extraordinary; that is to say, as often as any new matter came pertaining to their charge to bee determined. Also priuate men might call extraordinary assemblies, to wit, they who had any cause worthy of an assembly and iudgement. But the signe and token of hauing an assembly (after the thousand yeere, when they had now sworne to the *Christian* Faith, peradventure before *Iupiters* Hammer and battle Axe, *Hamor poris*) was according to the religion of that time, a wooden Crosse, which euery Inhabitant carried to his neighbour at the day, place, and occasion of the assembly proclaimed, of which signe intermitted or neglected, a certaine penaltie was inflicted. There therefore the *Reppagogi*, concerning the matters appertaining to their charge, consulted according to equitie and right, determined them, and punished the guiltie: There the guiltie person, if the iniury were priuate, was cited into the Court of Iustice by him that was iniured, euen without publike authoritie (which also wee reade was vsed by the *Spartans*:) but if the iniury were publike (or if the partie iniured in a priuate offence would not cite the guiltie person, or could not) then was hee cited by some of the *Reppagogi*. Priuate men also had libertie and power to sue the *Reppagogi* negligent in their Office, or otherwise iniurious: where a penaltie of money fell to the Citizens of the *Reppes*: all which, and other things here belonging are handled, in *codice legum de Reppagogijs, cap. 43.* And concerning the inferiour Magistrates, that is to say, the *Reppagogi* onely, to wit, the first species of the Ciuill Magistrate.

60 Now followeth the superiour Magistracie, which is distinguished into Gouvernours of Prouinces, and Iustices. They were each of them Gouvernours in euery Prouince (which before I called *Thirds*, to wit, of euery *Tetrade*) executing as well the publike Offices of the Courts of Iustice, as of holy mysteries: or they were Interpreters of the Law, and matters of Religion: (although afterward the interpretation of the Law belonged more to the Iustices.) As with the *Romanes*, the *Ediles* also vsurped part of the *Pratorian* Iurisdiction. Among the ancient *Hebrewes* also the High Priests: also among the *Romanes* the High Priests were sacrificers. Whereupon *Horatius Carm. lib. 3. Ode 23. Victimæ Pontificum secures cernice tingit.*

These Gouvernours therefore, in that they had the charge of holy Mysteries, were Priests: in that they had to doe with the Court of Iustice and Iudgement, they were Iudges: we call them Noble-men

Noble-men in this place, and the state of the Common-wealth governed by their oversight, an *Aristocratie*. The same are called by our Country-men *Godar*, and *Hoffgodar*; from the Church or Temple (which is *Hoff*) as it were Ouer-seers of the Church, and their Office or Dignitie was called *Godora*; to wit, their name being next deriued from their *Ethnick* gods, which they called *God*: that euen by the name it selfe, they (who almost represented the Name and Office of the Gods) might bee put in minde of the Vertues, Wisdome, and Iustice, &c. requisite in such a *Gouernour*.

And that they might shew themselves such, I suppose the same place was appointed to iudgements of the seate of iustice, which was ordained for Sacred Mysteries; to wit, at the foresaid Temples. And also therefore, because the place of holy Mysteries, was religiously thought fitter for *εὐβουλία*, or the taking of good counsell, whereof there is especiall vse in the Court of Iustice. Moreouer, the Prouinciall *Gouernours* had their two-fold assemblies, as the *Rappagogi* had; yeerely or ordinary meetings, and proclaimed: or extraordinary, any necessitie requiring (those former assemblies, containing many dayes: *vid. Kapb. cap. 8. Torn. Leg.*) and that, as it is likely, assembled by some signe of holding a meeting; as we haue already said of *Reppagogies*: which surely, what it was in times past, is not well knowne; vntill it were that, which afterwards, and yet remaineth in vse; the forme of a *Norwegian* axe of Wood, carried about after the same manner, among the prouinciall Citizens: as we said a little before, of the wooden crosse. This token of the Iudiciall Court, is called *Bod* in our language, which signifieth a message.

Moreouer, euery one paid some yearely tribute or reuennue to the Temples: whereof the *Guardian* or Ouerseer of the Church was the Collector: for speaking of holy mysteries pertaining to the Church, I call euery Noble man so. To him also came the penaltie of the Temple, and Court of Iustice prophaned: who likewise ought to maintaine the Temple, or keepe it in reparations, at his owne charge. Lastly, the necessity, and specially care to amend and make good whatsoeuer damage done vnto the Prouince, or to foresee and preuent it being imminent, vsing the helpe of the Prouincials, lay wholly vpon him: so that, for the destroying of Theeves and publique Robbers, you may finde some who were prodigall of their owne life. Contrarily, it is a lamentable case, how at this day we see it euery where come to passe, where they make a great conscience to condemne a notorious Theefe by the Law, or any other conuicted once or twice of any capitall crime, much more to put him to death. These are the *Gouernours* of Prouinces: The *Nomophylaces* or Iustices follow. The *Nomophylax* was the other kinde of the superiour Magistrate, somewhat later then these: of which sort, in the whole auncient Citie of *Island* (for we yet describe it) at one and the same time, there was onely one: who of pronouncing or deliuering the Law, was called *Logmann* and *Logfogumann*. For the Commonwealth began not suddenly, but by little and little to be framed: therefore the Prouinciall Lawes were first, of the like meaning, though peraduenture not euery where the same, before they had them compact, and gathered into one body: which when they attained, for the custody and preservation of the same, they admitted trustie and wise men, whom I call *Nomophylaces*; and whose Office I shall very well describe in the words of *D. Nicolaus Cragius*, declaring the Office of the *Spartan Nomophylaces*. The Office of the *Nomophylaces* (*sait D. Cragius Li. 2. cap. 6. de Repub. Lacedæm.*) was, as we perceive by the matter it selfe, to haue charge of the custody and preservation of Lawes, for the benefit of the Commonwealth; and that they should not suffer them to be abolished, changed, or taken away by any. Moreouer, they indououred that the force of the Lawes might not grow out of vse, or the memory thereof be forgotten: but they compelled the *Magistrates* to the often obseruation of them, and execution of their dutie. And further, we may thinke these very men were the interpreters of Lawes, if peraduenture any thing doubtfully set downe, or hardly vnderstood, should come in disputation. This *Cragius* writeth: the same which I doe of ours: adding this, that they had some manner of authority in their power, together with the rest of the Nobility, of changing, or renewing Lawes, and also enlarging them, as it were *Orators* and Counsellours; the consent of the people being added. Therefore the *Nomophylaces* or chiefe Iustices, tooke nothing away from the forme of an *Aristocratie*: but were, as hath beene said before, Interpreters, and preseruers of the Law, armed with publique authority for this purpose, in whose power also, the custody of the Booke of the Lawes remained.

But I dare proceede no further with our Author in his Law Suites and Courts, lest I be therein detained with Demurs and tedious delaies. I am a Traueller, and howsoeuer I haue (not so much for *Island*, as for the knowledge of the *Arctoan antiquities*) waded thus farre: I will not tire the Reader further, but remit the more curious to the Author himselfe, who hath added much of their Lawes, and a whole Booke of their auncient Grands, and another of their Kings, both here omitted. The Kings of *Norway* began to haue dominion in *Island*, A. 1261. diuers immunities reserved: which Kingdome descending vpon *Margaret*, by her was linked with that of *Denmarke*, and so hath continued above 200. 60 yeares.



ENGLISH NORTHERNE
NAVIGATIONS, AND DISCOVERIES;
RELATIONS OF GREENELAND,
GROENLAND, THE NORTH-WEST PAS-
SAGE, AND OTHER ARCTIKE REGI-
ONS, WITH LATER RUSSIAN
OCCURRENTS.

THE FOURTH BOOKE.

CHAP. I.

A Voyage set forth by the Right Worshipfull Sir THOMAS SMITH, and the rest of the Muscouie Company, to Cherry Iland: and for a further discoverie to be made towards the North-Pole, for the likelihood of a Trade or a passage that way, in the Ship called the Amitie, of burthen seuentie tuns; in the which I IONAS POOLE was Master, having fourteene men and one boy: A.D. 1610.



THE first of March 1609. I wayed at Black-wall and went to Grauesend. The third day I went downe to the Noore-head. The ninth, wee wayed and put out to Sea (blessed bee God :) and by the fifteenth day I was in the Bay of Rosse, on the Coast of Norway, in Latitude 65. degrees: at what time the wind came Northerly, and blew extreame fierce, with great store of Snow and Frost. The sixteenth day, wee had the like weather and winds, so that wee could not maintaine a * mayne-course, and we lost some of our Beere. The seuenteenth day, we had Snow, and all the Beak-head was so laden with Ice, that it seemed a firme lump, and the wind at North, which blew so fierce that we could not maintaine a * fore-course, and draue vs backe to the altitude 63. degrees, 56. minutes. The storme continued so exceeding violent, that I was faine to spoone before it fortie eight houres, and the same wind and weather continued till the twentie one day, and in that time wee were driuen as farre to the Southwards as Shottland. And being faire by the Land, and seeing no likelihood of faire weather, I got a Fisher-man to conduct mee to a good Harbour, called Hamersound, not so much to eschew the stormy weather, as to stop some leakes, and to amend our tackling. I carryed in Shottland till the twelfth of April 1610. at which time the wind was Southerly. The former wind came to the North at midnight, with great store of Snow, which froze as fast as it fell: which wind continued till the fourteenth at noone. At two of the clocke it came to the East north-east, and I stood to the Northwards, after many stormes, much cold, Snow, and extreame Frosts. I had sight of the North-cape the second day of May. Then I stood towards Chery Iland, the winde being at West North-west. The third day at noone, the Cape bare South South-east; seauenteene leagues off, we had much Snow with Frost. The fourth day, it was thicke weather with

A.D. 1609.
Secund. Comput.
Ang.

* The Main-
sayle without
a Bonnet.

* The Fore-
sayle without a
Bonnet.

Hamersound in
Shottland.

North Cape
in 71. degrees
10. minutes.
May the sea
cond.

Chery Island.

Ice.

The sixth day
of May wee
were in 74. de-
grees 7. mi-
nutes.

Abundance of
Ice.

74. degrees 15.
minutes. vari-
ation 13. de-
grees 30. mi-
nutes.

The Lyoness
was sent to Che-
ry Island.

* As Cobodines
wildgeese and
Willocks.
Ice.

Much raine.

Land the 16.
day of May.

Note.

with great store of Snow and Frost, the winde at North-west and by North. The fifth day, it was faire weather, the winde at North North-east. The sixth day, at two of the clocke in the morning, I met with some Ice, but not very thicke, so that I held my course toward Chery Island, the winde being at South: at five of the clocke, I saw the Ice so thicke, that I could not possibly get through it. Then I stood to the West wards with a short sayle, and sounded, but had no ground at a hundred fathome: thicke foggie weather, at eight of the clocke it began to cleere vp, and I stood into the Ice finding it scattered in some places; and at twelue at noone, I found the Pole elevated above the horizon 74. degrees 7. minutes, and sounded, but had no ground at one hundred and seauentie fathomes. From twelue till foure, I ran North North-west two leagues, and sounded, and had a hundred and sixtie fathomes. Then Chery Island did beare, as I iudged, North North-west, about fifteene leagues off or more: from foure till eight it was calme, at eight of the clocke the winde came Southerly, and I stood towards the Island and found the Ice so thicke, that the Ship had no roome to wend, and withall such a fogge that I could not see one Cables length; in which time the Ship had many a knocke, but thanks be to God, no harme was done. By twelue of the clocke, the seauenth day, I got out of the Ice and lay a hull till the North Sunne, at which time it began to be cleere weather: then I set saile, and stood to the Eastwards, cold frosty weather.

The eighth day it was very foggie, the winde at North and by East, with Snow and Frost: I stood to the Eastwards, in hope to get the Easter end of the Ice, and so to Chery Island; and I ranne into a Channell betweene two firme bankes of Ice, and could finde no way through, but lay in the Ice till the ninth day at a South Sunne. Then I obserued, and found the Ship in the altitude 74. degrees and 17. minutes, the winde being at North North-west, very faire weather, but frostie.

I failed in the abouesaid Ice, one while one way, and another while another, in hope to finde some opening towards the Island: but which way soeuer I stood, I saw all the Sea couered with Ice. At a South Sunne, the tenth day, I obserued both with my Astrolabe and Crossestaffe, and found the Poles height 74. degrees and 15. minutes: and the variation 13. degrees and 30. minutes the North point Westerly: by a North Sunne I got out of the Ice into the open Sea, and to write. each course, way, and winde, with all other accidents, would be too tedious: but the thirteenth day of May, at midnight, I sounded, being in very thicke Ice, and had a hundred thirtie eight fadoms; there presently I espied the Lioness standing into the Ice, I kept her company till eight of the clocke at night, and then I steered as followeth, from eight about said, till twelue at noone: The foureteenth day I sailed North-west and by North twelue leagues, the winde at South South-east, thicke foggie weather: from twelue till foure at night, I sailed seauen leagues North, the same winde and weather with raine. And by the fifteenth day at foure of the clocke in the morning, I had sailed North twentie seauen leagues, the same winde and weather: at what time I supposed, that I was not farre from land, because I see great store of Sea-Foule* about the Ship: at eight of the clocke I sounded, but had no ground at a hundred and fortie fathome: very foggy weather: likewise I sounded at twelue of the clocke at noone; no ground at a hundred thirtie five fathomes, where I met with Ice and gear store of Fowle, as before, winde at South, and foggy weather.

I stood through the Ice, till eight of the clocke at night, holding no course by reason of it, at which time I sounded, and had nintie five fathom Greene oze, the weather being all one, and very much Ice from eight, till ten of the clocke. I sayled North, one league and a halfe, and had seuentie five fathoms rockie ground. From ten till twelue at midnight I sayled North one league and a halfe, and sounded, and had thirtie seuen fathoms, the wind being at South, with great store of raine and fogs, and abundance of Ice round about, but something broken. Then I stood off West and by South, and tooke in all the Sayles, except the fore-saile and maine top-saile: and at one of the clocke the sixteenth day sounded, and had fortie fathomes oze: likewise I sounded at two of the clocke, and had fiftie two fathomes: I could neither perceiue Current nor Tide in all this time, and it did raine as fast as I haue commonly scene in England: then I stood to the Eastwards, and at three of the clocke sounded, and had fortie fathomes oze: and thus I sailed among the Ice East and East and by South, and East North-east, keeping no certaine course, by reason of the Ice, and had these depths following, 30. 20. 19. 16. and fifteene fathomes, and then I saw the Land within two leagues and lesse ofme, bearing betweene the South and by East, and the North-west: then I stood in East and by South, supposing to haue found a harborough within a ledge of rocks that lay off a low point, which seemed like an Island, and standing in, I found depths, 10. 9. 8. 7. 6. 7. 4. and three fathomes, standing in it a shoald bay, and full of rockes.

Then I steered away North-west and by West, and had six, seuen, eight, and ten fathome foule ground: this part of this Land is foule ground a great way off, therefore come no neerer this place then ten fathome, and that will carry you cleere of all dangers that I could see. Towards noone it cleered vp, and I did looke the Meridian altitude of the Sunne, which was 34. degrees and 20. minutes, the declination being 21. degrees and 10. minutes North, the Equator

must

must bee 13. degrees and 10. minutes above and beneath my Horizon. The Complement being 76. degrees and 50. minutes, the Poles height. Likewise I found by true obseruation the Com-
 passe to vary 15. degrees, and before I had sayled foure leagues I saw a Sound that lay East and
 by South in, the winde comming to the East South-east; then I sent the Skiffe on land in the
 mouth of the Sound, because I supposed I had seene Morfes on the land; but they proued Rocks.
 I followed into the said Bay with the ship, but standing in I had a stiffe gale of winde off the
 shoare, which draue abundance of Ice out of the Sound, through the which I enforced the ship, in
 hope there to haue found an Harbour; in turning in I found these depths, thirtie fme, thirtie,
 twentie, and eightene fathoms. The Boat came aboard about a North-west Sunne, and the men
 told me they found deepe water within and foule ground; they saw great store of Mohorles
 lying on the Ice, but none on land, and they brought a piece of a Deeres horn aboard, therefore
 I called this Sound *Horne Sound*, and a Mount that lyeth foure leagues to the South of it, the
Muscony Companies Mount, because it was my first landfall.

76. degrees 50
 minutes, Pole
 height.
 Variation 15.
 degrees.
 The North
 point westerly;

Rocks.

Mohorles or
 Morfes.
 Hornsound.
Muscony
 Mount.

For these pla-
 ces see Captain
 Edges Map.

Ice-point.

Bell point.

Point parti-
 tion.
 The ayre tem-
 perate.

Lownesse Ile.
 Lowsound.

The Sounds
 season.
 Very thicke
 fogs.

Extream cold
 weather.

Sailes frozen.

Black-point Ile
 Cape-cold.
 Ice-sound.

The

10 Then finding no benefit here to bee had, nor Hauen for the ship, I stood to Sea, and sayled
 North-west and by North foure leagues: at midnight it blew very hard, and I stood to the West-
 wards with a short sayle, and sayled foure leagues West by eight of the clock the seuenteenth
 day. Then I stood to the Landwards, the winde being at South South-west thick weather: and
 three leagues from me I saw a Point, which I named the *Ice Point*, because there lay abundance
 of Ice vpon it. Then I saw another Point beare North North-west five leagues off, which I na-
 med *Bell Point*, because of a Hill formed like a Bell on the top, and to the Northwards of *Bell*
 30 *Point* goes in a great Bay with two Sounds in it, the one lieth in East South-east, the other North-
 east and by East; the last Sound you can hardly discern, by reason there is a long Island lying
 in the mouth of it. But the going into the said Sound is on the North side, yet there is an Inlet
 vnder Point-partition, but very narrow and full of Rocks, and an exceeding strong Tyde setteth
 in there. This day I found the weather very warme and farre temperater then I haue found it
 at the North Cape at this time of the yeere: this place lying in 77. degrees and 25. minutes, and
 the Cape in 71. degrees and 20. minutes; this place being to the Northwards of the Cape 6. de-
 grees and 5. minutes: and note, two leagues to the Southwards of *Bell Point* is a ledge of Rocks
 three miles off the shoare, and come no neerer the shoare then fiftene fathom: vpon the North
 side of the Bay is low land, which I named *Lownesse Island*. I called the North Sound *Lowe Sound*.
 30 Into the Bay I turned, the winde at East North-east faire weather; turning in I had no lesse
 then fortie fathoms close by the shoare, and in the midst no ground at sixtie fathoms, and be-
 ing neere the Point that parteth both the Sounds, the winde increased with raine. Then I saw
 the Sound frozen ouer from side to side, and vpon the Ice a Beare and great store of Mohorles, but
 the winde blew so extreme hard, that the Boat could not row to windwards, to trie if we could
 kill some of them. The fogs and raine continued till ten of the clock the nineteenth day, at
 which time the raine ceased, and it did freeze with snow and winde and fogs, as before.

From twelue at mid-night the nineteenth day, till foure in the morning the twentieth day,
 I sayled three leagues South-west and by South, then I found the Ice thicker then before. It was
 very thick fogs, with winde, frost, and snow, and cold, that I thinke they did striue here which
 40 of them should haue the superioritie. I put into the Ice aforesaid in hope to get through, and af-
 ter many a fore stroke with the ship in it, I got through at a South-west Sunne, at what time it
 began to be faire weather. Then I stood through the Ice towards the land againe, in hope that
 that land would proue worth the labour and trauell; and going to set the mayne top sayle, it
 was frozen as hard as euer I saw any cloath in all my life time, so that all my company could ve-
 ry hardly set it; and whereas I supposed, and haue often said, that this climate is not so subiect
 to fogs in May and Iune, as it is in Iuly and August, it is contrarie; for I haue not seene the
 Sunne on the Meridian these five dayes, nor seene it at all in sixtie houres: I had not sailed three
 leagues North-east, when it was as thicke as it was before with Frost and Snow: yet I stood still
 towards the Land.

50 The twentieth one, I saw the Land at an East Sunne, and stood towards it, and at a South and by
 West Westerly, I obserued the Sunne, and found the Meridian altitude of it 33. degrees 30. mi-
 nutes, the declination being 21. degrees 56. minutes, &c. the altitude of the Pole was 78. degrees
 26. minutes. The winde at North North-east: cold frostie weather: This place I called the
Black-point Ile: I called a point (that lyeth foure leagues to the North-west of *Black-point*) *Cape-*
cold, and to the South-east of *Black-point* is a great sound, which because it was couered with Ice,
 I called *Ice-sound*, and standing neerer to the shore, I could not see any Sound or Harbour open;
 therefore I determined to stand to the Northwards to seeke what good might be done that way
 to profit the Merchants, and also to get some Wood, for we had but little left. I founded at the
 60 *Black-point*, and had twentie three fathomes streamy ground. At two of the clocke I stood off,
 and at midnight stood to the shore againe, cold weather with frost, the winde at North and by
 East. The two and twentieth day, at an East Sunne, I was faire by the Land, betweene *Cape-*
cold and *Black-point*, a league off where it fell calme, and I founded there, and had twentie eight
 fathoms, where I tried for Fish, but could take none.

The three and twentieth day, at an East North-east Sunne, I was within three leagues of *Cape-cold*: this day it was faire weather, and I tooke the Sunnes height at twelue of the clocke, and found it to be 33. degrees 30. minutes, the declination being 22. degrees 13 minutes, the distance of the Pole from my Zeneth, was 11. degrees 17. minutes, the complement thereof being 78. degrees and 43. minutes, the Poles altitude. All this day it was calme all the forenoone, warme sunshine weather, and whereas I named this place *Cape-cold*, if I had faile with it this day, or the like, I should haue giuen it another name. Here I tried to take fish, but could perceiue none. *Item*, there is a point that beareth from *Cape-cold* North & by West which I called *Faire-forland*: this *Forland*, and *Cape-cold*, and *Black-point*, are all one Iland. At fixe of the clocke at night, the winde came to the North North-west, then I determined to view the Ice-sound better; but comming neere it, I perceiued it packt ful of Ice, so that I could see no end thereof at the Top-mast-head, neither could I see any open water in it. At a North Sun, the wind came to the North-east, and by North, then I stood to the Northwards, as before.

The foure and twentieth day, at a North-east Sunne, the wind came to the South-west, faire weather and warme. At a North north-east Sun, I tooke the Meridian Altitude, which was eleuen degrees aboue the Horizon, and by working accordingly, I found the eleuation of the Pole aboue the Horizon, to be 78. degrees, 37. minutes. The five and twentieth day, at an East-south-east Sun, I set the boat to the land, neere *Fayer-forland*, and it being calme I sounded fortie five fathoms, where I proued for fish, but could find none, and within one league of the shoare I had five and thirtie, and thirtie fathome streamy ground. At a South-east Sunne, the Boat came aboard laden with Wood, and some Whales fins. The men told mee there was great store of Morfes in the Sea, about the shoare side, and about thirtie on Land. Immediately I sent my Mate, *Nicholas Woodcock* with the Boat on Land againe, to see if they could kill any of the said Morfes, and also to search what other thing they should hap to find that might proue beneficiall. Moreouer I was certified, that all the Ponds and Lakes were vnfrozen, they being Fresh-water, which putteth mee in hope of a milde Summer here, after so sharpe a beginning as I haue had, and my opinion is such (and I assure my selfe it is so) that a passage may bee asloone attained this way, by the Pole, as any vnknowne way whatsoeuer, by reason the Sun doth giue a great heat in this climate; and the Ice, I meane that that freezeth here, is nothing so huge as I haue seene in 73. degrees.

The fixe and twentieth day, at a North-east Sunne, the Boat came aboard againe, hauing slaine but two Morfes, at twelue at midnight the wind came to the North, and blew so hard, that I was enforced to try with a Mayne-course, cold frosty weather, with snow. The sayd wind and weather continued till a South Sun, the seuen and twentieth day, at eight of the clocke at night, the wind came to the North-west and by West faire weather, then I stood towards the Land againe. And at a South-east sun, the eight & twentieth day, I was within three leagues of *Fayer-forland*, and standing in I sounded diuers times, and had these depths, 15. 17. 19. and 18. fathoms, within five, fixe, and seuen myles of the shoare, and when *Fayer-forland* did beare South and by East by the Compasse. It being two miles from me, I saw the Land beare North-east and by North, about nine leagues off, the which because it was full of knottie Mountaines, I called *Knotty-point*, and betweene *Knottie-point*, and *Fayer-forland*, I saw a great Bay, which because it was foggy on the sudden, I could not discouer. In the Sea, about the *Forland*, I saw great store of Morhorses and Sea-fowle, I sounded in the Bay and had nintie five fathomes rockie ground. I stood to Sea, and had very foule weather, with snow, and fogs, and frost, which weather continued till the thirtieth day, at foure of the clocke in the morning, at which time I was within one mile of *Fayer-forland* in nine fathomes, and then I sayled East North-east about two myles, and had these depths, 18. 17. 16. 14. and 12. fathomes all rockes. Then I steered South with the like depths and grounds, but when I had runne South South-east three miles further, I had sandie ground, then did *Fayer-forland* beare West and by North, about three leagues of, the next east I had tenne fathomes foule ground, and from thence I steered two leagues South and by East, hauing these depths, 10. 9. 8. and 7. fathomes, then I saw the Bay couered ouer with Ice. I turned out the wind at North. This Sound I named *Fowle-sound*, for in this Bay are three Sounds; this I spake last of, which lyeth in South, and goeth out at *Black-point*: another lyeth in East South-east, which I named *Deere-sound*: another goeth in North, which is called *Closse-coue*, and being neere the point betweene *Fowle-sound* and *Deere-sound*, it fell calme, and I sent the Skiffe on Land, and standing after, with a little wind at West, I found the sayd Point very shoale, with a ridge of Rockes, where I had these depths, 4. 5. 6. 7. 9. 10. 18. and then 30. fathomes. At a South Sun, the Boat came aboard and brought Wood, and some Whale-fins.

The last of May, at an East North-east Sun, I was within three leagues of *Knotty-point*, at which time I saw Ice all the Sea ouer betwixt the West and the Land: then I saw another Point foure leagues distant from *Knotty-point*, the one bearing of the other North and by East, and South and by West, and it is smooth Land, the which I named the *Gurners-nose*, indifferent warme weather: and finding the Ice to bee so thicke that I could not passe it, and the wind comming to the West, I stood to the Southwards againe, determining to search the Sounds better for a Road, and

for commodities, because I saw no good to be gotten in keeping the Sea amongst the Ice, and at a North Sun, I was in the entrance of *Close-coué*, where I had no ground at one hundred & twenty fathomes, and yet I was within two Cables length of a sunken ledge of Rockes, that lyeth on the Larboord side of the Bay a mile from the shoare.

The first of June I found a good Road in *Close-coué*, on the South-west side, where I rid in seven fathomes sand mingled with oze, at an East Sun I sent a Skiffe to a low Point, that lyeth on the North side of the Bay, where they found some Whales fins, and three pieces of Mohorfe teeth, and vpon a little rockie Iland, they saw neere one hundred Mohorfes, which were there sleeping. In this time I went towards the bottome of the Sound, and slue a white Beare. At a South-west Sun, I went towards the rocke, to see if I could kill any of the Morfes, that lay there, and as wee went by the shoare side I espied Deere, three of them I slue, and one of my company one. But when I came to the rocke, the Ice that the beasts lay on was hollow, and the rocks that was betwixt the Ice and the sea stood sloping toward the Sea; the which when I saw, I determined to go aboard and let them alone, yet afterward I went on the rocke betwixt the Ice and the Sea: and as I with the rest of my company were killing them, the Ice brake, and Ice and beasts slid into the Sea together, and carryed one of the men with them, so that he escaped out of that danger very hardly; for besides the weight of dead Mohorfes, and Ice that bruised him, the beasts that were alive strook at him in the water, and bruised him very sore. I had bene in the same case, if I had not bene the nimbler, and slip on one side. I killed three Morfes, whose teeth I tooke off. Then I espied the Beare, which my Mate had hurt before with a shot; hee went into the Sea, when hee saw the Boate, where I slue him with a Lance, and brought him aboard.

The second day at a North and by East Sunne. At a South Sunne, I went to the South shoare of *Deere-sound*, where I found a good quantitie of Fins, and came aboard, at a North North-west Sunne. The third day, being Sunday, I rid still, hauing the wind at West South-West much wind. Then vpon the side of a Hill, a mile to the Westwards of the Road, I set vp a Crosse, with a writing vpon it, signifying the day of my arriual first in this Land, by whom I was set out, and the time of my being heere. This Road I called *Crosse-road*. At a South-east sunne the fourth day, I wayed, the wind at West South-west, and when I was almost out, the wind increased with fogs, which made me put back into the Road, where I anchored the same day at six of the clocke, at afternone. The fifth day, at a North-east and by East sunne I wayed, and it fell calme, then I went to the East side, and killed some Fowle, which I found in great abundance: and when I was readie to go aboard, I saw fourteene Deere, at which time I spent all my powder, and shot but one shot, with the which I slue a fat Buck. The same day, at a South sun, I went on Land and slue two Deere more. And at a South-west sun I went on Land and slue a Doe, and took the Faune alive, and brought it aboard, but it dyed the next day. The calme continued till the sixth day, at an East North-east sunne (and we droue in the Bay, with a little foaking tyde that runneth there.) Then I sent the skiffe to the rocke aforesaid, to see what store of Mohorfes were there; at three of the clocke they came aboard, and told mee there was neere two hundred beasts.

I tooke both the boat and skiffe, with all my company, and went to the rock, and in going thither I slue a Beare: but when I came to the rocke, the beasts began to goe into the sea, then I presently went on land, with all my company, and slue eightie beasts, whose teeth I tooke, and in going aboard slue another Beare, and came aboard the seuenth day, at a North-east sun. Then I saw two white fishes, which at the first sight I supposed to be Beares, they had long snouts like Sturgeons, two flat Fins close by their gills, flat bodied, small towards their tailes, and a broad taile.

The tenth day, I went on shoare and slue slue Deere, with the which, and them that I slue before I haue lengthened out my victuals, blessed be the Creator of the World, which hath not made any part thereof in vaine, but so that in these partes (which hath seemed vnpossible to our Ancestors to be trauelled vnto, by reason of the extreame cold which they supposed to be here) I find the ayre temperate in the Lands, and nothing so cold as I haue found at *Chery* Iland in slue seuerall Voyages. Moreouer, in this Land I haue seene great store of Deere, which haue neither bush nor tree to shelter them from the nipping cold of Winter, nor yet any extraordinary pasture to refresh them. If these (I say) hauing nothing but the Rockes for a house, and the Starry Canopie for a couering, doe liue here; why may not man, which hath all the gifts of God bestowed vpon him for his health and succour?

The eleuenth day in the morning, I sent the skiffe to a Beach, that lyeth Northwards from the Rocke where we slue our beasts, but when they came to the Rocke, it beganne to blow hard at North North-west, that they could not proceed any further, vpon the Rocke they found a Beare, and slue him, and came aboard. In which time I tooke the boate and went to the East side, and slue two Beares and two Deere.

The twelfth day, at a North-east sunne I wayed, and hauing very little wind, I sent the skiffe to goe to the place aforesaid, at a North sunne, they came aboard and brought some Whales Finnes and a Beare, and told mee that it did blow very much wind at Sea, yet I had

Note: angel. of ni
-22mim
vny
June, 22, 1606, 81
A Beare slaine

Four Deere
slaine.

His name was
Tho. Whitman.

A Beare slaine.

A crosse set vp
Crosse-road.
A good Road
for all winds.

There is great
store of Fowle
in this Land.
A Buck slaine.

Three Deere
slaine.

A fawne taken
Beares slaine.
Mohorfes.
White fishes.

Five Deere.

* 154. 45. 136

Two Beares,
and two Deere
slaine.

Crosse-road.
in 79. degrees 15
minutes.
Compass vary
18. degrees. 16.
minutes.

it all this time calme in the Bay. Yet before I could get out of the Sound, the wind came to the North-west, and blew very hard, which made mee to put roome for *Crosse-road*, where Irid till the fourteenth day, in which time I caused both the boates to bee trimmed, and the thirteenth day at noone, I obserued on Land, in this place, and found the Poles height 79. degrees, fifteen minutes, and the variation of the Compass 18. degrees, 16. minutes North-west: the same day I slue a Bucke.

Ice.

The fourteenth day, at a South-east Sunne I wayed, the wind at South-west foggie weather, at a South-west Sunne, I went on Land and slew a Buck. The fifteenth day, at East Sunne, I got out of the Bay, at which time I saw abundance of Ice to the Sea-wards, but the wind came to the South-east, and I sayled betwixt the Ice and the shoare. At a North-west Sunne, I sent the skiffe (with seven men in it) to the Land vnder *Knottie-point*, at which time the wind came to the North-east, and I stood to the North-wardes, where I had these depths, fifteen, thirteen, and eleuen fathomes foule-ground. These depths were about a league, and to the Northwards of *Knottie-point*, I saw great store of Whales, the like I saw in *Deere-sound*. The sixteenth day, the Skiffe came aboard, and brought a few Finnes, and five Deere, and they told mee that within the Bay, that lyeth betwixt *Knottie-point* and *Gurners-nose* is a Hauen, in the entrance whereof is an Iland, and seven fathomes going in, but within eight, nine, fifteen, and twentie fathomes good ground. This maketh *Gurners-nose*, an Iland, for this Hauen goeth out on the North-west side of *Gurners-nose*. I named this Hauen, the *Fayre-hauen*; I found a great tyde heere, which runneth South South-west, the flood commeth from the Southwards.

Great store of
Whales.

Five Deere
slaine.

Fayre-Hauen.
Abundance of
Ice.

79. degrees 50.
minutes. the
Latitude of
Gurners-nose.
The farthest
place of my be-
ing this Voyage
This Unicornes
horne is the
Horne of a fish
of which see
after in *Bassins*
discovery.
Ten Beares
slaine.

Then standing to the Northwards, I saw the Sea covered with Ice, which lay close to the Land which made me stand to the Southwards again, I obserued at *Gurners-nose*, and found the Poles height 79. degrees, 50. minutes. At a North-west Sun, the same day, I sent the skiffe on Land to search the Coast to the Southwards of *Knottie-point*, where I sounded and had twenty foure fathomes Foule-ground, and in the *Fayre-way* I sounded, hauing these depths, 30. 35. 45. and 48. fathomes all Rocky-ground. By the seuenteenth day, I was in the entrance of *Close-cone*, at a South Sun, at which time the Skiffe came aboard, and brought a Beares skin, and a Buck, and a good quantite of Whales Fins and an Unicornes horne, which was five foot and seven inches long, and in the biggest part of it, it was seven inches and a halfe about. The eighteenth day, at a South Sun, I came into the Road, where I rid all that day, hauing very much wind and raine that wee could doe nothing. At a North Sunne, I sent my Mate, with the Skiffe, and sixe men to seeke for more Fins, &c. The nineteenth day, at a North Sun, they came aboard, hauing slaine ten Beares, three of their skins and fat they brought aboard, and a good quantitie of Fins, and six paire of teeth. The twentieth day, in the morning, I sent both the Boat and Skiffe to slay the other seven Beares, the wind being at North faire weather. But they were no sooner gone, but it blew very hard at North, which brought abundance of Ice out of the bottome of the Sound, but did the Ship no hurt. At a West South West Sunne, the Boats came aboard with the Beares skins, the wind abouefaid set so much Ice out of the sound vpon the Ship, that it inforced mee to set sayle.

Five Deere
slaine.

A yong beare
taken.

A Beare slaine
Take heede of
this point.

The one and twentieth day, at a North Sun, I stood towards *Fayer-farland*, and sent out the skiffe. The two and twentieth day, at a South-east sunne, they came aboard, with the skiffe laden with Fins, and killed five Deere. Then I went on Land to search what I could find, and I slew a Beare, and tooke a young one alive, and at three of the clocke in the afternoone I came aboard with the skiffe laden with Fins. The three & twentieth day, at a South-east sun, the Boat came aboard, and brought a good quantitie of Finnes, and a Beares skinne. Then I stood toward *Cape-cold*, and the same day, at a South sunne, I sent the skiffe on Land to the Northwards of the Cape, where they found sixteene Mohorses on a rocke, which they slue; and at a North-east sun, the foure and twentieth day, they had brought all the teeth and blubber of them aboard; at which time the wind came to the North-west, and blew verie hard: then I stood towards the *Ice-sound* to seeke what commodities it would yeeld. At a North sunne I was neere *Black-point*, which hath a great many sunken Rockes lying on the southermost end of it, therefore you must come no neerer that shoare then twentie five fathomes. The five and twentieth day, till a South sun, it was calme, and the tyde droue the ship so farre from the Land, that I could not send the boat on shoare.

A Bucke slaine

The sixe and twentieth day, at a South South-west Sunne, I came aboard, more laden with trauell then commodities, at which time I slue a Buck. Then I stood toward *Ice-sound*, and at a Point which parteth *Foule-sound* and *Ice-sound*, I had thirtie fathomes oze, & so to ten fathomes Rockes, then I steered East along the shoare, and had betwixt thirtie and fifteen fathomes oze and sand. In fifteen fathomes I anchored, hauing the wind at North North-west, faire weather at a North-west sun, at a North sun, I sent the skiffe to the shoare to search for commodities. The seven and twentieth day of Iune, at an East North-east sun, they came aboard, and brought a good parcell of fins. At six of the clock I sent the Skiffe to the Land againe, and set sayle with the ship; but it being calme, and the tide setting the Ship towards a ledge of rocks, made mee to anchor a-

gaine.

gaine. At a South South-east Sun, they came aboard againe, and brought a good quantitie of fins: at a South Sunne I sent the Skiffe towards the mouth of *Ice-sound*, and in the entrance thereof I found a Coue in the which was twentie fathomes, and so to thirteene, but by reason of the tyde, and edy-winds, I could not get into it; here the Skiffe came aboard and brought a few finnes. Then I steered to another Sound, in the South side of *Ice-sound*, where I anchored in twentie fathomes oze, the same day at a North Sun. The eight and twentieth day I stayed at the place abovesaid, and tried the Beares grease to bring it into oyle, and when we were all busied, a Beare came swimming over the Bay, towards the ship, which I slue, and split my Peece, the wind being at West. The nine and twentieth day, at a South-east Sunne, I sent the skiffe to search the Coast to the Westwards of this Bay, the wind at North-west. The last of Iune, the skiffe came aboard, at a South-east Sunne, and brought a few Finnes, and a Bucke, the wind at North.

A Beare slaine.

A Bucke.

The first of Iuly, being Sunday, I rid at the place abovesaid, in hope to haue more Mohorfses on Land; I obserued heere and found this place in 78. degrees, 24. mitures, and the variation Westwards, seuentene degrees. Then I sent the skiffe to see if any more beasts were on Land. The wind at North-west, faire weather. The second day, at a North North-east Sunne, they came aboard and brought two Deere. The third, wee slue a few Morfses, whose teeth and blubber wee brought aboard, at a North-west Sunne, at which time I slue a Pricket: this place I named the *Green-hauen*. Immediately I sent the skiffe to take the teeth, and fat of seuen beasts, which lay slaine in another place. The wind at West, thicke foggie weather. It floweth here on the Change day South, and by West, and hyeth fixe foot water, and runneth halfe tyde halfe quarter. The fourth day, we rid still the wind at South-west with fogs and raine, and very much wind: at the same time I saw great store of Ice in *Ice-sound*. The fifth day, at a North-east Sunne I wayed, the wind at West thicke weather, and in standing out wee slue a Beare, and tooke her two young ones. Indifferent faire weather, we lay becalmed all this day.

Iuly the first.
78 degrees, 24.
minutes, var.
17. deg. W.Two Deere
slaine.
Greene-harbour
one Deere
slaine.

Ice.

A Beare slaine,
two yong ones
taken.

The sixth day, I was off *Lownesse* (at a South Sunne) the wind being at East blew so hard, with raine and thicke weather, that I was enforced to take in all the sayles saue a Mayne-course, which storme continued till eight at night, at which time I set more sayle, and stood to the Southwardes, hoping to get some goods that way. The seuenth day, at noone the wind came to the North-east, and then it began to bee cleere weather, at what time I saw the Land of *Bel-sound*, whither I purposed to goe, yet could not by reason of abundance of Ice, which lay about three leagues from the Land, which I could not possibly passe. At a North-west and by West sun, I saw abundance of Ice all along the Land, to the Southwards of *Bel-sound*. The eighth day, at twelue at noone, I stood into the Ice, in hope to get to the shoare, the wind at North and by West hase weather, *Horne-sound* bearing East North-east, nine leagues of, I stood to the landwards till foure of the clocke, at which time I found the Ice so thicke that I was forced to stand to the Southwards to eschew it. I sayled by, and amongst the Ice, till a North North-west Sunne, at which time I was within three leagues of the shoare. Then I sounded, and had thirtie fixe fathomes. Then I stood to the Westwards, and finding all this part

Ice.

of the Land full of Ice, I purposed to stand to the Northwards againe to search for commodities that way: the wind being at North-west, I turned to windwards, till the tenth day, at eight of the clocke before noone, at which time wee found a part of a dead Whale, which I caused to bee made fast to the Ship, determining to get into some Harbour, there to make the best of it I could. Before I could get into *Bel-sound*, at which time I saw all the bottom of the Sound full of Ice, so that there was no refuge for the Ship. Then I was faine to turne out with the winde at West, and beganne to blow verie hard. At a North-west Sunne, it was fayre weather, and I sent my Mate with the skiffe to search the Coasts towards *Bel-point*. The fourteenth day, at a North-east Sunne, the skiffe came aboard, and brought three Beares, which they had slaine. Immediately I sent the Boat for water and wood, and then I stood through the Ice, and got through it by a North Sun the fifteenth day, the wind at North-west foggie weather. Then I turned to windwards, to double *Lownesse*, and got cleere of it: at fixe of the clocke at night thicke foggie weather.

A dead Whale.

Three Beares
slaine.

The sixteenth day, at five of the clocke in the afternoone, I got to *Black-point*, the wind coming to the South, thicke weather. Then I sent the skiffe to range the Coast, and to search what they might find. The seuenteenth day, at ten of the clocke they came aboard, and brought some Fins, and three Deere. Then I stood towards *Crosse-road*, and anchored there at a North-sun, the wind and weather as abovesaid. The eighteenth day, about five of the clocke in the morning, I sent the skiffe to see if they could find any Morfses on Land, on the Rocke, or in *Deere-sound*, and in the meane time, I, with the rest of the company got drift-wood and water readie, and about a South sunne, a Beare with two young ones; the Dam I slue, and tooke the young ones aboard the ship, the wind Northerly, cold, foggie weather. The nine and twentieth day, in the morning, I went to the East side, to see if any Mohorfses were on land; there I slue foure exceeding fat Buckes and a Doe. In which time the skiffe came aboard and brought two Beares skins, but found no beasts, and in *Deere-sound* they found Sea-coales, which burnt very well.

Three Deeres
slaine.A Beare with
two young
ones taken.
Five Deere
slaine.Two Beares
slaine.
Sea-coales.

The twentieth day, I sent the Skiffe into the bottome of *Closse-cove* to search it for commodities, the wind at South close weather with raine: at eight of the clock at night they came aboard, but found nothing; immediately I got wood and water aboard, which was ready before, preparing to set sayle the wind and weather abovesaid, we slue three Deere. The one and twentieth, I wayed, the wind at North faire weather. The two and twentieth day, the wind came to the West, and then I stood to the Northward, at eight of the clocke hali-weather. At twelue of the clocke at noone the wind came to the North, and I stood to the Southwards by *Fayer-forland*. The three and twentieth day, at an East north-east Sunne, the Boat brought some Whales finnes, and three Buckes, and one Doe: In which time I thought I had seene Land beare West from me. I stood to the Westwards, and by a South South-east Sunne, had run fifteene leagues West and by South, then I perceived it to be fogs. The foure and twentieth day, at seven of the clocke in the afternoone I came into *Bel-sound* and found but little Ice, then I sent the Skiffe to seeke for a Road for the Ship, and also for commodities. The five and twentieth day, at three of the clocke in the morning, the Skiffe came aboard, hauing beene in the mouth of the North Inlet, which I call *Low-sound*, they went into it by *Point-partition*, but there is no good Channell that way for a Ship: neuerthelesse there seemeth to bee an Inlet or Channell, but it is full of Rockes from side to side, and the men told mee, that vpon the Land lay some Mohorles, which I sent them to kill. At eight of the clocke, the Skiffe came aboard, and brought the teeth of the sayd beasts, and some blubber. Immediately I sent them into *Bel-sound*, to seeke for a Road for the Ship, the wind at West thicke foggie weather. About an North West Sunne, I anchored in *Bel-sound*, in sixteen fathomes oze ground, this Harbour lyeth about two leagues aboue *Point-partition* on the South-side of it, and here a ship may ride safe from all windes. At a North Sunne my Mate slue a Beare. The six and twentieth day in the morning, it blew hard, and I went on Land and slue a Beare, and a Bucke which had three inches and an halfe in thickeesse of fat on the haunches. At nine of the clocke I sent both the Boats to fetch the fat of those Mohorles which were slaine the day before, and likewise to search if they could find any more, the wind at North with fogs. At six of the clocke at night the Boats came aboard with the fat, and brought two Buckes, but found no beasts on Land.

The seven and twentieth day, at a South South-east Sunne I weighed, the winde being at North and by West faire weather, and I steered out (betwixt an Iland and the point where I rid) South-west and by West, hauing these depths, 10. 7. 6. 5. and 4. fathomes: then I was in the middest betwixt the said point, and a shoald which lay South and North, one of the other, and after keeping the same course, I had these depths, 5. 6. 7. 8. 9. 10. 12. and 13. fathomes, in all these depths I had sand, and after oze. At six of the clocke the wind came to the South-west with fogges, and I turned to the wind-wards. And at twelue, the eight and twentieth day *Low-ness* did beare North-east about foure leagues off, where I sounded hauing thirtie two fathomes streamie ground with blacke stones, at which time it was calme, and continued so till the nine and twentieth day at six of the clocke in the morning, then the wind came to the North with fogges, and I stood to the Southwards, and to see what Commodities I could find that way.

At nine of the clocke I was neere the *Ice-point*, where I met with much Ice, which put mee from the Land, and I was enforced to steere South-west and by South to shunne it, the winde at North-west which blew hard with fogges. The wind increaled, I stood towards *Cherrie Iland* (if possible I could attayne it) for fogges and Ice. The thirtieth day, at foure of the clocke in the morning I saw no Ice, hauing kept no certayne course, by reason of the Ice which I had past, the winde at North and by West, cold foggie weather with raine. From the time aboue-said till twelue of the clocke at noone I sayled South South-east, and ranne fifteene leagues, the same wind and weather, at which time I sounded & had eightie fathoms greene oze like Kowes dung. I sounded at two of the clocke, and at foure of the clock, the first, eightie eight, the second, eightie two fathomes, and sayled sixe leagues, the former course wind and weather. At which time I heard a breach which proued Ice, then I steered West to eschew it, the fogges being so thicke that I could not see one Cables length.

The last of Iuly at noone, I had sayled South and by East halfe a point Southerly eight leagues hauing little wind, and sounded, and found one hundred and fortie fathomes thicke foggie weather, and in haling vp the Lead, a fish followed it to the top of the water: then I tryed to take fish but could not. At foure of the clocke in the afternoone, the winde came Southerly, and I stood to the Westward, by reason the Ice lay both to the South and East of vs, at a North Sunne it was cleere weather, and I saw the Ice round about vs, cold weather with frost.

The first of August, we beat in the Ice till noone, but could finde no end thereof, because it was so foggie, and the Ice packed very close; yet after many intricate courses, I got to the Westwards of it at mid-night the same day, the winde at South-east, cold weather with raine and fogges. And after I had seene so much Ice that I could not come neere *Cherry Iland*, to prosecute the rest of my Voyage, I determined to stand for *England*, as God would giue me leave. From mid-night the first day, till eight of the clocke the second day before noone, I sayled South-west and by South five leagues, the wind at East South-east, thicke fogges with raine. From the second

Three Bucks
slaine.

No good channell.

A Beare slaine.
A fat Bucke.
And although
I haue not
written of the
fatnesse of the
rest, yet the
most of them
were two and
three inches
thicke of fat.

My departure
from the land.
Ice.

A fish seene.
Ice & fogs two
of the greatest
hinderances in
the Northerne
Navigations.

I stood to the
wards *England*.

cond day at eight of the clocke, till the third day at twelue of the clock at noone, I sayled West South-west fifteene leagues, the wind at South and by East, wet foggie weather. From noone abouesaid, till twelue at noone the fourth day, I sayled foure leagues South, the winde variable, and the most part of that time calme, and so continued till eight of the clocke at night, at which time the wind came to the South and by East, and blew very hard; from the fourth day at noon till the fift day at noone I sayled South-west Westerly seuen leagues. The sixt day, the winde was at South-east cleere weather, at noone I found the shippe in 73. degrees, the North Cape beirng by my computation, East South-east Easterly. The seuenth day at noone, I found the ship in 72. degrees 22. minutes, indifferent faire weather. And from the seuenth day at noone, till the eight day at noone I sayled foure and twentie leagues, the course South South-west, the wind at South-east and by East, at which time it beganne to be very foggie, and the winde came to the South, but immediatly it was calme, and continued so till mid-night. Then the wind came to the North, little wind, and at a South Sunne the ninth day, I had sayled South seuen leagues. From the ninth day at noone till the tenth day at that time I sayled South, and ranne seuen leagues South, it being calme most part of the day, with much rayne and fogges. From twelue the tenth day, till noone the eleuenth day, I sayled South and by West, and ranne seuentene leagues, the wind Northerly. And from the eleuenth day at noone, till the twelfth day at that time, I sayled South and by West eightene leagues, the winde at North North-west faire weather. From noone the twelfth day, vntill twelue at noone the thirteenth day, I sayled South and by West fortie eight leagues, the wind betweene the North, and the West North-west gustie weather. From the thirteenth at noone, till the fourteenth at noone, I sayled South and by West fortie five leagues, the wind betwixt the West North-west, and the West South-west gustie weather, latitude 64. degrees 21. minutes. From the fourteenth day at noone, till the fifteenth day at that time, I sayled South and by West nine and twentie leagues, at which time I obserued and found the ship in 62. degrees 53. minutes faire weather, the wind at North. At foure of the clocke the same day, I saw *Skutsness* in Norway seuentene leagues off, and bearing South-east, from whence I hold it superfluous to write it, being a place well knowne. The last of August I arriued at London, Blessed be God for euer and euer. Amen.

In 62. degrees
15. minutes.

A brieft note what Beasts, Fowles, and Fishes were seene in this Land.

BEASTS: Buckes, and Does, white Beares and Foxes, of colour dunne and grey.

FOWLES: white Partridges, a small land Bird, like a Sparrow, partly white, and partly browne, a Fowle with a combe and a taylor like a Cock, a redde Fowle of the bignesse of a Pidgeon; a white Fowle with a greene bill, the top of the bill of it and the eyes were redde, with blacke feet. Wild Geese, Coluidines, Gulls, Sea-mewes, Willocks, Noddies, Ice-birds, Recks, and Sea-pidgeons.

The Coluidine is as big as a Mallard, the male is neerer of the colour, and the female browne.

FISHES: great store of Whales, Gramposes, Mohorpes, the white fish I spake of the seuenth of Iune, a small fish like Cuplen, likewise I saw the bones of Cods, or Haddocks; but could take no fish: I often looked for Shel-fish, but could take none: diuers of my company did see two Beavers.

CHAP. II.

A Commission for IONAS POOLE our Seruant, appointed Master of a small Barke called the *Elizabeth*, of fiftie tonnes burthen, for Discouerie to the Northward of *Greenland*, giuen the last day of March 1610.

AS much as it hath pleased Almighty God, through the industry of your selfe and others, to discover unto our Nation a Land lying in eightie degrees toward the North-pole: We are desirous not only to discover farther to the Northward along the said Land, to find whether the same be an Island or a Mayne, and which way the same doth trend, either to the Eastward or to the Westward of the Pole, as also whether the same be inhabited by any people, or whether there be an open Sea farther Northward then hath bene already discovered. For accomplishing of all which our desires, we haue made choice of you, and to that end haue entertayned you into our service for certayne yeares upon a stipend certayne: not doubting, but you will so carrie your selfe in the businesse, for which you were so entertayned, as God may be glorified, our Countrey benefited, your selfe credited, and we in our desires satisfied. And for your better instruction to proceed in this your Voyage, we haue thought good to set downe our opinions what course wee thinke fit to be obserued in the same: which is, That forasmuch as by your owne report of the great

Poole entertained by a certaine stipend. He was as I haue heard, miserably and basely murdered betwixt Ratcliffe and London, after his returne from this Voyage.

store of Whales in those Seas, wee are at an extraordinary charge this yeare, of setting out a ship and men for that purpose, which ship is called the Marie Margaret of London, in burthen one hundred and fiftie tunnes or thereabout: Our meaning is, that you doe keepe company with the said ship, and not to leaue her, till God send you to the places, where she may make her Voyage: which by your report should be at a place named by you the last yeare 1610. Whale Bay.

Further disco-
uerie to the
North.

And God sending you to the said place, we would haue you to stay there the killing of a Whale, or two or three, for your better experience hereafter to expedite that businesse, if through extremitie of the Ice you should be put from your Discoveries. And in the meane time while you are staying about killing of the Whale, you may cause some of your people to bee searching the Coast with their Shallops for Whale finnes, Morfes teeth, Ambergreefe, or any other commodities, that may be found upon that Coast. And hauing thus stayed a conuenient time with the said great ship for the purpose aboue specified, wee would haue you then to proceed on your Discoverie for the satisfying of our expectations formerly mentioned, which is, to discover further to the North Pole as farre as possibly you can, and how the Land already discovered doth trend, and whether there be any inhabitants in the said Land, and whether there be an open Sea to the Northward beyond the said land. And in this your coasting the land, we doubt not but you will endeavor with your Shallops to gather up all the Whale finnes you can finde, and to kill the Morfes which you can come by on land, and to referue the teeth and blubber to the most aduantage that may bee, the better to beare out the great charge which you know we are at in these Discoveries. And to that end we haue laden in you eleuen Tunnes of emptie caske.

Thomas Edge,
See sup. l. 3. c. 2.

And hauing spent so much time in this your Discoverie, and in gathering up of such commodities as that Coast will afford, and as the season of the yeere will permit you, then we would haue you returne for England, and in your way homeward to touch at the place where you left the Marie Margaret, to see if shee be not gone; and finding her there, and that the time of the yeere will permit, wee would haue you melt your Blubber into Oile before your comming from thence, to auoid the great trouble and inconuenience you know we fell into the last yeere 1610. by bringing the same hither in Blubber. But if the said ship should chance to be full fished, and so to be gone before your comming thither, yet we would haue you stay there, or at Cherie Island some small time to melt your Blubber: to which end we haue appointed Thomas Edge our seruant in that ship to leaue a Copper, and such necessities as shall serue your turne, for the performing of that businesse, behinde him; and haue deliuered him likewise aduertisements at that place of their proceedings in the voyage, and of their intent, what course they purpose to take, together with their opinions, what course they would haue you take.

Cherie Island.

In these matters of Discoverie and vncertaine Voyages, the varietie of occurrences and Sea dangers is such, as we cannot directly prescribe a course certaine to be held: yet we hold it fitting to set downe Our opinions of the needfull, which are, that at your first departure out of England you keepe counsell together, and agree upon your places of meetings, if by tempest of weather you chance to bee separated; still shaping your course directly for Chery Island, where we would haue you stay. And if at your comming thither, you finde the same cleere of Ice, and that there be Morfes on shoare, then wee would haue you to worke upon them, as time and opportunitie will permit, alway hauing respect to your intended voyage. And hauing dispatched your businesse in that place, wee would haue you depart in company together for The Whale Bay, as aforesaid, and to follow our instructions formerly set downe to be done in that place. And hauing performed what may be done in the parts beyond Cherie Island, and so returning backe againe for England, we hold it fit you make your Rendez vous againe at the said Cherie Island, and there to stay the one for the other, and to be killing of the Beasts there till the last of August, if neede bee. And if it happen that one ship doe arrive there before the other, and no Morfes come on shoare, then wee would haue them spend the time in searching for the Lead Ore, or any other Minerall matter that may be like to be of worth vpon the said Land. And thus hauing stayed at Cherie Island till the last of August the one for the other, and not meeting together, the ship so staying having made her Voyage, wee would haue her to returne directly for England, and to leaue a Note in writing of the day of her departure. This is our opinion. Notwithstanding, if vpon better grounds you shall among your selues finde a conuenienter course to be held for the good of the Voyage, and the benefit of vs the Adventurers, wee leaue it to your selues to agree vpon, as time and opportunitie shall serue.

And for the auoyding of an Obiection heretofore used, That the want of sufficient victuals hath beene the cause of the overthrow of the Voyages by speedier returne home, then otherwise they would; wee haue thought fit to set downe the quantitie of victuals deliuered aboard your ship in this our Commission, to the intent to cleere our selues and our Agent of that imputation, and to lay the blame on your selues, if by default the same be euill husbanded. The particulars are these. Beeffe, 22. c. 3. quarters, 18^{li}. Bisquit 30. c. Beere 14. Tunnes. Fish, 200. of Haberdin, and halfe an hundred Lings. Cheefe 300. c. weight. Butter three Firkins. Oyle three Gallons. Pease ten Bushels. Oate-meale fise Bushels. Candels, fixe dosen. Aquavita, thirtie Gallons. Vinegar one rundlet of twentie Gallons. This proportion of victuals will last you seuen or eight moneths with good husbundry, together with the helpes of Fish, Fowle, and Beasts that are to be had in abundance vpon those Coasts. So that we hope you shall haue no cause to the contrary, but cheerfully to goe forward in your businesse, whereby not onely the small Barke you goe in, but the great Ship may come home fully laden with one commoditie or other, which we doubt not but by your diligence and good endenours you may attayne unto.

But

But if you shall chance by extremitie of Ice, or otherwise to be put backe from your discoverie, or from obtaining commodities upon the coast of Greenland, whereby to lade both ships; then we would have you stay at Cherie Island, or other Islands thereabout, so long time as possibly you can, and as the season of the yeere will permit you, to finish the rest of your voyage. And if there bee sufficient lading betweene you both to lade the bigger ship, wee would have her to bee dispatched from thence with all speede, and you to stay there as long as you may conveniently for the good of the Voyage: which the more beneficiall it proo- ueth, the more it will be for your credit, and we will not be vnthankfull at your returne.

10 We would have you at every place of meeting with the Mary Margaret, to deliuer to Thomas Edge our seruant a particular Note of what goods you haue taken into your ship. And at your last lading place we would have you make a generall inuoyce of the whole Cargason of goods laden in your ship, and hauing signed the same, to seale it vp, and direct the same to our Agent resident in London. And if you doe chance to meete with the Mary Margaret at or after your last Port of lading, we would have you deliuer a Copy of the said inuoyce to our seruant Thomas Edge for our better satisfaction, what casualtie soeuer might happen by the way, and at any hand to haue such an inuoyce euer readie sealed, and for mortalities sake put up in some sure place of custodie.

20 We hold it fit, that you Ionas Poole should be as grand Pilot in this voyage to the Northward. And therefore we would have you to accompany the great ship, and to bring her to the places of fishing for the Whale; or to any other place, which you out of your experience shall thinke fit to bring her for the good of the Voyage and benefit of the Adventurers. And our will is, That Steuen Bennet Master of the said great ship together with the rest of the company in that ship, doe follow the said Ionas Pooles direc- tions, as they will answer the contrarie upon their perils at their comming home.

And for that heretofore the Company haue bene abused by lewd and bad people, who haue imbeveled part of that which by our great charges and adventures hath bene obtained: Our minde and will is, That you Ionas Poole doe make search in your owne ship, that none of our Whale finnes, Morfes teeth, Oyle, or any other commodities gathered at our charge, be imbeveled or carried away by any of the Ma- riners, who will looke to haue the uttermost of their wages paid them, and to bee fed with meate and drinke sufficient. And God sending you into England, we would have you suffer none of your people to goe on shoare vnsearched: neither would we haue you to leane the ship till your comming into the Riuer of Thames, that we giue you order to the contrarie. And if you chance to be winde bound upon the coast, 30 you may send up one of your people with your Letter, but not to come your selfe on shoare till our farther order, as aforesaid.

The like order we would have Steuen Bennet to vse in his ship, by vertue of this our Commission, which we haue ordered to Thomas Edge our seruant to see performed accordingly.

And in as much as we haue agreed here with a Tanner for all the Morfes hides which wee kill and bring into England, and haue sent ten of purpose for the flaying, salting, and ordering of the same, 40 whereof we haue appointed one to goe in your ship: We would haue you reserve the said hides, and floore your ship therewith in stead of ballast. And if you obtayne a greater quantitie then you can bring away with you, hauing alwayes regard to commodities of more value, which are Oyle, Teeth, and Whales finnes, that none of them be left behind; We would haue you leaue the said ouerplus of hides in some conue- nient place, till the next yeere, that we send more store of shipping.

Agreement
with a Tanner
for Morfes
hides:

A Commission for Thomas Edge our seruant, appointed to goe as our Factor in the Ship called the Mary Margaret, of the burthen of one hundred and fiftie Tunnes, for the killing of the Whale and Morfes vpon the coast of Greenland, or any other place in the North Ocean: Giuen the 31. of March, 1611.

50 You are not ignorant of our employing you heretofore in two senerall Voyages to Cherie Island. The first whereof, by reason of one Dupperts going thither, together with certaine men of Hull, glutting the said place, prooued to vs a thousand pound losse of our principall. As also in the second Voyage, be- cause you could not come to set footing vpon the said Island, by reason of the abundance of Ice lying round about the same sixteene leagues compasse till the twentie eight of Iuly, by which occasion our whole charge of setting out that yeeres adventure had bene lost, if the refuge to lade our ship backe againe from Saint Michael the Archangel in Russia had not holpen vs: yet notwithstanding that helpe, wee lost by that voyage aboue fine hundred pounds. We entering into due consideration of the premisses, doe not impute the cause of these our losses vnto you; but to the accidents then happening contrarie to our expectation: yet these losses growing vpon vs in the times of your employment, we can doe no lesse then put you in minde 60 thereof, to the intent to incourage and stirre up your minde to doe your uttermost indeuour to further the businesse in this your third employment, that we may recouer our selues of the losses formerly sustained. And for that end we haue made choice of you againe to goe as our Factor in the Ship Mary Margaret, of one hundred and fiftie Tunnes, the Master being Steuen Bennet, for the killing of the Whale: And to that end, as you well know, haue bin at charge of procuring of sixe men of Saint Iohn de Luz, accusto- med

Adventures
and losses in
first Discou-
ries

* The Biscainers
procured for
killing of the
Whale (as I
haue heard) by
Woodcocks ad-
uise, who had
liued and been
employed with
them in Grand
Bay, &c.

* This was a
conceit, as if
all places had
choise of all
kinds, which
experience
hath since
taught other-
wise.

See of the kind
of Whales sup-
471. I haue ad-
ded this to be
compared with
that, for fur-
ther light.

Spermaceti or
Permaciti as
the vulgar call
it.

Ambergreese.

The rest as not
so necessary to
the publike is
omitted.

med to that function: whose names are as followeth: videlicet, Iuan de Bacoynne, Iuan de Agerre, Mar-
tin de Karre, Marlene de Horifada, Domingo de Sarria, and Adam de Bellocke: which men wee
would haue to be used very kindly and friendly during this their voyage, whereby being strangers and
leaving their owne Countre to doe vs service, they may haue no iust cause of complaint, but rather to be
encouraged to doe vs service hereafter, if there be cause. And although it be our meaning they should be
encouraged by all good and courteous vsage to be readie to doe vs service, yet we will haue you together
with our owne people and Mariners employed in this Voyage, to obserue and diligently put in practise the
executing of that businesse of striking the Whale, as well as they: And likewise to know the better sorts of
Whales from the worser, whereby in their striking they may choose the good, and leaue the bad. And to
that end we doe set you downe here vnder, the severall sorts of Whales, together with the differences of good-
nesse betweene the one and the other, as we haue gathered the same by information from men of excellencie
in that businesse: who make knowne vnto vs, that there are eight severall kindes of Whales, all differing the
one from the other in quantitie and qualitie. Which for your better instruction, we haue thought good to
set downe in this our Commission.

The first sort of Whales, is called the Bearded Whale, which is black in colour, with a smooth skinned, and
white under the chops; which Whale is the best of all the rest: and the elder it is, the more it doth yeelde.
This sort of Whale doth yeelde usually foure hundred, and sometimes five hundred finnes, and betweene
one hundred and one hundred and twentie Hogheads of Oyle. The second sort of Whale is called Sarda,
of the same colour and fashion as the former, but somewhat lesse, and the finnes not aboue one fathom long,
and yeeldeth in Oyle, according to his bignesse, sometimes eightie, sometimes a hundred Hogheads. The
third sort of Whale is called Trumpe, being as long as the first, but not so thicke, of colour Grey, having
but one Trunke in his head, whereas the former haue two. He hath in his mouth teeth of a span long, and
as thicke as a mans wrist, but no fins: whose head is bigger then either of the two former, and in proportion
farre bigger then his body. In the head of this Whale is the Spermaceti, which you are to keepe in
Casse apart from your other Oyle: you may put the Oyle you finde in the head and the Spermaceti altoge-
ther, and marke it from the other Oyle, and at your coming home, we will separate the Oyle from the
Spermaceti. The like is to be done with the Oyle of this sort of Whale, which is to be kept apart from
the Oyle of the other Whales. The reason is, that the Oyle of this sort of Whale being boyled, will be as
hard and white as Tallow, which to be mingled with the other Oyle being liquid, would make the same
to shew as footie Oyle, and so consequently spoyle both, and be of little value: you are therefore to be ve-
ry carefull to keepe the Oyle of this sort of Whale apart, as well of the head as of the body, for the reasons
before mentioned. In this sort of Whale is likewise found the Ambergreese, lying in the entrails and guts
of the same, being of shape and colour like vnto Kowes dung. We would haue you therefore your selfe to
be present at the opening of this sort of Whale, and cause the residue of the said entrails to be put into
small Caske, and bring them with you into England. We would haue the Master also to be by at the
opening of this Whale, and to be made priue of the packing of those Barils. And although it be said,
that the Ambergreese is onely in this Whale and in none other, yet we would not haue you be absent at
the opening of any other: but if you see cause to make a reseruatiou of the entrails of every Whale, that
you shall perceiue to be cause of the least suspect to haue any of the said Ambergreese, being a matter, as
you know, of good worth, and therefore not slightly to be regarded. The Teeth likewise of this sort of
Whale we would haue you cause to be reserued for a triall; as also any other matter extraordinarie that
you shall obserue in the same. This Whale is said to yeelde in Oyle fortie Hogheads, besides the Sperma-
ceti. The fourth sort, &c. as sup. 471. 472.

And in as much as industrie and diligence are two principall steps to atchiue great enterprises, and
negligence and idlenesse are enemies to the same; we would haue you in this charge committed vnto you,
to imbrace the one, and to auoide the other: and to shew that example of paines taking to the rest of the
company of your Ship in your owne person, as well in setting them on worke, as in putting your owne hand
to the businesse when needs requireth, as that there be no idle time spent, but that every one be employed
in some businesse or other in helping to kill the Whale, or in searching the Bayes along the coast for Whales,
Ambergreese, Morfes teeth, or any other strange thing, that may be found vpon that coast, or in killing the
Morfes, Beares, or any thing that may make profit toward our great charges.

Touching directions for your keeping company together with the Elizabeth, and of the course we thinke
fitting for the Master of that Ship to obserue, we haue set the same downe at large in our Commission de-
livered to Ionas Poole, a Copie whereof we deliuer you herewith, for your better instructions, to obserue
what is to be done on both your behalves for the good of the Voyage: which our Commission, we would haue
you strictly obserue, vntill upon some speciall occasion to vs unknowne, and by the consent of the principall
Officers in both the Ships, you shall see iust cause to the contrary.

You haue with you an order set downe by the Lords of his Maiesties priue Counsell, for the maintai-
ning of our Charter: which we would haue you make knowne to any of our Nation, that you may chance
to meete withall either at Cherie Island, or vpon any of those coasts. And if any stranger doe offer you vio-
lence, or doe disturbe you in your trade, you may both defend your selues, and maintaine your trade to the
uttermost of your powers, &c.

CHAP. III.

A briefe Declaration of this my Voyage of discovery to Greenland, and towards the West of it, as followeth: being set forth by the right Worshipfull Sir

THOMAS SMITH, Gouvernour of the right Worshipfull Company of new Trades, &c. written by IONAS POOLE.

10 **W** E Tet sayle at Blacke-wall the eleauenth of April, 1611. with foure Shippes: The one called the *Mary-margaret*, of burthen one hundred and fiftie Tuns, with nine and fortie Men and Boyes. The next the *Elizabeth*, of burthen sixtie Tuns, with eightene Men and Boyes. The third was called the *Amitie*, of burthen seauentie Tunnes, with foure and twentie Men and Boyes. The fourth was called the *Resolution*, with about sixteene Men and Boyes: the *Resolution* was appointed to goe to Saint Nicholas in Russia, in hope to make two Voyages thirther this yeare. The *Amitie* was to goe to Pichora or Nonazembla, there to see if they could make a Voyage by way of trade, or by killing of Mohorles, &c. The *Mary-margaret* was appointed to keepe the *Elizabeth* companie to Greenland, aboue said, there to kill the Whale, for which purpose we had fixe men of Saint Iohn de Luz, with all things fitting for that purpose. The *Elizabeth* was appointed to see if it weare possible to passe from Greenland towards the Pole, and to search in those Seas what likelihood of a passage that way, &c. But before we were as farre to the Northwards as the latitude of sixtie five, we were all separated, by reason of contrarie windes and foule weather: the *Elizabeth*, in which Ship I was, was stoked, that the water which was in her could not come to the Pumpe, but lay vpon the balast, which was the cause we could beare no sayle to keepe the *Mary-margaret* companie.

Foure Ships.

See Supl. 3.

The Ships separated.

30 Yet by the thirteenth day of May I came to Cherie Iland, and the foureteenth I spake with the *Amitie*. The sixteenth day I met with the *Mary-margaret*, which kept mee companie to Greenland, but in our passage thither we saw a banke of Ice to the East wards of vs, aboue fortie leagues long. The nine and twentieth of May, we anchored in a place named (by me the last year) *Crosse Road*, but before we got thither, wee were much troubled with Ice and contrarie windes, and we found almost all the sounds full of Ice, that the *Biscainers* could not strike one Whale, although they saw diuers, which as they said were of the best kinde of Whales.

Cherie Iland.

Crosse Rode.

Ice a hindrance to Whale killing and discovery!

I staid there till the sixteenth of Iune, in which time we set vp our shalops and ranged some part of the Coast, but found little, by reason the beaches were couered with Snow and Ice. Likewise in the same time, I was put out of the roade with Ice, and flood out West and by North into the Sea about foureteene leagues, where I found a banke of Ice; then I stood into the sound againe and got off the Shalop which was in the roade, at which time (which was about the eleauenth of Iune) I stood to the Sea againe and had a storme at South, which sunke our Shalop, and I saw the Ice lye close to the Land in 80. degrees. Then I went into *Crosse roade* againe, and had a Shalop from the *Mary-margaret*, and because I perceiued the Ice aboue said to lye close to the land, and vnpossible to passe that way there running verie strong Tides, in the which it is dangerous dealing with the Ice: I determined to stand to the Southwards alongst the said Ice, to see if I could finde the Sea open that way, and so get to the Westwards of the said Ice, and then proceeded on my Voyage: but I found it to lye the next hand South South-west and South-west and by South, and ranne alongst it about one hundred and twentie leagues, at which time I supposed my selfe neere Groenland, as it is laied downe by Hudson and others, and called *Hold with hope*: I ranne neere fortie leagues to the Westwards of the Eastermost part of the said Land, as it is laied downe, and by my accounts I was to the Southwards of it, neere the latitude 74. degrees, where I saw abundance of Whales by the sides of the Ice; for I failed all this time sometimes in, and sometimes by the said Ice, and sounded most commonly each watch, but had no ground at 160. 140. 180. and 200. fathomes.

80. Degrees.

New discovery

Hold with Hope.

Store of Whales.

50 Then the winde came to the North-west, and I perceiuing the Ice to trend still to the Southwards, determined to stand to Greenland, from whence I came, there to make my Voyage and likewise to try the certaintie concerning the misplacing of the Land, but the next day, being about the seauen and twentieth of Iune, the winde came to the North, and I stood for Cherie Iland, and came to it the nine and twentieth of the same Moneth, where I found that place of my being, when I supposed I should haue found Land, did beare from Cherie Iland West and by South, aboue one hundred twentie five leagues. When I came to the Iland I saw about three hundred Morfes on land, but a storme comming they went all into the Sea.

Cherie Iland.

Three hundred Morfes.

60 The twelfth of Iuly, we slue aboue two hundred; and by the three and twentieth day wee had taken all their fat Hides and Teeth, which with the Victuals we had laded the ship: then I determined to bale vp a shalop to goe to Greenland, to search if I could finde any Land or Ilands, that might proue beneficiall the next yeere, and likewise to search for Teeth and Whales Finnes.

Mary Margaret
lost.

Finnes. The foure and twentie, and five and twentie dayes, it was very much wind at North, which caused the Sea to go so high that we could not land. Yet at eight of the clock at night the wind ceased, and I went on land where I found certayne of the *Maries Margarets* men, by whom I vnderstood, that the said ship was cast away, and that Master *Thomas Edge* seruant to the right Worshipfull Company, &c. with *Stephen Bennet* Master of the said shippe, and others to the number of thirtie persons, were arriued on the South side in three Boats, and that they parted from two Boats in *Greenland* with nine men in them.

Immediately Master *Edge* and Master *Bennet* came aboard, and I weighed and stood to the West side of the Iland, and anchored there, and put neere one hundred Morfe-hides on land, and some emptie caske, and haled vp a shallop. The six and twentieth day about noone, we weighed 10 and stood to the South-west side of the Iland, and sent men on land to hale vp two shallops there. And at mid-night I set sayle for *Greenland*, carrying with mee two *Biscaine* shallops, determining there to try the Blubber of those Morfes we had killed, and bring it to Oyle, and to bring all the Oyle, Teeth, and Finnes which they had gotten in that Countrey. And after diuers winds, but indifferent faire weather, I arriued at *Blacke-point* the last of Iuly, and hauing the wind at North, I was perswaded by diuers that had gone that way to go betwixt the Iland and the Mayne, but when I was almost through, and in sight of that place where the *Mary Margaret* lyeth sunke, I could not find water enough for the ship, yet I was told there was enough by diuers that had gone that way in the shallops. Here we stayed two dayes to buoy the channell, which is shoald and narrow, for we had at three quarters fload, but eleuen foot water.

Ship of Hull.

The third of August I got ouer, and about eight of the clocke at night, I anchored neere the *Mary Margaret*, the Sunne being in 79. degrees, and there I found a shippe of *Hull* conducted thither by one *Nicholas Woodcock*, he being in one of the Boats which stayed in *Greenland*, when those came from thence that came to *Cherrie* Iland. The ships name was called the *Hopewell*, one *Thomas Marmaduke* being Master. Here we found that hee had slaine about one hundred and thirtie Mohorises, which were left on land when Master *Thomas Edge* came from thence with the Boats afore said, and we did determine to kill at my arriual. As soone as the ship was moored, wee got out Blubber and sent it on land to bee brought into Oyle, and wee followed our worke till the seuenth of August at noone, at which time hauing Oyle by the ships side, we put out all the Blubber which was in hold, saue two tuns and a halfe, supposing the ship had ballast 30 enough in her, for there was about twelue tuns of Hides, which were the chiefeest cause of the loss of the ship, and nine tunnes of Oyle, and about seuen tunnes of ballast, a Hoghead and a Barrell of Teeth: besides halfe a tunne of stones, all which was about nine and twentie tunne weight, and to any vnpartiall mans judgement, sufficient to shift a Barke of sixtie tunnes. But as the last But went out of her, the ship began to held, and with all a great many men went to leeward, there being at that time about forty aboard. Then the hides which lay in hold, slid to leeward, and brought her altogether downe, then euery man made shift to saue his life, and I being farre from the hatches, could not get vp so soone as others did. At which time I saw death before mine eyes two wayes, one if I stayed in hold, I was sure to be drowned: the other 40 if I went vp the hatches; I was in election to be slaine; for downe at the hatches fell hogheads of beere and diuers other things, the least of them being sufficient to beate a mans bones, and in attempting to get vp, I was beaten downe twice and hurt. But it was not the will of God to take my life from mee then, but to reuiue me, to plucke me euen from the jawes of death, and by swimming and crawling I got into the Sea cleere of the ship where a Boat tooke me vp, and blessed bee God, no man perished at that so dangerous an accident. We being all got into three Boats, went to the *Hull* ship, where we found but small comfort: for *Duke* told vs plainly, wee should not come aboard his ship, and caused Pikes and Launces to bee brought to keepe vs out. Then Master *Edge* and diuers others desired him to let mee come aboard, which hee did, and with much adoe I got aboard, hauing mine head broke to the skull, and my brow that one might see the bare bones, and by mine eare I had a fore wound, likewise the ribs on my right side were all broken and sore bruised, and the collar bone of my left shoulder is broken, besides my backe 50 was so sore, that I could not suffer any man to touch it.

Double danger.

That which followeth, being further accusation of Marmaduke, is omitted. And I haue here added out of his Brother Randolph Poole their returne; omitting the former part of his Relations of the same Voyage.

In this our great distresse, *Thomas Marmaduke* Master of the shippe of *Hull*, professed great kindnesse towards vs, promising vs passage, and that he would try if he could recouer our ship: but hee deferred the time one whole weeke, till shee was full of oze, so that when wee came to weigh her, both her Cables burst, and so we left her to all our sorrowes, without hope of recovery. Then we went aboard the ship of *Hull*, which God had prepared for our succour, where 60 our Merchant agreeing for the freight, we got the goods aboard; namely, about twentie, or one and twentie tunnes and an halfe of Oyle, and a Barrell of Beares Oyle, about tenne tunnes of Whales Finnes bound vp in an hundred and sixe bundels, in euery one thirtie Finnes, and in some more, five Hogheads of Morfes Teeth, and one and twentie odde paire. And if our ship had not miscarried, the Voyage had bene much better.

The

The nineteenth of August, we directed our course for *England*; the weather being reasonable faire, and the wind for the most part betwixt the North and the West: and wee continued our course homeward all that moneth.

They returned homeward.

Vpon Tuesday the third of September, about two of the clocke in the morning, we were imbayed with land, and were neere the shoare before we were aware. Wee steered backe North and by East: and at twelue of the clocke we found our selues to be on the West side of the Iles of *Orkney*, and steered East into a great sound, called *Pentlow Fryth*, where wee being entred there came a Boat from the shoare, which brought vs fresh meat, and one of the men directed vs through the Sound. This Sound lyeth in the latitude of 58. degrees and 36. minutes, and the course through, is East North-east, and West South-west, it floweth there on the change day, South South-east and North, North-west halfe a tyde, nine foote high or thereabout. At the entrance in on the North side, there is an high red Mountayne, and the Sound there is twelue miles ouer: but farther in the land is somewhat lower, and the Sound narrower. You may sayle along the North shoare two miles off the land in fortie or fiftie fathomes; and on the said shoare about foure miles East South-east. From the red Cliffe there is a Bay, into which you may steere North by West, giuing the West point of the entrance into the said Bay a good birth: for there the water is shoald and fowle ground: but in the middle of the entrance, 30. 20. 18. 12. 10. 6. and 5. fathomes: but wee anchored in 10. fathomes, fine sandie ground.

September 3.

Orkney Ilands
Pentlow Fryth,
in 58. degrees
36. minutes.

The fift of September at an East South-east Sunne, wee set sayle, keeping our course about mentioned, leauing sue small Ilands on our larboord side, and one Iland on our starboord side: and so keeping an high Cliffe, which lyeth into the Sea on *Scotland* side, open of a low Land in the sound on the same shoare, we sayled out as before is said.

Vpon the sixth day at a North Sunne, we anchored in *Humber* mouth: there it floweth on the change day West South-west. Vpon the eight day we arriued at *Hull*, safely and well in body, but much distressed and impayred in our states, which God at his good pleasure can restore.

At our first comming to this Countrey of *Greenland*, the Mountaynes and Valleys thereof, except it were some few places, were all couered with snow: but ere we went away, the tops of the high Hills, and the lower Plaines appeared greene with Mosse, and some little quantitie of grasse. This Countrey, and likewise the seas in these parts, are subiect to marvellous thicke and mistie weather, especially when the sunne with his most forcible heat melteth the Ice and snow, whose vapours obscure the light of the sunne, making small difference betweene the day there, and the irksome night in other places.

We found in this Countrey many fat Deere, which we killed with our Peeeces and Dogges at our pleasure, which was a great refreshing to vs in that vnquoth place: many white Beares, with white, grey, and dunne Foxes. We found also abundance of Fowle: namely, Culuidines, sea Pidgeons, white land Partridges, wild Geese, Willockes, and many other Fowles. Among which I noted the nature of one, which we called an *Allen*; who (like to the great fishes, which eate vp the small, or like to some great men, which deuoure all the labours of the poore) when some smaller Birds haue gotten any thing, then he leaueth not beating of them, till they haue cast vp what they haue eaten, which he laying hold of deuotheth vp: and so with little meate in their gorges, and few feathers on their backs, he leaueth them to get more, not for themselves but for him. We found on the shoares many huge Morfes.

Many fat
Deere, white
Beares, white,
grey, and dun
Foxes.
Abundance of
sundry Fowles.
Allen a deuou-
ring Fowle.

Many huge
Morfes.

There is great store of fresh water in euery Valley, which proceedeth most of the melted snow. On euery Beech is great plentie of drift wood, but neuer a bush nor tree groweth in those quarters, as farre as we haue hitherto discovered.

CHAP. IIII.

A Relation written by IONAS POOLE of a Voyage to Greenland, in the yeere 1612. with two ships, the one called the Whale; the other the Sea-horse, set out by the Right Worshipfull the Muscouie Merchants.



The seventh of April, 1612. wee set sayle at *Blacke-wall*, and went to *Grane send*.

The third of May we came to *Cherie Iland*, where we found a ship of *Holland*, in which one *Alan Salowes* an *Englishman* was Pilot. The same day about a North sunne we anchored on the West side of the Iland.

Cherie Mand.

The fourth, we trimmed a shallop which I left there the last yeere: and *Alan Salowes* went aboard our Admirall, and Master *Russell* sent for Master *Thomas Edge*, Master *Arthington*, *John Mason*, and my selfe: where wee had some speech about detayning him, and to haue brought him into *England*: but in the end hee was let goe. At a North sunne we sent our shallop to the South-east side of the Iland to fetch a shallop, which was left there the last yeere: but they could not get thither for Ice, and came aboard againe at an East North-

North-east Sunne the fift day; at which time we weighed, and stood to the Westward; but immediately we altered our course, and stood toward the land againe among the Ice; and about a West North-west Sunne wee sent our Skiffe and Shallop to fetch the Shallop aforesaid. The winde was at North and by West, frostie weather with snowe.

The eighth, wee stood toward *Cherie* land againe; and were faire by it at a South sunne: at which time the winde came to the South-east, and wee saw the *Hollander* standing with vs. Then we altered our course, and sayled West North-west, determining, if hee followed vs, to stay for him. At ten of the clock at night hee came to vs: and the Admirall sent his shallop aboard of him to command him to be gone out of our companie: and at a North sunne hee stood away from vs, and sayled North and by East, and we lay by the lee.

The twentieth at a South Sunne we saw our Confort, and spake with them, and they told vs, that they had almost split their ship with a piece of Ice, which brake nine of their Timbers; so that they had five foot water in hold.

The one and two and twentieth dayes, wee plyed to windward, the winde being at North faire weather. And at *Blacke Point* wee saw great store of Ice driving to the South. At eight of the clocke at night *Blacke Point* did beare from mee East and by North nine leagues. And the three dayes past we saw great store of Whales within ten or twelve leagues off the Land.

The three and twentieth we were faire off *Cape Cold*; where Master *Edge* and Master *Arthington* went with the *Barks* in their Shallops for *Crosse-rode*, in hope to kill some Whales. And we saw store of Whales in the Sea.

The five and twentieth we got into *Foule Sound*, all the Sounds being full of Ice; and the Shallops came aboard and brought some Venison, which was very leane. And at six of the clock the *Barks* went with the Shallops to *Faire Foreland*, to see if they could kill a Whale: and at a North-west Sunne Master *Edge* went with a Shallop, to see if *Crosse-rode* were open.

The six and twentieth, the two ships aforesaid came into *Foule Sound*: one of them was that *Hollander* before mentioned; the other was a ship of *London*, called *The Diana*, whereof one *Thomas Buxton* dwelling at *Wapping wall*, was Master.

The seven and twentieth, *Alaine Salomes* came aboard of our ship, and told vs, that his Merchant had broke his necke downe a Cliffe. The same day the *Hollander* and the *Diana* stood to the Southward. The winde was at North North-west, and Northwest, which kept the Ice in the Sounds. The twentieth, we sent the long Boate and our Shallop to *Brokenesse*, with a Shallop of ten Tunnes, there to be set vp. The winde was at West with snowe and frost. The same day the *Barks* came aboard, but could kill neuer a Whale. The winde came to the South South-west, with frost and snowe.

The nine and twentieth, the winde was at South with much snowe. The same day one of our men dyed, named *John Butcher*, hauing layen sicke about three weeks. The thirtieth, one *Michael Perkins* dyed aboard *The Whale*. The last of May, the winde was at South; and wee stood toward the *Foreland* in 79. degrees. The same day at midnight, the Chyrurgeon of *The Whale* dyed.

The first of Iune, we stood into *Foule Sound*, where wee saw abundance of Ice drive out with the winde at East. The second day, the winde was at North and by East, cold frostie weather.

All which day wee lay vnder saile in the mouth of the Sound. The third day, wee spake with *Thomas Marmaduke* of *Hull*, in a ship called *The Hope well*. Wee sent for him to come aboard, but he answered, that he was not well, and sent his Mate *Christopher Naylor*. The same day, we stood to the mouth of the Sound, but it was couered with Ice. And *Marmaduke* stood to the Northward; and as we were afterward informed, discovered as farre as 82. degrees; two degrees beyond *Hakluyts Headland*. The fourth, we sent our shallop on shoare in *Foule Sound*, to see if any harbour were open to ride in, and to put our Admirall on ground to stop her leakage. The same day, our long Boate came to vs from *Brokenesse*. And we turned into the Sound, because we saw the Ice drive out with the winde at South, and blew hard. The fift, we anchored in *Foule Sound* in seuentene fathoms water and sandie ground, where we saw the place where both the ships lay which wee lost the last yeere, couered with Ice. The same time wee sent our shallop with our Carpenters, to finish the aforesaid shallop at *Brokenesse*. The winde continued at South; and the *Whale* turned into the Sound by vs, and anchored there at a South-west by South Sunne.

The ninth, the Admirals Boate and ours went with prouision and men to worke vpon a Whale, which the *Barks* had killed; and we stood toward the *Foreland* with the ships, where the Whale was killed, the winde at South, thicke foggie weather. And by an East North-east Sunne wee anchored in the mouth of *Foule Sound* in fiftene fathoms, gray sand with some shells. At a West sunne the Boate came aboard for caske and other prouision, and told vs, that the *Barks* had killed two other Whales.

The seuenteenth, one *Barks* named *Chapel*, tooke five of our *English* men to him, and they trimmed the shallop to kill the Whale. About a West North-west sunne they went away, the winde at South. The twentieth, the *Biscaine* shallop came aboard of vs from the *Foreland*, and told vs that they had strooken three Whales, which brake away.

The

The two and twentieth wee rid still, the winde being at North-west, with snows and frost. The five and twentieth, we got the Whale on flote, hauing stopped her leake. We were no sooner off, but it blew most fiercely, so that the Whales long Boate and our shallop brake from the Whales sterne, and were split in pieces on the Ice, that lay on shoare. The same day about a South sunne two men came from *Faire Foreland*, and told vs that Master *Edge* was come from the South in the *Pinnasse*, and had spoken with one *Nicolas Woodcock* an *English* man, which was my Mate to this Countrey of *Greenland* in the yeere 1610. The said *Woodcocke* was now Pilot of a ship of *Saint Sebastian* in *Biscay*, and rid in *Ice Sound*. Moreouer, they spake with the men of the Boate of the *Diana*, and law the *Hollanders* Boate, but spake not with their men. The two men abouesaid told vs likewise, that *Iohn Chapel* our *Baske* with five *English* men had killed a Whale: and betwixt them and another shallop they had slaine another, and had them both on shoare.

Woodcock Pilot of a Biscay ship.

The fourth and fifth Whales killed.

The seven and twentieth we rid still, and our Carpenter went to worke to mend the knee of our beake-head. And I went to see what *Morses* were on Land, where I found neere one hundred and fiftie. The eight and twentieth, the shallop that had all *English* men in her saue one *Baske*, came aboard for prouision, and told me, that they and *Iohannes Chapel*, had slaine a great Whale close by our ship, which towed them off into the Sound, and our long Boate followed them. At the same time we saw fixe Whales close by the ships side as we rode in harbour: and we saw great store in the Sound, and within one houre there were so many about our ships and in the Sound, that we could not count them. About a North-west sunne our long Boate brought the men that strooke the Whale abouesaid, and towed their shallop on land: for the said Whale had sunke her with his taile. The same time our Carpenter went to worke on the broken shallop, and I went to the place where the *Morses* lay, where I found about three hundred on land. Then I went aboard the Whale to get some harping Irons: for they had all, but I could get but one, because the rest of the *Baske* had laid them vp, enuying that one *Baske*, that went with all *English* men, had done so much, because by their good wills they would not haue vs to haue any insight into this businesse. Moreouer, hee that had the chiefest command in this voyage, did greatly condemne the going of so many *English* men with that one *Baske*, either for feare they should kill none, and lose all their prouision for the said vse, or for feare that our men should kill the Whale aswell, and as soone as they; yet was there none of the other Boates but had lost more then they had lost. And as for killing, there was not one Whale killed with one Boate alone, saue ours, with all *English* saue the *Baske* afore said, which slue three without the helpe of any other Boate. This day the *Baske* slue another Whale at the *Foreland*.

The fixt whale killed.

Three hundred *Morses*.

Biscainers enuie.

The seventh Whale killed.

The eighth Whale killed.

The nine and twentieth, the broken shallop was mended, and I went to the *Foreland*, to see whether the other shallops would come where the ships rode in harbour, where abundance of Whales were still. The same time the *Baske* killed another Whale. Then I romaged my ship, and put caske on land. All this day it was calme.

The last of Iune, one came from the *Foreland*, and told vs, that the *Baske* had slaine two great Whales. All this day likewise it was calme: and there lay abundance of huge Whales in the harbour about our ships. One of the whales abouesaid, *Iohannes* with the five *English* men slue without any of the others helpe. For they stood on the land flouting, and saying, that it was vnpossible for them to kill him, and would not once lanch their Boates to helpe them: yet hee was one of the greatest that were killed this yeere. All this day the whales lay so thicke about the ship, that some ran against our Cables, some against the Ship, and one against the Rudder. One lay vnder our beake-head and slept there a long while. At which time our Carpenter had hung a stage close by the water, whereon his tooles lay. And wee durst not molest the said whale for feare he should haue ouerthrowne the stage and drowned all his tooles. In the end he went away, and carried the ships head round, his taile being foule of the Cable.

The first of Iuly, at a North North-east Sunne, the shallops came to kill whales in the harbour where we rid, and strooke three, which all brake away. The same day, *Iohannes* strooke a whale, that smit in the side of his shallop and split it. Now wee perceiued the whales to begin to goe out of the Bayes. The second day, the *Baske* slue three great whales faire by our ships, in lesse then foure houres; vvhich vvee vvith our long Boate and men towed into harbour, and made fast to our ship. And the *Baske* vvith their shallops to *Faire Foreland*.

The ninth and tenth Whales killed.

The eleventh, twelfth and thirteenth Whales killed.

The seventh day, wee had abundance of Ice about our ships, which vvith the winde and the tyde draue out off another Sound. The eight, vve rid still, and vvere troubled vvith much Ice, by reason of a storme that blew at South-vvest and by vvest, &c. The rest is omitted as hauing nothing of note, but ordinarie accidents.

CHAP. V.

*A Journall of the Voyage made to Greenland with sixe English Ships
and a Pinnasse, in the yeere 1613. Written by Master
WILLIAM BAFFIN.*

Ascension day.

B

Y the prouidence of Almighty God wee departed from *Queenborough* the thirteenth day of May with sixe good Ships, viz. *The Tigre*, Admirall; the *Matthew*, Vice-admirall; the *Sea-horse*, called the *Gamaliel*, the Reare-admirall; the *Desire*; the *Annula*; and the *Richard* and *Barnard*; with the *Iohn* and *Francis* shortly to follow.

The one and twentieth day, faire weather, the winde Southward, wee still making to the Northwards. This morning wee had sight of Land on the Coast of *Norway*; it lying East and by North off about twelue or fourteene leagues. This day at noone, we were in the latitude of 61. degrees and 30. minutes, the variation of the Compasse at *Scouten-nes* is eight degrees East, it being about ten or twelue leagues off: wee hauing made a North way halfe East, about thirtie leagues.

The three and twentieth at noone, in the latitude of 65. degrees and 45. minutes, in which place, the Needle of Declination doth dippe vnder the Horizon 63. degrees and 30. minutes by 20 that Instrument which declineth 54. at *London*.

Greenland attained in eighteene dayes.

The thirtieth day, about three of the clocke, wee espied the land of *Greenland*, being about eight or nine leagues off. The Southwardest part of it bare South-east and by East off it, which shortly wee perceived to bee the Land lying in 76. degrees and 55. minutes; which is called *Horne-sound*. This Land lyeth by our common Compasse North North-west. Within two houres after we had sight of Land, it began to snowe, and was very cold. This evening the Compasse was varied thirteene degrees West.

A ship of Saint Iohn de Luz. Eight Spaniards on the coast.

The one and thirtieth day, variable weather with snowe, and very cold, and the winde also variable: and in the afternoone the winde was at the North-east. In the morning, wee espied a ship, and about noone we spoke with her; and their Master and Pilot came aboard of vs. And wee knew them to bee that ship of Saint *Iohn de Luz*, which had leaue of the Companie to fish. And they told vs, that there were eight *Spaniards* on the Coast. Also, wee espied another ship, which we supposed to be a *French* man, and had one *Allan Sallas* to their Pilot.

The Generall was Captaine Benjamin Ioseph after flaine in fight with a Carrike.

The second of Iune, in the morning, about five of the clocke, our Generall sent our shallop to a small Pinke, that all this night we saw along the shoare, to bid their Master and Pilot come aboard vs, which presently they did. The Masters name was *Clais Martin* of *Horne*; and his ship was for *Dunkerke*, and he told vs that he was comforted with another ship that was his Admirall, the Captaines name was *Fopp* of *Dunkerke*, and that he was on the Coast. Wee kept the Master and Pilot aboard of vs, and sent some of our men aboard of her, and brought her vnder our lee: and then, we sent their Master aboard againe, charging them to follow vs. This afternoone we tooke their shallop with five or sixe men, whereof two were *English* men, and one *Scot*, at the *Faire foreland*.

Dutch ship. No night the 23. of May.

The fourth day also faire weather. This morning was the first Whale killed. Wee had no night since the three and twentieth of May. The fift day, faire weather, but very cold; the winde North. Wee sayled along the land being about eighteene or twentieth leagues in length; lying for the most part by the common Compasse North and by West halfe Westward. About nine of the clocke in the afternoone, we saw our other three ships, viz. the *Gamaliel*, the *Desire*, and the *Richard* and *Barnard*, which lay thereto and fro; because they could not goe into their Harbour by reason of the Ice: and also, because there were foure other ships in a Bay or Cote, called *Poopy Bay*, or *Nicker Cote*; and also other ships on the other side in *Greene Harbour*. We sayled along the drift Ice vntill about one or two of the clocke in the morning, at which time, we came to an anchor in the entrance of the Sound, because the Ice came driving out so fast.

Diuers strangers.

The sixt day, faire weather, the winde variable, till the afternoone: at which time it came to the Northwards. About three in the afternoone we weighed anchor, and about ten of the clocke we came to the foure ships lying in *Poopy Bay*: two of them being *Hollanders*, and one a *Rocheller*, and the other a ship of *Burdeaux*. The Masters of the *Hollanders* came aboard of our ship, to speake with the Generall, both of them being of *Amsterdam*, and brought a Commission granted by the *Graue Maurice*, for to fish in this Countrey. But, when they saw our Kings Maiesties Commission granted to the worshipfull Companie, they told our Generall, that they would depart this Coast: hauing our Generals Ticket to shew to their Adventurers, that they were there, and had made their Port, and how he would not suffer them to fish. We anchored close by the *French* ship wherein was *Allane Sallas*; being readie to fight, if they refused to come aboard vs. So, when we sent our shallop, the Master came presently and their Surgeon, who could speake *English*. At the first, they denyed that *Sallas* was aboard of them: but, being hardly vrged, they

they confessed that hee and one *Thomas Fisher* an *English* man were aboard, who were both presently sent for. This *Sallas* was their Pilot, and *Fisher* was their Gunner.

The seuenth day faire weather, we roade still at an anchor. This day I obserued the latitude of the place, and found it in 78. degrees 24. minutes. The variation of the Compasse is in this place 15. degrees 21. minutes West. About a North Sunne a small ship of *Biscay* came into the harbour where we roade. Lat. 78. deg. 24. minut. Ship of *Biscay*.

The eight day, for the most part snow, the winde Southward. This day the Master of the *French* ship, being a ship of nine score, or two hundred, called the *Iagues of Burdeaux*, agreed with our Generall that hee might fish on the coast: our Generall was to haue halfe the Whales he could kill. Also, this day, the Master of the ship of *Rochel*, and the Master of the small ship of *Biscay*, were agreed to depart from the coast. Snowe.

The ninth day, faire weather. This morning the *Gumaliel* our Reare-Admirall, and the *Desire* weighed anchor to goe for *Greene harbour*, where two ships lay, one of *Dunkerke*, and the other of *Saint Sebastian* in *Biscay*. The Captaine of the *Dunkerke*, called *Fopp*, had beene with our Generall, and told him that he would depart from this Coast. Our Generall gaue him leaue to take the Pilot of the small Pinke, and the other *Dutch* men he had taken of his, keeping onely the *English* men and the *Seots*. Also, the two ships of *Holland*, with the ship of *Biscay*, and that of *Rochel* weighed anchor, and departed from this Harbour. About six of the clocke in the afternoone, came the Master of the ship of *Saint Sebastian* aboard of vs, being brought by one of the Masters Mates of the *Desire* (they hauing taken two of his Shallops) to know our Generals pleasure, whether he should haue them againe, or no. Our Generall gaue them him againe, vpon condition, that he would depart the Coast. About a North North-west Sunne, we weighed anchor to goe for *Horne-Sound*, where we heard, that there were diuers ships; the wind Northward a small gale. Greene harbour.

The tenth day, faire weather, the winde at North, being very close weather. About a North Sunne we came to an anchor in the entrance of *Low Sound*, where we saw two ships ride at anchor. Our Generall sent our shallop to see what ships they were, who found them to bee the two ships of *Holland*. Also our long Boate went on shoare to set vp the Kings Maiesties Armes vpon a low point of land, lying a great way off, called *Low-ness*. We set vp a Crosse of wood, and nayled the Armes vpon it. Low sound.

The thirteenth day, in the morning, it snowed very fast, being very thicke weather, the winde variable, we standing off from the land. About seuen of the clock it began to cleere vp, at which time we espied three ships; and making toward them, at length we perceiued them to be the three ships which came from the Bay where we roade: the winde also was at East and by South, and blew a very stiffe gale. Then we stood in for the shoare, and spent most of this day in turning vp *Horne-Sound*. And about a North North-west Sunne, at ten a clock wee espied six ships lying at anchor on the South side of the Sound, in a small Bay. The one of them was Captaine *Fopp* the *Dunkerker*, who came in before vs, and was appointed by our Generall to come into this harbour, and there to stay for vs, and to goe to the *Foreland*, to haue his other ship which we kept there. Foure of them were *Biscaines* of *Saint Sebastian*; and one of them was in the harbour where we roade and found the *French* ship: The sixth was a ship of *Amsterdam*, wherein *Thomas Bonner* was Master and Pilot, and about twentie *English* men more. All the *Biscaines* came aboard of vs as soone as we were at an anchor: but *Thomas Bonner* refused to come, being sent for by our Generall. Our Generall commanded our Gunner to shoot at him, he himselfe discharging the second Ordnance. Then presently he began to set saile, and cut his cable, thinking to get from vs: but wee hauing shot him through three or foure times, they began to weaue vs, so we sent our shallop and he came aboard. There were fise or sixe more of the *English* men fetched aboard, and some of our men sent to bring her to an anchor, where shee might ride safe: for, shee was almost run ashore. This was about a North sunne, or eleuen a clocke. The *Biscaines* were charged presently to depart, so soone as they had filled fresh water, which, they said, they wanted; and to bring what Whale finnes they had found, or had taken, or other things. His Maiesties Armes and a Crosse set vp at Low-ness. Snowe.

The fourteenth day, faire weather, the winde at East North-east. This morning one of the *Biscaines* brought a few Whale finnes aboard of vs, and the skin of a Beare, which they had killed. Then was our Boate-swaine sent aboard of them to search their ships, and to bid them depart. Our Generall kept the *Holland* ship, wherein was *Thomas Bonner*, to the vse of the Companie. This day I obserued the latitude of this place by a Quadrant of foure foote Semidiameter, and found it to stand in 76. degrees 55. minutes: the Declination of the Needle vnder the Horizon, is 67. degrees 30. minutes, pointing to the Northwards: but pointing to the Southwards, it is 80. degrees. The variation of the Compasse is 12. degrees 14. minutes west from the true Meridian: but from our common sayling Compasse it is 17. degrees, because the Compasse is touched fise degrees and a halfe to the Eastward, and the variation is to the Westward. 76. deg. 55. min. declination 67. deg. 30. min. Variation 12. deg. 14. min.

This day in the afternoone, the foure ships of *Biscay* departed from this Harbour, which is called

called *Horne-Sound*: and about a North sunne, I, with the Master *Thomas Sherin* went ashore with other, to set vp another Crosse with the Kings Maiesties Armes, cast in Lead, nayled vpon it. Then I obserued the Sunne vpon his North Meridian, by my foresaid Quadrant, and found it eleuated aboue the Horizon 10. degrees and thirtie minutes: but because his heighth at the South Meridian, and his heighth at the North did not agree, in finding of the Latitude, I did abate five minutes from each, as the meane betwixt both: for his altitude at the South Meridian was 36. degrees 40. minutes, the declination 23. degrees and 29. minutes.

The fifteenth day, faire weather, the winde in the morning South, but almost calme. This day about noone we weighed anchor with the ship of *Amsterdam*, and diuers of her men were fetched aboard vs with their Shipper, and some of our men were sent aboard her with one of our Masters Mates, called Master *Spencer*. All this day it was so calme, that wee were faine to towne our ship. Our Carpenter did trim vp two of the *Biscaine* Shallops which they did leaue behinde them, and they did leaue diuers Hoopes and Caske staued ashore.

The eighteenth day, faire weather, the winde variable, we steering away Northward. This afternoone wee met with another ship of *Biscay*, being a ship of two or three hundred Tunnes. Our Generall, as he did to the rest, caused her Master and Pilot to come aboard vs, to whom he shewed his Commission, charging them to depart this Countrey. They, seeing no remedie, were content, so soone as they had filled fresh water. Wee met with them off the Southward part of the Iland. Our Generall being so neere *Greene Harbour*, where the *Gamaliel* and the *Desire* road, wee went into the Sound to see them, with this great ship of *Biscay*, and the ship of *Amsterdam*. We found that the entrance of *Greene Harbour* was quite stopped with Ice; and ran our ship into it, thinking to get through, but wee could not. Then wee got her out againe, and came to the Bay where wee rode on the other side of the Sound in *Poopy Bay*, or *Niches Coue*.

The nineteenth day, faire weather, the winde Northward. This day about twelue of the clock we came to an anchor in the foresaid Bay. This afternoone there came another ship of *Saint Sebastian* into the Bay where wee rode: and about seuen of the clocke, the Captaine came aboard of vs, who told vs that he had lost six of his men and a shallop vpon the coast of *Groineland*, vpon an Iland in the latitude of 72. degrees or thereabouts. This was the Master which had beene here the last yeere, and made a great voyage, Master *Woodcocke* being their Pilot. His making so great a voyage, was the cause that so many ships were here this yeere.

The twentieth in the morning, we had newes that the *John* and *Francis* was come about two dayes agoe, and that they had killed one and twentie Whales at the *Foreland*, and had also killed two at *Greene harbour*. This day it was very close weather with some snowe; the winde North-west. This afternoone the Captaines of the two *Biscay* ships were commanded to depart this Coast.

The one and twentieth, wee perceiued another ship standing toward vs. Wee lessened our sailes and stayed for her to see what shee was. At length, we perceiued her to bee another *Biscaine*. About a North sunne we came to an anchor in *Greene harbour*, by the *Gamaliel*, and the *Desire*, and the ship of *Burdeaux*: and the *Biscaine* followed vs. So soone as they were come to an anchor, their Captaine came aboard of vs, to whom our Generall shewed his Commission as he had done to the rest, charging him to depart those Coasts, and told him, that hee would take away some of their shallops. They earnestly intreated him not to take them away, and they would depart: the Captaine offering his bond to our Generall, that if he stayed either in *Greenland*, *Groineland*, or *Cberie Iland*, he would willingly forfait all he was worth. There was another Whale killed in *Greene harbour*, in the killing whereof there was a man slaine, and a Boate ouerwhelmed, by too much haste of following him, after the harping Iron was in him.

The three and twentieth day, faire weather, the winde Northward. This day, and the last night I obserued the latitude of the place where we rode, and found it by both, to bee in the latitude of 78. degrees 7. minutes; the skie at both obseruations being very cleere, where I finde that there is no sensible error betweene a South obseruation and a North, the skie being cleare. But if the skie be hacie, there will be some difference, as of eight or ten minutes, being obserued on shoare by some large Quadrant or other Instrument for the purpose, also a South

The ninth of Iuly, faire weather, the winde at North. This day wee stood to the Southward along the Iland: but, toward night it fell calme, and then the winde came to the West. The tenth day, faire weather, but thicke and close, the winde South South-west. All this day we stood for *Bell-Sound*. Our Generall went on shoare this afternoone, and killed foure Deere, and brought a young Morfe aline with him aboard.

The eleauenth day faire weather, but calme. This afternoone wee perceiued five shippes in a Bay in *Bel-sound*. The winde was so calme, that we were faine to towne in our shippes, and about a North North-west sunne, we came to an anchor by them, with our three ships, viz. the *Tigre* Admirall, the *Mathew* Vice-Admirall, and the *Richard* and *Barnard*, hauing made all things ready for to fight. These five shippes which rid here, the one was a great shippe of *Biscay* of seuen hundred

Abundance of
Ice.

An Iland in 72
degrees on the
Coast of
Groineland.

Three and
twentie whales
killed.

A man slaine.

Latitude 78.
deg. 7. min.
Note.

A South South
west Moone
maketh a full
Sea here.

hundred Tunnes, and the two *Hollanders*, which we found the sixt of *June* in *Poopy-bay*, and one small Pinke of *Amsterdam*, and another small shippe of *Rechell*. This great shippe of *Biscay*, which we expected would haue fought with vs, sent their Capitaine aboard of vs before we came to an anchor, and submitted themselves vnto the Generall. The two ships of *Amsterdam*, whose Masters names were these, viz. *Cornelius Calias*, *William Vermogon*, Admirall, and *John Iacob* Vice-Admirall, these two would gladly haue stood out with vs, if the *Biscaine* would haue assisted them.

A Biscayn ship
of 700. tunns.

The twelfth day faire weather. This day the ship of *John Iacob* was vnladen of such goods as hee had in her; as *Oyle*, *Blubber*, and *Morses skinnies*. The thirteenth day I was sent in a shallop to *Greene Harborough*.

10 The foureteenth day, thicke close weather, the winde Northward; but toward noone it began to cleare vp, and then it blew more winde. About a West sunne, we came to a small Island, or rather a Rock, where *Morses* vse to come: where we found seauen which we killed, and knocked out their teeth, and let them lye. In this place are many of these rockes, where are great multitudes of fowle, and they are called *Lizets Islands*. The Land all along is so full of Rockes, that it is vnpossible for any shippe to come neere the Maine, but in the Sands which are very deepe, and good to come in. All this evening and night wee rowed betweene this Island and *Ice-sound*.

Many rockes
full of Fowle.
Lizets Islands.

30 The fifteenth day, about nine or tenne a clocke, we came to the shippes in *Greene-harborough*, where we found, that they had killed eightene Whales in all. Foure of these ships were *French-men*, which had killed eight Whales for the Companie according to the agreement: which the Generall had made with them: which was, that they should kill eight for vs, and after, what they could kill, should be for themselves. Our *English* men had killed three in this place, and the *Baskes* in the *Desire* also three. The *Desire* had taken in an hundred tunnes of *Oyle* when wee came there, and she was to be laden so soone as she could.

Eightene
Whales killed.

Three Whales
killed by the
English.

30 The seauenteenth day also faire weather, the winde Northward. This day, toward a West Sunne, the Master of the *French* shippe came from *Sea-horse Bay*, who went thither to speake with our Generall: because Master *Mason* and Master *Cooper* had stayed his Shallops from going to Sea, in regard they would not obserue the orders which the Generall had appointed them: which were, that those Whales which our *Englishmen* did chase, they should not follow, nor our men should not follow the Whales they chased. For the order of the *Biscaines* is, that who so doth strike the first Harping Iron into him, it is his Whale, if his Iron hold. This evening, I say, he returned from *Sea-horse Bay*, hauing lost his labour; for the Generall and Master *Edge* were in *Bell-sound*. We vnderstood by him, that they had killed some eight and thirtie Whales in all; and that there was one hundred and sixtie tunnes of *Oyle* ready made.

Eight & thirty
Whales killed.

40 The five and twentieth day in the morning, the *Desire* weighed Anchor to go to the Generall, and the Master of the *French* ship also this morning went from thence to speake with the Generall, because of a Whale which was in strife betweene his *Biscaines* and ours: when for pilfering and for some peremptorie speeches, two of the *Rockellers* were ducked at our Yard arme, the one on the one side, and the other on the other. This day I also obserued the latitude of this place, and found it to be 77. degrees 40. minutes. Also, the variation of the Compasse is 13. degrees 11. minutes West. This variation was obserued the third of *August* in the morning: the height of the sunne about the Horizon was 17. degrees 24. minutes, and the declination was 14. degrees 41. minutes. North in the latitude of 77. degrees 40. minutes, and his Magnetical azimuth was 63. from South to East. The ninth day wee had sight of Master *Bonnors* Ship, wherein was Master *Marmaduke*, who had beene to the Northward as faire as *Faire-bauen*: and now, as he said, he was bound to the southward to discouer beyond *Point Look-out*, hauing his direction from Master *Edge*, as he said. Our Generall told him, that hee had hindered the Voyage more by his absence, then his discouerie would profit; and that it were best that he went backe with him to the *Fore-land*, and that he would giue no licence to goe now for Discouerie, because the year was farre spent: but bad him, according to his Commission, so to proceede. The twelfth day I obserued, and found the latitude of this place by an exact obseruation to be in 79. degrees 14. minutes. They in the *Poopy-Bay* had seene a ship of *England* off *Black-point*, and had spoken with her, who told them that they were come from *Kildeene*.

August 3.

Latitude 77.
degrees, 40.
minutes.

Variation, 13.
degrees, 11. d.
minutes, and 1/2.

Latitude 79.
degrees, 14.
minutes.

This was Ma.
Cudners ship of
London.

50 The foureteenth day faire weather, the Winde at North North-east. This day about tenne a clocke in the forenoone, we waied anchor to goe homeward, being fixe ships in company, viz. the *Tigre* Admirall, the *Gamaliel* Vice-Admirall, the *John* and *Frances*, the *Annula*, the ship of *Burdeaux* which the Generall agreed with to fish in *Greene-harborough*, and the *Biscay* ship which fished in *Sir Thomas Smiths Bay*.

60 The fifteenth day very faire weather, all the forenoone almost calme: in the afternoone, an easie gale at North-east. This day about twelue a clocke at noone, wee were against *Faire Fore-land*, which is in the latitude of 79. degrees 8. minutes. This night was very cleere and faire weather, and also calme, by which meanes I had very good opportunitie to finde the sunnes refraction. For beholding it about a North North-east sunne, by the common Compasse, at which time the sunne was at the lowest, it was but one fift part of his body about the Horizon, hauing about

Latitude 79.
degrees 8. mi-
nutes.

Sunnes refra-
ction.

four

four fifth parts below, so neere as I could gesse. His declination for that instant was 10. degrees 35. minutes North, being at noone in the 2. degree 7. minutes of *Virgo*, his daily motion was 58. minutes: whose halfe beeing nineteene to bee added to the former, because it was at twelue houres afore noone. I say his place at that instant was 2. degrees 26. minutes of *Virgo*, whose declination was as before 10. degrees 35. minutes: the Latitude of the place was 78. degrees 47. minutes, whose complement was 11. degrees 13. minutes, the declination being subtracted from the complement of the Poles elevation, leaueth 38. minutes, foure fife part of which 12. minutes: which being subtracted from 38. leaueth 26. minutes for the Refraction. But, I suppose the Refraction is more or lesse, according as the ayre is thicke or cleare, which I leaue for better schollers to discusse: but this I thought good to note, for the better helpe of such as doe professe this studie.

Note.

M. Cudner of
London.
William Gourdon.
Variation 1.
degree 5. min.

The sixteenth day also very faire weather, and for the most part calme: the winde that was, was at North-west. This morning, we espied a ship out in the offen, ouer against *Cold-cape*, which we stood with, and she also stood with vs. And when we came to her, wee found her to be the *Desire*, a shippe of *Alborough*. Our Generall sent for the Master and Merchant aboard of vs, who certified him that they came from *Killedene*, and that they had made but a bad Voyage of fish: and they were come to see, if we could fraight them home. The Merchant was of *London*, whose name was Master *Cudner*: the Masters name was *Fletcher*, who also brought sixe men which *Thomas Bonner* had left at *Cherie* Island. These sixe men had killed but one Morfe all this yeere at the Island: who also told vs, that *William Gourdon* was gone to the Northwards. At noone, the three and twentieth day, I obserued the variation of the Compasse, and found it to be one degree 5. minutes East.

The three and twentieth day faire weather, with a fine gale at North and by East. We steering away South and by West halfe South: being at noone, by supposition, in the latitude of 69. degrees no minutes. Having sailed since yesterday noone, some thirtie leagues South, true.

Ross Islands or
Rossen.
68. deg. no min.
The variation
4. degrees 8.
minutes East.

The foure and twentieth day, very faire weather and cleere, the winde all the fore-noone Northwards, but about noone it came to the South-east. This morning I obserued the middle starre in the Great Beares tayle, and found it to bee in the latitude of 68. degrees 24. minutes about two a clocke, at which time that starre was on the Meridian vnder the Pole. Also I obserued the starre in the Beares Rump about one a clock, and found the like latitude. Also all this day we had sight of *Ross* Islands, being about ten or eleffen leagues off vs. Also at noone I obserued the latitude by the Sun, and found vs to be in the latitude of 68. degrees no minutes, which did agree with the former Obseruations by the starres. Also the variation of this place is 4. degrees 8. minutes East from the true Meridian, wee having runne since yesterday noone some two and twentie leagues South and by West. Almost all the afternoon it was almost calme.

Variation 5.
deg. 3. minutes
East.

The fife and twentieth day also very faire weather, the winde this morning came to the East South-east a fine easie gale. We steered away South and by West halfe West ten leagues, being at noone in the latitude of 67. degrees 5. minutes. The variation of this place is 5. degrees 3. minutes East, neere to the set of our Compasse. This Euening the winde came to the South South-west, which continued about two Watches.

The lying of
the land about
Scoutnesse.

The nine and twentieth day faire weather, with a good gale of winde at North North-east. From two this last night to sixe, we stood away South-west and by South, and at sixe we steered away South South-west, being at noone by obseruation, in 62. degrees no minutes. The land about *Scoutnesse* lyeth in this sort: from sixtie three toward sixtie two, it is nineteene leagues South South-west halfe Westward: from thence tenne leagues South and by West, which is two or three Islands, which are the Westwardest land in *Norway*, lying in the latitude of 62. degrees 44. minutes. But whether these Islands, or a Point of land, which lyeth about three or foure leagues more to the North, be called *Scoutnesse*, I know not. The sixt of September we entred the *Thames*.

CHAP. VI.

A Voyage of Discoverie to Greenland, &c. Anno 1614. Written
by RO. FOTHERBYE.



He ship *Thomasine* went downe from *Black-wall* to *Woolwich* the sixteenth of Aprill, and from thence to *Grauesend* the three and twentieth, where shee remained vntill the eight and twentieth of the same; and weighing from thence she anchored againe in *Tilberie Hope*, with ten ships more of good burchen, and two Pinnasses all of the *Greenland Fleet*, set forth also at the charge of the said Company, vnder the command of Master *Benjamin Ioseph*, Chiefe Caprayne and Generall of the said Fleet.

We

We set sayle out of *Tilberie Hope* the fourth of May, and came to an anchor the same day in *Lee Road*, where we stayed till the next morning, then wee set sayle againe and went forth to Sea before night.

We proceeded in company of the Fleet, and met with fragling Ice the five and twentieth of May in the latitude of 75. degrees 10. minutes, through which wee passed without danger, holding on our course all that day, till time of mid-night; then we found the Ice so close packt together, that we were forced to tacke about, and stand to the Westward, till wee found more open passage, wee plyed through it without any great danger, till the eight and twentieth day: but then being in sight of Land, we passed amongst very much Ice all the fore-noon, which lay in great abundance on both sides of vs: but a desire (as it seemes) to get through it, drew vs on to be the more intangled with it, for about noone we could neither find a passage to goe forward, nor way to retyre backe againe, but being nine ships and two Pinnasses (for the *Prosperous* and the *Desire* lost Company through foule weather, the one and twentieth of May, otherwise we had beene thirteene sayle) we began very suddenly to bee inclosed and shut vp with Ice. Now every one wrought the best meanes he could for the safetie of his ship, Our Master in the *Thomazine*, caused a Hauser and a Grapnell to be carried forth, and laid vpon a great Island of Ice, and so we rid as at an Anchor, and by that meanes wee stayed from forceable rushing against other peeces, afterward we laid forth an anchor for surer hold, and made fenders of an old Caille, which was hung ouer the ships sides to keepe the Ice from piercing of her planks. Wee rid thus from the eight and twentieth of May till the second of Iune, still floating as the wind droue vs with our anchor, holding Iland, which now we accounted as the shoare, and made vse thereof accordingly, for vpon it our Carpenter sealed and trimmed our lesser shallop.

On the second of Iune we had a great homening Sea, the wind being at North-west, where-by we iudged we were not farre from an open Sea to windward of vs; there wee resolved to make tryall what we might doe, to free our selues out of the Ice. In the afternoone about three a clock we got aboard our Anchor, letting fall our fore top-sayle, and putting forth our Mizzen; and so droue a sterne for a while, till the floating Iland gaue way; then wee filled our top-sayle, and attempted diuers places where to passe, but had repulse and fell sterne againe; notwithstanding at the length we preuayled, and with much adoe we attayned an open Sea at a North, and by West Sunne, parting very gladly from these ill neighbouring Ilands; which at our parting from them, gaue vs or rather receiued from vs some knockes, but whilst we remayned amongst them they seemed much more perillous then they proued hurtfull, so wee prayled God for our safe deliuerance, wishing that the rest of the ships which we left in the Ice, were as cleere out of it as was the *Thomazine*.

Having attayned the open Sea to the Westwards, we proceeded to the Northwards, keeping the Ice still on our starboord side, and met with the *Mary An-Sarah*, that got also free of the Ice the same day that we came forth of it; we kept company together till the next day, when being as high as *Prince Charles* Iland, we both stood in for the shoare, the *Mary An-Sarah* going for *Bel-sound*, her assigned Harbour; but we proceeded to the *Fore-land*, where when wee came the sixt of Iune, wee met with two shallops that belonged to the *Desire*, wherein was *Cuthbert Appleyard*, and *William Summes* Harponiers; by whom we vnderstood, that the *Prosperous* and the *Desire* had more desiredly prospered, then all the rest of the Fleet, they escaped the danger that all the rest fell into, and came to the *Fore-land* the third of Iune, finding the Harbour open.

Here was yet no worke begunne, for they had not seene one Whale since their comming into the Harbour; so that for vs there was no cause of stay to bee helpfull vnto them, and therefore we proceeded to the Northward, hoping to find the shoare still as free from Ice, as it was at this place; but it fel out contrary to our expectations, for being come as farre as *Maudlen Sound*, in the latitude of 79. degrees 34. minutes, we met with some fragling Ice, and from the mayne top we saw much Ice lye betwixt vs and *Hackluyts Head-land*, which seemed to bee close to the shoare, therefore we sent some men in a shallop to *Maudlen Sound*, to see if it were open, that wee might harbour our ship there, and search for a leake which wee found her subject vnto in foule weather.

The Sound was open and we anchored in a good Harbour, but the Ice was not gone cleere from the shoare, therefore we could not hale our ship aground, but we carined her and set vp our *Biscaine* shallop which we carried with vs out of *England* in peeces.

The next day after our comming hither I went forth in a little shallop (the other being then vnset together) to see how the Ice lay at *Hackluyts Head-land*, and whether we might passe with our ship that way or no. Being come forth of the Harbour, we perceiued, that it was very foule weather at Sea, notwithstanding I proceeded into *Faire Haven*, where the South Harbour was then open, but much Ice lay then in the Sound vnbroken from shoare to shoare; otherwise wee might haue passed that way to *Hackluyts Head-land*, betwixt the Iland and the mayne Land; we stayed here till the next morning, then the weather beganne to cleere vp, and wee put forth to Sea againe, intending to goe without the Ilands: but being out of the Harbour wee found the

We went forth to Sea.

We met with Ice in 75. deg. 10. minutes.

Prince Charles Iland in 78. degrees 10. minutes. Wee stood in for the shoare. Eleuen sayles fast in the Ice. M. Th. Sherburne.

Iurie.

We goe cleere off the Ice.

Wee met with the *Mary An-Sarah*.

We came to the *Fore-land*.

We proceeded to the Northwards. *Maudlen Sound*. *Hackluyts Head-land*. We anchored in *Maudlen Sound*.

I went forth in a shallop.

foule

We set sayle
out of *Maud-
len Sound* and
followed the
Ice.

Prince Charles
Iland in 78.
degrees 40.
minutes.
Wee stood a-
gaine for
shoare.
Eleuen Holland
ships.
We anchored
in Sir T. Smiths
Bay.

We went forth
of Sir T. Smiths
Bay.

We were dri-
uen backe a-
gaine into
Crosse-road.

We set sayle
out of *Crosse-
road*.

One shallop to
the Northward
The other into
Maudlen Sound.

The Kings
Armes set vp
in Trinitie Har-
bour.

Trinitie Harbor
is vnder the
parallel of 79
degrees 34.
minutes.
We came to an
anchor in
Faire Hauens.

No Whales
were yet come
in.

foule weather to be such, as our little weake shallop was not able to endure, therefore we retur-
ned againe to our ship, into *Maudlen Sound*, where we killed two Female Morfes, and took their
Teeth, Hides and Blubber.

On the tenth of Iune we set sayle out of *Maudlen Sound*, and coasted along to the North-
ward, till we were past *Hackluyts Head-land*, but then we saw the Ice lye before vs, extending
close to the shoare, so that for vs to passe further that way, it was not possible; therefore
wee turned to the Westward, to see if wee could finde passage further from the shoare. Wee
layled as the Ice trended West and West South-west till the thirteenth day, and keeping still a-
longst it, we found it to trend neereft South and South South-west, we proceeded well thus far,
till we came vnder the latitude of Prince Charles his Iland, in 78. degrees 40. minutes, being 10
eight and twentie leagues from shoare, but then we altered our course, and stood in for the *Fore-
land*, to goe and be helpfull to the other ships there for the furthering of their Voyage according
to our Instructions (as some did vnderstand them) but contrary I am sure to some of our desires.
When we came neere the *Fore-land*, we saw eleuen ships of *Hollanders* vnder sayle, plying to
the Southwards; one of them came roome towards vs, and strucke her top-sayles twice,
whereby we supposed they tooke vs for some of their Fleete, which they wanted, but wee
held on our course still into Sir Thomas Smiths Bay, where we came to an anchor the fifteenth of
Iune, by the *Iohn-Anne-Francis*, and the *Desire*, the *Mary Margaret* being then vnder sayle to go
to the *Fore-land*.

Here was yet no need of any helpe that we could make them, for they had hitherto neyther
killed nor seene one Whale since their first comming in hither; therefore we thought it best not
to stay here, but rather goe to *Faire Hauens*, where wee should bee more readie to proceed on our
Discouerie when the Ice would giue vs leaue, and in the meane-time wee might bee helpfull to
the two ships thither assigned for the making of their Voyage, and so much the rather wee ha-
sted, because we vnderstood that the *Hollanders* also set forth a ship on Discouerie.

We set sayle the seuenth of Iune, and met with the *Prosperous*, that came from *Crosse-road*, and
was going into Sir Thomas Smiths Bay, there to get some Bricke and Lime to mend their For-
nace, as *Nicholas Woodcocke* the Master told vs; then we went forth to Sea, and being about foure
leagues from the shoare, the winde began to blow so hard from the North-west, that wee were
forced back againe to seek Harbour, and came to an anchor the nineteenth of Iune, in *Crosse-road*.
Here we stayed two dayes, much wind blowing at the North North-east, till the one and twen-
tieth of Iune, and then in the after-noon the wind came to the East and by South, and the wea-
ther was faire, therefore at a North North-west Sunne, we weighed and set sayle againe, and so
did the *Thomas Bonaventure*, that came to an anchor by vs this morning, beeing also bound for
Faire Hauens.

This next day in the afternoone we were thwart of *Maudlen Sound*, and the weather being
faire and calme, we sent a shallop to the Northward, to see what alteration there was amongst
the Ice, and to seeke out some good Harbour for a ship, and also to set vp the Kings Armes at
Hackluyts Head-land, or some other conuenient place.

When Master Bassin was gone from the ship in the foresaid shallop, I went presently into the
other shallop into *Maudlen Sound*, there to set vp the Kings Armes; and also to see if there were
any Morfes come ashore; when I was within the Sound, I found no Beeches bare for Morfes to
come vpon: for Ice and snow lay yet vndissolued from the shoare side, but I went to the Har-
bour, and there caused a Crosse to be set vp, and the Kings Armes to bee nayled thereon; vnder
which also I nayled a piece of sheet Lead, whereon I set the *Moscomie* Companies Marke, with
the day of the moneth and yeere of our Lord. Then, cutting vp a piece of Earth, which after-
ward I carried aboard our ship, I tooke it into my hand and said, in the hearing of the men there
present to this effect.

I take this piece of Earth, as a signe of lawfull possession (of this Countrey of King Iames his
New-land, and of this particular place, which I name Trinitie Harbour) taken on the behalfe of the
Company of Merchants, called the Merchants of New Trades and Discoueries, for the vse of our
Sovereigne Lord Iames by the grace of God, King of great Brittain, France, and Ireland, whose
Royall Armes are here set vp, to the end that all people who shall here arrive may take notice of his Ma-
iesties Right and Title to this Countrey, and to euery part thereof. God save King Iames.

This is a good safe harbour, and is vnder the latitude of 79. degrees 34. minutes, as I haue found
by good obseruation, and haue of Westerly variation 25. degrees. When I had here set vp the
Kings armes, I returned toward our ship, which was come to an anchor at the entrance of *Faire
Hauens*, staying till the flood came, because that at the Tide of Ebbe, there runnes a great current
out of the Sound; so at the next flood, we came into *Faire hauens* and anchored by the *Gamaliel*,
and the *Thomas Bonaventure*, the three and twentieth day of Iune.

Then *Iohn Mason*, Master of the *Gamaliel*, came aboard of our ship, and I asked him if he had
any worke for our men, for I would cause them to come a shore: he told me, that hitherto he had
not seene a Whale come in, but his Furnaces and Coppers were already set vp, and therefore as
yet he had no neede of helpe, but when occasion serued he would imploy them. This day about
eleuen

eleauen a clocke Master *Bassin* returned in the Shallop from the Northwards: he said that he had beene at Cape *Barren*, which is the point of an Island three or foure leagues from *Hackluits head-land*, but further then that he could not passe for Ice which lay close to the shore, and he had not set vp the Kings armes in any place.

On Munday the seuen and twentieth day of Iune, I went forth againe in the Shallop to the Northward, partly to see what alteration there might be in the Ice, with the Easterly windes which had blowne hard since the Shallop last returned, but chiefly to set vp the Kings armes in some place conuenient, because there was none set vp to the Northwards of *Maudlen sound*.

We rowed to Cape *Barren*, where formerly Master *Bassin* had bin, and finding the Ice there gone from the shore, we proceeded further to an Island which now we call the *Saddle*, in respect of the forme thereof, more then a league distant from Cape *Barren*. In our way thither it began to snow, and grew to be a great and vehement storme from the West North-west, therefore we hasted and got to the lee side of the aforesaid Island, and there made fast our Shallop with a grapnell laid vpon the Ice shore, vsing the best meanes we could with our shallops saile to keepe vs from the extremitis of so cold an harbour: we staid here eight houres, and the storme continued driuing the Ice still Eastward in great abundance and with wonderfull swiftnesse: when the weather began to cleere, I caused the men to rowe to Leewards to another Island a league distant, which seemed then to be a Cape of the maine land, purposing there to set vp the Kings armes; but afterwards wee found it to be an Island, and to the maine wee could not come for broken Ice.

This stormie weather continued from Munday night till Friday morning, during which time we had beene but eleauen leagues at the furthest from our ship, yet went we so farre as we could haue gone, had the weather beene neuer so faire; for at foure leagues distance from Cape *Barren*, the Ice lay firme and vnbroken two or three miles from the shore, and close againe to it lay the shattered Ice thronged together with this present storme.

On Friday morning we came backe againe to *Hackluits headland*, and there I set the Kings armes in the like manner as at *Trinitie Harbour*: from thence we rowed towards our ship, and as we entred into *Faire-hauen*, there came a Whale that accompanied vs into the harbour leaping and aduancing himselfe almost quite out of the water, falling headlong downe againe with great noise; we hasted aboard our ship, and I sent forth both our Shallops to strike this Whale if they could, and told Master *Mason* of her comming in, who also went forth in his Shallop: but it seemed the Whale past vnder the Ice which lay yet vnbroken betwixt the North harbour and the South harbour, for they could not see her againe.

The next day there came more Whales in, and *Robert Hambleton*, our Masters mate stricke two, which vnluckily escaped; the first for want of helpe, the *Gamaliels* Shallop being in chase of another Whale, and our own little Shallop not able to row against a head-sea to assist the other: so that at length the Whale hauing towed the Shallop forth to Sea, the harpingiron came out: the second was also stricken within the sound, and ranne vnder the Ice, which lay yet vnbroken at the East end of the Sound, and drew the Shallop vpon it cleare out of the water; by which meanes the Harpingiron came forth. Here we remained till the sixt of Iulie, our men and Boates being helpfull at all times to further the Voyage.

The sixt of Iulie we set saile forth of *Faire-hauen*, intending to make triall if wee could to get to Westwards of the Ice, and so proceede to the Northwards, hauing sent away one of our Shallops the day before, provided with twentie dayes Bread, to coast alongst the shoare, search the Beach for Commodities, and set vp the Kings Armes at places conuenient, hoping thereby to preuent the *Hollanders*, who now rid in the North harbour of *Faire-hauen*, and were ready for the first opportunitie, to discover and take possession of other harbours, hauing two Ships to goe forth onely vpon Discouery.

We sailed Westwards from *Faire-hauen* seuen leagues, and then met with a maine banke of Ice which trended North & South, the Sea appeared to the Northwards to be open so far as we could see, therefore we plied that way: when we had run seuen or eight leagues more, the Ice lay so thick on euery side, that we were bard from proceeding any further; then we stood in toward the shore, and being a little to the Northwards of Cape *Barren*, our Shallop had sight of vs, & came rowing to vs through the broken Ice. Master *Bassin* told vs the shore to the Eastward was much pestered with Ice, and he had set vp the Kings armes at the entrance of a faire Sound, about foure leagues distant from Cape *Barren*.

Now the weather being faire and calme, Master *Sherwin*, Master *Bassin* and I, went in the Shallop to the place where the Kings Armes were set vp, purposing (because the ayre was very cleere) to goe vpon some high mountaine, from whence we might see how the Sea was pestered with Ice, and what likelihood there was of further proceeding. According to this our intent, we ascended a very high hill, and from thence we saw the Ice lye vpon the Sea so farre as we could discerne, so that the Sea seemed to be wholly coured with Ice, saue onely to the Eastwards: we thought that we saw the water beyond the Ice, which put vs in some hope that we should ere long get passage with our Shallops along the shore, if we could not passe with our shippe. Being thus

The shallop returned from the Northwards.

Cape Barren.

Saddle Island.

A Storme.

Iulie.

The Whales began now to come in.

Two Whales escaped.

We came forth of Faire hauen.

We met with Ice and stood to the Northwards.

Our Shallop came to vs.

We returned
towards *Faire
hauen*.

We intended
to discover in
Shallops.

I went forth in
the one Shal-
lop.

Master *Baffin*
came to me in
the other Shal-
lop.
Red-beach.

We hailed our
Shallop vpon
the Ice.

We returned
to our Shallop

We were vnder
saile and
came to an an-
chor againe.

We killed a
Whale.

August.
We went to
the North-
wards with our
Shallops.

We got to the
shore of *Red-
Beach* with our
Shallops.

We walked o-
uer *Red-beach*.

thus satisfied, we returned aboard our ship and plyed towards *Faire hauen*, aduising amongst our selues of the best course we could to further the businesse committed vnto vs.

We resolved to make our discovery along the shore with both our Shallops, and to carry with vs our prouision for the Whale-killing, conceiuing good hopes besides, of profit which the beaches would afford vs; therefore we intended when our ship was brought safe into harbour againe, to goe from her with both our Shallops, and to put in practise this our late resolution. But the weather falling calme, and a fogge succeeding, which continued three dayes, so that our ship came not into harbour till the twelfth of Iuly; I went from her the eleuenth day, intending to search the Beaches, till Master *Baffin* came to me with the other Shallop, and then we to proceede both together: but before he came, I had gone so farre as that the Ice would not suffer mee to passe a Boates length further, and I had also searched a very faire Beach which was altogether fruitlesse.

Master *Baffin* came to me at a place appointed the foureteenth day of Iulie, in the other Shallop, and we proceeded both together to the Eastwards againe, and found passage amongst the Ice about a league further then I had lately beene, so that we came to the firme Ice, that lay almost two miles from the shore of *Red-beach*, vnbroken vp this yeare. Here wee hailed vp our Shallops out of the water, lest the broken Ice which is carried to and fro with the winde, might split them or bruse them: then Master *Baffin* and I with foure men more walked ouer the firme Ice and went ashore on *Red-beach*, where we trauelled about the space of three miles by the shore side, but found no commodities as we expected to haue done; for here had the *Hulmen* been in 1612. as we might know by fires that they had made, and gathered the fruites that many yeares before had brought forth. Thus as we could not finde that which wee desired to see, so did we behold that which we wished had not beene there to be seene, which was great abundance of Ice, that lay close to the shore and also off at Sea so farre as we could discerne; wherefore being thus satisfied, and more wearie to know that we could passe no further, then with traualing so farre, we returned to our Shallops, and went aboard of our Ship in *Faire hauen* on Sunday the seuenteenth of Iuly, passing the neere way betwixt the Ilands and the maine Land, for now the Ice was broken betwixt the South-harbour where we rid, and the North harbour, where the *Hollanders* rid.

The next day we sent our Shallop to the North-east side of *Faire hauen*, there to lye for the coming of the Whales ouer against the *Gamaliels* two Shallops that lye on the other side for the same purpose.

The twentieth of Iuly, wee were vnder saile to goe forth of *Faire hauen* with the *Gamaliel*, purposing to haue taken two Ships that rid at the entrance of *Maudlen-Sound*, with *Iohn Mason*, who first descried them, supposed to be the one a *Dutch*, and the other an *English* man; but the winde blew right into the Harbour, so that we could not get forth, and therefore we came to an anchor againe where we rid before.

On the one and twentieth of Iuly, our Harponiers killed a Whale, which split one of our Shallops and stricke the Harponier that was in her ouerboord: but both hee and the rest of the men were relieued and taken into an other Shallop: then we sent our Carpenter to mend the Shallop that was split: and on the five and twentieth day they helpt to kill another Whale.

On the sixe and twentieth of Iuly, I drew the plat of *Faire hauen*, as it is here projected (but here too costly to insert.)

When this Scoole of Whales were past, we went out of *Faire hauen* the first of August with both our Shallops, Master *Baffin* in the one, and I in the other, with five men more in each Shallop, thinking that now we should finde the Ice broken and cleere gone from the shore, conceiuing some good hope to proceede and make some new discovery, which was the chiefe occasion of our imployment. Wee passed ouer *Red-cliffe-Sound*, which we found cleare of Ice; and from thence we proceeded to *Red-beach*, where we also found great alteration since our last being there, notwithstanding the Ice was not cleere voided from the shore; for in some places it was firme and vnbroken off, for the space almost of halfe a mile: so we rowed alongst it, till wee came neere the North end of the Beach which lyeth furthest into the Sea, and there we found an open way to the shore with our Shallops, and went on land; but seeing in all places great abundance of broken Ice, we lay close to the shore, and doubting that although perhaps with much adoe, we might get about the point of the Beach, yet should we still be pestered with Ice from proceeding any further, we resolved to walke ouer land, to the other side of the Beach, where we saw a hill about foure miles distant; from which we thought we should be satisfied, how much further it was possible for vs to proceede: so thither we traualled, where when we came, wee saw a very faire Sound on the East side of the Beach which was open within, but there lay very much Ice at the entrance of it, which although it was extended more then halfe ouer Sound, yet we doubted not but if we could get our Shallops about the Beach, we should finde either one way or other to passe ouer the said Sound; & from the high land on the other side, we should receiue very good satisfaction, if the weather continued faire and cleare as now it was, therefore we intended to make triall what we might do; but before we returned we went down to the point of the Beach, at the

entrance

entrance of the Sound, and there set vp a Crosse, and nailed a fixe pence thereon with the Kings Armes. This being done, we returned to our Shallops, and according to our late determination, we rowed about the point of *Red-beach*, and with many crooked windings amongst the Ice, at length we got ouer *Wiches Sound* (for so it is now named.)

As soone as we were ouer on the other side, about two leagues from *Red-beach*, Master *Baffin* and I clambred vp a very high hill, from whence we saw a point of land bearing East North-east, by the ordinary Compasse eighteene or twentie leagues distant, as I supposed. Wee likewise saw another faire Sound to the Southwards of vs, which was much pestered with Ice, but we could not see the end of it. Here vpon the mountaine wee set vp a Warelocke, and then came downe againe with lesse labour, but more danger then we had in getting vp, by reason of the steepnesse thereof: then we walked to the shoare side, and there found many beach Finnes, whereby I conjectured that Master *Marmadukes* men in his first discovery, made in Anno 1612. had not bene vpon this land to search the Beaches, for in all other places where we had bene heretofore, we could finde nothing at all. Now therefore we resolved to make further search alongst this shoare, and to proceede with our Shallops so farre as we possibly could: whereupon wee returned to our men againe, whom we left with our Shallops, where we first landed.

Having stayed here a while and obserued the latitude which I found to be 79. degrees 54. minutes, we saw a Shallop come rowing towards the extreamest point of this shoare, therefore we hastened towards them to see who were therein, and found them to be Master *Marmadukes* men, lately come from their ship the *Hartsease*, which they said they left at Sea amongst the Ice, about a league from *Red Beach*: here they were setting vp a Crosse, which they said that they found there fallen downe, and had bene formerly set vp in the time of Master *Marmadukes* first discovery, by one *Laurence Prestwood*, whose name I saw thereon engrauen, with two or three names more, and it had the date of the seuenteenth of August 1612. Vpon this Crosse they nailed the Kings Armes.

Here we parted from them, and according to our former determination we proceeded, some in the Shallops amongst the Ice, and others on shoare, till wee went about foure leagues further: in which space we found many more Finnes, and one paire of Morfes teeth, but now we found the Ice so close packt together, that wee could not proceede any further with our Shallops: wherefore Master *Baffin* and I intended to walke ouer land vntill we should be better satisfied how faire this Sound went in, for wee could as yet see no end of it, and it seemed to make a separation of the land; so leauing our men here with the Shallops, wee trauielled almost a league further, till we came to the point of a landie beach, that shot into the Sound, which was wonderfully stored with drift Wood in great abundance. From this point we receiued such satisfaction as we looked for, because we saw the end of the Sound which lies South in about ten leagues. It hath in it a good harbour that is landlockt, and doubtlesse it is a good place for the Whale-killing if it be not euery yeare as now it is pestered with Ice. Here I saw a more naturall earch and clay then any that I haue seene in all the Countrey, but nothing growing thereupon more then in other places. This Sound is that which formerly had and still retaineth the name of *Sir Thomas Smiths Inlet*.

Being thus satisfied, we came backe againe to our Shallops, and seeing no way but one, we returned towards our Ship; but before we could get to *Red-beach*, there arose a very great storme from the East North-east, after we had entered amongst the Ice in *Wiches Sound*, so that we were separated the one Shallop from the other, whereby our danger was the greater: for whiles wee were both in company together, the one might haue bene helpfull to the other when neede required, and more easie it seemed to saue them both, then being separated to keepe either of them from wracke; but God (who in his wonted mercie is euer ready to relieue the faithfull distressed) did not onely so provide that we met together againe, and indeede were helpfull the one to the other (otherwise I doubt the one Shallop had miscarried, for she was in great danger) but also deliuered vs safely out from amongst these perillous rockes of Ice, which it was very hard to shun, and at the length brought vs into an open Sea, where with as scant a saile as we could make, we past swiftly before the winde, the Sea comming diuers times ouer the sternes of our Shallops, which wet our skinnes, that had scarce any dry cloathes on before to keepe them warme, by reason of a drizeling Snow which fell with the storme: then we went aboard our Ship into the South harbour of *Faire hauen*, the fift of August, with one hundred and fiftie Beach finnes, and one paire of Morfes teeth, giuing thanks to God for his blessing and mercifull deliuerance.

The ninth of August, two ships of the *Hollanders*, that were appointed for Northerne Discovery, were seene thwart of *Faire Haueu*, sayling to the Southwards.

The eleuenth of August, we set saile forth of *Faire Haueu*, the winde at South South-west, intending to make tryall, if yet the Ice would admit vs to haue passage to the Northwards or the North-eastwards. We held our course from Cape *Barren*, North-east and by East, till seuen a clocke at night, at which time hauing runne eight leagues from the shoare, wee met with the Ice which lay East and by South, and West and by North, and bore vp alongst it to the Eastwards, for the winde was now come to the North North-west; then wee tackt about to the Westwards,

The Kings Armes are set vp at *Wiches Sound*.

We passed ouer *Wiches Sound*.

We found Beach Finns.

We met with the *Hartsease* Shallop.

Note.

The end of *Sir Thomas Smiths Inlet* discovered.

We returned towards our Ship. A storme began when we were amongst Ice.

We got forth of the Ice.

We came aboard our ships.

The *Holland* Discoverers go homewards. Our Ship went forth to Sea. We met with Ice eight leagues from the shore.

We plyed off
and on the
Ice two dayes.

Wee anchored
again in the
North Harbor.

I went to the
Eastwards in a
shallop.
Ice was newly
frozen in Red-
cliffe Sound.
I intended to
goe once to
Point De fire.

A great snow
began.

I could not
passe for Ice.

The originall
cause of Ice at
Sea.

I went backe
again to Red-
beach.

I returned to-
wards our ship.

Point Welcome.

Westwards, and plyed off and on close by the Ice, till the thirteenth day at mid-night, still expecting a change of the weather, that we might have made some adventure amongst the shattered Ice, for both on the twelfth and thirteenth day, the winde blew hard at North, and the weather was cold, thicke, and very winter-like with fall of snow: this winde being so contrarie, droue both the Ice and our ship to leewards towards the shoare, so that wee were forced to put into Harbour againe, and came to an Anchor the fourteenth day in the North Harbour of *Faire Haven*, where the Fleet of *Hollanders* lately rid, at which time the *Hartsease* was there at an Anchor.

Now was the Land both Mountaynes and Plaines wholly couered with snow; so that almost all mens mindes were possessed with a desire of returning for *England*: But to preuent a sudden resolution for a homeward Voyage without further satisfaction, I made motion that once againe we might goe forth with our shallops, to see what alteration there might bee found amongst the shoare. It fell out that I was to goe in one shallop for this purpose, so I tooke with me eight men, and went from our ship the fifteenth day of August.

We rowed to *Red-cliffe Sound*, where we passed through much Ice that was newly congealed being thicker then an halfe Crowns piece of siluer, notwithstanding we broke way through it, and being ouer the *Sound*, we had a cleere Sea againe; then we proceeded to *Red-beach*, where finding the shoare cleere of Ice (which at my last being there was wonderfully pestered) I conceived good hope to finde passage to the furthest Land from thence in sight, bearing East halfe a point Southerly, nine, or ten leagues distant; to this end we put off from the shoare of *Red-beach*, and rowed a league and more in an open Sea, and then met with Ice which lay dispersed abroad, and was no hinderance to our proceeding, so that we continued rowing the space of sixe houres, in which time we had gotten more then halfe way ouer: but then we found the Ice to lye very thicke thronged together, so that it caused vs much to alter our course, sometimes Southward and sometimes Northwards, and euen in this time, when we thought wee stood in most need of cleere weather, it pleased God to send vs the contrary, for it beganne to snow very fast, which made the Ayre so thicke that we could not see to make choice of the most likely way for vs to passe, therefore I thought good to stay here awhile, hoping that ere long the weather would bee more agreeable to our purpose; so a Grapnell being laid forth vpon an Island off, to hold fast our shallop, a Tent was made of the shallops sayle to keepe the weather from vs, and we remayned here five houres, but finding no alteration in the constant weather, I willed the men to take downe the Tent, and with faire tearmes perswaded them, that notwithstanding the wet weather, it were good to be doing something, to get ouer to the desired shoare, where we might refresh our selues, and haue fire to dry our wet clothes; they seemed well content with this motion, and so we rowed the space of foure houres more, the Ice still causing vs to hold a South and South South-east course, which carried vs further into *Sir Thomas Smiths Inlet*, and put vs from the place where we willed to be.

The thicke snowie weather continued all this time, which was very vncomfortable to vs all, but especially to the men that rowed; and as the snow was noysome to their bodies, so did it also begin to astonish their mindes, as I well perceiued by their speeches, which proceeded vpon this occasion. The snow hauing continued thus long, and falling vpon the smooth water, lay in some places an inch thicke, being already in the nature of an Ice compact, though not congealed, and hindred sometimes our shallops way; this I say caused some of them, not altogether without reason to say, that if it should now freeze as it did that night when we came ouer *Red-cliffe Sound*, we should be in danger here to be frozen vp. Howsoeuer this search might bee a meanes to discourage the rest, that considered not of such a thing till they had heard it spoken of: yet true it is, that I saw no likelihood, by reason of the Ice, how to attayne my desire at this time, and therefore I bade them row toward the shoare of *Red-beach* againe, where I intended to stay till the weather might happily be more conuenient. So holding a West North-west course, so neere as the Ice would suffer vs, wee came to the East-side of *Red-beach*, hauing bene eighteen houres amongst the Ice, during all which time the snow fell, and as yet ceased not. When we had been here about an houre it began to cleere vp, and the wind to blow hard at East, which rather packt the Ice close together in this place then disperst it, so that I was now out of hope to get any further then I had bene already: wherefore I returned toward our ship, intending as I went to make a more particular Discouerie of *Broad-bay*, and *Red-cliffe Sound*, hoping that one place or other would afford some thing worthy of the time and labour. When we were come to the West side of *Red-beach*, it began to blow much wind, where withall the Sea growing to be great, all men aduised to passe ouer *Broad-bay*, whilst the winde and weather would serue vs to sayle, for they said it was like to be very foule weather: so seeing that it was no conuenient time for coasting, we came ouer the Bay to *Point Welcome* (which I so named because it is a place, where wee oftentimes rested, when wee went forth in our shallops) it is about foure leagues distant from the North end of *Red-beach*.

At this point the *Hollanders* had set vp Prince *Maurice* his Armes, neere vnto a Crosse which I had caused to bee set vp aboue a moneth before, and had nayled a sixe pence thereon with the

the Kings Armes, but the men that were with me, went (without any such direction from mee) and pulled downe the said Princes Armes, whilst I was gone vp a Mountayne to looke into the Sea, if I could see any Ice: and when I came downe againe they told me, that the six pence was taken from the Crosse that I had set vp, and there was another post set by it, with the *Hollanders* Armes made fast thereon, which they had pulled downe; so, because the six pence was taken away, I caused one to naye the Kings Armes cast in Lead vpon the Crosse: which being done we rowed to the bottome of *Red-cliffe Sound*, and as we coasted alongst the shoare, we searched two little Beaches, which had some wood on them, but nothing that we found of better value.

About two leagues within the *Sound*, on the East side there is an Harbour where shippes may ride in good ground Land-lockt, but if other yeeres be like this, I cannot say that it is an Harbour fitting for ships, because it is late ere the Sound breake vp; for euen now there lay much Ice at the bottome of it, insomuch, that I was forst to leaue the shallop, because I could not passe with her for Ice, and walke two miles ouer stonie Mountaynes, with another man in my company, to bee satisfied concerning a point of Land that shot into the Sound, whether it were an Island or no, as by all likelihood it seemed to bee: but when I came to the farthest part of it, I saw it joyne to the mayne Land, wherefore I called it *Point Decoit*, because it deceived mee so much. From hence wee proceeded toward our shippe, and came aboard of her in the North Harbour of *Faire Hauens*, on Friday night being the nineteenth of August, where she rid alone; for Master *Marmaduke* was gone forth to Sea that day.

The two and twentieth of August, *Iohn Mason* Master of the *Gamaliell*, came ouer from the South Harbour for helpe to hayle vp a Whale which had beene sunke fourteene dayes, in one hundred and twentie fathome depth, or else to pull the Warpe and Harping Iron out of her, for now it was time to take her or forsake her. Master *Sherwin* our Master caused our long Boate to bee manned and went with him; when they came where the Whale was sunke, they haled, and shee presently rose, bolting suddenly vp with a thundring cracke made with the bursting of her bodie; and notwithstanding shee had layen so long, yet had shee all her Finnes fast. Whilst this was in doing, the *Hartsease* was coming into the Harbour from the Northward, and anchored by our ship an houre after.

Here wee stayed till the seuen and twentieth of August, and since my last returne hither in the shallop from the Eastwards, the weather hath beene commonly warme, and the Mountaynes were now more cleere of Snow, then they had beene any time this yeere, notwithstanding there had much snowe fallen since the beginning of this moneth, but it was quite consumed, and a greater signe of warmth and thaw was now to bee obserued then any time of the yeere heretofore; namely, by the often falling of the Ice into the Sea from the huge snowie bankes, making a noyse like Thunder, so that the time was very hopefull, but thus wee made vse of occasion offered.

The seuen and twentieth of August, it was faire and warme weather, calme till noone, then had wee a gale of winde from the South South-west, wherewithall wee set sayle out of *Faire-hauens* in the company of the *Hartsease*, with whom wee had beene in termes of comfort-ship, but nothing was concluded. About fixe a clocke at night wee were fixe leagues from Cape

Barren, which bore from vs South-west and by South. We proceeded still to the North-eastward, and on the eight and twentieth day in the morning wee had runne about twentie leagues from Cape *Barren*, in an East North-east way by the ordinary Compasse, being open of *Sir Thomas Smiths Inlet*, nine or tenne leagues from the shoare; at which time wee were come to the Ice that trended East South-east, and West North-west, but the Sea being very rough, wee stood off againe from the Ice; in the afternoone it fell calme, and at night we had a gale of winde at East, and the ship was steered West, and then South-west homewards.

The nine and twentieth day, the winde Easterly an easie gale; at foure a clocke in the afternoone *Hackluyts Head-land* bore from vs South-east by East foure leagues distant: this Euening was very warme.

The thirtieth day, the winde at North-east an easie gale, at foure a clocke in the afternoone, *Maudlen Point* bore East North-east halfe a Point Easterly about three leagues distant: towards the Euening it fell calme, the weather not cold.

The thirtieth day, faire Sunne-shine weather and calme till noone, and then we had a good gale of winde from the North-east, being five leagues distant from the *Fore-land*, which bore South-east; now wee altered our course and stood to the West-ward: therefore to keepe vs still in the parallel that now wee were in which was 79. degrees 8. minutes, West North-west course was directed, in respect of the Variation, to make good a true West way.

This course wee held till we had runne about twentie leagues, and then wee ranne twentie leagues more in a West and by North course till one a clocke on Friday morning; at which time it fell calme; and wee heard the Sea make a great noyse, as if wee had beene neere Land, but wee rather iudged it to bee Ice, as indeed it proued to bee, for in the morning when it

The Kings Armes are set vp againe at Point Welcome. I went into Red cliffe Sound.

Point Decoit.

I came aboard our ship.

A Whale lay sunken fourteene dayes.

The *Hartsease* anchored by vs. Warne weather in the end of August.

We set sayle to the Eastward.

The *Thomasine* returns for England.

We stood to the westwards.

Wee met with
Ice.

was light and cleere, wee saw the Ice about a league from vs, which trended Southerly; hauing now a gale at East North-east, wee steered away South and South South-east, but in the afternoone we were embayed with a long banke of Ice, which wee could not weather, therefore wee were faine to tacke about, and the winde hauing come more Southerly then it was in the morning, wee stood off from the Ice North-east and North-east and by North, and then to the Southwards againe, making sundrie boardes to get forth to wind-wards of the Ice.

The third day before
noone.

The third day before noone, wee had sight againe of Ice to Westwards of vs, and at noone were vnder the parallel of 78. degrees 27. minutes, according to my Obseruation: then wee stood a way South to keepe cleere of the Ice, for wee had a great homing Sea, although but little winde; and therefore durst not be to bold to edge too neere it, especially the wind being Easterly as then it was.

We left the
Ice and came
for England.

On the fourth day our men saw the Ice againe from the mayne top-mast head, and therefore wee still maintayned a Southerly course: the next day it began to be foggie, and continued close weather and hazie for three dayes, so that wee had no more sight of the Ice; neyther could wee at this time receiue any further satisfaction concerning the same: theretoe wee kept a Southerly course so neere as wee could, although wee had but little winde, and the same very variable till the ninth day, but then wee had a good gale of winde at West North-west.

A storme be-
ganne.

On the tenth day beeing Saturday, wee were by my reckoning fiftie leagues distant from Low-foot, which bore from vs East South-east halfe a Point Southerly: this day the wind shifted to the South-west, and at night came to the South with much raine; then came backe againe to the West North-west and began a great storme.

A Corpo Santo.
It is often seen
at the end of
stormes.

This night the Master and others saw a light vpon the Fore-bonnet, which the Saylers call a *Corpo Santo*: it appeared like the flame of a Candle, and (as Sea-men obserue) it alwayes presageth an ensuing storme; which to verifie, this foule weather continued the next day, and grew to be so vehement on Sunday night, that the Sea oftentimes ouer-raked our ship, and wee were faine to lye atry with our fore course onely, and our Mayne top-mast also stricke, which last thing (as Sea-men say) is feldome done at Sea, then about one a clocke we were forced to take in our fore course, and to lye a-hull for five houres.

The fourth day of October, the shippe came to Wapping with the whole number of men that shee carryed forth (my selfe excepted that was come before) being sixe and twentie, all in perfect health.

CHAP. VII.

A true report of a Voyage Anno 1615. for Discouerie of Seas, Lands, and Islands, to the Northwards; as it was performed by ROBERT FOTHERBIE, in a Pinnasse of twentie tunnes called the Richard of London: set forth at the charge of the Right Worshipfull Sir THOMAS SMITH, Knight, my very good Master, and Master RICHARD WICHE, Gouvernours: and the rest of the Worshipfull Company of Merchants, called the Merchants of New Trades and Discoueries, trading into Moscouia, and King IAMES his New Land.



Y the prouidence of Almighty God I went forth of Harwich Harbour in the foresaid Pinnasse, the twelfth of May, in the company of eight shippes of the Fleet, for King IAMES his New Land, who in foule weather out-fayled me in the latitude 71. degrees, or thereabouts: So I proceeded alone towards King IAMES his New Land: and met with Ice in latitude 73. degrees 30. minutes, I stood North-eastwards for the wast of King IAMES his New Land, and had sundry conflicts with the Ice in rainie and wet foggie weather, and had sight of Land the eleuenth of Iune, and on the nineteenth of the same I anchored in Faire Hauen. Here I stayed till the thirde of Iuly, for the Pinnasse had receiued some hurt amongst the Ice, which to amend, I was faine to hale her a-ground, besides diuers other things necessary to be done, which detayned mee longer then willingly I would haue stayed there.

Hackluyts
Headland.

From hence I sayled Northward, but met with Ice in latitude 79. degrees 50. minutes, being six leagues from Hackluyts Head-land, then I coasted the Ice as it lay in Points and Bayes to the Westwards and South-westward, and being thirtie leagues from the Land in latitude 79. degrees 10. minutes, I found it to trend Northward and North-westwards, and coasted it to the latitude

of 79. degrees 50. minutes, but then I was embayed with Ice, and was faine to stand out againe and sailed about ten leagues before I got cleere: when I was out of this Bay, I proceeded South Westerly with the Ice on the starboord to the latitude 78. degrees 30. minutes, where being fortie leagues from the shoare, I was againe embayed with the Ice, and hauing had faire Sun-shine weather all the day, which made mee the bolder to stand so neere it, the weather on a sudden fell foggie, and the wind beganne to blow hard at South, which put vs to great trouble and no small perill: but the Almighty power who hath mercifully deliuered vs heretofore out of as great dangers, preferred vs also from this: when wee were gotten cleere off the Ice, we had the Sea much growne, and the storme increasing, but being desirous still to keepe the Sea, I stood close by the wind vnder a payre of coarces, till the Pinnasse waxt leake with bearing too much sayle, and there was forced to lye atry vnder a mayne coarce only: and although shee stemmed South-east and South-east by South, yet was she hurried violently to the North-eastwards, and by the mercifull prouidence of God we fell right with the *Fore-land*, in latitude 79. degrees, then I stood ouer *Sir Thomas Smiths Bay* for harbour in *Crosse-road*, where I anchored the thirteenth of Iuly being Thursday. I stayed here foure dayes, in which time my men mended the Sayles and ships tackling that had receiued hurt by the late storme, and made a new mayne Sayle to serue in time of need, and on the seuenteenth of Iuly I weighed out of *Crosse-road*, and sayling Westwards from thence came to Ice againe in latitude 78. degrees 40. minutes, which I coasted as it lay neereft South-west, or more Westerly, but with many Points & Bayes, wherewith I was sometimes intangled, yet, God be thanked, got cleere againe, either by helpe of Oares or Sayles without any hurt. In this sort I proceeded with good satisfaction, although not with so good content, till I came to the latitude of 76. degrees, being about one hundred leagues from Point *Looke-out*, but then was crossed with a contrarie storme from the South-west and South South-west, which droue me to the South-eastward, till I came in the latitude of 74. degrees, and then I made my way Westward againe, so neere as I could lye, close by the winde, and ouer-ranne the formerly supposed Land of *Gronland*, which some haue layd downe in plats and extended to 75. degrees. When I came into the latitude of 73. degrees, I stood West and North-west, and fell with Ice againe in latitude 73. degrees 50. minutes, and thought indeed at that time that I was neere Land by abundance of Fowle, which we saw in great flockes: but such thicke fogges haue continued for three or foure dayes together, that we might sooner heare the Land if any were, then see it, and so did we first find this Ice by hearing the rut, thinking till we saw it, that it had beene Land, so that we were embayed with it, before we thought that we had beene neere it; then I stood out againe and coasted the Ice still to the Westwards Southerly, but could see no Land, as I expected to haue done, vntill wee came vnder the latitude of 71. degrees thirtie minutes, and then we espyed a snowie Hill very high in the cloudes, for this day was very cleere at Sea, but the fogge was not yet cleered from the Land, so that we could see no part of it, but only the top of a snowie Mountayne, which appeared very high although wee were foureene or fifteene leagues distant from it, bearing off vs South-east and by South.

Perill and escape.

Note: Error of Gronland.

Fogges.

High Hill.

Then I stood in for the shoare, supposing it had beene part of the Mayne of *Gronland*: for the fogge lay on each side of this Mount, as if there had beene a great Continent vnder it, but it proved otherwise, for as we came neerer to it, the fogge dispersed more and more, and when wee were five leagues distant, the Land appeared in forme like an Island.

When I came neerer the shore, I could find no Harbor to anchor in. Notwithstanding, the weather being faire & calme, I hoist out my Boat & went ashore with three men more, and set vp the Kings Armes: then we searched a Sandie Beach, which was abundantly stored with drift wood, but yeelded no other fruits, that we could find worth the taking vp, so I returned aboard againe, and sent alhoare my Boat to fetch some wood. But before the men had laid into her the little quantitie that she was able to carrie, they came aboard againe, for the wind began to blow hard, and the Sea to goe loftie, so that here was no place for vs to abide any longer, otherwise I was purposed to haue searched further alongst the shoare, but this gale of winde comming Northerly I stood from hence to the Westwards, being desirous to see more Land or finde a more open Sea. And hauing sayled about fifteene or sixteene leagues I met with Ice againe, in latitude 71. degrees, and coasted it eight or nine leagues further Westward, and South-westward as it lay, but then the wind came to the South-west, and we stood close by it a while to the Southwards, but finding the gale to increase, and considering that it was the most contrary winde which could blow against my further proceeding (for the Ice as we found did trend neereft South-west, and besides if there had beene any high Land within twentie leagues of vs, wee might perfectly haue made it, the weather was so faire and cleere.) In these respects, and for the Reasons following, I tooke the benefit of this wind to returne to the North-eastwards againe, being now about two hundred leagues from King *James his New Land* in latitude 71. degrees.

Drift wood.

Note.

First, I purposed to sayle alongst the South-east side of the Land that I had discovered, to bee better satisfied what Harbours there were, and what likelihood of profit to ensue; and from thence to proceed to the place where I first fell with Ice in latitude 73. degrees when I was driuen to the South-eastwards with a Westerly storme, for I am yet verily perswaded, that being there

there we were not farre from Land, although wee could not see it by reason of thicke foggie weather. Then my further intent was, if I found no good occasion to spend my time there, for to coast the Ice, or try the open Sea to the Northwards, betwixt 73. and 76. degrees, where formerly I had not receiued desired satisfaction by reason of a storme that draue me off, and then I purposed, if time might seeme conuenient, to proceed to the North Coast of King James his New Land, to haue seene what hope was there to be had for passage Northward, or for compassing of the Land, which is most like to be an Island.

I stood away East and by South, and being neere the foresaid Island, the winde came to the West and blew a very hard gale, wherewith I passed alongst the South-east side of the Island vnder a paire of coarces, but without that satisfaction which I expected: for the winde blowing so stormie, and the Sea growne very great, I was forced to stand further from the shoare then willingly I would haue done, and besides there was a thicke fogge vpon the Land, whereby I could not be satisfied what Harbours or Roads were about it, yet might we see three or foure Capes, or Head-lands, as if there went in Bayes betwixt them. I sayled about it, and then stood to the Northward againe, and being now assured that it was an Island, I named it Sir Thomas Smiths Island.

Sir T. Smiths
Island.

Mount Hack-
luyt.

This Island is about ten leagues in length, and stretcheth North-east and South-west: it is high Land, and at the North end of it there is a Mountayne of a wonderfull height and bignesse, all couered with Snow, which I called *Mount Hackluyt*; the base or foot of it on the East side is almost foure leagues long, it hath three such sides at the base lying out to the Sea, and from the fourth side doth the rest of the Island extend it selfe towards the South-west, which is also, as it were, a place fortified with Castles and Bulwarkes, for on each side there bee three or foure high Rockes which stand out from the Land, appearing like Towres and Forts. It lyes in the parallel of 71. degrees, where the Needle varieth from the true Meridian Westwards eight degrees. The Land is generally so farre as I haue seene, Rockie and very barren, and worse then the Land that I haue seene in King James his New Land, vnder eightie degrees, for there is no grasse but mosse, and where I first landed vpon low ground, all the stones were like vnto a Smiths sin-
ders both in colour and forme, the sand is generally mixed with a corne like Amber; the Beaches are abundantly stored with drift wood and many stones, light like Pumis, which will swimme on the water. I saw many traces of Foxes and the footing of Beares, but not any signe of Deere or other liuing creatures, and very small store of Fowle.

From hence I stood to the Northward according to my former purpose, but was crossed with a contrarie storme from the North-west which put me off to the Eastward: but as the wind shifted I made my way to the North-westwards all I could, and came againe to the Ice in latitude 75. degrees, from whence I proceeded towards King James his New Land, and had sight of the Land the eighteenth of August, being in latitude 77. degrees 30. minutes, and hauing a hard gale of wind then at North-west, I stood close by it vnder a paire of coarces, but could not weather Prince Charles Island, and therefore I bore vp, intending to goe into Nicks Cone, which is on the North side of Ice-sound, there to attend a faire winde, and in the meane time to get ballast aboard the Pinnasse, and all other things necessary. But comming to enter into the Harbour, I thought it not a place conuenient, because I could hardly haue gotten out againe with a Southerly wind, which would carrie me to the Northwards, and therefore I stood ouer for Green-harbor, where I anchored at one a clocke in the morning, the nineteenth of August.

Here I caused my men to launch a shallop, and to get ballast and water aboard the Pinnasse, and before nine a clocke at night I was readie to proceed Northward with the first faire winde. I stayed here fife dayes, during which time it blew hard for the most part at North and North-west, and on the foure and twentieth of August, the winde came to the East North-east as wee supposed, till we were out of the Harbour, so I set sayle to proceed Northward, and had the wind Easterly out of Ice-sound, wherewith I stood North-west towards Cape Cold, but being cleere of the high Land, we found the wind to bee at North North-east; therefore I resolued of another course, which was this.

Hudsons Hold-
with-hope que-
stioned, as be-
fore also.

Hauing perused Hudsons Iournall written by his owne hand in that Voyage wherein hee had sight of certayne Land, which he named *Hold-with-hope*; I found that by his owne reckoning it should not be more then one hundred leagues distant from King James his New Land, and in the latitude of 72. degrees 30. minutes or thereabouts: therefore seeing I could not proceed Northward, I purposed to goe to the South-westwards to haue sight of this Land, and discover it, if wind and weather would permit. So I stood away South-west, and sometimes West South-west, till I had runne one hundred and thirtie leagues, and was by account in latitude 72. degrees 30. minutes, where hauing the wind contrarie to proceed further Westward, I stood Eastward till I had runne thirtie leagues, in which course I should haue seene this Land, if credit might be giuen to Hudsons Iournall, but I saw not any. And hauing a hard gale of winde still Northerly, I conceiued no course so good to be taken at this time, as to speed homewards; and so stood to the Southwards, directing my course for England, this beeing the eight and twentieth of August. After which time the wind continued Northerly till the sixt day of September, and then wee were

were on the coast of *Scotland* in latitude 57. degrees, and on the eight day of September had sight of the land of *England* on the coast of *Yorkshire*. Thus by the great mercy of God haue we escaped many dangers, and after a cold Summer haue some taste of a warme Autumne. All glorie therefore be to God the Father, the Sonne, and the Holy Ghost. Amen.

By this briefe Relation, and by the plat wherein I haue traced the ships way vpon each seuerall trauesse it may plainly appeare, how farre the state of this Sea is discovered betwixt 80. and 71. degrees of latitude, making difference of longitude 26. degrees from the Meridian of *Hackluyts Headland*.

Now if any demand my opinion concerning hope of a passage to bee found in those Seas; I answer, that it is true, that I both hoped and much desired, to haue passed further then I did, but was hindred with Ice: wherein although I haue not attained my desire, yet forasmuch as it appeares not yet to the contrarie, but that there is a spacious Sea betwixt *Groinland* and King *James* his *New-land*, although much pestered with Ice; I will not seeme to dissuade this worshipfull Companie from the yearly aduenturing of 150. or 200. pounds at the most, till some further discouerie be made of the said Seas and Lands adjacent, for which purpose no other Vessel would I aduise vnto, then this Pinnasse with ten men, which I hold to bee most conuenient for that action, although heretofore I conceiued otherwise, but now I speake after good experience, hauing sayled in her out and in about two thousand leagues.

RO. FOTHERBY.

A Letter of ROBERT FOTHERBY to Captaine EDGE,
written in *Crosse-ode*, July 15. 1615.

After Edge, By the mercy of God I came into *Crosse-road* on Thursday last, being driven from Sea neere shore by extreme tempest. At the beginning of the storme I was unwittingly embayed with Ice about fortie leagues from land, in latitude 78. degrees and 30. minutes, but, thanks be to God, I got cleare of it, yet not without much trouble and great danger. Having plyed under two courses to and againe so long till my Pinnasse was made leake with bearing, I tryed it under a mayne course and stend South-east and South-east and by South, notwithstanding I was hurried to the Northward, and fell right with the Foreland, which by reason of the misty storme we could not see till we were within a league of it; then I stood over the Bay and came to an anchor here, where I must be forced to stay till our sailes be mended, and a new mayne course be made, if not a fore course also. Then I purpose to goe to Sea againe, and to proceed in coasting the Ice to the Westward, if it hinder me to proceed Northward. I haue already coasted it from *Hackluyts Headland* to the latitude aforesaid, and intend to beginne againe so neare as I can at the place where I was put off with the storme. I came from *Faire Hauen* the fourth of July, and then had there beene killed twelue Whales, besides one found dead, and another brought in by Fra. Birkes, which he found at Sea before he came into *Faire Hauen*.

When I came in hither, here were three Ships and a Pinnasse of the King of Denmarks; they rid in deepe water about a league and a halfe from the Road, but weighed from thence, and the Admirall came to an anchor close by me, and sent to intreat me to come aboard of him; I went aboard and was courteously entertained by the Generall, who questioned me of the Country, and asked me by what right the English Merchants did resort and fish in this place: I told him, by the King of Englands right, who had granted a Patent to the Muscouie Company of Merchants, whereby he authorizeth them, and forbiddeth all others to frequent these places. Then he entreated me to goe with him to Sir Tho. Smiths Bay, to the two English ships there. I told him, it would be losse of time to me, because I had some businesse here to doe, and then to goe forth presently to Sea againe to prosecute my Discouery. He said, that he would haue me goe with him to be witnesse what passed betwixt him and you, for he had matters of importance to acquaint you withall, which concerned our King and theirs, and therefore intreated me to giue direction presently to weigh and set saile, for I must needs goe with him: I replied againe, that it would be a great losse vnto me of time, and I knew not how to answer it; but he told me peremptorily that I must goe with him. So seeing no remedie, I bad the Master be readie: then he presently weighed and kept me aboard him, but afterwards meeting with the two Capitaines that came from you, he returned and anchored againe in *Crosse-road*. I receiued very courteous entertainment of the Admirall, Vice-admirall, and of Captaine Killingham: but Captaine Killingham being aboard of me, went away as he seemed, discontented, because I would not giue him a young Morse I haue aboard, which I denyed to doe, because I writ to my Master from *Faire Hauen*, that such a thing I haue, and will bring alike into England, if I may. When he went off aboard of me, he said, he would shoot downe my flag: And soone after there came a shot which fiew ouer vs, out of the Admirall, and I expected another; but soone after there came a man aboard of me out of the Admirall, to see if any of your men that came in the Shallop, would goe with them into the Bay, and he swore vnto me that the shot was made to call their Boat aboard, because they were ready to weigh. As farre as I can perceiue, their purpose is to see what Grant the King of England hath made

Ships of the King of Denmarke.

made unto the Companie, for they seeme to pretend that the right of this Land belongs to the King of Denmarke, and neither to English nor Hollanders. Thus with my heartie commendations to your selfe, and Master Bredcake, together with my prayers for your prosperous voyage, I commit you to God.

CHAP. VIII.

Diuers other Voyages to Greenland, with Letters of those which were there employed, communicated to mee by Master
WILLIAM HELEY.

An. 1616. Edges Iland was discovered, and a prosperous voyage was made, all the ships being laden, vnder the command of Captaine Thomas Edge. An. 1617. Witches Iland was discovered; and what voyage was made appeareth in the Letter following, written to Master Decrow by William Heley.

Laus Deo, in Portnick the 12. of August, 1617.

Worshipfull Sir,

My dutie remembred, May it please you to understand, that through Gods blessing our Voyage is performed in all the Harbours in the Countrie this yeere, with a greater ouerplus then our ships will carry: so that in some places we must of force leane good store of Oyle and Blubber behinde for the next yeere. Wee are all for the most part readie to set sayle, being full laden: onely I desire to see the Coast cleere of Interlopers, whereby our provisions may be left in securitie. We tooke a ship of Flushing, called the Noahs Arke (Master, Iohn Verhile) in Horne-sound, hauing out of him two hundred hogheads of Blubber, and two Whales and a halfe to cut vp, a great Copper, and diuers other provisions, and sent him away ballasted with stones. There were two more of them who were gone laden with Blubber, before we could get thither, hauing intelligence of our coming. There were also two Danes, who made one hundred and odde tunnes of Oyle, and laded one ship for Copen-hauen, the other with halfe the Oyle and Finnes for Amsterdam, and left the Countrey about the sixth or seuenth of August. And for Master Cudner, he rid in Portnick, where he killed eleuen Whales, and made some seuentie and odde tunnes of Oyle, which is laden aboard him and his Finnes. In whom, if our ships had come together thither as I desired, I would haue laden fortie or fiftie tunnes of Oyle in him, and displaced his men and sent him for England: but bad weather hindring our ships getting thither, and his sudden departure after our coming in with the Pleasure, shee being laden and not sufficiently fitted to surprise him, he escaped, but I sent her away in company with him, whereby he may not doe any hurt in other places in the Countrey. I would haue had him to haue taken in some Oyle, for which I offered him freight, so I might put some men into him to see to it, and that it might be brought safe to London: but he refused, yet protesteth, he purposeth to bring his ship and goods to London: his voyage is by the thirds, so that his men will rather dye then forgoe that they haue got. The small ship Iohn Ellis is returned from the South Eastward, hauing made some further discovery, and killed some eight hundred Seamorse, and laden the teeth, and thirtie tunnes of hides, and the rest of his lading in Oyle: he brought some Sea-horse blubber with him. He met with Thomas Marmaduke of Hull in those parts, who had not done any thing when he saw him towards making a voyage, but went for Hope Iland, and no doubt but hee will doe much spoile there. As for the Beare, shee departed for Hamborough the third of August out of Crosse-road; and the Gray-hound in company with her for England, who, I hope, is safely arrived, and by whom I hope you understand of her proceedings at full.

The Whales killed this yeere in the Countrey are about one hundred and fiftie in number, and the Oyle made will be about one thousand eight hundred and odde tunnes, besides the blubber left for want of cask. The lading of this ship is one hundred and eightie tunnes, as by the Bill of lading here inclosed. Thus hauing not further wherewith to acquaint your Worship, withall praying God to send all home in safety with a good passage; I humbly take my leaue, and doe rest

Readie at your Worships command in all dutifull seruice.

WILLIAM HELEY.

A Letter of Master ROBERT SALMON to Master SHERWIN.

In Sir THOMAS SMITHES Bay, the
24. of Iune, 1618.

Loving friend Master Sherwine, I kindly salute you, wishing you as much prosperitie as unto my selfe, &c. Since our comming into the Bay, we have beene much troubled with Ice and Northerly windes, so as we have not beene two dayes free of Ice. We had a storme Northerly which brought in much Ice, so as we were inclosed withall eight dayes: there went such a Sea in the Ice that did beate our ships very much for foure and twentie houres, that I did thinke we should have spoyled our ships: but I thanke God we cannot perceine any hurt at all it hath done to vs; also we have broken two anchors with the Ice; we have killed thirteene Whales, but they yeeld but little, in regard of the Ice which hath much hindered vs in our worke, for in ten dayes we could not doe any worke the Bay was so full of Ice: the Bay was full as low as Fox-nose, and now at this present the Bay is full of shattered Ice, the windes hanging Northerly keepes it in. Here is fine faze of Flemmings which have foureene and sixteene pieces of Ordnance in a ship; and they doe man but eighteene Shallops, so that with theirs and ours here is thirtie Shallops in the Bay, too many for vs to make a voyage: there is at the least fiftene hundred tunnes of shipping of the Flemmings; we have reasonable good quarter with them, for we are merry aboard of them, and they of vs; they have good store of Sacks, and are very kinde to vs, proffering vs any thing that we want. I am very doubtfull of making a voyage this yeere, yet I hope Crosse-road will helpe vs for one ship, the Company must take another course the next yeere: if they meane to make any benefit of this Country, they must send better ships that must beat these knaves out of this Country, but as farre as I can understand by them, they meane to make a trade of continuance of it: they have every one of them Graue Maurices Commission under his Hand and Seale: we will let them rest this yeere, and let who will take care the next yeere, for I hope not to trouble them. I pray remember my dutie to the Captaine, and also to honest Master Thornbulh, and to Iohn Martin; Master Smith doth remember his love to you, and to all the rest of his friends: we are well at this present, I thanke God: I pray let vs heare from you when you have any conuayance; I hope wee shall goe home in companie together as wee came out. Thus with my love once againe remembred to you, beseeching God to send vs all a prosperous voyage, and ioyfully to meet, I rest.

A Letter of Master TH. SHERWIN: Bell-sound this
29. of Iune, 1618.

Master William Heley, your Letter I receiued, wherein I understand you haue tooke very great griefe, which I am very sorry for: but I am in good hope to come to you my selfe one of these dayes, that I may comfort you with a good comple of Hennes and a bottle of Canary wine, but I pray bee carefull of your selfe and keepe you warme, and take heed the Nodis doe not pick out your eyes: but as for the Flemmings let them all go hang themselves, and although you be not strong enough to meddle with them, yet the worst wordes are too good for them, the time may come you may be reuenged on them againe. The Captaine wishes they would come all into Bell-sound and beat vs out, and carry vs for Holland; here is a great fleet of them in this Country. Here came in two Flemmings, but wee handled them very honestly, but for feare of after-claps, or had it beene the latter part of the yeere, we would haue handled them better; now they be gone for Horne-sound, I would that they had all of them as good a paire of hornes growing on their heads, as is in this Country. As concerning our voyage, Master Salmon can certifie you both in Horne-sound, and in our harbour. My brother Bulle, Iohn Martin, and I, dranke to you, and wish you many a Venison pasty. We haue so little to doe wee feare we shall all haue the Scurvy, but we haue pulled downe the Flemmish house, and brought it neere more fit for our turne. Thus praying you to remember my love to all at Faire-hauen, I cease, with my prayers to God, to send you and vs all a prosperous voyage, with all your good health, that we may goe merrily home together.

A Letter of IAMES BEVERSHAM to Master HELEY. From
Faire-hauen, the 12. of Iuly, 1618.

Master Heley, My commendations remembred to your selfe, Master Salmon, Master Smith, and Master Beymond, as also to Master Wilkenison, Mate Headland, Master Greene, and the rest of our good friends with you, wishing all your healths as my owne; I am very sorry to understand of the annoyances by the Flemmings, both with you and other places; as also of the small hope there is, in making a voyage this yeere. For our parts we are and haue beene so pestered with Ice these twentie dayes, that we haue not beene able to goe out to Sea with our Shallops aboue twice in the time, neither haue we beene able to doe any good by reason of foule weather and fogs, nor haue seen any more then

one Whale in all that time, which after shee was killed turned vs to much trouble, by reason of foule weather, and forced vs at last to leaue her in the Ice, where the Beares made a prey of her, who I feare will spoyle her before shee be recovered. We haue killed sixteene Whales besides, whereof the Flemmish Biscainers stole one, for which they haue promised satisfaction: but they are so shut vp with Ice that they are not able to stirre either Ships or Shallops. All the Sea to the Northward of Hakluyts headland, and both Eastward and Westward thereof, is packt so full of Ice, that I feare it will ouerthrow our voyage, and put our ships in much bazard, the Lord release vs of that miserie in due time. I neither haue nor will be slack to doe my best endeuours for the good of the voyage, the prosperitie whereof I doe much wish and desire both here and in all other places. I pray remember my loue to the Captaine, by your next conuoy to the Southward, with my commendations to all the rest of our friends; thus for present wishing your health, I kindly take my leaue, and rest your louing friend.

I had thought to haue added a large Discourse of occurrents betwixt the Dutch and English in Greenland this 1618. and had prepared it to the Presse. But hauing alreadye giuen some Relation thereof from Captaine Edge &c. and seeing the insolencies of some of the Dutch were intolerable to English spirits, which then suffered, or hereafter should reade them; I chose rather to passe them by; aduising my Countreymen not to impute to that Nation what some frothy spirit vomits from amidst his drinke, but to honor the Hollanders worth, and to acknowledge the glorie of the Confederate Provinces, howsoeuer they also haue their sinke and stinking sewers (too officious mouthes, such as some in this businesse of Greenland, beyond all names of impudence against his Maiestie, and his Leage people, as others elsewhere haue demeaned themselves) whose lothsome-
ness is not to be cast as an aspersion to that industrious and illustrious Nation. Euery Body hath its excrements, euery great House its Vault or Iakes, euery Citie some Port exquiline and dung-hills, euery Campe the baggage; the World it selfe a Hell: and so hath euery Nation the retriments, scumme, dregs, rascalitie, intempered, distempered spirits, which not fearing God nor reuerencing Man, spare not to spue out that to the dishonor of both, which sauing the honor of both can scarcely be related after them. A difference is to be made of relation and personall fautes, of which we haue said enough in the East India quarrels, twixt ours and the Dutch.

A Letter of IOHN CHAMBERS to W. HELEY,
Bel-sound Iune 16. 1619.

Terrible Disaster.

Louing and approved good friend, Master William Heley, &c. I am furd to write in teares unto you for the losse of our Men, by the most uncouth accident that euer befell unto poore men. The thirteenth of Iune last we were put ashore in the Ice Bay, our Shallops being not aboard: but as soone as we heard of it, we made what haste we could, and haled our Shallops upon the Ice, and went aboard our ship. By that time we had bene there an houre, making what meanes we could to get her out, a maine peece of the Cliffe falling, the fearefullest sight that euer I beheld being then aboard, expecting nothing else but death, with all the rest that were in her: But God of his great mercie and providence delivered us, that were not then appointed to dye, that were past all hope of life; for the Ice fell so high and so much, that it carried away our fore-Mast, broke our maine-Mast, sprung our Bouldstrut, and fetcht such a careere that he heaued a peece of Ordnance ouer-boord from under our halfe Decke, houe me ouer boord amongst the Ice in all the sea, and yet I thanke the Lord I was neuer hurt with a peece of Ice, although it pleased God they were spoyled and killed close by me. Thus hauing related unto you the miserie of this our Voyage, hoping of your aide and assistance in what you may, I shall be euer bound to pray for you. The Captaine bid me write unto you for a fine inch Hafer, which I pray you spare me and it be possible: I haue writ the particular of our wants in my Brother Sherwins Letter, which I pray you be a meane to further me in. Thus ceasing any further to trouble you, I commit you unto the Lord, unto whom I pray to blesse and prosper you in this your present Voyage, with all the rest of your dayes.

The men that are killed are these: My Mate Money, Nicholas Greene and Allin the Butcher. There be many more hurt which I hope will recouer it by the helpe of God and the meanes of a good Surgeon.

Louing friend Master Heley, I kindly salute you, &c. Your Letter I receiued the fift of this present: wherein I vnderstand of the backwardnesse of your Voyage, the which I am hartly sorrie for: but you must be content, seeing it is the will of God it shall be so, and that other harbours sake neighbours fare with you: our best hopes of our Voyage was upon you, for of our selues we doe little, in regard we are much troubled with Ice, and haue bin so this ten dayes, which hath made vs hale a shoare sixe or seauen times for it: we haue had the windes at North-east, and East North-east, and at North west, which now keepe in the Ice: we haue killed ten Whales, whereof eight are made into Oyle, which hath made one hundred and cleauan Tuns & a halfe, the other two were killed the fourth of this present, being very large fish,

not doubting but they will make fixe and thirtie or fortie tunnes: we haue the hundred tunnes aboard, the rest Master Barker taketh in, in regard Master Bushes shippe is not fitted up, we shall make her fore-Mast to serue againe and all things else for this Voyage. The fourth of this present, George Wiuelden came from Horne-found, where they haue killed foure Whales, they haue bin much troubled with windes Easterly, also much Ice, there is so much Ice off of Point Looke out, that George could not get about. This Ice hath put in young Duke of Hull into Horne-found, his ship being much torne with the Ice, his Merchant is now aboard of us, his name is Medcalf, whom the Captaine doth detaine, his Voyage is vnterly overthrowne, for he hath lost one shallop with sixe men, and another shallop broken with the Ice, his Ruther Irons being all broken, his Steeme broke a way close to the Woodings, also George did meete with a Fleming of Flushing, burthen two hundred tuns, the which he thinkes is cast away with Ice, for the Ice did beate her very sore. I vnderstand by M. Catchers Letter, that there is cleauen saile of Flemmings and Danes about them, I doubt not but we shall call them to account of how many tunnes of Oyle they haue made, as they did call vs the last Voyage to account: my loue is such vnto them, that I protest I could wish with all my heart that we might goe and see them, and to spend my best blood in the righting of our former wrongs. Also I vnderstood by Robert Foxe, that Adrian of Flushing is one of them, I should be verie glad to see him, that I might balance the account with him. The Captaine willed mee to write vnto you concerning the Ruffe house, that if you cannot set it vp, that then you should make an English house of it, and to place the post of a Deales length, and to be three Deales in length, and so much in breadth, and so to couer it with Deales the next yeare, and so he thinketh that it will make two frames: also hee could wish that you would remoue the Coppers more vp into the Bay. I pray you commend me to my louing friend Master Sherwine, Master Wilkinson, Master Henderson and Michael Greene; also my loue remembred vnto your selfe, I take my leaue, hoping we shall see you at the Fore-land ere it be long: till when, I pray God to blesse you and prosper you in all your proceedings. Resting still

Bell-found the fifth of
Iuly. 1619.

Your assured friend to command
ROBERT SALMON Iunior.

A Letter of I. CATCHER to Master HELEY from Faire-hauen. Laus
Deco, this seuenteenth of Iune 1620.

Louing Brother, with my best loue I salute you, wishing you better then we at this time, to haue good store of Whales to make for you and vs a Voyage, for we haue seene small store of Whales, but haue killed none as yet. In the Flemish barkur there is three Flemings great shippes, whereof is one Statesman of Warre, who haue set to Sea eightene shallops with three Biscainers in euerie shallop; and in our harbour two of the Kings of Denmarke shippes, who haue set to Sea seauen shallops with three Biscainers in euerie shallop: the Hollanders haue killed one Whale, and found one Whale of the last yeares killing. I thought good to send to you the sooner, because we hope you haue good store of Whales, that you may send for vs to you, which I pray God you may, for we are in great doubt, but our hope is, if that you are not yet provided to send for vs, we haue a great time to stay in this Countrie, in which time, it may so please God, that we may here make a Voyage. For our selues, one of our men is dead, and one other sicke, so that wee haue but one and fiftie men, which is too little as you know, therefore if you can spare vs three men, they will stand vs in good stead: if our Voyage commeth in, there is to the Northward good store of Ice, which putteth vs in good comfort that we shall haue Whales: the Danes doe report that there is two shippes to come from Denmarke to our harbour, but as yet are not come. I pray you commend vs to Master Wilkinson, Master Greene, Master Hedlam, Master Cleyborne, Master Alpo, and all the rest of our good friends. Humfrey Moore is very sicke, so that we shall want a Harponiere. I know not what to write more to you, for with grieve I write this. Thus kindly taking my leaue, beseeching God to blesse vs, and send vs a good Voyage, with a merry meeting, I rest

Your louing brother to vse
IOHN CATCHER.

A Letter of ROBERT SALMON from Sir THOMAS
SMITHS Bay, Iuly 6. 1621.

Louing friend Master Heley, with my loue I salute you, &c. These are to certifie you, that vpon the fifteenth of the last, we arrived at Sir Thomas Smiths unfortunate Bay: since which time we haue killed sixe Whales, which are almost reduced into Oyle, being some seuentie tunnes or somewhat more; so within a day or two we may goe sleepe, for I feare we haue our portion of Whales in this place: wee haue not seene a Whale this foureteene dayes, and faire weather is as scarce as the Whales, for ten daies together nothing but blow, sometime Southerly and sometime Northerly: I doe verily perswade my selfe that God

God is much displeased for the blood which was lost in this place, and I feare a perpetuall curse still to remaine yet; God I know is all-sufficient, and may, if it please him, send a Voyage in this place. Newes from Faire-hauen I can write you none, for as yet we haue not heard from him: the reason thereof I cannot conceiue; I feare his Shallop is miscarried, for certainly else we should haue heard from him ere this, or some other cause there is: I pray God it be not so. I pray commend me to Master Iohn Hedlam, and tell him that the Master and Pilot doe set both their horse together, being very great friends: also I pray commend me to my Cosen William Driuer and Master Wilkinson, wishing them all happinesse. I am in good hope that you haue done some good vpon the Whale, not doubting but you will haue sufficient for your selues and to helpe your neighbours, the which I desire may be. Other newes I haue none to write you. So desiring God to blesse you in your proceedings in this your Voyage, I take my leaue: 10
Resting

Your louing friend to command

ROBERT SALMON Jun.

Nine Ships were imployed Anno 1622. of which one for Discouerie. Their disastrous successe you may reade before, page 469. The last Fleete Anno 1623. was set forth by the former Aduenturers, vnder the command of Captaine William Goodlard, William Heley being Vice-admirall. Of the successe thereof you may read the Letters following.

Laus Deo in Faire-Hauen, the foure and twentieth
of Iune, 1623.

Master Heley, your health wished, as also a happy accomplishment of your pretended Voyage desired. I had written you according to order, of all matters happening since our arrinall, had not contrarie windes and weather preuented, and therefore haue taken the first opportunitie offering at present.

Wee arrived at our harbour with both our Ships in safetie vpon the third of this present, blessed be God, finding the yeare past to haue beene a verie hard season, in regard of the great quantitie of Snow and Ice, but yet not very offensive to vs in respect of our good harbour. Touching our proceeding vpon our Voyage, by the eight of this present we had killed thirteene Whales, and then were all our Shallops constrained in, by reason of foule weather, till the fifteenth, dicto, and vpon the fifteenth we killed two more, which being all boyled but the heads, and then estimated will hardly make past eightie Tunnes, which is a very small quantitie. The weather continued bad till the twentieth two, dicto, and vpon the three and twentieth we killed three more, which by probabilitie will make neere fortie Tunnes. And thus wee doubt not but by degrees we shall accomplish our Voyage, by the grace of God.

As touching our order for the Flemmings, wee went as yesterday aboard them, supposing that wee should haue found the Danes there, but they are not as yet arrived, but wee found there five sailes of Flemmings, the Admirall five hundred Tunnes, the Vice-admirall of the same burthen, the other three neere two hundred each Ship, hauing also fiftie or sixtie persons amongst them, hauing foure and twentieth Shallops belonging to their five Ships, and are building Houses and Tabernacles to inhabit, for they make new and substantiall: also they told vs, they expected one or two Ships more euery day: after some time we had conference concerning the order giuen vs with the Generall Cornelius Ice, and declared vnto him that the time granted them to fish vpon King Iames his New Land was expired, and thereupon his Maiestie hath granted to our Principals a Commission vnder the broad Seale of England for the depressing of any Interloper or Flemming whatsoeuer that we shall meete withall vpon this Coast; yet notwithstanding it pleased our Principals to appoint vs to goe aboard them, and in a louing manner to informe them hereof, which if you will condescend vnto and desist fishing, you shall manifest your selues friends to our Principals; if otherwise, you shall cause them to compell by force, who had rather perswade by lone. Vnto which he answered, that he heard of no such matter in Holland, for if there were, it should be certified by writing: to which we answered, that Sir Nowel Carroon their Agent was not ignorant of it, who should giue information: and saith he, I haue a Commission from the Prince of Orange, for the making of my Voyage vpon this Coast, which was procured by my Merchants for my defence: and this is that could be gotten by words from him.

Also at our first arrinall, there rode two Biskie shippes with the Flemmings, but within a day or two they waited and stood for the Southward: but inquired of the Flemmings what port they were bound for, they answered, for the North Cape; but Master Mason is perswaded they are at Greene-harbour: to which purpose I wrote to Master Catcher, that he giues order to his Shallop that goes to Bel-sound, to stand in for the harbour, to giue the Captaine true information. And so for present I rest, intreating you to remember me to Master Salmon and Master Iohn Hadland: and thus contracting my sailes, lest the boorde of my words carrie me into the Ocean of discourse, here I anchor: resting.

Your friend

NATHANIEL FANNE.

Master

Master CATHERS Letter the nine and twentieth
of June, 1623.

Brother Heley, with my best loue I salute you, wishing your health with a prosperous Voyage, &c. Since our departure, we haue had much foule weather and troubled with Ice before we could get into harbour, and after we came into harbour, we neuer let fall anchor, by reason of the Ice, till the sixteenth of this month, in which time we killed sixe Whales at the Fore-land, which made but eightene Tuns and a halfe, and since we haue killed sixe Whales more, which I hope will make in all upwards of eightie Tunnes. We haue fit nine Shallops verie well, and I thank God not one of our Men faileth, saue one that was shot accidentally with a Musket. I hope some of the Southerne harbours will supply our wants, if there be any, which I feare there will: our harbour, manie say still, is vnpossible to make a Voyage, by reason that the Flemmings shed blood there, which I pray God to take that plague from vs. For Faire-hauen, I doubt not but that you shall heare by the Letters sent you of the proceedings; but Master Sherwin writ, that there is fine Flemmings of fine hundred Tunnes a peece: there was also two Biscainers which the English nor Flemmings would suffer to fish: therefore they departed, and said they would goe for the North Cape; but I thinke they are in Greene-harbour, or gone to the Eastward; which if they be in Greene-harbour, our Shallop going to Bel-found shall touch there to see, and so certifie the Captains, and know his will what he would haue done in it: I hold it not fit that they should harbour there. There are no Danes in the Countrie as yet, &c.

Captaine WILLIAM GOODLARD'S Letter: Bell-found
this eight of Iuly, 1623.

Loving friend Master Heley, I kindly salute you, wishing health to you with the rest of your compaignie, praising the Lord for your good successe in your fishing. To certifie you of our proceedings; we haue killed here in Bel-found three and thirtie Whales, and lost manie more by Irons broken, yet I hope sufficient to fill our ships: we haue boiled a hundred and eightie Tunnes, of which a hundred and sixtie aboard our Ship, and make account sixtie tunnes more will fill our hould. Our Whales here proue verie watrish and leane, which maketh bad Oyle, and hindereth vs much in boyling. This present day our Shallop came from the Fore-land, at which time they had killed fifteene Whales verie small, and are verie doubtfull of a Voyage there: if God sendeth fish into this harbour, I will not spare till I haue killed sufficient to fill all our Casks, to leaue for them if there be occasion. The foure and twentieth of Iune, there was killed at Faire-hauen eightene Whales, which proue verie small to yeelde, by their estimation one hundred and twentie tunnes: hauing there fine Flemmings well fortified, and ships of fine hundred Tuns some of them, and two more expected thither euery day, which I feare will hinder much our shippes in their fishing this yeare, and in my iudgement not to be remoued from thence, for they hauing a Commission from the States to fish upon this Coast; were our whole Fleete there, and could put them away, yet would they stie to one of our Southerne harbours, and so should we spend our time in following of them, and lose our Voyage, &c. There were two French Ships of Saint Iohn de Luz at Faire-Hauen, which were put away by the Flemmings and our Ships, which they iudge are gone for the Cape.

With a heauie heart I write you the lamentable accident which happened here the eight and twentieth of Iune, our shallops all out in chase, and my selfe asleepe; my brother hauing a shallop lying by the ships side, spide a Whale going into the Ice Bay followed him and strucke him, and his rope being new ranne out with kinckes, which overthrew his shallop, where he lost his life with my Boy Bredrake, being as we thinke carried away with the rope (the dearest Whale to me that euer was strucke in this harbour) there was neuer anie losse, I thinke, went so neere my heart, &c.

Many other Letters I could haue added, but doubt I haue already wearied you with this vn-couth Coast, whereto our English Neptunes are now so wonted, that there they haue found not onely Venison, but Pernassus and Helicon; and haue melted a Mussean Fountain out of the Greenland Snowes and Ice Rockes. Whole Elaborate Poems haue I seene of Master Heley, as also of Iames Presson, there composed: but we haue harther Discoueries in hand; to which wee are now shipping you. This I thought good at our parting to aduertise thee, that Master Heley hath affirmed to me touching the diueritie of weather in Greenland; that one day, it hath bene so cold (the winde blowing out of some quarter) that they could scarce handle the frozen sailes: another day so hot, that the pitch melted off the ship, so that hardy they could keepe their cloathes from pollution: yea, he hath seene at midnight Tobacco lighted or fired by the Sunne-beames with a Glasse. Likewise for a farewell to our Whale-storie, I thought good to deliuer Stowes relation touching a Whale somewhat differing in forme from those here usually found in Greenland: my selfe also hauing spoken with some diligent viewers thereof in Thanet where it was taken Iulie 9. 1574. shooting himselfe on shore besides Rammesgate in the Parish of Saint Peter, and there dying forsaken of his Ocean parent. Hee came on shoare about sixe of the clocke at night, and died about sixe the next morning, before which time he roared and

Flemmings

Peter Goodford
drowned.

Cold and heate
strangely vari-
able.

Tobacco light-
ed by the Sun
at midnight.

and was heard more then a mile on the land. The length was two and twentie yards, the nether iaw twelue foote in the opening : one of his eyes (which in the Greene-land Whale is verie small, not much greater then the eye of an Oxe) being taken out of his head, was more then sixe Horses in a Cart could draw; a man stood upright in the place whence the eye was taken. The thicknesse from the backe whereon he lay, to his bellie, which was upwards, was fourteene foote; his taile of the same breadth : three men stood upright in his mouth : betwixt his eyes twelue foote : some of the ribs sixteene foote long : the tongue fifteene foote long : his liner two Cart load : into his nostrils anie man might haue crept : the Oyle of his head Spermaceti, &c.

CHAP. IX.

The late changes and manifold alterations in Russia since IVAN VASILOWICH to this present, gathered out of many Letters and Observations of English Embassadors and other Trauellers in those parts.

§. I.

Of the reigne of IVAN, PHEODORE his sonne; and of BORIS.

Gods mercy
to England
whiles warres
haue infested
the rest of the
World.



Eader, I here present thee not what I would of Russian affaires, but what I could. We Englishmen vnder the gouernment of his Maiestie, haue enioyed such a Sunshine of peace, that our Summers day to many hath beene tedious; they haue loathed their Manna, and longed for I know not what Egyptian flesh pots. For what else are Warres but pots set ouer the fire of Anger (how often of Furie, yea of Hell, the Furies or Deuils blowing the coales) and boyling mans flesh? whole Families, Villages, Townes, Cities, Shires, Prouinces, not onely hurried thereby in confusions of State, harried and enflamed with combustions of goods and goodnesse, but the flesh of Men, Women, and Children, but chered and as it were boyled beyond the manifold shapes of Death, vnto the bones, into the Vapors, Froth, Scumme, Chaos, nothing and lesse then nothing of Humanitie! Such is the inhumanitie, the immanitie, the inanitie of Warres! And such Warres haue made impressions into all our Neighbour Countries (whiles wee sit vnder the shadow of Beati Pacifici) haue lightened on Turkeie and blasted the Seraglio; haue thunder-stricken Barbarie, haue torne the Atlas there, and rent the Grison Alpes in Europe; haue shaken France with earthquakes; haue rayed Belgian stormes, Bohemian broyles, Hungarian gusts, Germanian whirlwinds (these selfe-diuided in Ciuill, that is, the vilest, vnciuillest massacres and worst of Warres) that I mention not the inundations and exundations of Poland; the Snowes and Mists of Sweden, the Danish Hailes and Frosts. But all these and more then all these Tempests, Turnado's, Tuffons haue combined in Russia, and there made their Hell-mouth centre, there pitching the Tents of Destruction, there erecting the Thrones of Desolation.

A. Thuan. histor.
l. 135.

Pestilence and Famine had gone two yeeres before as direful Heralds, to denounce these dreadful warres and mutations of State: the Pestilence possessing the Northerne parts of the World, and dispossessing it of many many thousands: the Famine in Russia wanting necessaries to eate, necessarily deuoured all things, not onely Cats, Mice, and impure Creatures, but mens flesh also, and that in neereft necessitude, Parents reuoking to their wombes by vnnaturall passage the dearest pledges of Nature, which hauing euen now dyed with hunger, were made preseruatiues from like death to those which first had giuen them life. The Mightier made sale of the Poorer, yea, Fathers and Mothers of their Sonnes and Daughters, and Husbands of their Wiues, that price might bee had to buy Corne, which was now beyond all names of whatsoeuer price credible. But these things must be further searched.

Exod. 1.
Iam. 3.

Bloudinesse is a slipperie foundation of Greatnesse, and the Mercifull haue the promise to finde mercy: other wisdom (how euer seeming politike) is earthly, sensuall, deuillish; yea, ruine to the foole-wise Consultors, as appeareth in Pharaohs working wisely, that is, cruelly, to preuent the multiplying Israelites. The greatest of Creatures on Sea and Land, the Elephant and Whale, liue on grasse, weeds, and simpler diet, not on rapine and flesh or fish-deuouring prey: Thunders and all tempestuous stormes trouble not the higher airy Regions, but the lower and those next the baser earthy dregs, the sediment and sinke of the World: nor doth ancient Philosophie reckon Comets other then Meteors, or falling Starres to be Starres indeed, but excludes both from the heavenly Sphaeres. Had Alexander followed this rule, and sought Greatnesse in Goodnesse (like him which is Optimus Maximus, the Great God, the great Good of the World) and in him-

selfe

selfe rather then others, in being Master of himselfe then Lord of large Territories; he neither had sighd after the conquests of other Worlds which *Philosophie* had created, before he had seene the tenth part of this; nor had dyed by poyson in a forraine Countrie, forced to content himselfe with possessing, nay, being possessed of a few feet of earth: then had he bene in very deed (now but in Title) GREAT Alexander. Great Goodnesse is the true and good Greatnesse.

I know not how fit a Preface this may seeme to the ensuing *Russian Relation*; this I am sure, that they which write of *Iuan Vasilowich*, the Great Great *Muscovite*, doe lay heauie aspersions on his Father and Grand-father, but on himselfe superlatives of cruelty (that I mention not other vices) both for Matter and Forme. These things are deliuered particularly in the Histories of *Alexander Gwagninus*, *Tilmanus Bredenbachius*, *Paulus Oderbornius*, *Reinoldus Heidensten* and others, in large Treatises written thereof purposely. His merits of the *English* might procure a silence of his evils (wee of all men being in regard of respect to our Nation unworthy to speake, that which hee, if those Authours haue not bene malicious, was worthy to heare) if so dreadfull effects did not force an Historian (that is, the Register of the execution of Acts of Gods bountie and iustice decreed in the Court of Diuine Prouidence) to looke to the direfull Cause in foregoing sinnes, that after Ages may heare and feare.

I will touch a few of those which *Gwagninus* alone relates. His owne brother being accused An. 1570. by *Wiskonati*, is said without leaue granted to cleare himselfe, to bee put to exquisite tortures first, and after to death; his wife stripped and set naked to the eyes of all, and then by one on horse-backe drawne with a rope into the Riuer and drowned. *Iohn Piotrowich*, a man of principall command, accused of treason, presenting himselfe to him, not admitted to make any purgation, was set in Princely accoutrements on a Throne, the Emperour standing bare-headed before him and bowing to him, but soone after with a knife thrusting him to the heart, the Attendants adding other Furies till his bowels fell out; his body dragged forth, his seruants slaine, three hundred others in his Cattle executed, his *Boiars* all gathered into one house and blowne vp with poulder; their Wiues and Daughters rauished before his face by his followers, and then cut in pieces, and no living thing left in their houses or grounds; the husbandmens wiues stripped naked as they were borne and driuen into a Wood, where were Executioners purposely set to giue them their fatal entertainment. His Chancellor *Dubrowski* sitting at table with his two Sonnes, were also vpon accusation without answer cut in pieces, and the third sonne quartered aliuie with foure wheelles, each drawne a diuers way by fiftene men. *Mieszkowischky*, supreme Notarie, displeasing him, his wife was taken from him, and after some weeks detayning was with her hand-maid hanged ouer her husbands doore, and so continued a fortnight, he being driuen to goe in and out by her all that time. Another Notaries wife was rauished and then sent home and hanged ouer her husbands table, whereat he was forced daily to eate. In traouelling if he met any woman whose husband he liked not, he caused her to stand with her nakednesse disclosed till all his retinue were passed. Cutting out tongues, cutting off hands and feet of his complaining Subiects, and other diuersified tortures I omit; as also the guarding his father in lawes doores with Beares tyed there, that none might goe in or out, hanging his seruants at his doores, torturing him for treasure; casting hundreds of men * at once into the water vnder the Ice; two thousand seuen hundred and seuentie thus and by other tortures executed at *Nonogrod* An. 1569. besides women, and the poorer persons which Famine forced, did eate the bodies of the slaine, and were after slaine themselves; the Archbishop also set on a Mare with his feet ryed vnder the belly, and made to play on Bag-pipes thorow the Citie; the Monks spoyled and slaine; *Theodore Sirconi*, the Founder of twelue Monasteries, tortured to shew his treasure and then slaine: *Wiazinsky* his Secretarie, by many dayes renewed tortures dying; hee recreating himselfe with letting Beares loose in throngs of people; *Iohn Michalowich Wiskewati* the Chancellor, his eares, lips, and other members one after another cut off * by piece-meale, notwithstanding all protestations of his innocency; aboue two hundred other Nobles at the same time variously executed, one his Treasurer, two other Secretaries; the Treasurers wife set on a rope and forcibly dragged to and fro thereon (by that torturing her naked flesh, to learne her husbands treasures) whereof soone after shee dyed in a Monasterie, into which shee was thrust. All these are but a little of that which *Gwagninus* alone hath written. A taste and touch is too much of blood, and in such immanities. He is also said in a famine to haue gathered many people, in expectation of almes, on a bridge, and there guarded the bridge being cut to drowne them, as the readiest way for cheapnesse of corne. But I lothe such crudities. His last cruelty was on himselfe, dying with griefe, as was thought, for the death of his eldest sonne *Iuan*, whom falsely accused he struck with a staffe wrought with Iron, whereof he dyed in few dayes after. Hee was a man accused for communicating in disposition with his father, and as a ioyfull Spectator of his tragicall executions.

But if any delight to reade the terrible and bloudie Acts of *Iuan Basilowich*, he may glut, if not drowne himselfe in blood, in that Historie which *Paul Oderborne* hath written of his life, and both there and in others take view of other his vniust Acts. I will not depose for their truth, though I cannot disprove it: aduersaries perhaps make the worst. For my selfe I list not to rake

Al. Gwagninus
descript. Mosc.
George brother
to the Empe-
ror done to
death. Hee
addes principal
Nobles; here
omitted.

* 700. women
at one time;
378. prisoners
at another,
500. Matrons
and Virgins
of noble blood
exposed to be
rauished by the
Tatars in his
sight at ano-
ther time &c.
* A Secretarie
curing off his
privities, he
died presently;
which the Em-
perour con-
struing to be
done purpose-
ly, caused him
there instantly
to eate wher
he had cut off.

sinkes against him, and would speake in his defence, if I found not an vniuersall conspiracy of all Hittorie and Reports against him. I honour his other good parts, his wit, his learning (perhaps better then almost any other *Russe* in his time) his exemplarie seuerity on vniust Magistrates, his Martiall skill, industrie, fortune, wherby he subdued the Kingdoms of *Casan* and *Astracan* (which also the *Turke* sending from *Constantinople* an Armie of three hundred thousand to dispossesse him of, *A. 1569.* besides his hopes and helps from the *Tartars*, few returned to tell their disasters, and the destructions of their fellowes) besides what hee got in *Siberia* and from the *Pole*, *Sweden*, *Prussian*, extending his Conquests East, West, North, and South: yea, his memorie is sauourie still to the *Russians*, which (either of their seruile disposition needing such a bridle and whip, or for his long and prosperous reigne, or out of distaste of later tragedies) hold him in little lesse reputation (as some haue out of their experience instructed me) then a Saint.

His loue to our Nation is magnified by our Countymen with all thankfulness, whose gaines there begun by him, haue made them also in some sort seeme to turne *Russe* (in I know what loues or feares, as if they were still shut vp in *Russia*, & to conceale whatsoever they know of *Russian* occurrents) that I haue sustayned no small torture with great paines of body, vexation of minde, and triall of potent interceding friends to get but neglect and silence from some, yea almost contempt and scorne. They alledge their thankfulness for benefits receiued from that Nation, and their feare of the *Dutch*, readie to take aduantage thereof, and by calumniation from hence to interuert their Trade. This for loue to my Nation I haue inserted against any Cauillers of our *Russe* Merchants: though I must needs professe that I distaste, and almost detest that (call it what you will) of Merchants to neglect Gods glorie in his providence, and the Worlds instruction from their knowledge; who while they will conceale the *Russians* Faults, will tell nothing of their Facts; and whiles they will be silent in mysteries of State, will reueale nothing of the histories of Fact, and that in so perplexed, diuersified chances and changes as seldome the World hath in so short a space seene on one Scene. Whiles therefore they which seeme to know most, will in these *Russian* Relations helpe me little or nothing (except to labour and frustrated hopes) I haue (besides much conference with eye witnesses) made bold with others in such books as in diuers languages I haue read, and in such Letters and written Treatises as I could procure of my friends, or found with Master *Hakluyt* (as in other parts of our storie) not seeking any whit to disgrace that Nation or their Princes, but onely desiring that truth of things done may bee knowne, and such memorable alterations may not passe as a dreame, or bee buried with the Doers. Sir *Ierome Horsey* shall leade you from *Iuans* Graue to *Pheodores* Coronation.

* Or Theodor

Sir Ierom Horsey.

The most solemnne and magnificent coronation of PHEODOR IVANOVICH, Emperour of Russia, &c. the tenth of Iune, in the yeare 1584. scene and obserued by Master IEROM HORSEY Gentleman, and seruant to her Maiesstie.

The death of Iuan Vasilowich 1584. April 18.

Lord Boris adopted as the Emperors third sonne.

When the old Emperour *Iuan Vasilowich* died (being about the eighteenth of April, 1584. after our computation) in the Citie of *Mosco*, hauing raigned fiftie foure yeares, there was some tumult & vprore among some of the Nobilitie and Comminaltie, which notwithstanding was quickly pacified. Immediately the same night, the Prince *Boris Pheodorowich Godonowa*, *Knez*, *Iuan Pheodorowich*, *Mesthis Slafsky*, *Knez*, *Iuan Petrowich Snsky*, *Mekita Romanowich* and *Bodan Iacoulewich Belikoy*, being all noble men, and chiefeest in the Emperours Will, especially the Lord *Boris*, whom he adopted as his third son, and was brother to the Empreffe, who was a man very well liked of all estates, as no lesse worthy for his valour and wisedome: all these were appointed to dispose, and settle his Sonne *Pheodor Iuanowich*, hauing one sworne another, and all the Nobilitie and Officers whosoeuer. In the morning the dead Emperour was laid into the Church of *Michael the Archangell*, into a hewen Sepulchre, very richly decked with Vestures fit for such a purpose: and present Proclamation was made (Emperour *Pheodor Iuanowich* of all *Russia*, &c.) Throughout all the Citie of *Mosco* was great watch and ward, with Souldiours, and Gunners, good orders established, and Officers placed to subdue the tumulters, and maintaine quietnesse: to see what speede and policie was in this case vsed, was a thing worth the beholding. This being done in *Mosco*, great men of birth and accompt were also presently sent to the bordering Townes, as *Smolensko*, *Uolsko*, *Kasan*, *Novogorod*, &c. with fresh garrison, and the old sent vp. As vpon the fourth of May a Parliament was held, wherein were assembled the Metropolitan, Archbishops, Bishops, Priors, and chiefe Clergie men, and all the Nobility whatsoever: where many matters were determined not pertinent to my purpose, yet all tended to a new reformation in the gouernement: but especially the terme, and time was agreed vpon for the solemnizing of the new Emperours coronation. In the meane time the Empreffe, wife to the old Emperour, was with her childe the Emperours son, *Charlewich Demetrie Iuanowich*, of one yeares age or thereabouts, sent with her Father *Pheodor Pheodorowich Nagay*, and that kindred, being

40

50

60

five

five brothers, to a towne called *Ouglets*, which was giuen vnto her, and the yong Prince her sonne, with all the Lands belonging to it in the shire, with officers of all sorts appointed, hauing allowance of apparell, iewels, diet, horse, &c. in ample manner belonging to the estate of a Prince. The time of mourning after their vse being expired, called *Sorachyn*, or fortie orderly dayes, the day of the solemnizing of this coronation, with great preparations, was come, being vpon the tenth day of Iune, 1584. and that day then Sunday, he being of the age of twenty five years: at which time, Master *Ierom Horsey* was orderly sent for, and placed in a fit roome to see all the solemnity. The Emperour comming out of his Pallace, there went before him, the Metropolitan, Archbishops, Bishops, and chiefe Monkes, and Clergie men, with very rich Coapes and Priests garments vpon them, carrying pictures of our Lady, &c. with the Emperours Angell, banners, censers, and many other such ceremonious things, singing all the way. The Emperour with his nobility in order entred the Church, named *Blueshina* or *Blessednes*, where prayers and seruice were vsed, according to the manner of their Church: that done, they went thence to the Church called *Michael* the Archangell, and there also vsed the like prayers, and seruice: and from thence to our Lady Church, *Prechista*, being their Cathedrall Church. In the middest thereof was a chaire of maiestie placed, wherein his Ancestors vsed to sit at such extraordinary times: his robes were then changed, and most rich and vnualueable garments put on him: being placed in this Princely seate, his nobilitie standing round about them in their degrees, his imperiall Crowne was set vpon his head by the Metropolitan, his Scepter globe in his right hand, his sword of Iustice in his left of great riches: his six crowns also, by which he holdeth his Kingdomes were set before him, and the Lord *Boris Pheodorovich* was placed at his right hand: then the Metropolitan read openly a booke of a small volume, with exhortations to the Emperour to minister true Iustice, to ioy with tranquility the Crowne of his ancestours, which God had giuen him, and vsed these words following:

Through the will of the almightie and without beginning God, which was before this world, whom we glorifie in the Trinitie, one onely God, the Father, the Sonne, and the holy Ghost, maker of all things, worker of all in all euery where, fulfiller of all things, by which will, and working, he both lueth and giueth life to man: that our onely God which enspireth euery one of vs his onely children with his word to discerne God through our Lord Iesus Christ, and the holy quickning spirit of life, now in these perillous times established vs to keepe the right Scepter, and suffer vs to raigne of our selues to the good profit of the land, to the subduing of the people, together with the enemies, and the maintenance of vertue. And so the Metropolitan blessed and laid his crosse vpon him. After this, he was taken out of his chaire of Maiesty, hauing vpon him an vpper robe adorned with precious stones of all sorts, orient pearles of great quantity, but alwayes augmented in riches: it was in weight two hundred pounds, the traine and parts thereof borne vp by six Dukes, his chiefe imperiall Crowne vpon his head very precious: his staffe imperiall in his right hand of an Vnicornes horne of three foote and a halfe in length beset with rich stones, bought of Merchants of *Ausburge* by the old Emperour, in Anno 1581. and cost him 7000. Markes sterling. This Iewel Master *Horsey* kept sometimes, before the Emperour had it. His Scepter globe was carried before him by the Prince *Boris Pheodorovich*: his rich cap beset with rich stones and pearles, was carried before him by a Duke: his sixe Crownes also were carried by *Demetrius Iuanowich Godonoua*, the Emperours vnckle, *Mekita Romanowich* the Emperours vnckle, *Stephen Vasilowich*, *Gregorie Vasilowich*, *Iuan Vasilowich* brothers of the blood royall. Thus at last the Emperour came to the great Churchdoore, and the people cried, God saue our Emperour *Pheodor Iuanowich* of all *Russia*. His Horse was there ready most richly adorned, with a couering of imbroidered pearle and precious stones, saddle, and all furniture agreeable to it, reported to be worth 300000. markes sterling.

There was a bridge made of a hundred & fiftie fadomes in length, three manner of waies, three foot aboue ground, and two fadome broad, for him to goe from one Church to the other with his Princes and nobles from the presse of the people, which were in number infinite, and some at that time pressed to death with the throng. As the Emperour returned out of the Churches, they were spread vnder foot with cloth of Gold, the porches of the Churches with red Veluet, the Bridges with Scarlet, & stammelled cloth from one Church to another: and as soone as the Emperour was passed by, the cloth of gold, veluet and scarlet was cut, & taken of those that could come by it, euery man desirous to haue a piece, to reserue it for a monument: siluer and gold coine, then minted of purpose was cast among the people in great quantitie. The Lord *Boris Pheodorovich* was sumptuously and richly attired, with his garments decked with great orient pearle, beset with all sorts of precious stones. In like rich manner were apparelled all the family of the *Godonouas* in their degrees, with the rest of the Princes and nobilitie, whereof one named *Knez Iuan Michailowich Glynsky*, whose robe, horse and furniture, was in regilter found worth one hundred thousand markes sterling, being of great antiquitie. The Embresse being in her Pallace, was placed in her chaire of Maiesty also before a great open window: most precious, and rich were her robes, and shining to behold, with rich stones, and orient Pearles beset, her crowne was placed vpon her head, accompanied with her Princesses, and Ladies of estate: then cried out the people, God preserve our noble Empresse *Irena*. After all this, the Emperour came into the Parliament

The day of
Pheodor his co-
ronation.

house, which was richly decked: there he was placed in his royall seat adorned as before: his sixe crownes were set before him vpon a Table: the Bason and Ewre royall of gold held by his knight of gard, with his men standing two on each side in white apparell of cloth of siluer, called Kindry with scepters and battle-axes of gold in their hands, the Princes and nobility were all placed according to their degrees all in their rich robes.

The Emperour after a short Oration, permitted euery man in order to kisse his hand: which being done, he remoued to a princely seate prepared for him at the table: where he was serued by his Nobles in very princely order. The three out roomes being very great and large were beset with plate of gold and siluer round, from the ground vp to the vaults one vpon the other: among which plate were many barrells of siluer and gold: this solemnitie and triumph lasted a whole weeke, wherein many royall pastimes were shewed and vsed: after which, the chiefe men of the Nobilitie were elected to their places of office and dignitie, as the Prince *Boris Phedorowich* was made chiefe Counsellour to the Emperour, Master of the Horse, had the charge of his person, Lieutenant of the Empire, and warlike engins, Governour or Lieutenant of the Empire of *Cazan*, and *Astracan*, and others: to this dignitie were by Parliament, and gift of the Emperour giuen him many reuenues and rich lands, as there was giuen him, and his for euer to inherite a Prouince called *Vaga*, of three hundred *English* miles in length, and two hundred and fiftie in bredth, with many Townes and great Villages populous and wealthy: his yearly Reuenue out of that Prouince, is fife and thirtie thousand Markes sterling, being not the fifth part of his yeare Reuenue. Further, he and his house be of such authoritie and power, that in forty dayes warning, they are able to bring into the field a hundred thousand Souldiours well furnished.

The conclusion of the Emperours Coronation was a peale of Ordnance, called a Peale royall, two miles without the Citie, being a hundred and seuentie great pieces of brasie of all sorts, as faire as any can be made; these pieces were all discharged with shot against bulwarkes made of purpose: twentie thousand hargubusers standing in eight ranks two miles in length, apparelled all in velvet, coloured silke and stammels, discharged their shot also twise ouer in good order: and so the Emperour accompanied with all his Princes and Nobles, at the least fiftie thousand horse, departed through the Citie to his palace. This royall coronation would aske much time, and many leaues of paper to be described particularly as it was performed: it shall suffice, to vnderstand that the like magnificence was neuer seene in *Russia*.

The Coronation, and other triumphs ended, all the Nobilitie, officers, and Merchants, according to an accustomed order euery one in his place and degree, brought rich presents vnto the Emperour, wishing him long life, and ioy in his kingdome.

John de Wale

The same time also Master *Ierom Horsey* aforesaid, remaining as seruant in *Russia* for the Queens most excellent Maiestie, was called for to the Emperour, as he sate in his Imperiall seat, and the also a famous Merchant of *Netherland* being newly come to *Mosco* (who gaue him selfe out to be the King of *Spaines* subiect) called *John de Wale*, was in like sort called for. Some of the Nobilitie would haue preferred this subiect of the *Spaniard* before Master *Horsey* seruant to the Queen of *England*, whereunto Master *Horsey* would in no case agree, saying, hee would haue his legges cut off by the knees, before hee would yeelde to such an indignitie offered to his Soueraigne the *Queenes* Maiestie of *England*, to bring the Emperour a present, in course after the King of *Spaines* subiect, or any other whatsoever. The Emperour, and the Prince *Boris Phedorowich* perceuing the controuersie, sent the Lord Treasurer *Peter Iuanowich Galayn*, and *Vasili Shalkan*, both of the Counsell, to them, who deliuered the Emperour backe Master *Horseys* speech: whereupon he was first in order (as good reason) admitted and presented the Emperour in the behalfe of the *English* Merchants trading thither, a present, wishing him ioy, and long to raigne in tranquillitie, and so kissed the Emperours hand, he accepting the present with good liking, and auouching, that for his Sisters sake, *Queene Elizabeth* of *England*, he would be a gracious Lord to her Merchants, in as ample manner as euer his Father had beene: and being dismissed, he had the same day sent him, seauentie dishes of sundry kinds of meats, with three carts laden with all sorts of drinks very bountifully. After him was the foresaid subiect of the *Spanish* King admitted with his present, whom the Emperour willed to be no lesse faithfull & seruiceable vnto him, then the Queen of *England* subiects were & had been, & then the King of *Spaines* subiects shold receiue fauor accordingly.

All these things thus in order performed, prayses were sung in all the Churches. The Emperour and Empreffe very deuoutly resorted on foote to many principal Churches in the Citie, and vpon Trinitie Sunday betooke themselues to a progresse in order of procession, to a famous Monasterie called *Sergius* and the *Trinitie*, sixtie miles distant from the Citie of *Mosco*, accompanied with a huge armie of Noblemen, Gentlemen, and others, mounted vpon goodly Horses with furniture accordingly,

The Empreffe of deuotion tooke this iourney on foote all the way, accompanied with her Princesses and Ladies, no small number: her Guard and Gunners were in number twentie thousand: her chiefe Counsellor or Attendant, was a noble man of the blood Royall her Vncle of great authoritie, called *Demetri Iuanowich Godonoua*. All this progresse ended, both the Emperour and Empreffe returned to *Mosco*: shortly after, the Emperour by the direction of the Prince

Boris

Boris Pheodorowich, sent a power into the Land of *Siberia*, where all the rich Sables and Fures are gotten. This power conquered in one yeere and a halfe one thousand miles. In the performance of this warre, there was taken prisoner the Emperour of the Country, called *Chare Sibersky*, and with him many other Dukes and Noble men, which were brought to *Mosco*, with a guard of Souldiers and Gunners, who were receiued into the Citie in very honourable manner, and doe there remaine to this day.

Chare Sibersky
Prince of *Siberia*
taken prisoner
& brought
to *Mosco*.

Hereupon the corrupt Officers, Iudges, Iustices, Captaines and Lieutenants through the whole Kingdome were remooued, and more honest men substituted in their places, with expresse commandement, vnder seuer punishment to surcease their old bribing and extortion which they had vsed in the old Emperours time, and now to execute true iustice without respect of persons: and to the end that this might be the better done, their lands and yeerly stipends were augmented: the great taskes, customes, and duties, which were before laid vpon the people in the old Emperours time, were now abated, and some wholly remitted, and no punishments commanded to be vsed, without sufficient and due prooffe, although the crime were capitall, deseruing death: many Dukes and Noble men of great Houses, that were vnder displeasure, and imprisoned twentie yeeres by the old Emperour, were now set at libertie and restored to their lands: all prisoners were set at libertie, and their trespasses forgiven. In summe, a great alteration vniuersally in the gouernment followed, and yet all was done quietly, ciuilly, peaceably, without trouble to the Prince, or offence to the Subject: and this bred great assurance and honour to the Kingdome, and all was accomplished by the wisdome especially of *Irenia* the Empresse.

These things being reported and carried to the eares of the Kings and Princes that were borderers vpon *Russia*, they grew so fearfull and terrible to them, that the Monarch of all the *Seythians* called the *Crim Tartar* or great *Can* himselfe, named *Sophet Keri Alli*, came out of his owne Countie to the Emperour of *Russia*, accompanied with a great number of his Nobilitie well horfed, although to them that were Christians they seemed rude, yet they were personable men, and valiant: their comming was gratefull to the Emperour, and their entertainment was honourable: the *Tartar* Prince hauing brought with him his wiues also, receiued of the *Russe* Emperour entertainment, and Princely welcome according to their estates.

Sophet Keri Alli
King of the
Crim arrivall
at *Mosco*.

Not long after, one thousand and two hundred *Polish* Gentlemen, valiant Souldiers, and proper men came to *Mosco*, offering their seruice to the Emperour, who were all entertayned: and in like sort many *Chirkasses*, and people of other Nations came and offered seruice. And as soone as the report of this new created Emperour was spred ouer other Kingdomes of *Europe*, there were sent to him sundrie Ambassadors, to wish him ioy and prosperitie in his Kingdome: thither came Ambassadors from the *Turke*, from the *Persian*, the *Bogharian*, the *Crim*, the *Georgian*, and many other *Tartar* Princes. There came also Ambassadors from the Emperour of *Almaine*, the *Pole*, the *Swethen*, the *Dane*, &c. And since his Coronation noemie of his hath preuailed in his attempts.

It fell out not long after, that the Emperour was desirous to send a message to the most excellent Queene of *England*, for which seruice he thought no man fitter then Master *Ierome Horsey*, supposing that one of the Queenes owne men and subiects would bee the more acceptable to her. The summe of which message was, That the Emperour desired a continuance of that league, friendship, amitie and intercourse of traffique which was betweene his Father and the Queenes Maiestie and her Subiects, with other priuate affaires besides, which are not to bee made common.

The new Emperour
Pheodore
Iuanowich his
Letters and
Requests to
the Queene.

Master *Horsey* hauing receiued the Letters and Requests of the Emperour, provided for his journey ouer Land, and departed from *Mosco* the fift day of September, thence vnto *Orner*, to *Torshook*, to great *Nonogrod*, to *Volskie*, and thence to *Nyhouse* in *Linonia*, to *Wenden*, and so to *Riga*: (where he was beset, and brought forthwith before a Cardinall, called *Ragenil*, but yet suffered to passe in the end :) From thence to *Mito*, to *Golden*, and *Libon* in *Curland*, to *Memel*, to *Koningsburgh* in *Prussia*, to *Elbing*, to *Dantzike*, to *Stetme* in *Pomerland*, to *Rostock*, to *Lubeck*, to *Hamborough*, to *Breme*, to *Emden*, and by Sea to *London*. Being arrived at her Maiesties Royal Court, and hauing deliuered the Emperours Letters with good fauour, and gracious acceptance, he was forthwith againe commanded to repasse into *Russia*, with other Letters from her Maiestie to the Emperour, and Prince *Boris Pheodorowich*, answering the Emperours Letters, and withall requesting the fauour and friendship, which his Father had yeilded to the *English* Merchants: and hereunto was he earnestly also solicited by the Merchants of *London* themselves of that Companie, to deale in their behalfe. Being thus dispatched from *London* by Sea, he arrived in *Mosco*, the twentieth of Aprill, 1586. and was very honourably welcommed, and for the Merchants behoofe, obtayned all his Requests, being therein specially fauoured by the Noble Prince *Boris Pheodorowich*, who alwayes affected Master *Horsey* with speciall liking. And hauing obtayned priuiledges for the Merchants, he was recommended from the Emperour againe, to the Queene of *England* his Mistresse, by whom the Prince *Boris*, in token of his honourable and good opinion of the Queenes Maiestie, sent her Highnesse a Royall present of Sables, *Luzarns*.

Master *Horsey*
voyage from
Mosco to *Eng-*
land ouer land.

Luzarns, cloth of Gold and other rich things. So that the Companie of *English* Merchants, next to their thankfulness to her Maiestie, are to account Master *Horsey* paines their speciall benefit, who obtayned for them those priuiledges, which in twentie yeeres before would not be granted.

The manner of Master *Horsey*'s last dispatch from the Emperour, because it was very honorable, I thought good to record. Hee was freely allowed post-horses for him and his seruants, victuals and all other necessities for his long journey: at euery Towne that he came vnto from *Mosco* to *Vologda*, which is by Land five hundred miles, he receiued the like free and bountifull allowances, at the Emperours charge. New victuall and prouision were given him vpon the River *Dvina* at euery Towne by the Kings Officers, being one thousand miles in length. When he came to the new Castle, called *Archangel*, he was receiued of the Duke *Knez Vasil Andre-wich Isuanogorodsky* by the Emperours Commission into the Castle, Gunners being set in rankes after their vse, where he was sumptuously feasted: from thence he was dispatched with bountifull prouision and allowance in the Dukes Boat, with one hundred men to rowe him, and one hundred Gunners in other Boats to conduct him, with a Gentleman Captaine of the Gunners. Comming to the Road where the *English*, *Dutch*, and *French* ships rode, the Gunners discharged, and the shippes shot in like manner fortie fixe pieces of their Ordnance, and so hee was brought to his lodging at the *English* house vpon *Rose* Island.

And, that which was the full and complete conclusion of the fauour of the Emperour and *Boris Pheodorowich* toward Master *Horsey*, there were the next day sent him for his further prouision vpon the Sea by a Gentleman and a Captaine, the things following. Sixteene liue Oxen, seuentie Sheepe, six hundred Hens, five and twentie fitches of Bacon, eightie bushels of Meale, six hundred loaves of bread, two thousand Egges, ten Geese, two Cranes, two Swannes, sixtie five gallons of Meade, fortie gallons of Aquavita, sixtie gallons of Beere, three young Beares, foure Hawkes, store of Onions and Garlecke, ten fresh Salmones, a wilde Boare.

All these things were brought him downe by a Gentleman of the Emperours, and another of Prince *Boris Pheodorowich*, and were receiued in order by *Iohn Frese* seruant to Master *Horsey*, together with an honourable present and reward from the Prince *Boris*, sent him by Master *Francis Cherry* an *English* man: which present was a whole very rich piece of cloth of Gold, and a faire paire of Sables.

Ivan Vasilowich is reported to haue had seauen Wiues, and of them to haue left three children suruiuing, *Theodore* or *Pheodore* and *Demetrius* a yongling by his last wife, and a Daughter, which was the wife of *L. Boris* aforesaid, whose sister *Pheodore* had married in his Fathers life time, who would haue caused her diuorfe for her barrennesse (as he had caused *Iuan* his eldest sonne diuers times to doe and his refusing it at last, was the occasion of that angry, last, and fatall blow, before mentioned) but being protracted by faire excuses for a time, the diuorfe of soule and body in the Father preuented that in the marriage bed of the Sonne. Yet by his Testament he ordained, that if within two yeares she proued not fruitfull, hee should marrie another. The executors vrged this after that terme expired, but *Gernia* or *Irenia*, so wrought with her husband, that their counsels were frustrate: wherein she was assisted by the politicke wisdom of her brother *Boris*, who was now become chiefe Pilot, though not the Master in that *Russian* ship: and is said formerly to haue been no small doer in those cruel designes of *Iuan* his deceased Master; yet had he cunningly cast the blame on him now dead, and wisely insinuated into the peoples fauour, by mitigating the seueritie of his Decrees. You haue read before of his great Reuenues and wealth, recorded by eye witnesses. *Thuanus* saith, that three hundred of the *Knazs* and *Boiarens*, whereof the Senate of the Empire consisted, by aduise of the Executors, had subscribed. *Boris* made the simpler Emperour beleue, that it was a conspiracie against him: whereupon they were all committed, ten of which (whom he thought his most dangerous aduersaries) were suddenly and priuily executed: to the rest, he procured the Emperours pardon and fauour, seeming very sorrowfull that this clemency had bene so much foreflowed: and that the hastie execution had preuented his officious inuents for their deliuerance. And that he might seem serious, he got their goods to be restored to their heires: so working himselfe into the good liking of all degrees.

But soone after, yong *Demetrius* the Emperours brother was slaine, as hee was going to Church betwixt two *Boiarens*, by a mad man (as he seemed) who was thereupon suddenly slaine, but the author which set him on worke, could not be found: whereupon *Boris* was suspected to affect the soueraigntie. *Thuanus* elsewhere telleth, that hee corrupted those which were about *Demetrius*: and the great Bell being rung as is vsuall in cases of fire to bring the people together, *Demetrius* at that noise running forth, some were set in that tumult to kill him, which accordingly was effected, as he was comming downe a Ladder: the rumour whereof, caused the tumultuous people (making no curious search for the doers) to kill those of the Family which they met in their furie, to put the suspicion thereof from themselves: which notwithstanding, *Boris* exercised neuer tortures and terrible executions vpon them, and as one which hartily execrated the fact, burned the fort to expiate the parricide. This place being farre remote from the Court, whither

Thuan. hist. lib.
120.

Diuorfe vrged

D. Fl. c. S. I. H.

Boris his plot.

Thuan. hist. lib.
135. sec.
Demetrius slaine
some tell that
one pretended
his collar stood
awry, in men-
ding it, cut his
throat.
*It was in the
Northern parts
at *Duglets*.

* Some write that he caused diuers places in *Moscoto* to be fired, and then afterwards out of his owne cost repaired them.

D. Flet.

Death of Theo-
dore.

The Empreſſe
ſucceedeth.

*Russians vse of
fortie dayes
mourning for
an Emperours
death.*

The Queene
turneth Non.

Boris his willing
vawillingnesse.

Boris his speech

此

this burthen to my shoulders, but have determined to undertake your protection with greatest fidelitie, being readie to sway the Russian Scepter and Government, as farre as Gods grace shall enable mee. On the other side bee you faithfull to mee and to my command, as God may you helpe. I am your most gentle King.

Joyfull acclamations followed, with all protestation of their fidelitie and future obedience. He entring into the Monasterie, after Prayers, received the first Benediction. The people returned full of joy, and the Bels (of which are numbred in *Mosco*, three thousand) resounded the publike Festiuitie. All the Magistrates and Officers, & such as received Salarie of the King, go presently to the Monasterie and carrie Gold, Silver, Precious Stones, Pearles, Bread, and Salt, (after the solemne custome) with wishes of long life & al happines, and desiring to accept in good worth their Presents. He with thanks rendred, accepts only the Bread and Salt, laying, these were his; the rest they should take to themselves. Then doth hee bid them to a Feast, and presently with *Mary* his Wife, *Theodore* his Sonne of ten yeeres old, and *Arsenica* his Daughter being sixteene, he goeth out of the Monasterie with pompeous Procession to the Castle. Like Presents were offered to his Wife and Children, which accepted only the Bread and Salt, remitting the rest to the Presenters. When he was comne to the Castle, he chose his Sisters Lodging; for that of the Prince deceased, as offensue by his death was destroyed, and after new built.

After Festiuall entertaynment of innumerable people, solemne Oath was taken of all the Gouvernours; those things being in action till May. Then came newes that the *Crim Tartars* had entred the borders thinking to find all things troubled with an interregne; whereupon he assembled an Armie of three hundred thousand, and went in person against them. But the *Tartars* hearing how things went, returned home and sent Embassadors to the Emperours Tents. Hee returned with them to *Mosco*, where the next September (which is the beginning of the *Russian* New yeere, which enters in other places with January following) hee was publicly blessed by the Patriarke, carrying a golden Crosse in his hand, and on the fourteenth of September, before the *Knazeys*, *Boiarsens*, Bishops and other Orders, had the Crowne set on his head by the Patriarke, and the Scepter put in his hand, with the Solemnitie in such cases accustomed.

Twelue dayes together all Orders were feasted in the Castle, and the Magistrates and Officers had a yeeres pay giuen them. Merchants also of other Countries had Immunities and Priuiledges granted. The Rusticks had their payments to their *Boiarsens* reasonably rated, and their persons made more free. *Germane* Merchants had moneyes lent them to repay seuen yeeres after without Vsurie. Widdowes, and Orphans, and poorer persons received much Almes. *Pheodores* Obsequies were solemnely performed, and the Priests richly rewarded; and that Empire which seemed dead with the death of the house of *Beala*, now was as it were reuiued, and received a glorious Resurrection.

Thus haue we deliuered you *Thuanas* his report touching *Boris* manner of acquiring the Empire without publike enuie, and cunning wiping off the aspersions of *Pheodore* and *Demetrius* their deaths. And as euery bodie is nourished by Aliments correspondent to the Principles of the Generation, so did hee seeke by politike wisdom to establish that which by wise Policies he had gotten. Wherein his care was not little to multiply Treasure, and as at first hee had seemed popularly prodigall, so after a small time of his Reigne, hee became providently penurious, the wonted allowances of the Court being much shortened from that which had bene in former times, as I haue received from eye-witnesses. Likewise he was carefull to hold good tearmes with his Neighbouring Princes, and aswell by plots at home, as by forreigne Aliance indeuoured to settle on his Race this new gotten Empire. He is said for this end to haue sought a Wife for his sonne out of *England*, and a Husband for his Daughter out of *Denmarke*. His Wife was a woman of haughtie spirit, who thought her too good for any *Hollop* (so they call a slaue, and such she esteemed all the subjects) and on such tearmes she is said to haue bene denied to a great man his best Souldier and Commander of his Armie.

But while his Sunne shined now in the height of his course, and with brightest and warmest beames of prosperitie, there arose grosse vapours out of *Demetrius* his graue, which grew quickly into a blacke darke cloud, and not only eclipsed that Imperiall glorie, but soone engendered a bloudie storme, which with a floud swept away that whole Family, and ouerwhelmed also the whole Empire. Contraries set together cause the greater lustre; for which cause I will bring on the stage a Gentleman, which attended Sir *Thomas Smith* employed in Honourable Embassage from his Maiestie of Great *Brittaine* to the then flourishing Emperor *Boris*, and out of his large Relations deliuer you this which followeth in his owne words (omitting the most part * to our purpose not so pertinent) in the Booke printed, *Anno 1605*.

* Where the cenforious bitterness also seemeth too much to insult on *Boris* his disasters.

§. II.

Occurrents of principall Note which happened in Russia, in the time while the Honourable Sir THOMAS SMITH remayned there Ambassador from his Maiestie.

Sir Thomas Smith Knight, accompanied with Sir T. Challenor and Sir W. Wray Knights, diuers Gentlemen and his owne Attendants, repayed to the Court on the tenth of June 1604. then lying at *Greenwich*, where by the Right Honourable the Earle of *Salisbury* he was brought to His Maiesties presence, kissed his Hand, &c. The next day he tooke leave of the Prince, and on the twelfth being furnished with his Commission, he came to *Gravesend*, and next morning went aboard the *John* and *Francis* Admirall: and the two and twentieth of July anchored within a mile of the *Archangell*. The sixteenth of September, hee came to *Kologda*: the five and twentieth to *Perislawe*, and there staid three dayes, and then departed to *Troies*, (that faire and rich Monasterie) so to *Brattesheen* and *Rostouekin*, five versts from the great Citie of *Mosco*. The fourth of October, the *Prestau* came and declared the Emperours pleasure that hee should come into the *Mosco* that forenoone: presently after came Master *J. Mericke* Agent, with some twentie Horses to attend his Lordship, which forth-with was performed. Then we did ride, til we came within a little mile of the many thousands of Noblemen and Gentlemen on both sides the way, attended on horsebacke to receiue his Lordship. Where the Embassadour alighted from his Coach, and mounted on his foot-cloth Horse, and so rode on with his Trumpets sounding. A quarter of a mile farther, met him a proper and gallant Gentleman a-foot of the Emperours stable, who with Cap in hand, declared to the Embassadour, that the Emperour, the young Prince, and the Master of the Horse, had so farre fauoured him, as to send him a Iennet, very gorgeously trapped with Gold, Pearle, and Precious Stone: and particularly, a great Chaîne of plated Gold about his necke, to ride vpon. Whereupon the Embassadour alighted, imbraced the Gentleman, returned humble thanks to them all, and presently mounted. Then he declared that they likewise had sent horses for the Kings Gentlemen, which likewise were very richly adorned, then for all his followers: which Ceremonie or State performed, and all being horsed, he departed, we riding orderly forward, till wee were met by three great Noblemen, seuered from the rest of the multitude, and the Emperours *Tolmache* or Interpreter with them.

They being within speech, thus began that Oration they could neuer well conclude: Which was, That from their Lord and Master the mightie Emperour of *Russia*, &c. they had a message to deliuer his Lordship. The Embassadour then thinking they would be tedious and troublesome with their vsuall Ceremonies, preuented their farther speech with this (to them a *Spell*) That it was unfitting for Subiects to hold discourse in that kind of complement, of two such mightie and renowned Potentates on horsebacke. They (hereby not only put by their Ceremonious Saddle-sitting, but out of their Paper instructions) allighted suddenly, as men fearing they were halfe vnhorsed, and the Embassadour presently after them, coming very courteously all three, saluting the Embassadour and the Kings Gentlemen, taking them by the hands. Thus like a Scholer, too old to learne by rote (the Duke named King *Volladamur Euanywich Mawfolsky*) with his Lesson before him, declared his message; which was, that he with the other two Noblemen, were sent from the Great Lord, Emperour and great Duke *Boris Phedorowich, selfe-upholder, great Lord Emperour, and great Duke of all Russia, Volademer, Moskoe and Nouogrode, King of Calan and Astracan, Lord of Vobskoe, great Duke of Smolenskoe, Tuer, Huder, Vghory, Perme, Viatsky, Bolgory, &c. Lord and great Duke of Nouogrod in the Low Countreies, of Chernigo, Rezan, Polotskey, Rostoue, Geraslaue, Bealozera, Leifland, Oudorskey, Obdorskey, Condingskey. King of all Syberia and the North Coasts, Commander of the Countreies of Iuersky, Gryfinsky, and Emperour of Kabardiuskey, of Chirkasky, and of the whole Countrey of Garskey, and of many other Countreies and Kingdomes Lord and Emperour*, to know of his Maiesties health of England, the Queene and Princes. The second, being a Captayne of Gunners (the Emperours Guard) named *Kazrinus Danydowich Beabeetchone*, pronouncing the Emperour and Princes Title, said hee was sent from them to know his Lordships health and vface, with the Kings Gentlemen. The third, was one of the Secretaries, named *Phedor Boulteene*, obseruing the former order did deliuer what he had in comand from the Emperour, Prince and Empreffe, to informe the Embassadour of their much fauour towards him, and the Kings Gentlemen, in prouiding for his Honourable entertayne and ease, a faire large house to lodge in: Also that they three were sent from the Emperour, Prince, and Empreffe, to be his *Prestaues*, to supply the Emperours goodnesse toward him, to prouide his necessaries, and deliuer any lute it pleased the Ambassadour to make to the Emperour. To all which the Embassadour very wisely gaue answer (as they made report vnto the Emperour.)

So we all presently mounted againe, the *Prestaues* on either hand of the Ambassadour his Horse and Foot-cloth being led by his Page, some small distance, his Coach behind that, and some

some fixe thousand Gallants after behind all: who at the Embassadors riding through the guard, that was made for him, very courteously bowed himselfe. Thus was he followed by thousands, and within the three wals of the Citie, many hundreds of young Noblemen, Gentlemen, and rich Merchants well mounted, begirt the wayes on euery side: diuers on foot also, euen to the gate of the house where the Embassador was to be lodged, which was some two miles. Whether being come, he was brought into his Bed-chamber by the Noblemen his *Prestanes*, where with many thanks for their honourable paines; they were dismist, betaking themselves to their further affaires. The next morning came three other *Prestanes* with the former, to know of his Lordships health, and how he had rested the night past withall, that if his Lordship wanted any thing, they all, or any one of them, were as commanded, so ready to obey therein. These, with the Interpreter and fixe Gentlemen were most within the walls, lodged in a house ouer the gate, besides we had fiftie Gunners to attend, and guard vs in our going abroad.

Strange request. The eight of October being the fourth day after our comming to *Musco*, the *Prestanes* came to his Lordship to let him vnderstand, they heard he should goe vp the next day: wherefore they desired his speech and Embassage to the Emperour: and the rather, that the Interpreter might (as they pretended) translate it. To this purpose, very earnestly at seuerall times they made demand. The Embassador answered, that he was sent from a mightie Prince, to bee his Embassador to their Emperour, and being sent to their Master, he deemed it, not only a dishonour to him, but a weaknesse in them, to require that at his hands.

His audience. The cleuenth of October, his Lordship being sent for by his *Prestanes* there wayting, hauing excellent Iennets for himselfe, the Kings Gentlemen, and good horses for the rest: as likewise two gallant white Palfreis to carrie or draw a rich Chariot, one parcell of the great Present, with his followers and the Emperours guard, carrying the rest: on each side the streets standing the Emperours guard with Peeces in their hands well apparelled, to the number of two thousand by esteeme, many Messengers posting betwixt the Court and our *Prestanes*. Thus with much state, softly riding, till we came vnto the vtmmost gate of the Court (hauing passed through the great Castle before) there his Lordship dismounted. Then met him a great Duke (named *Knase Andriay Metowich Soomederoue*) with certayne Gentlemen, to bring him vp. So in order as we rode, we ascended the staires and a stone Gallerie, whereon each side stood many Nobles and Courtiers, in faire Coates of *Persian* Stoffe, Veluet, Damaske, &c. At the entry to the great Chamber, two Counsellors encountred the Embassador, to conduct him through that Roome, round about which sat many graue and richly apparelled Personages. Then we entered the Presence, whether being come, and making obeysance, we staid to heare, but not vnderstand, a very gallant Nobleman, named *Peter Basman*, deliuer the Emperours Title: Then the particular of the Presents, and some other Ceremonies: which performed the Embassador hauing libertie, deliuered so much of his Embassage, as the time and occasion then afforded: After which the Emperour arising from his Throne, demanded of the King of *Englands* health, the Princes, and Queenes: then of the Embassadors and the Kings Gentlemen, and how they had bene vsed since they entred within his Dominions: to all which with obeysance wee answered as was meete. Then the young Prince demanded the very same.

P. Basman. The Embassador hauing taken the Kings Letter of his Gentleman Vsher, went vp after his obeysance to deliuer it, which the Lord Chancellor would haue intercepted. But the Embassador gaue it to the Emperours owne hands, and his Majestie afterwards deliuered it to the Lord Chancellor: who tooke it, and shewing the superscription to the Emperour and Prince, held it in his hand openly with the Seale towards them. Then the Emperour called the Embassador to kisse his hand, which he did, as likewise the Princes, and with his face towards them returned. Then did hee call for the Kings Gentlemen to kisse his hand, and the Princes, which they after obeysance made, did accordingly. Afterwards, his Majestie inuited his Lordship, the Kings Gentlemen and the rest to dine with him, as likewise Master *I. Mericke* Agent by name, who gaue his attendance there on the Embassador, and was now (as diuers times) very graciously vsed of the Emperour and Prince: no stranger (that I euer heard off) like him in all respects.

Emperours glorie. Being entred the Presence, we might behold the excellent Majestie of a mightie Emperour, seated in a Chaire of Gold, richly embroydered with *Persian* Stoffe: in his right hand hee held a golden Scepter, a Crowne of pure Gold vpon his head, a Coller of rich stones and Pearles about his necke, his outward Garments of Crimson Veluet, embroydered very faire, with Pearles, Precious stones and Gold: On his right side, (on equall height to his Throne) standing a very faire Globe of beaten Gold, on a Pyramis, with a faire Crosse vpon it, vnto which before hee spake, he turned a little and crost himselfe. Nigh that, stood a faire Bason and Ewer, which the Emperour often vseth daily.

Princes splendour. Close by him in another Throne sat the Prince, in an outward Garment like his Fathers, but not so rich, a high blacke Foxe Cap on his head, worth in those Countreyes five hundred pound, a Golden Staffe like a Friers, with the likenesse of a Crosse at the top. On the right hand of the Emperour, stood two gallant Noblemen in cloth of Siluer Garments, high blacke Foxe Cappes, great and long chaines of Gold hanging to their feet, with Pollaxes on their shoulders of Gold.

Pollaxes.

And

And on the left hand of the Prince two other such, but with Silver Pollaxes. Round about the benches sat the Councell and Nobilitie, in Golden and *Persian* Coats, and high blacke Foxe Caps, to the number of two hundred, the ground being couered with Cloth of Arrasse, or Tapistrie: The Presents standing all the while in the Roome, within little distance of his Majestie, where he and the Prince often viewed them. Being now by our *Prestanes* and others come for to Dinner, who led vs through much presse and many Chambers to one very faire and rich Roome, where was infinite store of masse Plate of all sorts; Towards the other end stood the Emperours Vncle, named *Stephan Vaselewich Godonow*, Lord High Steward, being attended with many Noblemen and Gentlemen, whom my Lord in his passage saluted, which with an extraordinary countenance of aged Ioy, he received, making one of their honourable Nods. The Embassador entered the dining Roome, where we againe viewed the Emperour and Prince, seated vnder two Chaires of State, readie to dine, each hauing a Scull of Pearle on their bare heads, but the Princes was but a Coronet. Also their Vestments were changed.

Councell and Nobilitie.

Dining room

Change of Rayment.

Two hundred Nobles guests.

Three hundred noble Seruitors.

Garlike and Onions. Drinke. Meads.

Memory of Q. Elizabeth.

Gifts.

Newes of Demetrius.

The former Duke, that for that day was the Embassadours *Prestane*, came, as commanded from the Emperour, and placed the Embassador at a Table, on the bench side, some twentie foot from the Emperour. Then the Kings Gentlemen, Master *Merike*, Master *Edward Churrie*, and all the rest were placed, so that our eyes were halfe opposite to the Emperour.ouer against the Embassadour sat his *Prestanes* vppermost. Also in this large place sat the Priue Councill, to the number of two hundred Nobles at severall Tables. In the midst of this Hall might seeme to stand a great Pillar, round about which, a great heighth stood wonderfull great pieces of Plate, very curiously wrought with all manner of Beasts, Fishes and Fowles, besides some other ordinarie pieces of seruiceable Plate.

Being thus set (some quarter of an houre as it were, feeding our eyes with that faire Pillar of Plate) we beheld the Emperours Table serued by two hundred Noblemen, all in Coats of cloth of Gold. The Princes Table serued with one hundred young Dukes and Princes of *Cassan*, *African*, *Syberia*, *Tartaria*, *Chercafes* and *Russes*, none aboue twentie yeeres old.

Then the Emperour sent from his Table by his Noble Seruitors, to my Lord and the Kings Gentlemen, thirtie Dishes of meate, and to each a loafe of extraordinary fine bread. Then followed a great number of strange and rare Dishes, some in Silver, but most of masse Gold; with boyled, baked, and roasted, being piled vp on one another by halfe dozens. To make you a particular Relation, I should doe the entertaynment wrong, consisting almost of innumerable Dishes: Also, I should ouer-charge my memory, as then I did mine eyes and stomacke, little delighting the Reader, because Garlike and Onions, must besawce many of my words, as then it did the most part of their Dishes.

For our Drinckes, they consisted of many excellent kinds of Meades, besides all sorts of Wine and Beere. Diuers times by name, the Emperour sent vs Dishes: but in the midst of Dinner hee called the Embassadour vp to him, and dranke our Kings health, where the Emperour held some discourte of our King and State. But at one time (striking his hand aduisedly on his brest) *Oh, said hee, my deere Sister Queene Elizabeth*, whom I loued as mine owne heart, expressing this his great affection almost in a weeping passion. The Embassador receiuing the Cup from his Princely hand, returned againe to his owne place, where all of vs standing, dranke the same health out of the same Cup, being of faire Christall, as the Emperour had commanded, the Wine (as farre as my judgement gaue leaue) being Alligant.

Thus passing some foure houres in banquetting, and refreshing our selues too plentifully, all being taken away, we did arise. The Embassadour and the Kings Gentlemen beeing called by name to receiue from his Emperiall hands, a Cup (or rather as they call it a *Tendouer*) of excellent red Mead, a fauour among them neuer obserued before, which Cups for they were great and the Mead very strong, we often sipped at, but without hurting our memories, we could not say *Amen* vnto: which the Emperour perceiuing, commanded them to be taken away, saying, Hee was best pleased with what was most for our healths.

Thus after our low courtesies performed, wee departed from his presence, riding home with the same former guard and attendance to our Lodings; where our *Prestanes* for that instant left vs, but shortly after they came againe, to accompany a great and gallant Duke, one of them that held the Emperours golden Pollaxes, named *Knes Romana Phedorowich Troja Narow*, who was sent from his Majestie to make the Embassadour and the Kings Gentlemen merrier: likewise hauing instructions to drinke their Emperours, our Kings, and both the Princes healths, and diuers Princes else, which hee did himselfe very freely and some of vs, as many of them as wee could with our owne healths, there being such plentie of Meades and other Drinckes, as might well haue made fortie *Russes* haue stumbled to sleepe. Thus light-headed, and well laded especially if you take knowledge of the thirtie yards of cloth of Gold, and the two standing Cups with couers, which the Embassadour rewarded him withall, before he departed.

But vnwelcome newes within foure dayes after our audience so vnhappy came, as not only our Affaires, but any else, except counsell against present danger, was not regarded. For this was held for currant, that one who named himselfe *Demetrie Euanowich Beala*, as the Sonne of their late

late Emperor *Iuan Vasilowich*; hee that in the reigne of *Pheodor Euanowich* his brother was in his infancie, as was thought, murdered at *Ongleets* is now reuiued againe, and vp in armes for his right and inheritance: whereupon presently was sent an Armie of two hundred thousand Souldiers, either to take or slay him. But he was so strengthened with *Poles, Cossacks, &c.* that a number of *Russes* yeelded to his obedience.

Vpon the one and twentieth of Nouember, the young Prince of an ancient custome going to a Church within *Mosco*, the Kings Gentlemen vpon knowledge thereof (the Ambassador being vnwilling to be seene publike, as also for that the Emperor himselfe did not goe as hee was accustomed) went and attended where his Excellency might see them, and they safely beheld him, who rode in a very faire and rich sled, hauing a gallant Palfrey lead by two Groomes to draw it, many hundreds running before to sweepe the snowe away where he should passe, and were said to bee slaues, which I verily beleue, because certainly they were his Subiects. Then came the Prince richly apparelled with two *Tartar* Princes standing before on his sled, and two young Dukes behind, with two hundred sleds following him.

The eight of Februarie, the Emperor sent vs sleds to ride abroad, and this day the rather, that we might behold a reported victorie, against the reputed Rebell *Demetrie, &c.* So we the Kings Gentlemen did behold three hundred poore Prisoners, seuentene Ensignes, and eleuen Drums brought in, with more glorie then victorie. About this time returned *Peter Basman*, one of the Generals, who had performed very honourable seruice, and certainly, he was the man of greatest hope and expectation in the whole Empire, who was brought into the *Mosco*, with all the Counsell, Nobles, Gentlemen, and Merchants, a grace neuer performed before to any Subiect. But not without suspicion of some extraordinarie secret herein, and besides particular fauours, bountifull rewards, and a promise he should neuer goe againe vntill the Emperor himselfe went; he was, being but a young man, made a Priue Counsellor. Forthwith one thing I will you shall obserue the Emperors fauour, and his then noble Spirit, he making diuers times sure (as was thought) because they were in great danger, to goe againe to the warres, once prostrated himselfe to obayne his desire, but falling downe too humbly, hee could not easily rise againe, whereby the Emperor vnderstanding of his many and great wounds, was said to weepe, rising himselfe vp to raise and helpe him vp, but extraordinarie Causes haue the like Effects, as hereafter you shall vnderstand.

We were lodged in the same house where the young Prince *Iohn of Denmarke*, brother to that King and our now Queene of England, did lodge, (who would haue married the young Princeesse *Oucfinia*, the Emperors only daughter, but that he unhappily there died) but not in any of those lodgings: for it is a custome there, that where a Prince dyes (especially a stranger) not of long time after to let any other lodge there.

Now the Ambassador vnderstanding of the conuenience of his passage downe by sled-way, also fearing (as wise men had cause) what the issue of these warres would be, knowing the state here vsed in any sutes, bethought himselfe aduisedly that it was high time, being the middest of Februarie, to desire a second audience for his sooner dispatch, which he forthwith requested, and wrote a letter to that purpose vnto the Lord Chancellor.

Vpon the tenth of March, the Ambassador with the Kings Gentlemen all richly apparelled, and all his followers decently attending, very honourably (as before) and with the like recourse of beholders, and guard of Gunners (but that they were said to bee Citizens by reason of their warres, but in like apparell) was attended to the Court, being receiued with the former grace, or more, he ascended the Presence: the Emperour and Prince holding their wonted state, onely changing their Vestments with the season, but for the riches nothing inferior.

So soone as the Ambassador and the Kings Gentlemen were come opposite to his Throne, hee commanded seates that they might sit downe: then with a Maiestick countenance, representing rather constraint then former cheerfulness, he declared, that He, his Sonne and Councell, had considered his Maiesties Letter, the Maiestie of King *Iames of England*, as also on whatsoever else was desired, and in token of his ioyfull receiued amitie with the renowned King of England, as with his Predecessor, he had wrote his Princely Letters to that purpose. Herewith the Chancellor from the Emperour deliuered the Ambassadors his Highnesse Letters to his excellent Maiestie. Withall vnderstanding by the Chancellor hee had some farther matter to intreat of, then in his Briefe to his Maiestie was remembred: therefore hee had appointed foure principall Councillors to consult with him of his Requests, which was done. After, the Ambassador yeelding courteous thanks for his Maiesties fauour, his Lordship attended by many Nobles, proceeded to the Councell Chamber, whither presently after came foure Councillors, and the Emperours *Tolmach*: who after salutations, we withdrew to the next chamber, where wee passed away an houre in discourse, among many young Nobles, hauing the Ambassadors Interpreter. In the end, after three or foure goings and returnes of the Chancellor from the Emperour, wee went againe before him (where after hee had commanded vs to sit downe as before) by the mouth of the Chancellor was openly deliuered a Briefe of the whole Embassie (and that dayes particular desire, according to the Ambassadors request, confirmed.) Also in good and pleasing language,

language, was declared the great desire that the Emperour had, for the continuance of peace and amitie with the renowned *James King of England*, as with the late *Queene Elizabeth*; withall that in due time (all accidents well ended) he would send an honourable Ambassador for further affaires, as likewise to congratulate with our King of his happinesse in so plausible comming to his Right and Inheritance. Likewise, a Grant of a new Priuledge for the Companie, which he said should be vnder the golden Seale, &c.

Which ceremonious speech ended, the Emperour called for the Ambassador and the Kings Gentlemen to kisse his hand, and the Princes: which done, with the Emperours nod or bowing to vs, as likewise the Princes, desiring the remembrance of his and the Princes commendations to his Maiestie, the Prince, and *Queene of England*, we were dismissed, but not before the Emperour said he would send home to vs. Thus we tooke our last leaue of the Emperours Court, being more graciously and especially entertayned then before, or then euer any would take knowledge Ambassadors were vied withall: we are honorably attended home, and a Duke of great account, named *Knas Euan Euannowich Courleten*, was attended with many of the Emperours seruants within our Gates: following him a dinner, sent from the Emperour by some two hundred persons, consisting of three hundred seuerall dishes of Fitt (for it was now Lent) of such strangenesse, greatnesse, and goodnesse (for their number) as it were not to bee beleued by any report, but by a mans owne eye-sight, with infinite store of Meades, and Beere, in massie plate, &c.

The eighteenth of March, the Emperour sent by *Vassilly Gregorenich Telephone*, the Roll wherein was the Demands of the Ambassador, and the particulars of the whole negotiation, as there at large appeares. The nineteenth, his Maiestie sent by *Monsboy Buldecoue*, vnder Treasurer, a royall Present to the Ambassador of many particulars, also to each of the Kings Gentlemen, being rewarded, he departed.

The twentieth of March, being honourably accompanied with thousands of Gallants of each side the streets all along as we passed, the Ambassador departed from the Citie of *Mosco*, with the whole numbers of horse-men still becking vs, till we came a short mile on this side the Citie where we made a stand, and after some complement betweene the Ambassador and his kinde and honourable *Prestane*, the Duke *Vollagdemor*, with almost weeping on his part, the Ambassador went from the Emperours sled to his coach set vpon a sled, and wee alighted from the Emperours horses, and betooke our selues to our easie and pleasant passage in sleds, such a passage as this part of the World would wonder at, in which a man though hee goe a Hackney pace, may as easily reade as sleepe.

Thus accompanied with Master *John Mericke*, Master *William Russel*, sometimes Agent for the *Dutch*, and many other Merchants, we easily rode that night to *Brattefshin*, thirtie miles from the *Mosco*. The next morrow taking leaue of them all, we continued our iourney fiftie and sixtie versts a day easily.

Within few dayes after wee heard newes certainly of the Emperours sudden and vntimely death: which, considering neither the *Prestane*, the Gouvernour, or Bishop, had not or would not of ten dayes after take knowledge of, we might in the meane time haue doubted of, but that his Lordship had it from Master *John Mericke* by Letter particularly. His death was very sudden, and as it was in it selfe, very strange: for within some two houres after dinner, hauing (as hee vsually had) his Doctors with him, who left him in their iudgements in health, as the good meale he made could witnesse, for hee dined well, and fed plentifully, though presently after as may be thought, feeding ouer-much, hee felt himselfe not onely heauie, but also payned in his stomacke: presently went into his chamber, laid himselfe vpon his bed, sent for his Doctors (which alwayes speeded) yet before they came, hee was past, being speechlesse and soone after dying. Before his death (as speedie as it was) hee would bee shorne, and new christned: what the cause was otherwise then the grieffe, inward sorrow, with diuers distractions about the warres, and their bad successe, fearing the worst on his part, onely God knowes: yet who so remembers Gods iudgements, or Princes policies for Kingdomes, with mans sinfulness, and considereth the one with the other, may bee satisfied, if not contented.

For the Emperours person, he was tall and well bodied, teaching out of his authoritie obedience, of an excellent presence, black and thin haired, well faced, round and close shaued, strong limmed. A Prince framed betweene Thought and Resolution, as being euer in labour, but neuer till death deliuered: neuer acting (though euer plotting) but in his Closet or Council Chamber. One rather obeyed then loued, being feared where hee was not serued: doubtlesse, vpholding a true Maiestie and gouernment in euery part, but in his owne minde, that it is a question, whether he were more kinde to Strangers, or seuerer and iust to his Subiects, or hateful and terrible to his Enemies. A father and a Prince, whose wordes, counsels, obseruations, policies, resolutions, and experiments, were but the life of his deare Sonne, neuer aduising, entertayning, no not praying without him. In all Ambassies and Negotiations, remembering his sonnes name with his owne, louing him (being louely) for that himselfe would bee loued, unwilling to spare his presence, desirous to haue him at all occasions before his eyes. I shall not doe

Golden Seale.

Great dinner.

Ambassadors departure.

Sled-passage.

Emperor Boris his death.

New christened.

Emperours person.

His respect to his sonne.

amisse, to giue a taste of the fruit sprung from so stately a Tree. Being by a learned and well tra-
tailed Gentleman diuers times particularly aduised, to let the Prince take some more (then no
recreation) by which meanes he might as well prolong his life, as instruct his iudgement and de-
light his minde: Oh, would the Emperour answere, one sonne is no sonne: nay, I am perswa-
ded, three sonnes to me is but halfe a sonne. But had I fixe sonnes, then I might safely say I
had one, how then should I part with that at any time, I know not to bee mine for any time?
This may giue satisfaction to any vnderstanding both of his feares and ielousies: his great loue,
and much care. It was an vsuall speech with the Emperour vpon good reason to say, *hee was the*
Lord and father of his sonne, yet withall, That he was not onely his seruant, but his very slave.

* Because he
had done more
for him, then
might lawfully
be comman-
ded.

Two policies of the said Emperour I shall willingly acquaint you with, for diuers reasons. 10
One was, when hee caused fire to bee kindled in foure parts of *Mosco*; whereat himselfe was
noted to be very diligent, with all his Nobles and Courtiers: and after it was quenched, he sent
his bountie to them all, that builded anew their houses, and repaid all their losses. And this was
but to stop the rumour, then so common, of his strange gayning the Empire: by which stra-
tagem of his, when his people were readie to mutinie, they were created anew good Subiects;
yet did admire his not onely care, but goodnesse towards them all.

A second, was at that time the Land was visited with a mightie famine, and as great a plague
(some foure yeeres since) whereof a third of the whole Nation is rated to haue died: and the
murmuring multitude said the cause was, *their electing of a murderer to the Empire; wherefore*
God did thus visit them: Whereupon, hee caused Galleries to bee builded round about the vt-
most wall of the great Citie of *Mosco*, and there appointed daily to bee giuen to the poore,
twentie thousand pounds sterling: which was accordingly performed for one moneth, where-
upon the common peoples mouthes and bellies were well stopped.

Here wee lodged till the sixt of May, being wearied with the inconstancie and ill-come
newes of flying reports, whereupon the time of the yeere requiring, the Ambassador resol-
ued to passe downe the Riuer to *Colmogro*, as well that hee might the sooner haue newes from
England, as happily to bee out of feare of any disaster, the rumours being innumerable and
vncertaine.

Peter Basman
sent against
Demetrius, re-
uolteth.

After the suspicious death of the old Emperour *Boris Pheodorowich*, &c. by the appointment
of the Prince (then their expected Emperour) and the Counsell, *Peter Basman* (that noble 30
Sparke) was speedily dispatched and sent as Generall vnto their ill succeeding warres, as their
last hope (indeed hee prooued so in a contrarie sense) and the onely refuge to the Commons:
whither being come, hee with himselfe presented most of his command, as many as freely
would offer themselues: Vnder which were all the *English*, *Scots*, *French*, *Dutch* and *Flem-
mings*, whatsoeuer: and with him, or rather before him (as least suspected) *Ries Vasil E-
uanowich Goleeche*, the other Generall, a man of great birth, and in the prioritie of place, to bee
received before *Peter Basman*. All which, the now well knowne newly opinionated Empe-
rour very graciously receiued, happily not without some ielousie of many particulars.

Demetrius now sent Messengers with Letters which entred the Suburbs, where the Com-
mons in infinite numbers brought them safe into the spacious Plaine before the Castle gate:
within which, as daily they did vse, so now were all the Counsellors in consultation; but 40
happily not in a secret Counsaile; also wherein was the Emperiall Court.

Tumult of the
Commons.

There these *Boyerens* made demand for many of the Counsellors, especially for the *Godono-
ues*, to come to heare their right King *Demetrius Euanowich* speaking vnto them by Letters:
Who yet after refusall (and I cannot condemne all) many came; the Commons being resol-
ued, else to fetch them out. Then, by the *Boyerens* aloud was read the Emperours Letters, to
this effect.

Demetrius his
Letter.

That hee much wondred at that time, wherein expedition was to bee accounted safest policie, hauing
sent many Letters and Messengers to them, concerning their approuing him to bee their lawfull
Prince, as being the sonne of *Euan Vasilowich* their late Emperour, and the onely brother of *Pheo-
dor Euanowich* selfe-upholder, of happy memorie, both with inuincible Arguments and direct 50
Reasons to the manifesting thereof, they (notwithstanding his long patience and gracious remissnesse)
were not onely so proud as not to answere his Princely Letters, but so presumptuous as to retayne his
Messengers, whereby they made themselues apparantly to bee no lesse Vipers to the State in obscuring
him, then Traytors to himselfe the true and right Emperour, by defrauding them: yet giuing him a
strong Argument by their Silence, of their guiltinesse; also allowing thereby, time and opportunitie
(if hee had not bene their true-borne Emperour, and with the naturall Moither, tendered the life
of her deare Children) to haue conquered and destroyed the whole Nation.

All which notwithstanding, hee (being confident in his owne conscience, of his iust Title, made
the Prince of patience and humilitie from his former many great miseries and dangers) had in his
Princely wisdom and clemency againe wrote these (but certainly his last Peace-requiring, and Grace- 60
offering Letters: yea, was content to desire them he might) and doubted not shortly but he should com-
mand, onely aiming at the good of the Commonwealth and State in generall; as be that without much
shedding of his Subiects blood, desired the Kingdomo.

Also

Also to this end hee had sent men of great birth, viz. Rues Pheodor, Euanowich Methith-sosky, and Rues Demetre, Euanowich Suskey; and giuen them Commission to displace his E-nemies, and Prestaue the Godonoues, and others, till his further pleasure were knowne, consu-ming those monstrous bloud suckers and Traytors, with returne of the Commons answer thereunto: Likewise to demand his Messengers, and they to bee brought before the Commons, whom hee had rea-son to beleene were ill-intreated, if not murdered; withall, that if they did submit themselues now to him, as to their lawfull Prince and Soueraigne, (which hee was truly resolved their consciences were guiltie of) that yet they should finde him a gracious and mercifull Lord; if otherwise, a se-vere and iust Reneger of them, and their many misdeedes towards him, as hee that had his Sword
10 ever unsheathed to execute his vengeance on them all: and was easily perswaded they were not ignorant of the many Victories hee had obtained formerly against them, when they would seeme able and wil-ling to fight with his Souldiers: and how afflicted and troubled herewith they all were: But that now, he had their chiefe and strongest Heads and Armes in his owne hand, the whole World might not be- troth him they durst once speake openly against him, as assured that all (excepting a very few, and they of the worst) in heart were his loyall Subjects, &c.

But before this Letter was halfe read, the Hearts and Hands of the multitude were strange-ly combined together, not one speaking, but all confusedly like fettered and chayned Horses stamping; being indeed without any feare, but of not doing mischief enough, all (as one) running violently into the Castle, where (meeting two of the pitifully tormented Messengers)
20 they pawed to heare them as sufficiently as their insufficiencie would permit them, deliuer the vilde manner of their torturing, whipping, and roasting, which was in deede a Whip and Spurre to drue them, without wit or humanitie, as if they had bene fired like Gun-powder with the very sparkes of heate: Such barbarous crueltie, beastly actions, and inhumane spe-ctacles, as without the great Deuill had bene their Generall, no particular could haue a-cted; laying violent hands on all they met: but not killing (the great mercy of God) any man of account.

Thus the whole Citie was in an vproare, all the Counsellors houses, sellers, and studies ransacked, beginning with the Godonoues; spoyling, renting, and stealing all they mee- vwith; but carrying little away but drinke, which they could not carry away.

30 The Commons (no doubt) would haue made this day little inferiour to the massacre of Pa- ris, so violent and deuillish were their sudden resolutions; but that the Nobles (best beloued and obeyed) intreated, where none could command: others perswading, all wishing an end to this most miserable and neuer exempld mischief. But the multitude did what they would and could; especially on the greatest, which certainly were the worst: So as the Empreffe fly- ing to a safer lodging, had her collar of Pearle pluckt from her necke.

Then the Prince, Empreffe, and Princesse, were prestaue (a second command being come from the Campe) with the Godonoues, and many others that were suspected most: The Nobles ioyning in one counsell for the present ordering of these sudden accidents, and for an- swere to the Prince Demetrius Euanowich, who suddenly was by generall consent concluded
40 (by the particular knowledge of Bodan Belskey a great Counsellor, that was priue to his de- parture, and some others) to bee their right and lawfull Emperour, onely a few excepted. So as the young Prince was by many (but particularly by his mother) counselled to leaue the Kingdome vtterly, before it forsooke him; to follow his Fathers example in murdering him- selfe, and herein his mother (that Map of miseries, that Cradle of crueltie) and his onely deare sister would associate him.

Letters were deuised, and Messengers framed to effect this desperate treacherie on his in- nocent life; so as in very few dayes (for Mischiefe hath the wings of Thought and Resolution) they three did consent (an unhappy coniunction) to destroy themselues; and rather to lay violent hands vpon their hatefull liues, then make an Enemie seeme cruell in executing Ius- tice on them: which * yet certainly this Emperour neuer dreamt of, but determined the
50 Prince should be within himselfe, not lesse then Absolute, and in a very great Dukedome. The Princely Mother began the health of Death to her noble Sonne, who pledged her with a heartie draught, therein so much strength did hee adde to his vile wicked obedience, that hee prooued a banquerout presently, and hand in hand embracing each other, they fell, and died as one; the Mother counselling and acting, whilst the child be thought and suffered: yet see Pro- uidence and Commiseration, Constancy and Obedience: the Princesse dranke, but like a Vir- gin temperately: so as modestie (the want of which was the death of the Mother) now prooued the life of the Daughter.

60 Howener it was with Boris for other things, I thought it not amisse to adde this testimonie of his respect to the English Nation and Merchants in Priuiledges granted them, as followeth,

Q q q z

One

* Thus hee bus others ascribe his murder to Demetrius his command, and this selfe-murder was pretended to auoid enuy of the fact. Death of Mo- ther & Sonne.

Emperor Boris
his Mosco Pa-
tent translated
whiles Sir Th.
Smith was
there.

ONe Almighty God without and before the Beginning, the Father, the Sonne, and the Holy Ghost, whom we glorifie in the Trinitie, our onely God, Creator and Preseruer of all things every-where, by which Will and Working, he liueth and giueth life vnto Man; Our onely God which inspi- reth euery one of vs his Children with his holy Word, through our Lord Iesus Christ, the Spirit of Life, now in this latter times, establish vs to hold the right Scepter, and suffer vs of our selues to reigne, for the good of the Land, and the happinesse of the People, together with our Enemies, and to the doing of good.

We the great Lord Emperour and great Duke Boris Pheodorowich of all Russia, sole Comman- der of Volodemer, Mosco, Nouogrod, Emperour of Cazan, King of Astracan, Lord of Vobsko, and 10
great Duke of Smolensko, of Twersko, Vhorskoy, Permskoy, Vatskoy, Bolharskay, and of o- thers, Lord and great Duke of Nouagrod in the low Country of Chernego, Rezan, Polotskay, Ro- stouskoy, Yeraslauskoy, Belozerskoy, Leefhanskoy, Owdorskoy, Obdorskoy, Condinskoy, and all Siberia, and the North parts; Lord and Commander of Euerskoy Land, and Cabardinskoy Country, and of Cherces, and Igarskoy Land, as also of many others Lord and Commander, with our Sonne Prince Phedar Borilowich of all Russia. We haue bestowed on the Merchants of England, viz. Sir Iohn Hart, Knight; Sir William Webb, Knight; Richard Saltanfall, Alderman; Nicolas Moshley, Alderman; Robert Doue, William Garaway, Iohn Harbey, Robert Chamberlin, Henrie Anderson, Iohn Andwart, Francis Cherie, Iohn Merick, Anthony Marlär; Wee haue granted and licenced them to come with their ships into our Dominion the Country of Dwina, with all 20
manner of Commodities, to trade freely from the Sea side and within our Dominions, to the Citie of our Empire of Mosco. Also there made sute vnto vs Sir Iohn Hart, Knight, and his Companie, to grati- fie them to trade to our Citie of Mosco, and to our Heritage of great Nouogrod and Vobsko, and to all parts of our Empire, with their Commodities, and to Trade freely without custome: upon which Wee the great Lord Emperour and great Duke Boris Pheodorowich of all Russia, with our Sonne Prince Pheodor Borilowich of all Russia, haue granted vnto the English Merchants, Sir Iohn Hart, Knight, and his fellowes, for our Sisters sake Queene Elizabeth, free passage to come into our Kingdome of Mosco, and into all the rest of our Dominions, with all manner of Commodities to trade and traffick free- ly at their pleasure. Also we haue commanded, not to take any kinde of Custome for their goods, nor any 30
other Customes whatsoeuer, viz. for passing by any place by Land, nor for passing by any place by Water; nor for Custome of their Boats or Head money, nor for passing ouer Bridges and Ferries, nor for any en- trie of Wares: as also all manner of other Customes or Duties whatsoeuer wee command shall not bee taken of them: But they shall not bring other mens goods into our Dominions, nor likewise recarry out of our Kingdome any other mens goods as their owne: nor to sell or barter for other men. Neither shall our Subiects buy and sell for them or from them: neither shall they keepe any of our peoples goods or pawnes by them to owne or colour them. Likewise they shall not send any of our Subiects to any Towne or Citie to buy Commodities. But what Citie they come into themselves they shall sell their owne Com- modities, and buy our Commodities. And when they shall come to our Heritage to great Vobsko and Nouagrod, or to any other Citie within our Dominions with their Commodities, that then our Gentle- men and Gouvernours, and all other officers shall suffer and let them passe according to this our Letter, and to take no manner of Custome of them whatsoeuer for any of their Commodities for passing by, nor 40
for passage ouer any Bridges: neither shall they take any other Custome whatsoeuer in all our Dominions. And wheresoever they happen to come, and doe proceed to buy and sell; as also wheresoever they shall passe through with goods not buying of any Commoditie nor selling their owne, then in those Citie they shall take of them no manner of Custome whatsoeuer as aforesaid: and wee haue gratified and given them leaue to trade in all parts of our Dominions with their goods freely without Custome. And like- wise whensoever the English Merchants shall bee desirous to buy or sell or barter their wares with our Merchants wares for wares, then shall they sell their wares whole sale and not by retails. Cloth by the pack and by Clothes and by remnants; and Damasks and Veluets by the Piece and not by the Yard, or askeene, and such Commodities as is to be sold by waight, not to sell them by the small wights, that is 50
to say, by the Zolotnick. Also they shall sell Wines by the Pipe and the Hoghead, but by the Gallon, Quart or Pot or Charke they shall not sell: moreover, they shall buy, sell and exchange their owne Commodities themselves, and the Russe Merchants shall not sell or exchange for them or from them their Commodities, neither shall they carry any mans goods to no manner of place vnder colour of their owne, and which of the English Merchants would at any time sell his Commodities at Colmogro or the Dwina, or at Vologda and at Yeraslauly they may, and of all their Commodities throughout all our Cities and Dominion, our Gentlemen, Gouvernours, and all other Officers shall take no manner of Cu- stome according to this our Imperiall Letter of fauour. Also through all our Dominions, Cities, and Townes they shall hire Carriers, Boats, and men to labour or rowe in the said Boats at their owne cost. Likewise when as the English Merchants shall desire to goe out of our Dominion into any other King- dome, or into their owne Land, and that we thinke it good for them to take with them from our Treasure 60
any Commodities to sell or exchange them for vs, for such Commodities as shall be fitting to our King- dome, and to deliuer them to our Treasurer: and with those their and our goods, our Gentlemen and Go- uernours shall suffer them to passe through all Cities and Townes within our Dominions without Cu- stome

stome as before. And when they haue ended their Market, and doe desire to goe from the Mosko, then they shall appeare in the Chancerie to the Keeper of our Seale, the Secretarie Vassily Yacowich Schellcalou. Likewise, if there happen to the English Merchants any extremitie by Sea, or that a ship be broken, and that it be neere any place of our Kingdome, then we command that all those goods shall bee brought out iustly, and bee giuen to the English people that shall at that time bee in our Land, or if they be not here, then to lay them up all together in one place, and when the Englishmen come into our Land, then to deliuer those goods to them. Also wee haue bestowed on the English Merchants the House of Yourya, in the Mosko by a Church of Saint Maxims neere the Marget, to dwell in it as in former time, keeping one House-keeper a Russe, or one of their owne strangers: but other Russe folkes they shall not keepe any. Likewise these Merchants haue Houses in diuers our Cities as followeth: A House at Yetes, a House at Vologda, a House at Colmogro, and a House at Michael the Archangell, being the skipping place: these said Houses they shall keepe as in former time according to this our Imperiall Letter of fauour, or gratified without paying any manner of Rent or any other duties whatsoeuer, either at Mosko, Yereλλαue, Vologda, Colmogro, or at the Castle of the Archangell, neither shall they pay any tax. Also at these Houses at Yereλλαue, Vologda, Colmogro, and at Archangell they shall haue House-keepers of their owne Countrey-men, or Russes of a meane sort that are not Merchants, a man or two in a House: to lay up their goods in those Houses, and to make sale of their goods out of those Houses, to whom they will according to this our Imperiall Letter of fauour, but their Russe House-keepers in their absence shall not sell any of their Commodities. And the English Merchants shall come with their ship to their Port, as in former times they haue done to unlade their goods out of their ships, and likewise to lade them againe with our Russia Commodities, at their owne charges of Boates and hire of men, and ferrying ouer the said goods from their ships to their House at the Castle of Archangell. Likewise our Officers, Customers, and Swornemen shall take a iust note of all such goods as they haue both of Russia and English Commodities, and the note to passe vnder the Merchants Firma, because it may be knowne what goods passeth of the strangers and of the Russes. But they shall not looke ouer their goods, neither vnbind any packs in any place, and when they doe send their owne Englishmen from Archangell to our Citie of Mosko, or doe send Russia Commodities into their owne Land, Then all our Officers and Customers shall let them passe without delay, according to this our Letter of fauour. And whensoeuer the Merchants shall be desirous to send any of their owne Countrey-men into their owne Land, or into any other Kingdome ouer Land: they shall doe it freely with our Imperiall Maiesties order, without carrying any Commodity ouer with them, and they shall haue their Letters of Passe giuen them in the Embassadors Office. And concerning any matters of debate or controuersie in Merchandize, or iniurie, then they shall be iudged by the Keeper of the Seale, and Secretarie Vassily Yacowich Shelcolou, doing right and Iustice to both parties with equitie and truth. and what cannot be found out by Law, or Inquisition, there shall be used Lots. His Lot that is taken forth, shall haue right done vnto him. Likewise, in what place else in all our Kingdome there doe happen any matter of discord in Merchandize or by iniurie, then our men of authoritie, or Governours, and all manner of our Officers shall doe true Iustice betweene them: and what cannot be sought out by Law shall be sought out by Lot: his Lot that is taken out shall haue right done vnto him as before mentioned, as also they shall not take any custome or dutie of them for any Law matter, not in any place in our Kingdome. Moreover, this our Imperiall Letter in all our Realme and Dominion, our Officers, and all manner of our subiects shall not disobey or breake it in any point whatsoeuer, but if there bee any that doth disobey this our Imperiall Letter of fauour, that then those people shall bee in our high displeasure, and executed to death. This our Imperiall Letter of gratitude, is giuen at our Imperiall Palace and House in our Citie of Mosko, from the yeere of the beginning of the world 7107. in the month of Nouember: being vnderwritten as followeth.

By the great Lord Emperour and great Duke Boris Pheodorowich of all Russia, selfe-upholder: his Keeper of the Seale, and Secretarie by name Vassily Yacowich Shealcaloue!

§. III.

One pretending himselfe to be DEMETRIUS, with the Popes and Poles helps attayneth the Russian Empire: his Arts, Acts, Mariage, fauour to the English, and miserable end.



Auing thus presented you Boris his Tragedie out of that printed Author, and his Grant to the English from a written Copie; it shall not bee amisse to take more leisurely and mature view of this Pretender, against whom Boris his desire of secrecie (permitting none guiltie of the murder to suruiue) had vnfurnished him of Arguments. He produced a Purse giuen him by his Mother; with the Historie of his life after that sending him away and acknowledging another whom she was more willing to act that bloudy

Scene then her own Son: with other particulars which bred strong confidence in such as (weary of *Boris*) were desirous it should be so. But for the death of the young Emperor, & his mother, it is by most ascribed to *Demetrius*, who seeing the people of *Musco* his friends, and the Emperour and his Mother in hold, pretended he could not come thither whiles his enemies liued, whereupon they in a mutinie slue them; to auert the enuie whereof, it is probable that it was made to be their owne act, and their Keepers therefore by him imprisoned. *Boris* his daughter was thrust into a Nunnerie, and so made dead also to the succession. But as I haue before deliuered out of that diligent, learned and sincere Historian *Thuanus*, *Boris* his attayning the Scepter, I shall likewise intreat your patience out of him to receiue these Relations of *Demetrius*.

Thuanus 135.

The Iesuites
first authors, or
factors at least
of this *Demetrius*.

Sigismund father
Iohn was
imprisoned by
King *Erichs*
1564.

Cossaks.

Zerniga.

Putinna yeelded.

The *Palatine*
defeated.

Cistercians and
Iesuits.

Demetrius his
confident
Prayer.

Demetrius his
victorie.

Bialogrod.

Leptina.
Seueria yeelds.

Thuanus writeth that after the murder of that (true or false) *Demetrius*, some yeeres after in the borders of *Polonia* and *Musconia*, appeared one which called himselfe *Demetrius*, and in testimonie thereof, shewed a Wart in his face, and one arme shorter then the other (noted before in the true *Demetrius*) a man of sharpe wit, bold courage, liberall mind, gentle behauiour, and of parts composed to a Scepter-worthinesse. First, was he made knowne to the Iesuites of principall note in *Poland*, to whom he promised if he might receiue helpe for the recouery of his just Inheritance, his first care should be to reduce the *Russians* to the Vnion of the *Romish* Church. This thing was commended to the Pope as conducing to the enlarging of the holy See, by his ayde, and furtherance with the *Polish* King and Nobilitie, to be promoted; which also was done by the Iesuites themselues, who brought him to *George Miecinsky* *Palatine* of *Sandomir* a man potent in that Kingdome, with whom he couenanted also to marrie his Daughter if hee succeeded in his *Russian* Enterprize. He had lurked awhile in *Liesland*, casting off his Cowle, and had there learned to speake and write the *Latine* Tongue: and had written to Pope *Clement* the Eighth, with his owne hand not inelegantly. And being by the said *Palatine*, and *Visnouitz* his Sonne in Law, brought before King *Sigismund*, he made a pithy and Masculine speech, that he should remember that himselfe had bene borne in Prison and Captiuitie, whence Gods mercie had deliuered him, to learne him to succour others afflicted with like disastre.

Thus by the Kings fauour, the *Palatines* money, the Iesuites industrie (not to mention the Popes Sanctitie) he procured an Armie of ten thousand Souldiers in *Poland* well furnished, and in his *Russian* March, winneth to his partie the *Cossaks* a kind of men which follow forreigne Warres and prey, and leades with him tenne thousands of them. Passing *Boristhenes* hee first charged vpon *Zerniga*, & summoned them to yeeld to the true heire *Demetrius*, which was done by *Iuan Takmeny*, who had before conceived dislike against *Boris*. *Corelus* commanded the *Cossaks*, a notorious Sorcerer. He was the Author of the liege of *Putinna* a populous Citie, which *Michelomich Soltekoni* held with eight thousand *Cossaks*, whom also he wrought with, that hee admitted and followed *Demetrius*. Hereupon *Boris* sends an Army of an hundred thousand men against him. He also sends Ambassadors into *Poland*, to put them in minde of the league betwixt both Nations, and earnestly desired this counterfeit *Demetrius*, a Priests Bastard and notable Sorcerer, to bee deliuered vnto him alieue or dead, adding threats if they persisted, and withall working vnder-hand with the Nobles to deterre the King from his ayde. But by the Popes and Iesuites preuayling power nothing was effected, the King and the *Poles* resolving to assist him, as thinking it the best course to accord both Nations.

Both Armies met at *Novograd*, where *Palatine Sandomir* the Generall, in the end of Ianuarie 1605, thinking to find a reuolt in the *Russian* Armie, gaue a rash on-set, & was put to flight, and after returned to *Poland*. *Demetrius* retyred himselfe to *Rilsky* Castle (in the borders) with a few, and forsaken of others, he forsooke not himselfe. Hee had brought with him two Diuines of the *Cistercian* Order which returned home: two Iesuites also, *Nicolas Cherraconi* and *Andrew Lonitzi*, which had bene Authors of the Expedition, and now encouraged him by their exhortations and examples of patience. He confident (as hee made shew) in the iustice of his cause, when he was to begin battell or skirmish, vsed to call vpon God, so as he might bee heard of all, with his hands stretched forth, and his eyes lifted vp to heauen, in such like words. O most iust Iudge, kill me first with a Thunderbolt, destroy me first, and spare this Christian blond, if vniustly, if couetously, if wickedly I goe about this Enterprize which thou seest. Thou seest mine innocencie, helpe the iust cause. To thee O Queene of Heauen I commend my selfe and these my Souldiers. Which if they be truly related, and he not the true *Demetrius*, he was either an impudent Iugler, or exceedingly gulled with fortunes daliance and prosperous successe, which concluded in a Tragicall period.

Part of *Boris* his Armie was now come to *Rilsky*, where in a battle betwixt the horsemen of both parts, *Demetrius* got the better, and the lately conquered, and presently fewer, became *Victors*; at the first encounter a thousand being slaine, two hundred taken, and the rest put to flight, leauing their footmen to the slaughter, and the baggage to the spoyle. Hereupon five neighbouring Castles with their seuerall Territories, yeelded to *Demetrius*, one of which, *Bialogrod* yeelded him a hundred and fiftie Peeces of Ordnance. The Captaynes were deliuered into his hands. Soone after *Ialeka* and *Leptina* yeelded, in which *Hinsko Otiopelus* that famous Sorcerer was taken: after which all *Seueria*, a large Principalltie, came in, and eight Castles; *Demetrius* ysing great modestie in this v unexpected victorie. *Boris* meanwhile sent some with large

pro-

promises to murder him, and the Patriarke excommunicated all which favoured him. *Demetrius* writ hereof modestly to the Patriarke, and to *Boris* also, offering faire conditions to his Family, if he would resigne his vsurped Empire, which he with indignation rejected. That happened when the Embassadors of *Denmarke* and *Sweden* were in his Court to joyne league with him against the *Pole*. In that consultation *Boris* is said to have bene in such a chafe, that hee fell downe suddenly, much bloud passing from his mouth, nostrils and eares; and in the end of *April* hee dyed; some say of an Apoplexie, others, of poyson which hee drunke: after hee had reigned seven yeeres. His Wife with her Sonne were advanced to the Throne after him, and the Nobilitie sworn to them. The dead bodie was buried without any pompe. *Constantine Fidler* a

Boris dyeth.
Some say, that hee had vsed with *Aqua vite* to poyson others.

Neque enim lex inferior ulla est, quam necis atque parricidis.
* Some say of 60000. men.

10 *Lieslander* of *Rie* made an elegant Oration in his prayse, whose brother *Gaspar* served *Boris*.

Presently *Peter Basman* was sent away with an Armie. * *Hodunius* (a neere Kinsman of *Boris*) besieged *Crom*, to rayse whom, *Demetrius* vsed this policie. Hee sent a simple man thither, which being deceiued himselfe might deceiue others, with Letters that fortie thousand were coming to ayde the besieged. He being taken (sent by a way which he could not escape) and examined with tortures confesseth the same with his Letters: which caused a tumult in the Campe; and in the end, the besieged taking aduantage of the rumour still increased by some sent purposely with reports that they had seen the new auxiliaries issued with a counterfeit shew of great numbers, and caused the *Russians* to consult of yeelding. *Basman* also the new Generall yeelded and cried out with a loud voyce, that *Demetrius* was the true heire, and therefore all true hearted *Muscovites* should follow his example; which the most followed. *Hodunius* was taken, and refusing to acknowledge *Demetrius* was cast in Prison. In the Tents were huge Ordnance found. After this Campe-alteration, followed the like in *Mosco*, the people resounding the name of *Demetrius*. The Empreffe and her sonne were committed to ward, where some write that they poysoned themselves, some that *Demetrius* commanded it. The *Germanes* flying out of the *Borissian* Campe to *Demetrius* drew many with them.

Basman yeeldeth.

From *Crom* doth *Demetrius* now march towards *Mosco*, the people all the way flocking to see their new Prince, who in twentie remoues came thither on the 19. of Iune, and entred with pompous procession of Souldiers & Priests, the *Russian* Priests hauing Banners with the Pictures of the blessed Virgin and their Tutelare Saint *Nicolas*, in the end of al the Patriarch, and after him

Demetrius cometh to Mosco, his pompous entrance.

30 *Demetrius* by himselfe on a white Palfray with a gallant trayne of attendants. Thus hee goeth to the Temple of our *Ladie*, and after Prayers, from thence to Saint *Michaels* Church in which his Father lay buried, and hearing that *Boris* lay there interred, he presently commanded his body to be taken vp and to be remoued to a meaner Chappell without the Citie. Passing by *Boris* his peculiar House, he could not endure the sight, but sent workemen presently to raze the same; saying, they were infamous with Sorceries, and that an image was said to be placed vnder the ground, holding in the hand a burning Lampe, hauing vnderneath store of Gunpowder buried; things so disposed, that the Oyle failing, and the Lampe breaking, the fire should (had it not bene before spied and remoued) blow vp that, and the houses adioyning. Thus had *Boris* impeached him, and he now *Boris* of Magicall arts, which are vsuall accusations in those parts.

40 Thence he went to the Imperiall Pallace, and beganne to gouerne the Empire, more inclining to the *Poles* and forreiners, then to the *Russes*; which vntimely expressing himselfe, hastned his ruine. Seuentie noble Families of *Boris* his kindred or faction were exiled, that their Goods might be shared amongst strangers, and new Colonies of men planted, brought into *Russia*. His clemency was remarkable to *Snisky*, who being condemned for not onely refusing to acknowledge this Emperour, but vttering also reproachfull speeches of him (as being of base Parentage, and one which had conspired with the *Poles* to ouerthrow the *Russian* Temples, & Nobility) and now his prayers ended, and the fatall stroake on his knees expected, on the seauenth of Iuly, by vnexpected mercy, euen then receiued his pardon. The last which yeelded to him were the *Plesconites*. Some tell of exceeding Treasures also which hee found laid vp for other purposes, which through his profusenesse soone vanished. The first of September, was designed to his inauguration (being New yeeres day to the *Russes*, as sometimes to the *Iewes*) but for other causes it was hastned, and his Mother was sent for out of a Monasterie (into which *Boris* had thrust her) farre from the Court. An honorable Conuoy was herein employed, and himselfe with great shew of Pietie went to meet her, embraced her with teares, and bare-headed, on foot, attended her Chariot to the Castle; whence afterwards she remoued with her women into a Monasterie where the Noblest Virgins and Widdowes of *Russia* vse to sequester themselves from the World. His Mother was noted to answere with like affection to him, whether true or dissembled on both parts. At his entrance to the Kingdome, after Ceremonies ended, *Nicolas Cnemaconius* a Iesuite made him a goodly Oration: the like was done by the Senate. To the Iesuits was allotted a faire place of entertaynment not far from the Castle, wherein to obserue the

Poles aduanced.

Clemencie to Snisky.

Respect to his Mother.

Iesuits.

50 *Romish* Rites and Holies: and euen then by their meanes he had declared himselfe in that point, but for feare of *Snisky* hee stayed till fitter oportunitie.

Hauing thus settled things, his care was to recompence the *Poles*, to enter league with that Nation, and to consummate the Marriage. For which purpose hee sent three hundred Horsemen with

Embassage to Poland.

with *Athanasius* the Treasurer, who in Nouember came to *Crasonia*, had audience of King *Sigismund*, where he with all thankfulness acknowledged the Kings forwardnesse with his Nobles to recouer his right, whereto God had giuen answerable successe beyond expectation; that he deplored the *Turkish* insolencies in *Hungary* and other parts: to vindicate which, he would willingly joyne with the *Pole*, and other *Christian* Princes: meane whiles hee was willing to make an euerlasting league with him, and to that end entreated his good leaue to take vnto himselfe a Wife out of *Poland*, namely, *Anna Maria*, the Daughter of *George Miecinsie* the *Palatine* of *Sandomir*, to whom for money, men, and endangering of his owne life, hee was so much engaged. The eight day after, the Contract was solemnly made by the Cardinall, Bishop of *Crasonia*, and the Embassadour with her Parents feasted by the King. *Demetrius* had sent her and her Father, Jewels worth 200000. Crownes.

Thus farre haue wee followed *Thuanus*, and hee *Iacobus Margaretus* a French Captayne of *Demetrius* guard of *Partisans*, which published a Booke hereof. Now let vs present you a little *English* Intelligence touching this *Demetrius* and his respect to men of our Nation in those parts, and first his Letter to Sir *Iohn Mericke*.

The Copie of a Letter sent from the Emperor *DEMETRY EVANOWICH*, otherwise called *GRISHCO OTREAPYOV*: the which Letter was sent to Master *JOHN MERRICK* Agent, out of the Campe, as Master *MERRICK* was taking his Iournie to the Sea-side, the eighth of Iune, Anno 1605.

From the great Lord Emperour and great Duke *Demetry Euanowich* of all *Russia*. To the *English* Marchant *Iohn Merrick*, wee giue to vnderstand, that by the iust iudgement of God and his strong power, we are raised to our Fathers throne of *Vladedmer*, *Mosko*, and of all the Empire of *Russia*; as great Duke and sole commander: likewise we calling to memorie the loue and amitie of our Father, the great Lord Emperour and great Duke *Euan Vassily wick* of all *Russia*, and our Brother *Theodor Euanowich* of all *Russia*, which was held, and kept by them and other great *Christian* Princes, in the same forme and manner doe we likewise intend, and purpose to hold and keepe Loue and amitie: but especially, and aboue all others, doe we intend to send and to haue loue and friendship with your King *Iames*, and all you his *English* Merchants, we will fauour more then before. Further, as soone as this our Letter doth come to your hand, and as soone as you haue ended your Markets at the shipping place of *Michael the Archangell*, then to come up to *Mosco* to behold our Maiesties presence. And for your poste Horse I haue commanded shall be giuen you, and at your comming to *Mosco*, then to make your appearance in our Chancery, to our Secretarie *Ofanasy Vlaffou*. Written in our Maiesties Campe at *Tooly*, in the yeare of the world Anno seauen thousand one hundred and thirteene.

The Copie of the translation of a Passe giuen to Master *JOHN MERRICK*, which was giuen him in the time of his being in the Campe at *Molodoue* with the Emperour *DEMETRY EVANOWICH*, otherwise called *GRISHCO OTREAPYOV*.

From the great Lord Emperour and great Duke *Demetry Euanowich* of all *Russia*, from *Mosco* to our Cities and Castles, as also to the Castle of *Archangell* at the Shipping place and haven to our Generals, Secretaries, and all other our Officers, &c.

There did make suite vnto vs the *English* Marchant *Iohn Merricke* and his Company, that we would gratifie them to be suffered to passe to the new Castle of *Archangell*, or to the shipping place or haven, in regard of trafficke of Merchandise.

Also, that if he doe send home any of his fellowes and seruants from the shipping place, being of the *English*, that then they might be suffered to passe into *England*. Also that to whatsoever Cite of ours the *English* Marchant *Iohn Merricke*, and his fellowes, doth or shall come vnto; then all ye our Generals, Secretaries, and all other our Officers, shall suffer them to passe euery where, without all delay. And as for our Customes, as for passing by or for head money, our custome of goods, you shall not take any of them nor of their seruants. Likewise, when the *English* Merchants *Iohn Merricke* with his fellowes and seruants, shall come to the Castle of *Archangell*, then *Timophey Matphewich Lazaroue*, and our Secretary *Rohmanem Mocaryoued*, *Voronoue*, at the foresaid Castle of *Archangell*, shall suffer and permit the *English* Merchant, *Iohn* and his companie to trade freely. Moreover, when at the shipping place they haue ended and finished their Markets, and that then the said *Iohn Merricke* shall desire to send into *England* any of his fellowes or seruants with goods, then likewise they shall be suffered to passe. But *Russe* people, and other strangers of *Mosco* shall not be suffered to passe further: that if *Iohn Merricke* with his fellowes and seruants doe not goe for *England*: but after their Market is ended doe purpose to come backe againe to *Mosco*; that then at the Castle of *Archangell* *Timophey Matphewich Lazaroue*,

Lazaroue, and our Secretarie Rohmaneeu Voronaue; as also at all other our Castels and Cities, our Generals, Secretaries, and all other our Officers shall let passe the English Merchant Iohn Merricke with his fellowes and servants, without all stay or hinderance, and as for custome of them, their goods, or their servants, there shall not be any taken.

And after the Reading of this our Letter and Passe, you shall keepe the Copie of it by you: but this you shall deliuer backe againe to the said Iohn, and his companie. Written at our Campe at Molodone, the yeare from the beginning of the World 7113. the eighteenth of Iune.

The last of Iuly 1605. at Archangell.

The Copie of the translation of a Commission that was sent from the Mosko, from the Emperour DEMETRY EVANOWICH, alias GRYSKA OTREAPYOVE by a Courtier named GAVARYLA SAMOYLOWICH SALMANOVE, who was sent downe to the Castle of Archangell, to Sir THOMAS SMITH, then Lord Embassadour: as followeth.

THE great Lord Emperour, and great Duke Demetry Euanowich of all Russia, hath commanded Gauareela Samoylowich Salmanoue, to goe to Vologda, and from Vologda to the new Castle of Archangell, or where soener he shall overtake the English Ambassadour Sir Thomas Smith. Also when he hath overtooke the Ambassadour, then Gauareela shall send the Ambassadour his Interpreter Richard Finch, willing him to certifie unto the Ambassadour, that the great Lord Emperour and great Duke Demetry Euanowich, sole commander of Russia, hath sent unto him one of his Courtiers, in regard of his Maiesties affaires: and after some two houres respite, Gauareela himselfe shall ride to the Ambassadour, and deliuer unto him his Maiesties speeches, as followeth.

THE great Lord Emperour and great Duke Demetry Euanowich of all Russia, and of many Kingdomes Lord and commander, Hath commanded thee, Thomas the English Ambassadour, to certifie unto Iames, King of England, Scotland, France and Ireland, that by the iust iudgement of God, and his strange power, we are come and succeeded into the place of our Father and predecessours: as also we are come to the throne of the great and famous Kingdome of Vlodermer Molco, and to the Empire of Cazan, Astracan and Siberia; and of all the Kingdomes of the Empire of Russia; being an Empire belonging to the great Lords, Emperours, and great Dukes of all Russia. Moreover, we calling to memorie the sending, loue and amitie betwixt our Father, the great Lord and Emperour, and great Duke Euan Vasilywich of all Russia, of famous memorie: as also our Brother, the great Lord and Emperour and great Duke Feoder Euanowich of all Russia, sole commander, with their sister Elizabeth, Queene of England: in the like manner doe we purpose to haue sendings, and to be in loue with your Lord King Iames, and more then hath bin in former time. And in token of our said loue and amitie, we doe intend to fauour all his subjects in our Land, and to giue unto them freer libertie then they haue had heretofore; and you his Ambassadour, we haue commanded to dispatch without all delay or hinderance. Therefore we would haue you to make knowne unto your Lord King Iames, our Maiesties loue. And as soone as God shall grant the time of our Coronation to be finished, and that we are crowned with the Emperiall crowne of our predecessours, according to our manner and worthinesse, then we the great Lord Emperour, and great Duke Demetry Euanowich of all Russia sole Commander, will send our messenger to salute each other, according to the former manner. And concerning those Letters which were sent by you from Borris Godenoue, we would haue you deliuer them backe againe to our Courtier Gauareela, and after the deliuerie of our speeches to retorne him to the Emperour, under written by the Chancellour Ofanasy Euanowich Vlateou.

The Copie of the Translation of a new Priuiledge that was giuen to the Company, by the Emperour DEMETRY EVANOWICH, otherwise called GRYSKA OTREAPYOVE, the which Priuiledge was sent into England ouer-land by OLIVER LYSSET Marchant, and seruant to the foresaid Company.

GOD, the Trenitie, before, and without the beginning, the Father, the Sonne, and the holy Ghost, GEstablish vs to hold and keepe our Scepter and Realme for the good of our Land, and the happinesse of our people. Wee the resplendant and manifest, and not the miserable upholder, but sole commander, the great Duke Demetry Euanowich, by the mercy of God, Casar and great Duke of Russia, and of all the Empire of Tartaria, and many other Kingdomes: as also of the great Monarchie of Molco, Lord Emperour and Commander, Haue bestowed, and gratified unto the English Merchants, viz. Sir Thomas

Thomas Smith, Knight, Sir Iohn Spencer, Knight, Sir Humfrey Wild, Knight, Robert Doue, Robert Chamberline, William Garaway, Iohn Haruey, Richard Stapers, Iohn Merricke, Richard Wryght, Richard Cocks, Thomas Farrington, Richard Wych, George Bowles. Bartholomew Barnes, Richard Bowldra, Iohn Casten, Edward Chery, Thomas, the sonne of Alexander alias Hicks: we haue giuen them free liberty to come with their ships into our Realme and Dominion, and to the Country of Dwina, & to the Castle of Archangel, and to Colmogro, with all maner of commodities, and to trade freely, as also to come from the sea side by land or by water, to our great dominion and Cæsars City of Mosco, & great Nouogrod and Vobsko, and all other cities within our dominions, to trade with all manner of commodities, in the same forme and manner, as heretofore was bestowed on the English Merchants, in the time of our father of famous memory, the great Lord and Cesar, and great Duke Euan Vassilywiche of all Russia, sole Commander, and as was granted vnto them in the time of our Brother the great Duke Theodor Euanowich of all Russia sole Commander. And as for custome of their goods, or for passing by, as also for the custome of their boates, or for Head-money, or for going ouer bridges or Ferryes, or for entrie of goods, As also all manner of Custome whatsoeuer, we command shall not bee taken of them: Also the English Merchants shall not bring nor sell other mens goods in our Dominion, as their owne: neither shall our Subjects buy, or sell, or traffique for. Also our Subjects pawnes they shall not keep by them, nor send others about the Cities to buy goods: but what Cities they come into themselves they shall trafficke and sell their owne commodities, and buy Russe commodities freely: And when they come into our Dominion of great Nouogrod and Vobsko, or to any other Cities within our Realme to trafficke with their goods, and that after the market is past, they shall bee desirous to passe for Mosco, or for England, then our Gentlemen and Gouernours, and all people shall according to this our Cæsars Letter, let them passe without delay, and as for Customes for them and their goods they shall not take any. And whithersoever they passe with their goods, without buying any commodities, or selling their owne; Then likewise in those Cities they shall passe, and not take of them any manner of Custome whatsoeuer as before: also the English Merchants shall trafficke as followeth; They shall barter their owne goods, by the whole Salecloth: by the Packe, and by the Clothes: Damaske and Veluet not by the piece, but by the areshine and by retaile and retaile weights they shall not barter or sell. Also goods, which is sold by weight, by retaile, or by the zolotnicke they shall likewise not sell. And Claret wine they shall sell by the piece, but by retaile, as by the Reader stop, or Pot and Charck they shall not sell. Likewise they shall buy and sell, and barter their goods themselves: but the Russe Merchant shall not sell nor barter their goods for them; neither shall they carry other mens goods in colour of their owne, not to any place whatsoeuer. Also if the English Merchants bee minded to make sale of their commodities at Colmogro, or on the Dwina, or at Vologda, or at Yeraslaue, then they shall doe it freely. And for their said goods in all our Cities within our Realme, our Gentlemen and Gouernours, and all manner of our Officers shall not of them take any Tole or custome, according to this our Cæsars Letter of Favour. And in all our Cities within our dominion, they shall hyre Carriers Boats, and men to row them freely as before. And as the order is of the Merchants within our Realme: so likewise if the English Merchants be desirous to goe out of our Realme, into any other Kingdome, or into their owne Countrey: as also if they bee desirous in our Realme to buy any Staple commoditie, and to carry it into their owne Land, then shall they likewise buy and trafficke freely at pleasure, and those Staple commodities which are sitting for our Cæsars Treasure, they shall likewise bring it to our Treasure freely at pleasure, and for the said Staple commodities in all our Cities, our Officers shall not take any manner of Custome: but they shall suffer them to passe without any staying of them. Also when the English Merchants haue ended their market, and shall desire to goe from the Mosco, then they shall appeare in the Embassadors Office, to our Chancellour and Secretarie Euan Cowrbatou Hramioteenop. Moreover, if that by the prouidence of God, the English Merchants haue any shipwracke, and that the said ship bee brought or driuen to any place within our Realme, then our Cæsars commandement to those places where the ship is brought in, that our men in office doe seeke out the English Merchants goods iustly, and to giue them to the English people that shall bee at that time in our Land. But if at that time there bee none of them in our Realme, then to gather them together, and to lay them up in one place: and so when the English Merchants doe come there, by our Cæsars Order, to deliuer those goods to the said Merchants. And whereas the English Merchants according to their former Letters of Favour had a house in the Mosco by the Church of the holy Maxim by the market, which was granted vnto them by our predecessour the great Lord and Cesar of Russia, the said English Merchants shall dwell in the said house as heretofore they haue done: Keeping one house-keeper a Russe, or one of their owne stranger; but any other Russes they shall not keepe. Moreover the said English Merchants haue houses in other Cities, a house at Yeraslaue, a house at Vologda, a house at Colmogro, and a house at the shipping place at the Castle of the Archangell: and those houses they shall keepe and hold by them, according to our Cæsars Favour or Gratitude, as in former time they haue done, and for any subsidie, rent, dutie, or any custome whatsoeuer for the said houses there shall not be any taken of them: and their other houses, as at Yeraslaue, Vologda, Colmogro and Archangell, they shall haue house-keepers of their owne countrie-men or Russes, but the Russes shall bee meane men, a man or two at a house: And they shall lay their goods in those houses, and likewise shall make sale of their goods out of their houses, to whom they will, according to this our Cæsars Letter of Favour, and their house-keepers being Russes shall not buy or sell any manner of commodities in their absence. Also they shall come with their ships to the

the shipping place, as before with their Commodities, and to vnde out of the shippe their goods, and to lade their shippe with Russe goods, with their owne hired labourers, as also to carry their owne goods ouer in their owne Boats and Vessels, to their owne house at the Castle of Archangell. And whatsoeuer goods they haue, our chiefe Customer, and Officers, and sworne men, shall take a note of the goods vnder their owne firme, both of goods they bring in, and also of goods they carry out. But they shall not looke ouer, neither vnpacke their packes in any place; as also they shall suffer them to passe in all places, without all stay or delay, according to this our Cæsars priuiledge and Letter of fauour. Also whensoever the English Merchants shall be desirous to send out of our Realme into their owne Land any of their seruants ouerland, or into other Kingdomes, then they shall likewise send their people ouerland with our Cæsars order freely, but without carying any Commodities, and their passe shall be giuen them in the Embassadours office. Further, concerning any matter of controuersie that any man shall haue to doe with them either in bargaining, or in iniury, according to this our Cæsars order, they shall be iudged by our Counsellor and Secretary Euan Cowrbatou Hramoteeu: Therefore, as before, wheresoever they, or any of their seruants, in all our Realme, in what Citie soener, haue any matter of controuersie in Bargaining, or in Iniurie against any man, or that any man haue any matter against any of them, then in all our Cities, our Gentlemen, and Gouernours, and all other our Officers, shall iudge them, doing iustice betwixt either of them with equitie and truth. This priuiledge or letter of fauour was giuen at our Cæsars Pallace of Mosco.

20 From the world Anno 7113. in the moneth of December.

The Copie of the Translation of a Contract, made by the Emperour DEMETRY EVANOWICH, otherwise called GRYSCHCA OTREAPYOVE, and the daughter of the Palatine SENDAMERSKO, chiefe Generall of Poland, in the time of DEMETRY his being in Poland, the which was sent ouer by Master IOHN MERRICK, and translated out of Russe into English for the Kings Maiestie, as followeth.

30 A True Translation of a writing out of Polish into Russe, given by a Monke who left his habit, called by the name of Gryshca Otreapyoue, supposed to be the Son of the Emperour Euan Valsiliwich, named Demeetry Euanowich, who gaue this assurance vnder his firme, to the Palatine Sendamersko, as also hath bene auouched by one Bewcheesko, principall Secretary vnto the said Demeetry, before all the Nobilitie of Russe, that this said writing was written by the Generall his owne hand, as followeth.

Wee Demetry Euanowich, by the mercy of God, Prince of all Russia, of Owgleets Demetryuskoy, and Lord of all the Empire of Mosco, and being of the stocke of Preatroue; Calling to memorie our former life, being not in that forme and manner, as is in other great Monarchies, as was in the time of our Predecessours, and other Christian people. Neuerthelesse, by the providence of God almightie, from whom proceedeth a beginning and an end, and from whom cometh life and death: We haue by him espied and made choise vnto our selfe, with good liking, in the time of our being in the Kingdome of Poland, of a Companion, of great and honorable birth, and of godly education, and is such a companion, with whom we shall by the mercie of God, liue peaceably: which is the resplendent and Noble Lady Marina, daughter to the great Palatine Sendamersko. And vpon this occasion haue taken him for our Father, and hauing requested of him to giue vnto vs his Daughter Maryna in marriage, and in regard that wee are not yet in our owne Kingdome, therefore doe we purpose hereafter to take order for her comming vnto vs with the Generall Sendamersko. Likewise, when I doe come to liue in my owne Kingdome, then shall the Palatine Sendamersko remember his faithfull and true promise with his Daughter, the Lady Maryna her vow, my selfe remembring my owne vow, and so both of vs to hold it faithfullly with lone and affecti-

50 on, and to that end doe we binde our selues by our writings. Likewise, first and principally, in the name of the holy Trinitie, I doe giue my faithfull and true princely promise, that I will take in marriage the Lady Maryna. If on the contrary, I doe not, then, I wish that I might giue this as a curse vpon my selfe: also, so soone as I shall make entrance into our Kingdome, and heritage of Mosco, then will I giue the Palatine, the Lord her Father, a reward of tenne thousand peeces of Polish gold. And to the Lady Maryna our wife, in consideration of her great and long Iourney, as also for the providing and furnishing of her selfe, I will giue out of my Treasure Veluets wrought with Siluer and Gold. And the Messengers that shall be sent to me from the Lord her Father, or from the Lady her selfe, I shall not hold or keepe, but shall let them passe, and will reward them with gifts, which shall be a token of our Princely fauour: and thereunto doe we giue this our Princely promise. Secondly, as soone as we shall come to the Imperiall throne of our Father, then presently will we send our Embassadour to the resplendant King of Poland to certifie vnto him, as also to intreate him to take knowledge of this businesse now passed betwixt vs, and withall, that he would be pleased to suffer vs to conclude and effect this our said businesse, without losse or hindrance. Also vnto the forenamed Lady Maryna our wife, we giue two Lordships, viz. Nouogrod the

Promise of Ro-
mish Religion.

the great, and Vobsko, with all the Prouinces belonging to the same, with Counsellors, Gentlemen, and Yeoman, and Priests, sitting for a Congregation, to rule and gouerne freely with full authority in the same forme and manner, as if we ruled. And my selfe to haue no more right or title nor authoritie in the said two Cities of Nouogrod and Vobsko: and thereunto doe I binde my selfe with this writing, and doe wholly giue and bestow all on the said Lady Maryna that is contained in this writing, as soone as by Gods helpe we shall be married together, and thereunto haue giuen this our writing, sealed with our princely Seale. But if by chance our wife hath not by us any children, then in those two Lordships before specified, shee shall place men in authoritie of her owne, to gouerne and to doe Iustice: and also it shall be free for the said men in authoritie, to giue Lands and Inheritance to their owne Souldiers, and to trade freely at pleasure, as shall be best liking to them, and as though it were in their owne true and lawfull dominion, and to build Monasteries, and to set up the Romish Religion, and to haue Latine or Romish Priests, and Schooles. But she her selfe to abide and remaine with us. And concerning her Priest, to haue as many as shall be needefull to be kept for her owne godly Romish Religion, without all let or hindrance: and as wee our selfe by the mercy of God are already inclined to the same, so will wee likewise with earnest care, seeke by all meanes to bring all the Kingdome of Mosco to the knowledge of the Romish Religion, and to set up the Church of Rome. Also, if God should not grant vnto vs good successe, whereby this be performed within a yeare; then it shall be at the pleasure of our Father to separate mee and his daughter Maryna. But if it please him to forbear till another yeare, then doe I passe this my Bill, with my owne hand writing, and thereunto I haue sworne my selfe, and giuen a vow according to the holy order; and all in this Bill to hold and keepe carefully: as also that I shall bring all the Russe people to the Latine Religion. Written at Sambore the five and twentieth of May, in Anno 1604. Vnderneath was his firme, to all this foresaid as appeareth: Prince Demetry of Owglets.

Demetrius his
Marriage.

Both crowned.

Conspiracie.

* I suppose
this should bee
Gilbert: for one
Captayne Gil-
bert I haue of-
ten heard of in
that place of
seruice, which
writ also
commentaries
of these af-
fares which
I haue much
fought to little
purpose in our
Merchants
hands.

Bloudie day.

Now let vs returne with Thuanus into Poland, where with his Histori- cal eies we see this glo- rious Spouse, her Father, Vncle, & trayne of women accompanying the Russian Embassador in his returne; whom many Merchants out of Italie and Germanie followed in hope of gaine. In this lingring journey, they continued from the end of Ianuary to the sixe and twentieth of A- prill, before they entred Mosco. And the seuenth day after, Peter Basman with a great troupe of Courtiers and Nobles, attended the Spouse to the Court, where shee was solemnely enter- tained by her Husband, and thence conueighed to the Monasterie where his Mother abode. The fourth day after, all things being prepared, shee was brought into the Palace, and the next day married to him by the Patriarch after Euening Prayer. Both of them also, solemnely crowned, re- turned with sound of Musick and Ordnance into the Castle, and the night passed with great Iu- bilee, Demetrius his mind being filled notwithstanding with cares. For a conspiracie which had beene hatching sixe moneths, now growing to ripenesse, terrified him: against which hee had armed himselfe with forreigne aides. At first hee had brought a guard of Germanes out of Po- land, which being without example of his Predecessors, and seeing it disliked of his subjects, hee dismissed, together with all forren Souldiers. They being thus sent away without pay, retur- ned with the casheered Polanders to the borders, where they committed many outrages to the greater discontent of the Russes. Many of them found grieuances notwithstanding, in his too much respect to the Poles: and many made question of his birth. Many were suspected of con- spiracie, and diuers tortured; which was but quenching fire with Oyle, the flame growing greater. And now beganne Demetrius to repent of his hastie dismissing his guards, and began a new Check-roll of Lieslanders and Germanes, to which hee added an hundred English Halber- diers and as many Scots (their Captaynes hee calleth Matthias Cnotsenius and * Albert Lant) and an hundred French vnder Iaques Margeret armed with Partisans. Then also he enlarged his pay, but too late.

Alexander Gofenskie Cornutus was sent Embassadour from Poland with rich Presents and Let- ters from King Sigismund to Demetrius, which because they expressed not the Title of Emperour were not receiued nor opened. In excuse whereof the Embassadour vsed words vsufferable to Russian patience, that he should goe and deprive the great Turke of those Titles. Demetrius dis- sembled notwithstanding, in regard of his past experience, and hoped helpe from the Pole. The dayes following were spent in pastimes and sloth. Saturday was solemne to the Russians, a Feast then happening which they preferre before Easter. The Emperour and Emperesse late crowned in the Hall, and made a great Feast to their owne and to strangers; in which the Pole Embassa- dour refused to be present, except he might sit at the Princes Table, as the Russian Embassadour had beene honoured at Craconia. The Russes denied stiffely, but Demetrius at length yeelded. Many peremptorie and licentious passages happened, the Poles carrying themselves domineering- ly to the Russes, as Victors to the conquered. Demetrius at first ouer-bold, now beganne to feare, and warned the Poles to bee warie, and sent for all his guards. On Friday, the Russes preparing for offence, and the Poles for their defence (for they and not the Prince, seemed to bee then in danger) in the Euening the Nobles command the people to arme against the next day. The Em- peresse was this while secure, and made ready a magnificent Feast against Sunday. But on Satur- day (the sixteenth of the Kalends of Iune) the Conspirators assemblie early, and a great cry is ray-

rayled to kill the *Poles* and *Demetrius*. Some greedie of spoyle runne presently to the *Poles* Lodgings, assault them and embroyle all with slaughters. Others runne to the Castle. Few of the guard were there, delay hauing bred securitie in *Demetrius*, nor were any of their Captaynes seene. *Margaret* then lay sicke as he after told me (*Thuanus*) which disease saued his life. Things were done with such furie and celeritie, that many *Russes* in *Polish* attire were slaine before they were knowne.

Peter Basman came running forth halfe naked, & was killed by one of his own seruants. *Suiskey* their Leader, carrying a Sword in one hand, a Crosse in the other, caused the great Bel to be rung in token of fire that *Demetrius* might be raised & come forth of his Parlor. He awaked with the noyse, now seeing a greater danger then fire, taketh a *Turkish* Sword, and suddenly slips downe out of a window, breaking his legge with the fall, whereby he was easily taken by the people, and by *Suiskeys* command carried into the greater Hall, where Embassadours haue audience. There some vpbaying his impostures, he with his sword layd one on the ground: and then desired the Nobilitie to permit him to speake to the people, which was denyed. Some say that he obtayned of *Suiskey*, that he might be tryed by the testimonie of *Vasilowich* his Wife; which being brought out of the Nunnery, affirmed before the Nobles on her oath, that her Sonne *Demetrius* was many yeeres before murdered by *Boris* his perfidies, which she at first seeing the peoples fauour, and iust reuenge on *Boris*, willingly dissembled, whereupon they ranne vpon him, and with many wounds slue him. Thus writeth *Peter Paterson* of *Pspsal* which then was in *Russia*. When they had slaine him, they thrust a rope thorow his secret parts, and drew him thorow the myre into the Market place, where he remayned foure dayes lying all gorie and myrie on a boord, with *Peter Basman* vnder it, and an vgly Vizar ouer it, a Bag-pipe in his mouth, with other lasciuious cruelties exercised on his dead body.

The *Palatine Sandomir* (or *Sandamersko*) was blocked vp in his House, and other *Poles* Houses rifled, many of which died not vreuenged, howsoeuer by numbers ouercome. *Vitenskie* after much slaughter of the assailing *Russes*, when he saw Ordnance brought, set forth a white flagge in token of yeelding, bidding his Seruants cast abroad his money; which whiles the people were gathering, he and his made way with their Swords with great slaughter, & yeelded to the *Boiars* which came from the Castle. The miserable Bride was not only spoiled of inestimable Treasure, but of all her Apparell, and Iewels, carefull only of her Father and Vncle, and thinking it a happy purchase, if she might saue her life and recouer her Countrey. Meane-while, without her Garment to couer her, without Bed to lye on, without securitie of life, shee expected in poore Weeds the issue of the peoples furie.

Many Merchants endured like fates. *Ambrose Cellar*, besides the losse of thirtie thousand Crownes, lost his life. *James Win* was with his own Sword beheaded: *Nathan* lost one hundred and fiftie thousand Florens: *Nicolas Limborough* fiftie thousand. Two of *Ausburg* had lent two hundred thousand Crownes to *Demetrius*, which now was not to pay them. *Marcellius* lost an hundred thousand Florens. Twelue hundred *Poles* lost their liues; many were saued by the *Boiars*. Foure hundred *Russes* were slayne. At night the tumult ceased. Scarsly would the people giue leaue to bury the bodies after three dayes wallowing in the durt, in the *Germane* Church-yard.

After this tempest was calmed, the *Boiars* assembled in counsell about a new Election, where *Suiskey* made speech to them, professing himselfe sorrowfull for that had passed, in the execution of a iust zeale to the Imperiall Family and his Countrey, and in hatred of a cruell Tyrant: that *Iuan Vasilowich*, how euer injuriously taxed by some, had left Kingdomes annexed to his Inheritance as Monuments of his great spirit; by whom he had bene sent to *Stephen King* of *Poland* to treat of peace, and euer since had so carried himselfe in the State, that none could iustly blame him: that *Iohn* being dead, *Theodore* succeeded, but another ruled, who murdered the yonger brother, and as was thought, after that poysoned the other; so attayning the Empire, which how miserable was it all his time? that *Demetrius* therefore (whosoever he was) found friends, himselfe amongst others, but when their Religion was endangered, Forreiners aduanced, Lawes violated, Exotike fashions brought in, liberties suppressed, he withstood with the peril of his life; which it grieved him to haue enjoyed, as a Theeues benefite, by his grant which had no right to take it: yet seeing their forwardnesse in a cause so iust (would God it had not bene so bloody) more regarding his Countreys safety then rumours and reports, hee had bene their Captayne to doe that which God the disposer of Kingdomes by the successe had approoued, so that now they were freed from a cruel Tyrant, nor had they any Sorcerer or Impostor to mock them: that it remayned now, seeing the Imperiall Family was extinct, they should now seeke one of noblest blood, of wisest experience, of most religious zeale, who might esteeme his peoples hearts his strongest Forts, such an one as either is, or is thought to bee the best man to become their Prince. Thus was himselfe chosen Emperour the thirteenth of the Kalends of Iune. A writing was published to iustifie the killing of *Demetrius*, a runnagate Fryer called *Grishka*, or *Gregorie Strepy*, professed in the Monasterie in the Castle (which therefore hee would neuer enter lest hee should bee knowne) with other aspersions of Heresie, Sorcerie, affectation of indu-

The Deuill is often slandered: and by ill willers, bad is made worse. And so perhaps by Suiskeys faction was this Demetrius.

The former part of this intelligence I found in Master Hackluyts Papers; the latter by conference, &c. Son of Gregory Penpoloy. See Suiskeys Letter following. Occasion of ambition. Boris ill government.

Demetrius Emperour.

He is slaine.

Suiskey Emperour.

* This might be rumoured: Others say hee was not of that but of very noble blood. See sup. in Fletcher and Thuanus. Demetrius his person described. Some say that he was not like Demetrius and that he seemed a dozen yeeres elder: but perhaps they mistake this for

cing Popery (the Popes Letters also challenging his promise produced) to giue the Iesuites Temples, Colledges, and other necessities; with other overtures to the *Palatine Sandomersko*, for *Smolensko*, and *Novogrod*; his bringing in *Poles* in *Russian* Roomes, his luxurie, riot, pompe, reseruing *Boris* his Daughter in a Nunnerie with intent of incestuous lust, hauing murdered her Mother and Brother; making a siluer Throne with sixe Lions on each side, and other pride; abusing Nunneries to lust and lasciuiousnesse, &c. But wee shall giue you hereof more authenticke testimonie then this of *Thuanus* in *Suiskeys* Imperiall Letter to His Majestie. Meane-while touching this *Demetrius* we will produce a few *English* Testimonies extracted out of their Letters and Relations: wherein if some circumstantiall discrepance appeare (in things done both so farre and so foule in tumultuous furie, where men had rather hide themselves then become witnesses, lest whiles they would bee Spectators, they should bee forced to bee Actors, and haue their parts acted in that bloudie Tragedy) it is no maruell. I produce all Witnesses I can, in a cause of so remarkable consequence, and choose rather to bee prolix then negligent, that the Reader out of so much euidence may better weigh and examine the truth.

The late Emperour of *Russia* called by the name of *Demetry Euanowich*, is now credibly said (as some of them say) to haue bene the Sonne of a *Russe* Gentleman, named *Gregorie Penpoloy*, and that in his younger yeeres he was shorne a Frier into a Monasterie: from whence hee afterwards priuily got away, trauelled into *Germanie* and other Countreyes, but had his most abiding in *Poland*, in which time he attayned to good perfection in Armes and Military knowledge; with other abilities of sufficiencie; Afterwards finding a conceit taken by the *Russes* of a secret conueying away of *Demetry Euanowich*, brother and heire to *Pheodore Euanowich* Emperour; and that some other should be made away in his steed: And finding also the generall distaste of the government of *Boris* then Emperour, who after a faire beginning, did in his latter yeeres vphold himselfe, and his house with oppression and crueltie: And hauing also many circumstances and opportunities of time and age, and such other likelihoods, to aduantage and second his pretence, began first to broach his Title (as before) and by degrees found such a generall acceptation of all sorts of people, that it so daunted *Boris*, that (as it was then rumoured about) hee, first, and afterwards his Wife, and his Sonne succeeding him, made themselves away by Poyson. Though now it goeth for certayne, that the poysoning of them was procured by the Pretender, to make the easier way to the Empire, which thereby he obtayned, entring and continuing the same with all the State, and greatnesse that such a place required: Vntill at length the *Russes* moued rather by other certainties, then by any thing discovered by himselfe, the sixt day after his marriage (which was kept with very great pompe and solemnitie) being the seuenteenth of May last past, taking a time when the *Poles* stood least on Guard; came to the Court with one consent of Nobilitie and Commons about three of the clocke in the morning, and mastring the Guards, drew the Emperour out of his bed from the Emperesse, and charging him that hee was not the true *Demetry Euanowich*, but a false Pretender, he confessed the Deceit, and was forthwith hewed in pieces by the multitude: *Peter Basman* resisting was likewise slaine; and both brought into the Market place, where their bodies lay for a time to bee viewed of every man. The old Queene denied him to bee her Sonne, excusing her former acknowledgement to haue proceeded from feare and the generall acceptance which hee found amongst the people. As many *Poles* as made resistance, were slaine to the number of seuentene hundred. The new Emperesse, her Father, his brother with the other *Poles* were committed to safe keeping, to the number of eight or nine thousand.

And then proceeding to a new Election they chose Emperour *Vassiloe Euanowich Shoskey*, who not long before was at the Blocke to haue bene beheaded, for reporting that hee had seene the true *Demetry Euanowich* after he was dead, and did helpe to burie him. But the Emperour did recall him, and afterwards aduanced him to the chiefe place of dignitie about his person. He is the next of blood * liuing, descended of the Race of the old Emperour *Iuan Vasilowich*, of the age of fiftie yeeres or thereabouts, neuer married, but kept vnder during *Boris* time, a Prince of great wisdom, and a great fauourer of our Nation, as did specially appeare by the care hee had to guard the *English* House from rising, when the late *Demetry* was brought in by the *Poles*.

The late Pretender was of stature low, but well set, hard fauoured and of no presence; howsoever otherwise of a Princely disposition, executing Iustice without partialitie; And not remitting the insolencie euen of the *Poles*; well seene in martiall practises, and trayning his Nobilitie to the Discipline of warre, to make them the readier against the *Tartar*, not giuen either to women or drinke, but very liberall and bountifull, which occasioned some grievous Exactions to maintayne the same. And to conclude, a man in the opinion of such as knew him, not unworthy of a better gotten, and longer continued Empire, which hee lost chiefly through the greatnesse of his minde, supposing that none of his Subjects durst attempt any such matter against his person, when as in the meane time the practice went on with such a generall Conjurati-
on, that the *Russes* were summoned by the ringing of a Bell to bee readie to enter the Court. And an other after Pretender, calling himselfe the same *Demetrius*, &c. as after shall appeare, a deformed man.

to shake off that Gouvernement which would haue made them a more noble Nation then formerly they haue beene.

IT is reported by some of Ours, that hee the rather was inclinable to our Nation in the respect he bare to his Majestie, hauing read that his worthy Worke dedicated to Prince *Henrie*. Hee is said also to haue beene a resolute man of his hands, to haue delighted in fighting with the Beare; active and strong. I haue likewise heard that hee gaue the command of his Guard consisting of strangers to Captayne *Gilbert a Scot*; to haue made one *Buchenskey* (a Learned and Religious Protestant) his Secretarie; and otherwise to haue beene so alienated from *Russian* manners, and so well affected to Strangers, that they conspired as aforesaid. The people are said to haue entred the Castle (which was a quadrant, hauing a high bricke wall of seuen stories, and another of stone, and a Market place) with stones in their pockets (which are rare thereabouts) and some with weapons.

Captayne Gilbert.
Buchenskey.

Stones rare about Mosco.

Captaine Gilberts report of a Vision.

Some report from Captayne *Gilberts* Relation, that lying on his bed not long before his death (as hee thought, awake) an aged man came to him, which sight caused him to arise and come to Captayne *Gilbert*, and his guard that watched, but none of them had seene any thing. Hereupon he returned to his Bed, but within an houre after he againe troubled with like apparition called, and sent for *Buchinskie*: telling him that he had now twice seene an aged man, who at the second comming told him, that though for his owne person he was a good Prince, yet the injustice and oppressions of his inferiour Ministers must bee punished, and his Empire should bee taken from him. In this perplexitie his Secretarie gaue him good and holy counsell, saying till true Religion were there planted, his Officers would bee lewd, the people oppressed, and God Almighty offended, who perhaps by that Dreame or Vision had admonished him of his dutie. The Emperour seemed much moued, and to intend that good which that Countrey was not so happy to receiue. For a few dayes after (as that Relation auereth) his *Russe* Secretarie came to him with a Sword, at which the Emperour iested, and hee suddenly after fawcie speeches assaulted him, with many other *Grandes* of that Conspiracie, and (like another *Cesar*) slae him, crying *Libertie*, before his guards could apprehend the danger; of which some were slaine, but the most with *Gilbert* their Captayne, got to a place called *Coluga*, which with the helpe of some *Russes* they fortified and held for their defence. *Buchinskie* the Secretarie was taken and imprisoned, the strangers murdered, the *English* except, who haue in all changes been well beloued of the *Russians*; as indeed they deserue, hauing alway done good seruice to the Emperours. And their interest saued the life of that worthy man *Buchinskey*, which they requited with much obseruance to the succeeding Emperour *Suiskey*, who comes next to be spoken of; and first you shall haue his Letter to our Gracious Souereigne.

Another manner of his death reported.
Coluga.

§. II. III.

SVISKY the Successour his Letter to our King, describing the former DEMETRIUS his Acts and Tragedie.

The Copie of the Translation of a Letter sent from the new Emperour Vassily Euanowich Shoskey to the Kings Maiestie by Master Iohn Mericke.

The loue and mercie of God that guideth vs in the wayes of peace, we glorifie with the Trinitie.

I find him called Shoskey, Suiskey, Ziska, &c. the iust translation and pronounciation being W. d.

50 **F**rom the great Lord Emperour and great Duke Vassily Euanowich of all *Russia*, sole Commander of *Voladomer*, *Mosko*, *Nouogrod*, *King of Cazan* and *Astracan*, of *Syberia*, *Lord of Vobsko*, and great Duke of *Smolensko*, *Twerskoy*, *Yauharskoy*, *Pearmskoy*, *Vatskoy*, *Bollharskoy*, and of other: *Lord and great Duke of Nouogrod* of the *Low Countrey* of *Cherneego*, *Rezanskoy*, *Polotskoy*, *Rostouskoy*, *Yerelaueskoy*, *Bealozerskoy*, *Leeflanskoy*, *Owdorskoy*, *Obdorskoy*, *Condinskoy*, and Commander of all the *North parts*: also *Lord of the Land of Eeuerskoy*, *Cartalinskoy*, and ouer the Empire of the *Gorgians* of the Land of *Cabardinskoy*, and *Eeharskoy Land*, likewise of many other Lordships Lord and Commander.

50 To our beloued Brother James King of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland, Wee giue to vnderstand that *Sigismund King of Poland*, and great Duke of *Letto*, in Anno 7109. did send vnto the late Emperour *Boris*, his Embassadour named *Lewis Sapeago*, being Chancelor of the great Dukedome of *Poland*, requesting the said Emperour *Boris*, that the former league and peace made and concluded upon by the great Lord Emperour and great Duke *Theodore Euanowich* of all *Russia*, and

League with
the Pole.

He taxeth the
King of Poland.
Allegations a-
gainst the pre-
tending De-
metrius.

A Frier.
A Clarke.

Magician.

Greeke Church

Flight to Letto.

m George.

Demetrius of
Owglits.
His murder.

Buriall.

Letters to Po-
land.

him, Sigismund, King of Poland, might be steadfastly holden and continued till the time of that league were expired. As also that the Emperour Boris would enlarge the said league for thirtie yeeres more, whereupon the Emperour Boris yeelded thus farre unto the request of the King of Poland, that hee would continue the old league till the full time were expired, and assent to a new league for iwentie yeeres more; and to that effect he tooke an Oath, to hold and keepe all the contents faithfully, mentioned in the said Writing, touching the same league: and instead of the King of Poland, his Embassador Lewis Sapeagoe was sworne in the presence of the Emperour Boris. And after the Polish Embassador was departed from the Mosko, the Emperour Boris sent unto Sigismund King of Poland his Embassa-
dour, being one of the Prinie Councell, called Michailo Zleabowich Sallteecoue, with some others to
end and finish the aforesaid league, to the which league the King of Poland himselfe was sworne in the
presence of the Emperours Embassador to hold and keepe the said league faithfully, according to the te-
nour of their Writing.

But not long after Sigismund King of Poland, with one Pauarade, entred into such a practise, as
he therein falsified his Oath, and made way to the shedding of much Christian blood. First, by retaining
and upholding one Gryshca Otreapyoue, a Runnagate, a Coniurer, and one that left his profession
being a Monke, and ran away out of Russia into Poland; and being come thither, tooke upon him to be the
Son of the great Emperour Euan Vassilawich of famous memorie, and by name Demetry Euanowich:
when as it was well knowne in our Kingdome, that before he was shorne a Monke, he was commonly called
Yowhco, Son to one Bowghdan Otreapyoue, dwelling at a place called Galits; and when hee had
committed much villanie, to saue his life he shorne himselfe a Frier, and so runne from one Monasterie
to another, and lastly, came into a Monasterie called Chowdo, where hee was made one of the Clarkes;
being so placed there by the Patriarke of Mosko himselfe: But he did not leaue off his former life; for
he continued still in his most Devilish actions, as he did before he was shorne, committing villany, forsaking
God and falling to the studie of the Blacke Arie, and to many such like evils he was inclined. Also there
was found by him a Writing which shewed how he was false from God, and the same was made well knowne
to the holy Patriarch of Mosko, and of all Russia, and to the Metropolitans, Archbishops, and Bishops,
and to all the holy Cleargie: whereupon the said Rulers of our true Christian Faith, which is from the
Grecian Law, for these his most ungodly works, consulted to send him to perpetuall Prison, there to end his
life. Whereupon this notorious Instrument of Satan, perceiving this his overthrow, and that his vile pra-
ctises were discovered, ran away out of the Kingdome of Mosko, beyond the borders, and into Letto, to a
place called Keeyue: thus according to the Devils instructing of him, as one forsaken of God, he made
this his doing manifestly known to all people, leauing off his Monks Habit, and withall by the counsell and
advice of our Enemie the Polish King, and one of his Palatines named Sandamersko Yourya, m. with
Duke Constantine, and Duke Veshneuetzkoy and his Brethren with other Polish Lords that were of
his Councell, began to call him the Son of the great Lord, Emperour and great Duke Euan Vassily wick,
by name Prince Demetry of Owglits.

As also by his villanous treacherie and the Devils perswading of him, he made much trouble in our
Land, by sending abroad many of his intising and prouoking Letters, to diuers places vpon the borders of
our Countrey: that is, to a place called Done, and to the Volgoe, to our Cossacks and Souldiers, na-
ming himselfe to be the Prince Demetry of Owglits. Moreover, there came, to our Kingdome of
Mosko many Polish Spies, which brought and dispersed Libels both in Cities and Townes, and in the
high-ways, practising to raise dissention in the Kingdome of Mosko. Also it is well knowne, not only
to them in the Empire of Mosko, but likewise in other Kingdomes, that the great Lord Emperour, and
great Duke Euan Vassily wick of famous memory, had a Sonne called by the name of Prince Deme-
try, and after his Fathers decease, there was giuen unto him and his Mother the Citie of Owglits.
But in the yeere 7095. being in the Reigne of the great Lord, Emperour and great Duke Theodore E-
uanowich of all Russia, this foresaid Demetry was murdered by the order and appointment of Boris
Godenoue. And at his Funerall was his Mother now called the Emperesse Martha, with her owne Bre-
thren by name Michaila and Gregory the Sonnes of Theodore Nahouo. Likewise to his burying,
there was sent from the Mosko Metropolitans, and Archimandrites, and Abbots: and the great
Lord, Emperour, and great Duke Theodore Euanowich sent to his Funerall many Nobles and Coun-
tiers of the Land which saw him buried in the chiefest and principall Church of Owglits. Moreover,
Martha the Dutches and Emperesse his Mother is yet living, and many of her Brothers and Nephews,
which doe at this present time serue vs the great Lord Emperour, and great Duke Vassily Euanowich
of all Russia sole Commander: Likewise in these last yeeres past, as in Anno 7111. and in Anno 7112.
and 7113. concerning that foresaid Traytour and Hereticke, the forsaken of God Gryshca Otreapyo-
ue, many of our Gentlemen, Captaynes and others our Officers did many times write from the North
parts of the borders of our Kingdome into Poland and Letto, and to others their inferiour Cities, to the
Rulers and Gouvernours of the same; as also our spirituall people: the Patriarke, the Metropolitan, Arch-
bishops, and Bishops wrote unto the spirituall people of Poland, declaring unto them what that Heretick
and Traytor was, likewise from whence he came and what manner of person he was; as also of his demea-
nour, and likewise of the occasion why hee runne away to them out of the Land, as also the manner of the
making away of the Prince Demetry, and withall requested the Rulers and Spirituall people of Poland,
that they knowing what Runnagate this was, would not giue credit unto him, nor to make a breach of the
late league concluded upon.

But

But the Gouvernours of the Dukedome of Poland and Letto, as also the spirituall men, according to the King of Poland his commandment, gave no credit unto our writings, but began, more then before to intice and perswade men to uphold the Traitor, and to aide him. Moreover, to make trouble and dissention in our Land, they tooke this forsaken of God, Gryshca unto them, and cald him by the name of Prince Demetry of Owglits: likewise the King gave unto him a chaine of gold, with many thousand peeces of Polish gold, to the defraying of his charges; as also sent in armes to our borders with one of his Lords, the Palatine Sendamersko, and another of his chiefest Lords, with many troopes of Poles. But when the Emperour Boris understood how that this Gryshca Otreapyoue was called, by the name of Prince Demetry Euanowich of Owglits, and withall, that they did aide and helpe him against the Kingdome of Russia: he caused his Counsell to send a messenger, as from themselves, to the Polish Lord Panameerada, which Messenger was named Smeernay Otreapyoue, being Vnckle to the said Gryshca Otreapyoue being the Son of one Iamateen Otrepayou, onely to declare unto them what this Gryshca was; but that Polish Lord Panameerada would not suffer him, and his Vnckle to be brought face to face. But he made answer to the said Messenger Smeernay, that they did not aide him, neither did they stand for him in any sort.

Polish aides.

Smeernay sent.

So after he had sent away the Messenger Smeernay, the King of Poland, and the Lord Panameerada did aide Gryshca Otreapyoue with men and treasure more liberally then before, purposing to make great strife and trouble, and to shed much blood in the Kingdome of Mosco. Also at the same time Sigismund, King of Poland, requested the aide of one of the Princes of Crim in Tartaria, named Cazateera; and to that end he should aide Gryshca with his forces, against the Kingdome of Mosko; and he in consideration, did promise to give unto the foresaid Crim, Prince, what hee would demand. Then the Emperour Boris understanding what practises were in hand, being altogether contrary to the league; thereupon purposely he sent to Sigismund King of Poland, another speciall Messenger, one named Polnicke Agareoue; likewise at the same time, the holy Patriarke of Mosco, and all Russia, with the Metropolitans, Archbishops, and Bishops, with all the rest of the holy Clergie, sent their Messengers with Letters to the State of Poland, and so the great Dukedome of Letto, to the Archbishops, and Bishops, and to all the Spirituallie. Moreover, in the said Letters, the Emperour Boris with the Patriarke, and all the holy assembly, wrote unto the Lord Panameerada concerning Gryshca, making it knowne unto them what he was, and wherefore he came away into Poland, and likewise that the Sonne of the great Lord Emperour, and great Duke Euan Vasilowich, the Prince Demetry was dead: And to that intent, that the King Sigismund should not give credit to the said Gryshca, and that they should not spill Christian blood, nor violate the league.

Crim Tartar.

Another Messenger.

Hereupon Sigismund King of Poland writ unto the Emperour Boris, and further, by word of mouth, both he and Panameerada delivered to the said messenger in his message, that hee did hold and keepe their League, and moreover, did not violate or breake his oath no manner of way: and likewise did write, that he did not ayde that foresaid Gryshca, neither did give credit unto him: withall denying that he was with him in his Kingdome: and further he did write, that if there were any out of Poland or Letto that did aide or assist him, that then they should be executed. But after he had dispatched away the messenger of Boris, not regarding his oath, still more and more did aide and helpe this Gryshca Otreapyoue. Also the Palatine Sendamersko, and Myhala Ratanisko came into the Kingdome of Mosco, to a place called, the Land of Seeuersko, putting the people of that Land in feare, and perswading them there, this Gryshca was the true Prince, and that the King of Poland and Panameerada, had found out the certaintie thereof: and therefore they will have Poland and Letto stand for him. Also from out of many other Kingdomes they goe to aide and assist him: likewise other inferior Kingdomes are willing to stand for him: moreover, that Gryshca in the foresaid Land of Seeuersko, and in other places of our Borders, by the meanes of his diuellsish practises and conirations did intise and tempt them to fall to him: likewise the people of those foresaid places of the Land of Seeuersko, and on the Borders, being simple people, and resorting seldome to the Citie of Mosco, and being intised by Gryshca, and the rest of the Gouvernours, could not withstand, but yeelded them unto them. Whereupon against those Polonians and Lettoes, and other enemies that were already entred the Kingdome of

Mosco, the Emperour sent his Nobles with a great Armie: but by the appointment of God, the Emperour Boris deceased; upon whose death, the chiefest of the Nobles departed the Campe. And after their departure, the Armie hearing of the death of the Emperour, and being drawne thereto by feare and otherwise, at last yeelded themselves over unto Gryshca, as the Borderers had done before.

Also the foresaid Gryshca, by the helpe of the Dinell, and King Sigismund, and Panameerada, came into the Citie and Kingdome of Mosco, to the great disquietnesse and trouble of the whole Land; by whom the Religion was corrupted, and by him were many true Christians put to exile, for denying his right and interest to the Kingdome of Mosco. And shortly after he was seiled in the Kingdome, and he tooke to wife the daughter of one Sandamersko, as was appointed by the King of Poland and Panameerada: the which wife of his was in Mosco with her Father and Brother Senatskoy, and with one Veshneuetskoy, with their Polish and Letto Lords, and other people, by whom Religion was prophaned: as also we were forced and driven to receive many wrongs and iniuries, which the people of the Kingdome of Mosco could not endure. Also, at last this Greehca, by the counsell of the Palatine Sandamersko his Father in Law, and by the counsell of Veshneuetskoy, and other Polish and Letto people, which

Mutation of Religion.

Romish Reli-
on and Iesuites

which he brought in with him, was purposed, by a secret politicke devise to haue put to death the Metropolitans, Archbishops, and Bishops, and all the holy and spirituall assembly, with the Nobles, and Courtiers, and diuers others which were of the better people, and so to haue sent others into Poland and Letto; withall to haue changed the Religion, and to haue established the Romish Religion, for which purpose he brought with him many Iesuites.

Large Empire
of Russia.

The which we the great Lord and great Duke Vasily Euanowich, of all Russia, with the Metropolitans, Archbishops, and Bishops, and with all the holy spirituall assembly, and with the Nobles, Courtiers, and Commons of the Kingdome of Mosco, well considering, and perceiving what an alteration this would be to our Christian faith, with the ouerthrow and viter undoing to our whole Kingdome: we then earnestly bewail'd and lamented, and withall hartly prayed to the almightie Trinitie our onely Lord God, that liueth and defendeth mankind, that it would please him to deliuer vs, and the Common-wealth from those vile, cruell, diuellish attempts, and deuises of theirs. Thus desiring the mercy of God, we all returned and stood stedfast to our former vnsported and true Christian faith, against that vsurper and counterfeit Gryshca and his Counsell, with a resolution to stand in the same manfully, and euen to the death, hoping and longing for the time that all people, and warlike men and Souldiers, and many others of the Empire of Mosco might come to gather themselves together, & that they might likewise perceine and discern this vsurping Heretick, and his diuellish courses, by which he did decline from the true Christian faith of our Religion. The largeness of the Kingdome of Mosco cannot be vnkowne vnto you our louing Brother, how farre it extendeth it selfe both to the South, and to the West, as also to other places, that in halfe a yeares space they could not gather themselves together. But when as the power and warlike Souldiers, and all other people were gathered together, then through the mercie and fauour of God, this enemy of Gods Commonwealt was discovered to all what he was. And the Emperesse Martha, being Mother of the true Prince Demetrey Euanowich, did certifie vnto vs before the Metropolitans, Archbishops, and Bishops, and before all the holy assembly, as also to the Nobles and Courtiers, and other Officers, and men of worth within our Empire, did shew deliuer, that her Sonne the Prince Demetrey was murdered beyond reason, at a place, call'd Owglits, by appointment of Boris Godenoue, and that he dyed in her armes; yet did this Gryshca falsely call himselfe by the name of him that was murdered.

See before.

Also we found in the custody of this Gryshca, the Copie of a writing, which was the contract and agreement that he made betwixt him and the Palatine, before his coming out of Poland; in which was written, that as soone as he did come to the Kingdome of Mosco, that then he would take to wife the daughter of the Palatine, and would giue her two Prouinces, called great Novogrod and Vobsko, with counsell, Courtiers, Gentlemen, and Priests, sitting to a Congregation, with inferior Castles and Lands, freely in those foresaid, to build and set up Monasteries, and also to set up the Romish Religion; And when he came to the Kingdome of Mosco, that then he should giue vnto the Palatine tenne thousand pieces of Polish Gold, which is by our Russia account, three hundred thousand Markes: and to his wife, in consideration of her long Iourney, he promised to giue cloth of Gold, and cloth of Siluer, and of all the best things that was in the Treasurie of the Kingdome of Mosco. Likewise, that hee the said Gryshca, at his coming to Mosco, would take order to bring these things to passe with all diligence, whereby he might draw all the Dominion of Mosco from our true Grecian Religion, and so to haue turned vs into the Romish Religion, and to haue destroyed the holy Church ouer all the Empire of Mosco, and so to haue built up the Religion of the Church of Rome: and for the performing of all this, the said Gryshca was sworne to the Palatine Sandamersko, in the presence of the Teachers of the Land, as before said; that he according to his owne hand writing, would hold all the said covenants, with all diligence, as likewise to bring all the Empire of Mosco to the Romish Religion. The which covenants and agreements the Generall Sandamersko himselfe hath confessed to our Maiestie, and Nobles, that the foresaid agreements and covenants betwixt him and the foresaid Gryshca were true, and how that they trusted one to another: moreover, the Palatine did certifie vnto our Nobles, how Gryshca sent him a Letter vnder his owne hand and Seale, in which he promised to giue him Smolensko, with all the Prouinces belonging thereto, and another place called Seuerow, as also giue him liberty to set up Monasteries, and the Religion of the Church of Rome. Further, there was found by him Letters which were sent to him from the Pope of Rome, and the Cardinals, and Priests, to that effect, that he should remember and withall be mindefull to take in hand speedily those matters and businesse vpon which he had giuen to Sigismund, and the Cardinals his troth and vow, the which was, as before said, to be himselfe of the Romish Religion, as also to bring all the people of the Kingdome of Russia into the same Romish Religion, not onely them that of themselves were willing thereto, but also others by compulsion, and to put them to death that sought to contrary the same. And not onely them of the Kingdome of Russia, but likewise other godly people of seuerall Religion: and that doe serue in the Kingdome of Mosco, as the Catholics, and the Calvinists, them likewise he should seeke to bring into the Romish Religion with all persuasions. Moreover, Gryshca himselfe, before vs, and our Nobles, and Courtiers, and before our Commons, did acknowledge as much, and thereupon yeelded himselfe to be in fault: as also that he did all with helpe of the Diuell, hauing forsaken God.

Popes Letter.

For which these his vile actions, this Gryshca, according to the true iustice, receined an end to his life, and was by abundance of people slain in the Mosco, where he lay three dayes in the midst of the Cite, to the

view

view of all such like usurpers, and disturbers. And because his body was loathsome unto us, we caused it to be carried out of the Citie, and there to be burnt.

This Enemy thus having ended his life, then the Kings sonnes of diuers Countries, now dwelling within our Kingdome, with the Patriarke, Metropolitanes, Archbishops, and Bishops, with the Nobles, Courtiers, and the Commons, made entreaty unto us Vasilii Euanowich, to raigne and gouerne over them and ouer all the Kingdome of Mosco, as their Lord, Emperour, and great Duke of all Russia. According to which entreatie made unto us by the said Kings sons of diuers Countries, as likewise by our Nobles, Courtiers, Merchants, and all the rest of the Commons of all the Kingdome of Mosco, we are come to the great Kingdome of Volodemar, Mosco, Nouogrod, and as also of the Kingdome of Ca-

Election of Swiskey.

zan, Astracan, and Siberia, and ouer all the Provinces of the Empire of Mosco: as also wee the great Lord Emperour, and great Duke of all Russia, are crowned with our Imperiall Crown: and for the said Kings sonnes of diuers Religions, and our Nobles, Courtiers, and Souldiers, and all manner of People, doe serue our Imperiall Maiesty with desire and good liking voluntarily, and not by delusions and coniuurations, as the Poles and Lettoes were bewitched by Grishca. But we the great Lord Emperour and great Duke Vasilii Euanowich, with great care stayed and restrained our People from the spoyle of the Poles and the Lettoes, defending them from death; and withall haue commanded to let goe many of them into Poland and Letto: but the chiefeest of them that were of the Councell, and that practised to bring trouble and dissention in the Kingdome of Mosco, are now taken. And we to doe an honour unto the dead body of the true Demetrie, haue (upon conference with our Metropolitanes, Archbishops, and Bishops, and all the holy Assembly, our Nobles and Courtiers, and all the Kingdome of Mosco) sent to the Citie of Owglets a Metropolitan, named Filareta, of Rostoue and Yeralloue, who was called before he was made Metropolitan, Theodor Neekete, which being one of the Nobles in times past, and with him the Archbishops of Astracan, called Feodosia, and our Nobles the Duke Euan Michalowich Vorotinskoy, with the rest of his fellowes, commanding them to bring up with them the body of the Prince Demetrie Euanowich, who was murdered by the appointment of Boris Godonoue, and to bring it vp to our Citie of Mosco with great honour, which body shall be buried in the principall Church of Mosco, called Michael the Archangel, neare to his father the great Lord Emperour and great Duke Euan Vasilowich of famous memorie, and by Gods power his body shall not be touched or abused any manner of way. Likewise will we, by the fauour of God, honour the Funerall of Demetrie Euanowich with speciall solemnities, which body performeth many cures, and worketh miraculously unto them, that come to him with Faith to be cured of their diseases.

Miracles.

And now most louing and deare brother, wee calling well to minde the great amitie and friendship that was betwixt the great Lord Emperour, and great Duke Euan Vasilywich, and his Sonne Theodor Euanowich, the Emperour Boris, and the great Lady Queene Elizabeth: the like brotherly loue doe we desire to haue with you, most louing and deare brother, to be established and continued betwixt us, as it was with them, during our lines. Therefore may it please you, our louing brother Iames, King of England, after the hearing of these great and strange dangers past, to reioyce with us, that he hath deliuered from such a vile enemy, and that he, our mercifull God, hath diuided and scatterd that wicked counsell, and that he hath turned their cruelty vpon their owne head, to their shame and confusion. And concerning your Merchants that were in our Kingdome, Iohn Merricke with his fellowes, we haue graced them with our Imperiall presence; as also haue giuen unto the said Iohn Merricke and his fellowes, a new priuiledge, and Letters of fauour, by which they shall come into our Kingdome, and to traficke with all manner of goods freely, without paying any Custome whatsoeuer, and as to them was granted in former time, and this fauour we haue giuen them to manifest vnto you our louing Brother, our Brotherly loue. And the reason that we haue not sent to you, louing brother, our Embassadour, is, because we had not time, in regard of many our Imperiall affaires, but hereafter doe purpose to send, to visite you in your Kingdome. Written at our Imperiall palace and Citie of Mosco, from the beginning of the World Anno 7114. the fourth day of Iune.

Sir Iohn Merricke.
New Patent.

Thus is Demetrius painted out by his Enemies, which perhaps were not altogether led with simplicitie of truth, but in many things made him worle, that they might make their owne cause (bad enough) to appeare better. They tell also of great outrages committed by the Poles, (like those sometimes here in England by the Danes) their proud insulting ouer the men, ravishments of women, fetching them out of their houses and husbands bosomes to serue their lusts: neither did Demetrius, as they say, punish them; one onely being sentenced, and hee violently rescued from execution by the Poles. They say also that Demetrius his body was plucked out of the grane and burnt, the ashes throwne into the aire, the seeds, as the sequels seemed to shew, of many Demetrii after.

1606.

Swiskey is also by some reported to haue bene chosen by lot in this manner. The Nobles cast lots foure times to receiue a Successor, as it were, by diuine sentence in lot-oracle: in euery of which times the lot fell vpon Swiskey (for as some say, there were three or foure neerer then hee) he modestly refusing and enforced by constancy of the various lot to accept that Scepter, whereof others thinke him as ambitious, as was modest Boris before him. Howouer, he hath left his name and memorie written in as blacke inke as either Boris or Demetrius, if Reports bee true, which

Thu. l. 135.

Polish insolencies.

Choosing by lot.

Suiskys vices.

The like is told of *K. Edward* the fourth that vpon prediction of one to succeed, whose name began with *G*, he put to death *George* Duke of *Clarence* his brother, and yet *Glister* succeeded.

A printed book 1614. tells of a great man, named *Tragus*, which betrayed by one *Glisco* was arrayned, and to prevent the furie of *Suiskey* stabbed himselfe, &c. *Cap. Gilbert.*

* *Thuan* tells that fourteene horses were missing in the Kings stable on the massacre day, and hence was occasioned a suspicion of escape, &c.

A strange Ingler.

English aide.

Sweden Title.

Forraine aides to the Russes.

which say that he proued a wicked Prince, partly by poison, partly by the *Tartars*, making away all, whose blood might by Nobilitie threaten a probabilitie of their prouing his Corriuals. Yea, he is said to haue sent for Witches and Sorcerers, *Laps*, *Samoeds*, *Tartars*, or whatsoeuer other Nation yeelded such Hell-hags, incarnate Fiends, the Devils blacke guard, to consult about his Empire and succession; and (the Deuill is a murtherer) to haue sealed their predictions with blood. Thus being told that one *Mischalovich* should succeed, he is said presently to haue plotted the death of three *Grandes* of that name, his best seruants; yet the superstitious people obserue (after much chopping and changing) that in little time the State was settled on one of that Name, which still swaith the Scepter; Who then being a youth of no State-terror, was his attendant in Court, and bare an Axe (after their custome) before him.

One of his first Acts, was to send into *Poland* an Embassage, which could not bee admitted audience till Ianuarie. Hee thereby complained of *Sandomerskos* artes which obtruded that Changeling on *Russia*, whereby aboue two hundred of principall Nobilitie had lost their liues: demanding restitution of the moneys which that Impostor had caused to bee transported into *Poland*, and restitution of goods; otherwise hee would with *Charles* of *Sweden* Duke of *Suderman*, enter *Poland* with an Armie to bee reuenged for the league (which they had sworne) broken, &c. *Sigismund* answered modestly, with excuse of their helping the right Heire in their conceits, and that his desire was that peace should continue (being loth in times then tumultuous at home, to prouoke a forreine enemy, so neere in dwelling, so remote in affection) *Sandomersko* still remayned prisoner in *Russia*. But things being better settled in *Poland*, and growing worse in *Russia*, by the dislike conceiued against *Suiskey*, a double danger grew to him both from another reuiued *Demetrius* (yea many pretending that Name and Title did after arise, as out of his dispersed ashes) within *Russia*; and from the *Poles* without, willing both to assist him vnder colour of Reuenge, and with hope of Conquest also, to inuade and fish for themselves in troubled waters.

As for that *Demetrius* new risen from the dead (not to mention the others of inferiour note) I shall relate *Captaine Gilberts* reports which knew him and was by him entertayned, as I receiued them of a iudicious friend of mine, which had them from his owne mouth. Hee being at *Coluga* (as before is said) receiued a Letter from this new *Demetrius*, so written that it appeared to bee of the former *Demetrius* his owne hand: and thus also he vsed to doe to others being able to counterfeit his writing, and to relate such other particulars as seemed impossible to any but *Demetrius* to doe. Hereupon *Captaine Gilbert* went with his Guard of Souldiers to meete him and the *Polake* Generall which came with him. And whiles he was yet a good distance off, *Ab* (this *Demetrius* called to him) *my true seruant, where were you and my Guard, when the villaines hurt me? but if I had followed the counsell which you gaue me such a time in such a place* (relating the particulars) *I had prevented them*. This circumstance had moued him to beleue this to be the former *Demetrius*, had not he differed from this in person, as night from day. Thus also he said he affirmed to the *Pole* Generall, asking him how he liked this *Demetrius*, that This and That were as like as Night and Day (for the former was of goodly personage, and this a very deformed wretch.) The *Pole* replied, It is no matter, *Captaine*, this *Demetrius* shall serue our turne to bee reuenged of the perfidious and bloudie *Russe*. And this *Demetrius* acted the other so neerly, and could so cunningly and confidently relate particular passages of past occurrents, that the Lady of *Demetrius* was by him bedded. Thus was miserable *Russia* ground betwixt these two Mill-stones, the pretending *Demetrius* and the super-intending *Pole*. *Suiskey* is helped not a little by the *English*, which brought him strangely and aduenturously powder and munition to his Castle to *Mosco*, which yet at last by revolt of the Citizens deliuered vp it selfe and him to the *Poles*. And as for that pretending *Demetrius*, he was afterwards murdered in his Campe by a *Tartar*. But it is meet to take hereof larger view.

Sigismund King of *Poland* layeth claime to *Sweden*, as sonne to King *John* (who is said to haue vniustly deprived *Ericus* of his life and Kingdome) whose yonger brother Duke *Charles* first receiued his Nephew King *Sigismund* (then also elected and still continuing King of *Poland*) but vpon warres which after arose betwixt them, the issue was, that the *Pole* holds the Title; but *Charles* obtayned both Regall Title and Power, wherein his Sonne hath succeeded. *Suiskey* takes hold of this difference, and *Charles* assists him with an Armie sent vnder the command of *Pontus de la Gard* a French Coronell, consisting of *English*, *French*, and *Scots*. These march to *Mosco*, which the new *Demetrius* and *Poles* held besieged, and put *Demetrius* into such feare, that not trusting the *Pole*, and fearing his Aduersaries on both sides, he stole away by night with a small retinue: and the *Poles* obtayned Articles of composition and departed. But miserable were the distresses by famine, fire, sword, rapes, and other outrages in other parts of *Russia*, caused by other *Poles*; and yet these but as a beginning and prelude to other following. For the King of *Poland*, entred with a huge Armie (some say of an hundred thousand men) inuaded the *Muscovite*, and especially laid siege to *Smolensko*. He is reported thence to haue sent twentie thousand to besiege *Mosco*.

Suiskey had sent to King *Charles* for more aide, which he procured out of *England*, and other

Coun-

Countries, of which I had rather let you heare an eye-witnesse speake of this, as elsewhere other English men have related their owne voyages. This indeed deserueth relation, as a tragedie of meaner persons with manifold vicissitudes of miseries (attending voluntarie Souldiers) as before you have seene tragedies of Princes and Grandes. And first you may reade King Charles his compact and promised stipend to such voluntaries, which for the more vnderstanding Readers delight I haue here inserted.

- N**O: Carolus Nonus, Dei gratia Suecorum, Gothorum, Wandalarum, Finnonum, Coreliorum, Lapporum, Conanorum, Esthonorumq; in Liuania, &c. Rex. Notum facimus quod illustrem & generosum nobis sincere dilectum Dominum Iacobum Spentzium, Baronem Wolmerischorum in ministrorum nostrorum numerum clementer receptum, omnium qui nostris nunc militant, aut in posterum militaturi sunt auspicijs, Anglorum, Scotorumq; ducem & prefectum constituimus, ea conditione ut in nostrum, Regniq; nostri usum, pedes mille, & equites quingentos, spectata virtutis milites conscribat, adductosq; inuente vere ad 12. scilicet Maij sequentis Anni 1609. in Regno sistat. Cui nos ad dictos milites tam colligendos quam in regnum traducendos, in pedes quidem nouem, in equites vero quatuor thalerorum imperialium millia & quingentos assignauimus. Cum autem in regnum prefatus militum numerus appulerit, illis si equos & arma subministrauerimus, ea peditum quidem singulorum dimidij equitum vero duorum de cuiusq; stipendio menstruo thalerorum singulis mensibus donec pro armis & equis nobis satisfiat, detractioe soluentur. Ipsi duci primario Peditum vero singulis cohortibus (quarum quatuor ducentis Capitaneo, ceterisq; officiarijs una comprehensis constabat) mille septingentos thaleros in mensem dabimus. Equidem autem cohors qualibet centum equites continebit. Quod si pauciores fuerint, quot persona in prima lustratione defecerint, totidem thalero menstruo Capitaneorum, Equicunq; Magistrorum stipendio detrahentur: In sequentibus vero lustrationibus quae singulis mensibus semel institui debent, si qui forte interea ex hac vita decesserint, aut alio quocunq; modo, militum numerus fuerit ita diminutus, ut pedes cuiusq; cohortis ducentis pauciores sint (non tamen in eam paucitatem redactus ut ad tuendum, ornandumq; vexillum modo militari pedes impares inueniantur) Capitaneos nihilominus stipendium integrum ad sex menses persoluetur, quod si postea defectum non suppleuerit, ipse officio Capitanei carebit & pedes ipsius per ceteras cohortes, ad eorum supplementum distribuentur. Equites vero cohortis cuiusq; si centum pauciores fuerint, Magister equitum nihilominus donec numerus sexagenario maior fuerit stipendium integrum consequetur, idq; ad sex menses durat. His autem exactis, nisi praestitum, centum equitum numerum suppleuerit, ipse munere suo primarius, & equites per ceteras cohortes distribuentur. Magistro equitum centum, Vicario seu locum tenenti quadraginta, Signifero triginta, Decurioni viginti, singulis ductoribus viginti, cuiq; buccinatori sex, Equitibus vero singulis duodecim thaleri, in singulis mensibus munerabuntur. Ducto autem duci generali, ut sequentes officarios sibi adiungeret clementer sumimus: Vicarium generalem, cui quadringentos, prefectum vigiliarum, cui nonaginta, Secretarium cui octoginta, Praetorem cui sexaginta, Prefectum annonae cui sexaginta, Pastorem cui sexaginta, Chirurgum cui quadraginta, Archicustodem cui quadraginta, Inspectorem armorum cui quadraginta, Tympanistam cui sedecim florinos in singulos menses promissimus. Primus autem stipendij mensis intra decimum quantum diem a militum in regnum aduentu inchoabitur. Liberum quoq; habebit prefatus dux Primarius plenamq; iustitia exercenda potestatem in omnes suo imperio subiectos, idq; in omni criminis genere excepto crimine laesa Maiestatis; Peditum cuique subsidij loco thalerum unum; Capitaneis autem & reliquis officiarijs stipendij singulis designati dimidium; Magistro militum duodecim; Eius Vicario octo, signifero sex, cuiq; Decurioni quatuor singulis ex tribus ordinum ductoribus tres, Buccinatori unum cum dimidio, singulis vero equitibus duos in septimanam thaleros dabimus; Semestri quolibet exacto habitaq; accurata supputatione, quod de menstruo stipendio reliquum est, eis persoluetur habita tamen ratione numeri quem in singulis delectibus seu militum lustrationibus Capitanei equitumq; Magistri exhibuerint. Quod si dux militibus suis secundum aliquod praelium fecerit, aut arcem urbemq; aliquam vi expugnauerit, eo ipso die quo id contigerit priore finito nouus mensis inchoabitur. Liberum quoq; erit Ducibus singulis quoties necesse erit a cohortum supplementum adducendum aliquem mittere, qui dum absens erit stipendium suum nihilominus consequetur, pro singulis autem qui in supplementum adducti fuerint decem thaleri numerabuntur. Quod si in praelijs, velitationibus, excubijs aut alio quouis casu quonquam ducum, aut militum in hostium potestatem venire contigerit, idq; non spontanea deditione aut alia ratione subdola & fraudulenta accidisse compertum fuerit, is alius suae conditionis statusq; captui permutatione liberabitur. Hostium vero aliquis si captus ad nos nostrum exierit, Ducem a quoquam eorum perductus fuerit, quod pro sui liberatione captiuus praetium sponderit, id ei qui captiuum duxerit numerabitur. Quod si quisquae horum militum pila ictus tormentaria, aut alio quouis modo mutellus, aut manens euadat, ita ut ipse se alero victumq; quare nequeat, illi a nobis pro ut cuiusq; regni status & conditio, honestum stipendium per omnem vitam suppeditabitur: si vera diutius in hoc Regno nostra commorari noluerit, tum vnius mensis accepto stipendio integrum ei erit, quo libuerit commigrare. Cum cohortes, siue simul, siue sepe ratim exauctorabuntur, singulis officiarijs & militibus mensis vnius numerabitur stipendium. Si aut prefatus primarius aut alius inferiorum Ducum vel Officiariorum a S. R. M. Britanniae accersetur, persoluto quod tunc forte restabit stipendio, ipsosq; duce remunerato, libera dabitur discedendi facultas: In quorum euidetiorum

dentio rem fidei manus propria subscriptione Regia q. nostri sigilli appensione presentes munimus. Ex Regia nostra Stocholmenli die 7. Octobris, Anni Millefimi sexcentefimi octauis.

Subscript. CAROLVS.

1200. Souldiers
shipped from
England.

Colonel Cal-
uine.

A tempest.

Another tem-
pest of the mu-
tinious vulgar.

They land in
Putland.

About a fortnight before Midsummer, which was A. 1609. a companie of Voluntaries, to the number of a thousand and two hundred Souldiers, were at severall times shipped from England to passe into Sweden, to aide the King of that Countrey in his wartes against the King of Poland. To which aide diuers other Nations did likewise resort, as French, high Dutch, &c. Of the English Companies that went thither, the first was commanded by one Caluine a Scot, who by appointment was made Lieutenant Colonell, and chiefe of the other Captaines ouer the footmen.

After the first Companie was gone, a second number of three hundred men (of which the Relator of this, was one) were put into one ship belonging to Sweden, and came from thence for vs. We were assaulted with a great tempest, and were tossed so long, that all our victuals were almost spent: the miserie of which, threw vs into more desperate feares: now were wee assaulted by double deaths (Famine and Shipwrack) what course to take for our reliefe no man presently knew. Continue without foode it was impossible, and as impossible was it for vs. to recover the Land in any short time, without the assured destruction of vs all. At this season, our Commanders were these; Lieutenant Benson, Lieutenant Walton, who was Prouost Martiall of the field; and an Ancient of the Colonels companie. The common Souldiers vowed and resolved to compell the Mariners (seeing the present miseries, and no hopes promising better) to set vs all on shoare vpon the first Land that could be discovered. Our Commanders did what they could by dissuasion to alter this generall resolution, because they feared it would bee the losse of the greatest part of our Companies, if they came once to bee scattered: and besides, they knew that it would redound to their dishonour and shame, if they should not discharge the trust imposed vpon them by our Captaines, which trust was to conduct vs and land vs before, whilst our Chieftaines remayned a while behinde in England, to take vp the rest of our Companies. Yet all this notwithstanding, Land being discovered, there was no eloquence in the world able to keep vs aboard our ship, but euery man swore if the Master of the ship would not set vs on the shoare, the sailes should be taken into our owne hands, and what was resolved vpon (touching present landing) should in despite of danger be effected. Vpon this the Master of the ship and the Mariners told vs, that if we put to land in that place, we should all either perish for want of victuals, which were not to bee had in that Countrey, or elsie should haue our throats cut by the people. Wee resolved rather to trie our bad fortunes on the land, and to famish there (if that kind of death must needs attend vpon vs) then to perish on the Seas, which we knew could afford vs no such mercy: and on shoare wee went, as fast as possibly we could. When our Officers saw, that there was no remedie, nor force to detayne vs aboard, they then disheartned vs no longer, but to our great comforts told it, that the Master of the ship (which thing hee himselfe likewise openly confessed) knew both the Land and Gouvernour thereof (as indeed we proued afterwards he did:) and therefore desired they all our companies not to misbehaue themselves toward the people, for that it was an Iland called *Iutland*, vnder the Dominion of the King of Denmark, but subiect to the command of a Lord, who vnder the King (as his Substitute) was the Gouvernour.

And that we might be the better drawne to a ciuill behaviour towards the Inhabitants, our Officers further told vs, that they would repaire to the Lord Gouvernour of the Countrey, and acquaint him with the cause of our v unexpected landing there; vpon which we all promised to offer no violence to the people; neither was that promise violated, because we found the Inhabitants tractable, and as quiet towards vs, as we to them: yet the greater numbers of them ran away with feare, at the first sight of vs, because (as afterward they reported) it could not bee remembered by any of them, that they ever either beheld themselves, or ever heard any of their ancestors report, that any strange people had landed in those places and parts of the Iland: for they thought it impossible (as they told vs) that any ship should ride so neere the shoare, as ours did, by reason of the dangerous Sands.

Our Officers so soone as they were at land, went to the Gouvernour of the Iland, whilst the Souldiers (who stayed behind them) ran to the houses of the Ilanders, of purpose to talke with the people, and at their hands to buy victuals for a present reliefe: but when wee came among them, they could neither vnderstand vs nor we them; so that the Market was spoiled, and wee could get nothing for our money, yet by such signes as wee could make, they vnderstood our wants pitied them, and bestowed vpon vs, freely, a little of such things as they had. In the end, a happy meanes of our reliefe was found out by a Souldier amongst vs who was a Dane by birth, but his education hauing bene in England, no man knew him to be other then an English man.

This Dane made vse of his owne native language, to the good both of himselfe and vs, certifying

fying the people (who the rather beleued him because he spake in their knowne tongue) of the cause that compelled vs to land vpon their Coast, and that we intended no mischief, violence, or money: to which report of his they giuing credit, stood in lesse feare of vs then before, and thereupon furnished vs with all such necessaries, as the Countrey afforded to sustaine our wants. The foode which wee bought of them was onely fish, and a kinde of course bread, exceeding cheape. Of which foode there was such plentie, that for the value of three pence wee had as much fish as twentie men could eat at a meale, and yet none of the worst sorts of fish, but euen of the very best and daintiest, as Mackrels and Lobsters, and such like. In which our trading with the poore simple people, we found them so ignorant, that many, yea most of them regarded not whether you gaue them a Counter, or a Shilling: for the bigger the piece was, the more fish they would giue for it: but besides fish wee could get no other sustenance from them, or at least, could not vnderstand that they had any other. But obserue what happened in the meane time that we were thus in traffique with the Ilanders for victuals, our Officers (as before is said) being gone to the Lord Gouvernour, who lay about twelue *English* miles from the Sea side, the Master of our ship on a sudden hoysed vp sailes, and away he went, leauing one of his owne men at shoare, who accompanied our Officers as their guide, through the Iland. The cause of the ships departure, did so much the more amaze vs, by reason it was so vnexpected, and the reason thereof vnknowne to vs: But wee imagined the Maister of the ship and Mariners feared to receiue vs into the Vessell againe, because some of our men at their being at Sea, threatned the Saylers, and offered them abuses before they could be brought to set vs on land.

Fish cheape:

Ignorant Bores.

On the next day following, the Lord Gouvernour of the Iland came to vs, bringing our Officers along with him, yet not being so confident of vs, but that (for auoyding of any dangers that might happen) he came strongly guarded with a troupe of Horse-men well armed. And (vpon his first approach) demanding where our ship was, it was told him in what strange manner it stole away and forsooke vs: he then asked what we intended to doe, to which we all answered, that we would be ruled by our Officers: hereupon hee inquired of them, what they would haue him to doe in their behalves: they requested nothing else at his hands, but onely his fauourable Passe through the Countrey, and a ship to carry vs forward into *Sweden*: to which request hee made answer, that he could grant no such licence vntill he had made the King of *Denmarke* acquainted with our being there, for the Iland belonged to the King, he said, and he was no more but an Officer or Substitute vnder him. Yet in consideration that our ship had so left vs in a strange Land, he promised to doe all that lay in his power to effect our good: but withall told vs, that the people had inward feares, and were posselt with suspitions, that our intents of landing vpon such a Coast, were not, as we our selues affirmed, only to get foode, but rather to make spoile of the poore Inhabitants. And therefore, to remooue all such feares and ieaousies out of the peoples hearts, he held it most conuenient for the generall safeties of both parties, to separate our numbers, and to spreade vs abroad in the Countrey, one and one in a house, where it was agreed that we should receiue both a lodging, and meate, and drinke, vntill hee had sent to the King of *Denmarke* some of his owne men with our Officers, to vnderstand his Maiesties pleasure, and what should become of vs.

To this we all agreed, and accordingly for that purpose, were by the Lord Gouvernour, safely by these armed horse-men which were his guard, conducted to his owne house. To that place were al the people of the Iland summoned together, they came at the appointed day to the number of five or six hundred, circling vs round with Bils, Holbards, two-hand Swords, and diuers other weapons: And at the first sight of vs grew into such rage, that presently they would haue cut all our throats, and hewed vs to pieces, but that the authoritie of the Gouvernour kept them from offering violence, yet was hee faine to vse the fairest meanes of perswasion to allay their furie. For they would not beleue but that our arriuall there was to destroy them. Yet the Gouvernour shewed vnto them all our number, which was but three hundred men, and those all vnweaponed, and so consequently, neither likely nor able to vndertake any mischief against them: Charging the vnruely multitude, vpon paine of death, not to touch the least finger of vs, but to diuide vs equally into seuerall Villages, as it should seeme best vnto them, and so bestow kinde and louing entertainment vpon vs till they heard further from him, which command of his they accordingly performed.

Immediately vpon this setting of them and vs in quietnesse, one of our Officers with two of the Gouvernours men, were sent away to the King of *Denmarke*, to vnderstand his Highnesse pleasure, which Messengers were no sooner dispatched about the businesse, but the Ilanders growing more and more suspicious, came againe to the Gouvernour, and neuer would cease or giue ouer troubling him, vntill they had gotten him to make Proclamation (in hearing of vs all.) That if any of vs would freely discouer the true cause of our landing vpon that Coast, and reueale the plots of any dangerous enterprise intended against them, he should not onely be rewarded with great store of money, and haue new apparell to his backe, but also should without tortures, imprisonment, or death be set free, and sent backe againe into his owne Countrey. This Proclamation stricke vs all with feare and astonishment, because albeit we to our selues were not guiltie of

Ieaousie of the people.

any

Griffin a base
coward and
traitor to his
fellows.

A wise Gover-
nour.

Two Ships.

Hard v'sage.

any plot, or villany intended to the place or people, yet wee knew this might be a meanes to endanger all our liues, how innocent soeuer. Our suspicion of danger fell out according to our feares: for one *Thomas Griffin* a Welch man, one of our owne company, went and kneeled before the Gouvernour, and with a face counterfeiting a guiltinesse and fearefull destruction, told him that we came thither onely, and for no other purpose, then to surpris the Iland, kill the Inhabitants, make spoile of their wiues and goods, and hauing set fire of their Townes and Villages, to flye to Sea againe. Yet for all this would not the Gouvernour beleue him, telling him it was a matter very vnlikely, that so small a number, so distressed for want of foode, so weather-beaten and so disarmed, should venture vpon an enterprise so full of dangerous euents; but the villaine replied, that all those complaints of want, were but songs to beguile the people, for that vpon the least Allarum giuen, other ships that lay houering at Sea, and furnished both with men and armour, would on the sudaine, and that very shortly land for the same desire of spoyle, as these their fellows had done, and therefore counselled the Gouvernour to prevent such imminent mischiefs betimes.

The Gouvernour being thus farre vrged, presently called before him Lieutenant *Walton*, whose lodging was appointed in his house, and hauing related to him all that *Griffin* had discovered, and withall, demanding of Lieutenant *Walton* what he could say to this matter of treason and conspiracie: the Lieutenant at the first stood amazed, and vterly denied any such intended villany, protesting by the faith of a Souldiour, that this report of the Welch-man proceeded from the rancour of a vile traitors heart, and therefore on his knees intreated the Gouvernour, not to giue credit to so base a villaine, who for the greedinesse of a little money, went about to sell all their liues, and to make all the inhabitants of the Iland become murderers: The rest lay scattered about and knew nothing of the matter. Now soone after, iust as the traitor had told the Gouvernour, that more ships were not farre off, but were ready to second vs vpon our arriual, it chanced that in the very heat of this businesse, and their feares of danger where none was, two other shippes full of armed Souldiers came to the same place of the Iland where our shippe put in: These two ships had brought Souldiours out of the low Countries (a cessation of warres being there) and were going into *Swethland*, as we were, but by crosse windes and fowle weather, lay so long at Sea, that wanting victuals, they were driuen in hither for succour. Whose sudaine approach and arriual being signified to the Lord Gouvernour, the Welch-mans words were then thought true; all the Iland was presently vp in Armes to resist the strength and furie of a most dangerous supposed enemy: and so secretly did the Inhabitants put on Armes, that we who were kept like prisoners amongst them, knew not of these vproares. But night approaching, the Generall gaue speciall charge that secret watch should be set and kept ouer euery Souldior that lodged in any mans house: which by the common people was as narrowly performed, for they did not onely watch vs as the Gouvernour commanded, but amongst themselves a secret conspiracie was made, that in the dead of night, when wee should be fast asleepe, they should come and take vs in our beds, and there to binde vs with cords: it being an easie thing to doe so, when our company were diuided one from another ouer the whole Iland. At the houre agreed vpon, the plot was put in force, for they entred our Chambers, and bound euery Souldior as he lay, making them all ready like so many sheepe marked out for the slaughter. For mine owne part, I had five men and three women to binde me, who so cunningly tyed me fast with cords, whilst I slept, and felt nothing, nor deampt of any such matter, that with a twitch onely I was plucked starke naked out of my bed, and laid vpon the cold earth vnderneath a Table, with my armes bound behinde me, so extremely hard, as foure men could draw them together, my feete tyed to the foote of the Table, and my necke bound to the vpper part or bord of the Table.

In these miserable tortures lay I, and all the rest (in seuerall houses) all that night, and the most part of the next day, our armes and legges being pinched and wrung together in such pittifull manner, that the very blood gushed out at the fingers ends of many. The enduring of which torments was so much the more grievous, because none knew what we had done that could incense them to this so strange and spitefull cruelty, neither could we, albeit we inquired, learne of our tormenters the cause, because we vnderstood not their language.

Whilest thus the whole Iland was full of the cries of wretched men, and that euery house seemed a shambles, ready to haue Innocents there butchered the next day, and that euery Ilander had the office of a common cut-throate or executioner; Gods wonderfull working turned the streame of all their cruelty: For the two ships that came out of the low Countries, and whose arriual draue so many miserable soules almost vpon the rocks of destruction, hauing in that dolefull and ruinous night, gotten some prouision aboard, weighed Anchor, and departed towards *Swethland*. Which happy newes being serued vp at breakfast to the Lord Gouvernour betimes in the morning, and that the Shippes had offered no violence to the Countrey, but had paid for what they tooke: About eleauen of the clocke the very same day at noone, wee were all like vnto so many dead men cut downe, and bidden to stand vpon our legges, although very few had scarce legges that could stand.

Of one accident more that befell, I thinke it not amisse to take note, which began merrily, but ended

ended tragically, and in bloud; and that was this: Foure of our company being lodged in one Village, and they being bound to the peace, as you may perceiue the rest were; it happened that an Host, where one of them lay, had tiptled hard, and gotten a Horfes disease, called the Staggers: In comes he stumbling, to the roome where the poore *Englisman* was bound to the Table hand and foote: which thing the drunken Scot beholding, drew his Hatchet, which he wore at his girdle, according to the fashion of the Country, and because hee would be sure his prisoner should not escape, with his Hatchet he cleft his head. And thinking in that drunken murderous humour, he had done a glorious act, away he reeles out of his owne house to that house where the other three Souldiours lay bound, where beating at the doores and windowes, and the Host asking what he meant to make such a damnable noyse; he told him so well as he could stammer it out, that the Lord Gouvernour had sent him thither to put the three *English-men* to death. Vpon this, the diuell and he (hand in hand) were let in, the one standing so close at the others elbow, that he neuer left him till he had cleft two of their heads, that lay bound: and being then weary (it should seeme) with playing the butcher, he neuer ceased swearing and staring, and flourishing with his bloody Axe about their heads, till the people of the house had hung the third man vpon a beame in the roome. But they hauing lesse cunning in the Hang-mans trade, theri will to practise it, tyed not the halter so fast about his necke, as to strangle him: so that after hee had hung an houre, hee was cut downe, requied againe, was well, and afterwards was flaine in *Russia*.

Effects of
drunkenness;

20 This bloody feast being thus ended, and all stormes as we well hoped, being now blowne ouer to our freedome, and sitting at liberty from our tormentors; on the necke of these former miseries fell a mischiete more dangerous to vs then all the rest: for tidings were brought to the Gouvernour, that our Auncient, who traualled with the Gouvernours two men to the King, had trayterously murdered those his guides, and then ranne away himselfe: vpon this rumour, nothing but thundring and lightning flew from the common peoples mouthes: there was no way now with vs but one, and that one was, to haue all our throats cut, or our heads cleft with their Axes. But the Gouvernour pitying our misfortunes, laboured both by his authority, & by faire speeches, to keepe that many-headed dogge (the multitude) from barking. And in the end, when he saw nothing but the bloud of vs poore *Englishmen* would satisfie their thirst, because they still held vs in suspicion and feare; he most nobly, and like a vertuous Magistrate, pawned to the inhumane Rascals (to my knowledge) his honour, all that euer he was worth, yea, his very life vnto them, that within three dayes the messengers sent to the King, should retorne home, and that during those three dayes we should be of good behauiour to the Ilanders: and besides that, if they did not retorne in such a time, that then he would deliuer vs vp into their hands. Our Auncient with the Gouvernours two men, came home vpon the third day, to the Gouvernours house, and brought from the King of *Denmarke* his licence, to carry vs not onely through the Country, but commanding that we should be allowed shipping also at conuenient place, to carry vs to *Sueneland*, whither we were to goe: And according to this Licence the Gouvernour caused vs to be called all together the very next day; at which time, *Thomas Griffin* the Welch *Judas*, who had all this while lyen feasting in the house of the Lord Gouvernour, began to tremble and repent him of his villanie, begging most base forgiuenesse on his knees, both from the Gouvernour, and vs his Countymen and fellow Souldiours, protesting that what he did, came out of his feare to saue his owne life. But our Officers (vpon hearing him speake thus) had much adoe to keepe the companies from pulling downe the house where *Griffin* lay, because they would in that rage haue hewed the villaine in peeces.

Cruell cowardise and base
iealousie.

30 But leaving him and all such betrayers of mens bloud to the hell of their owne consciences, let vs set forward out of this infortunate Iland, and not stay in any place else, till in small Boates wee come by water to *Elzmore* in *Denmarke*, where wee ioyfully got aboard once more; and are hoysing vp sailes for *Sueneland*. Yet euen in this sun-shine day a storme falls vpon vs too: for our Officers not hauing sufficient money to furnish vs with victuals, wee were enforced to pawne our Auncient and Lieutenant *Walton*, for the safe retorne of the Shippe, with condition, that they should not be released vntill a sufficient summe of money was sent to defray all charges. So that we left our Officers behinde vs; but the King of *Sueneland* did afterwards release them, and then they came to vs. But before their coming, wee hauing a good winde, landed at a place called *Newleas* in *Suene*: and from thence were carried to *Stockholme* (the Kings seate) and there was the King at the same time; betweene which two places, it was a daies march on horsebacke.

King of Den-
marks bounty;

Elzmore

Stockholme.

40 Vpon this our arriual at *Stockholme*, wee met with the rest that had gone before vs, and with diuers others of our Countymen, that came out of the Low-countries, as before is related. In this place we lay so long, and had such poore meanes, that wanting money to buy foode, wee wanted foode to maintaine life, and so a number of vs were readie to starue: till in the end, our miseries making vs desperate, we fell together by the eares with the *Burgers* of the Towne: in which scrambling confusion and mutinie, euery man got one thing or other, of which he made present money to relieue his body withall: yet lay wee at the

Misery after
misery.

walles of the Citie, crying out continually for money, money, till our throates grew hoarse with bawling, but the stones of the walles gave more comfort to vs, then the Inhabitants. One day (aboue all the rest) wee heard, that the King was to ride a Hunting; and wee imagining that all the abuses, wrongs, and miseries, which wee endured, proceeded from some vnder-hand hard dealing, and packing of our Captaines and Officers, resolved to gather about the King at his comming forth, and to cry out for money: but the King being angry (as wee supposed) came riding amongst vs, drawing his Pistoll from the Saddle-bow, as if hee purposed to haue shot some of vs: but seeing none of vs to shrink from him, nor to be dismayed, hee rode backe againe, wee following him, and desiring, hee would either giue vs money, or else to kill vs our right; one amongst the rest (whose name was *William Attane*) spake to the King aloud, thus: *Hold it honour to dye by the hands of a King, but basely to starue to death, I will neuer suffer it.* Vpon these our clamours, the King looking better vpon our necessities, sent money the next day, and immediately after gaue vs a moneths meates in money, and two moneths meates in cloath, to make vs apparrell.

Captaines
cozenage.

Of the cloath wee received some part, but the money being payed, was by our Captaines sent into *England* to their wiues; no part of it euen comming to the poore common Souldiours hands: for presently vpon this, wee were commanded aboard the Ships, with promise that when wee were aboard, wee should haue our money. But being in the Shippes vnder hatches, away wee were carried with provision onely of one moneths victuals; when by reason of the weather, wee were forced to lye eight weekes at Sea: in all which time, wee had nothing but pickelled Herrings, and salt Stewings, with some small quantitie of hard dried meates: by which ill dyet, many of our men fell sicke, and dyed. In the Shippe wherein I was, wee liued foureteene dayes without bread, all our best foode being salt Herrings, which wee were glad to eate raw; the best of vs all hauing no better sustentance.

Finland.

At the last, it pleased God to send vs to a place called *Krasound* in *Fynland*, where wee landed, (*Fynland* being subiect to the King of *Sweneland*.) From *Krasound* wee were to goe to *Weyborough*, a chiefe Towne in the Countrey of *Fynland*: where wee no sooner arrived, but our Souldiours ranne some one way, and some another, so long that the Captaines were left alone with the Shippes: This running away of them, being done onely to seeke foode, so great was their hunger.

Dispersing.

By this carelesse dispersing themselves, they lost the command of the whole Countrey, which they might easily haue had, if they had bene vnited together: and not onely were deprived of that benefit, but of Horses also, which were allowed by the King for them to ride vpon. So that, what by the reason of the tedious Iourney (which wee were to trauell, being fourescore leagues) and what by reason of the extreame cold, being a moneth before Christmas, at which time the Snow fell, and neuer went off the ground untill Whistontide following; but all the Raine, and all the Snow that fell, freezing continually, diuers of our men were starued to death with the Frost. Some lost their fingers, some their toes, some their noses, many their liues: insomuch, that when wee all met at *Weyborough*, wee could make no more but one thousand and foure hundred able men; and yet when wee were landed at *Krasound*, wee were two thousand strong; the extremity of the cold Countrey hauing killed so many of our Souldiours in so little time.

Distresse by
Frost.

At our landing at *Weyborough* wee had good hopes to receiue better comforts, both of money and victuals: for the Inhabitants told vs, the King had allowed vs, and in that report they spake truth: yet contrary to our expectation, wee lay there about foureteene dayes, and had nothing but a little Rice, of which we made bread, and a little butter, which was our best reliefe. Drinke had we none, nor money: our Captaines gaue vs certaine letherne patches, onely made of Sheeps skins, to keepe vs from the cold.

Their miserable
march into
Russia.

At this place we received armes to defend vs against the enemy, and six Companies that were allowed by the King for Horsemen, received Horses there. From thence wee were to march into *Russia*, where our enemies continued. But the Iourney was long and vncomfortable: For wee marched from Newyears day vntill Whistontide, continually in Snow, hauing no rest, but onely a little in the nights. So that the miseries and misfortunes which wee endured vpon the borders of *Fynland*, were almost insufferable, by reason the number of them seemed infinite. For all the people had forsaken their houses long before wee came, because they were euen more oppressed by Souldiours: by which meanes we could get neither meate nor drinke; but were glad to hunt Cats, and to kill them, or any beasts wee could lay hold on, and this wee baked, and made them serue for daily sustentance. The greatest calamitie of all was, wee could get no Water to drinke, it had bene so long frozen vp, and the Snow so deepe, that it was hard to lay, whether wee marched ouer Water, or vpon Land. So that wee were compelled to digge vp Snow, and with stones redde hot, to melt in tubbes, and then to drinke it.

Want of meate
and of Water.

This

This affection continued about twelue or foureteene dayes, till we came into *Russia*. Vpon our very first entrance into which Kingdome, we marched ouer an arme of the Sea, that was eight leagues ouer, many of vs staruing to death in that passage, by the cold freezing windes that blew the same day. In which frosty iourney, I saw so much bread as a man might buy for twelue pence, sold away in little bits, for the value of fortie shillings. But this misery ended the next day, at our setting foot into *Russia*, where we found plenty both of corne and cattle; onely the people of the Countrey ranne away, leauing all their goods behinde them, but so cunningly hidden, that the best pollicie of ours could hardly finde them out. By this meanes of the peoples running away, we were glad to play the Millers, and to grinde all our corne our selues, to bake our bread, and to dresse our owne victuals. Then marched wee vp to *Nonogrod* (a chiefe Citie in *Russia*) where wee were to receiue all our meanes that rested behinde vn-
10 payed: but our Captaines beguiled vs, and kept it for themselues: yet to stoppe our mouthes, they told vs wee should goe into *Muscony*, and there all reckonings should be made euen.

Russians runne away.

Nonogrod:

Polake enemies.

They fled.

Sconce taken with store of Armes.

Wee had scarce marched about three dayes towards *Muscony*, but that newes came, how a certaine number of our enemies lay in a sconce by the way; the strength of them was not perfectly knowne, but it was thought they were not aboute seven hundred, and that we must vse some stratagem to expell them from thence: vpon which relation, our Captaines drew forth to the number of three hundred *English* horsemen, and two hundred *French* horsemen: so
20 that in all we were about five hundred that were appointed to set vpon the supposed seven hundred *Polanders*, (our enemies) that so lay insconced: vpon whom we went. Our chiefe Commander in that seruice was *Monsier la Veile*, a *French* man, who so valiantly led vs on, that the enemy hearing of our comming, fled ouer a water that was by the sconce; yet not with such speede, but that wee slue to the number of foure hundred of their side, and lost onely three men of our owne: but we tooke the sconce. About the sconce stood a faire Towne called *A-rioma*, with a riuer called the *Volga*, running through the middle, but no bridge ouer it; onely a few Boates and Sloates (made and cut out of trees) were there, to carry the people ouer from the one halfe of the Towne to the other. This sconce furnished vs not onely with great store of riches, but also with a number of *Polish* Horses, and as many armes as serued to arme five hundred men; our want of that commoditie being as much as of any thing besides: for of those five
30 hundred men that went vpon the seruice, there were not three hundred fixed armes; yet through the hand of him that deales victories, or ouerthrowes, as it pleaseth him best, the day was ours.

Ouer this riuer *Volga* the enemies were neuer driuen before, either by the Emperor of *Russia*, or by the King of *Swethland*: for which cause (as afterward wee heard) the next day when they departed from the other side of the Riuer, they burnt that halfe of the Towne on which side they were themselues, and in most bloody, barbarous, and cruell manner, made hauocke both of men, women and children, albeit (not aboute halfe a yeare before) the Inhabitants on that side had reuolted from their owne Emperour, and turned to them. In which tyrannicall
40 vprore, their custome was, to fill a house full of people, and then (the doores being locked vpon them, that none might issue forth) the house was fired about their eares: and oftentimes were yong children taken by the heeles, and cast into the midst of the flames: This inhumane tyrannie being practised not onely by the *Poles*, that were our enemies, but euen by those *Russes* that were traitors to their owne Emperour, and serued vnder the *Poles*, and were called *Cossakes*, whose cruelty farre exceeded the *Polish*.

Poles cruelties most execrable

The Towne being thus burnt to the earth, all the fixe thousand (which as I said before, fled ouer the Riuer, out of the sconce, and were by vs supposed to be but seven hundred) came downe in full battalion to the Riuer side with such fiercenesse, as if presently they and their horses would haue swom ouer, to fight with vs, which being perceiued, our poore five hundred stood
50 ready to resist them. But whether they feared our numbers to be greater then they were, and that wee had some other secret forces, I know not: but away they marched, the selfe same day in which they came downe in that brauery, not doing any thing: of which, wee for our parts, were not much sorry; because if the battailes had ioyned, wee knew our selues farre vnable to withstand them. And this was the seruice of the most noyse, that wee went vpon.

Two or three other sconces and Townes we tooke from our enemies, they not once daring to resist vs, because they knew nothing of our numbers and force. But the dishonnest dealings of our Captaines, made the whole Armie discontent; insomuch, that our Souldiours would oftentimes deny to goe forth vpon seruice, because they had bene almost a yeare in the Land, and had receiued no more but one *Rubble* (amounting to the value of ten shillings *English*). So
60 that vpon these discontents, fiftie of our men ranne away to the enemy at one time, and discovered to them our strength. After which, we durst not be so bold as before we had bene. The fire of a new conspiracie was likewise kindling, but it was perceiued, and quenched with the blood of the conspirators, of which, the chiefe were hanged. On therefore, we went when

Caytiffe Captaines.

Fugitiues.

HONDIUS his Map of Muscouia.



we came within fortie leagues of *Muscovia*, newes was brought, that the enemy had beleaguered seven thousand *Russes* that were our friends, and that vnlesse wee forced the siege to breake vp, the seven thousand *Russes* would euery man be starued where they lay. This sad report, (albeit we had resolued neuer to goe vpon any more seruice, vntill wee had our pay) so wrought in our hearts, that wee much pittied the miserie of others, because wee our selues had tasted of the like.

Our Generall (whose name was *Euverborne*) was a *Fynlander*, and with a company of *Fynland* blades (as they tearme them) well appointed on Horsebacke, was by the King of *Sweeland*, sent after vs, as our Conuoy, vntill wee should come to *Pontus le Guard*, who was chiefe Generall ouer the whole armie of strangers that came into the Land: so that according as he was sent and charged by the King, hee ouertooke vs before we came to *Ariona*. By the intreatic therefore of this *Fynlander*, and the flattering promises of our owne Captaines, we were contented to goe vpon this seruice, and to deliuer the *Russes*, or to dye our selues in the action. Yet with condition, that (as they promised to vs) we should by the way meete our chiefe Generall, *Pontus le Guard*, who with certaine numbers of *English*, *French* and *Dutch* (which the yeare before were come into the Land) was vpon a march out of *Muscovy*, not onely to meete vs, but to ioyne with vs, and pay vs all our money which remained good to vs; provided likewise, that so soone as euer wee should release the seven thousand *Russes*, our money should be payed downe. On these conditions (I say) wee yelded to goe vpon the businesse.

At length *Pontus le Guard* met vs (according to the promise) and with him was money brought to pay vs, and his word given that presently wee should receiue it. But the lamentable estate, in which the poore besiedged *Russes* were (within the sconce) being at the point of death for want of food, required rather speedy execution, then deliberation: so that the necessities of their hard fortunes craving haste, on wee went, hauing about nineteene or twenty thousand

thousand *Russes*, that were people of the same Countrey, ioyned to our Armie, to aide them in this enterprize. But as we all were vpon a march, the enemy hauing receiued intelligence of our approaching, let forward, to the number of eight thousand Landiers and more, to intercept vs by the way: and being within one dayes march of the place to which wee were likewise going, they set fire vpon three or foure Villages hard by the place where we lay at Grasse with our Horses, for a token that they were coming. And this was done vpon Midsummer day last in the morning, by breake of day. Then came they thundring wih shouts and cries to set vpon vs: but no sooner was the Alarum giuen, when the greatest part of those nineteene or twenty thousand *Russes*, that were ioyned to vs as our aide, fled most basely before any blow was giuen. This sudden cowardize of theirs somewhat amazed vs: but the houre being now come, wherein we were not to take of dangers, but to goe meete them, with our sixe companies of *English* horse, we brauely resisted the *Polanders*, and with great hurt to them, but with little losse vpon our part, charged them three seuerall times.

At last *Pontus le Guard* (our chiefe Generall) tooke his heeles and fled too, leauing vs vtterly destitute of all direction: which much astonished vs, as not well vnderstanding what to doe: for our greatest strength (being by their flight) taken from vs, none but wee strangers were left in the field, and of vs there was not in all, aboue twowithousand, and of that number there were aboue six hundred *French* horsemen, who seeing both the Generall gone, and the *Russes* fled, turned their backs vpon vs, and ranne away too most valiantly, yet not out of the field, but to the enemy.

Then were wee not aboue twelue or foureteene hundred at the most left to resist eight thousand at the least: vpon whom notwithstanding, our six companies of *English* horsemen, charged three seuerall times, without any great losse, but with much honor: And at the fourth time, for want of powers to second them (which the *French* should haue done) all our six companies were scattered and ouerthrowne with the losse of few of our colours. The Captaines ouer these sixe Companies of Horse, were these:

Captaine *Crale*, of whose company I was. Captaine *Kendricke*, Captaine *Benson*, Captaine *Carre*, Captaine *Colbron*, Captaine *Creyton*.

Which six Captaines had not in all their companies aboue five hundred men. In this battaile, Captaine *Creyton* was slaine in the field; Captaine *Crale* was shot in the knee, and within a short time after dyed of that wound; not aboue twelue of his companie escaping: Captaine *Kendrick* was wounded in diuers places of the head, and dyed. Captaine *Benson* was shot in the hand, and wounded in the head, and yet escaped, and liued: onely Captaine *Carre* and his Cornet escaped, but all his companie scattered and lost. Diuers other Officers were slaine, whose names I cannot remember.

Thus were all our *English* horsemen dispersed and ouerthrowne, to the number of five hundred and vpwards. Our Generall *Euerhorne* with his companies of *Finland*, or *Finsco* blades, were also put to retrait: so that there was not left in the field aboue sixe or seuen hundred, which were foot-men. And of these, one halfe was *English*, one halfe *Dutch*, who kept onely a certain place by a wood side, barricadoed about with wagons, hauing with them foure field pieces,

with which they did great spoile to the Enemy. But their number being but few, neither durst they venture on the Enemy, nor durst the Enemy enter vpon them, but kept them still (as it were besieged) in that place onely, because they could no wayes escape. The inconvenience of which cooping vp in so narrow a roome, being looked into, and the dangers on every side well considered, it was held fittest for safetie, to summon the Enemy to a parley. In which parley, the Enemy offered, that if they would yeeld, and fall to their sides, they should haue good quarter kept. And if any man had desire to goe for his owne Countrey, hee should haue libertie to goe with a Pasport from the King of *Poland*. Or if any would serue the King of *Poland*, hee should haue the allowance of very good meanes duly paid him. Vpon these compositions they all yeelded, and went to the Enemy, onely Captaine *Yorke* and his Officers, with some few of their Souldiers, went backe into the Countrey, and came not to the Enemy, as the rest had done: who from thence marched vp to the *Polish* Leaguer, being ten miles distant from the place, and there they continued. But such as desired to trauell to their owne Countries, were sent to the King of *Polands* Leaguer, which lay at that time at a place called *Smolensko*, and there accordingly had their Passe, to the number of one hundred, of which number I my selfe was one. What became of the rest I know not: but I with five more held together in trauell, vntill we came to *Dantzicke*, a great Towne in *Prussia*, being distant from *Smolensko* one hundred leagues.

To make an end of this Storie of the Foxe and the Beare, the pretending *Demetrius* and contending *Suiskey*; it is reported, that *Demetrius* seeing these perplexities of *Suiskey*, rayled a great Armie of such *Russes* as voluntarily fell to him (the *Pole* hauing now reiected him, except some Voluntaries) and againe laid siege to *Mosco*; *Zolkiewsky* for *Sigismund*, beleagred another part thereof with fortie thousand men, whereof one thousand and five hundred were *English*, *Scottish*, and *French*. *Suiskey* seeing no hope to withstand them, his Empire renouncing him, hee would

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seeme to renounce the Empire first, betaking himselfe to a Monasterie. But not the sanctitie of the place, nor sacred name of an Emperour might protect or secure him. The *Muscovites* yeelded vp their Citie and his Person to the *Pole*, and the Castle was manned for *Sigismund*. All ioyne against *Demetrius*, who betaketh him to his heeles, and by a *Tartar* (as before is said) was slaine in his campe. *Charles* King of *Sweden* dyed Octob. 30. 1611. and *Gustavus* his sonne succeeded. *Sigismund* obtayneth *Smolensko* also after two yeeres siege and more: in which time the Defendants had held out so resolutely, that the *Polish* Peeres and States (which in that Kingdom beare great sway) had called the King to their Parliament, the rather in regard of the King of *Denmarke* warring vpon *Sweden* (in which warre diuers thousands of our *English* voluntaries assisted the *Dane*) but he first desiring to trie his fortune, carried the Citie with two hundred pieces of Ordnance and other rich spoile. Many were slaine, and diuers great persons taken, of which was the Archbishop. Many were blowne vp (as was thought) by their owne voluntarie act, by fire cast into the store-houle, in which is said to haue bene (if our Author mistake not) fifteene thousand vessels of poulder; whereupon seemed to returne the very Chaos, or in stead thereof a Hell into the World. It is accounted one of the strongest Forts in *Christendome*, the walls able to beare two Carts meeting in the breadth. It was taken the twelfth of Iuly, 1610.

Suisky was carried into *Poland* and there imprisoned in *Waringborough* Castle, and after the losse of libertie and his Empire, exposed to scorne and manifold miseries, hee dyed in a forraine cuntry. But before that Tragedie, the *Poles* are said to haue more then acted others. For when they held him prisoner before his departure from *Mosconia*, they sent for many *Grandes* in *Suisk* keys name, as if he had much desired to see them before his fatall farewell, to take a friendly and honourable leaue of them. They come, are entertayned, and in a priuate place knocked on the head and throwne into the Riuer: and thus was most of the chiefe remayning Nobilitie destroyed. The *Poles* fortified two of the Forts at *Mosco*, and burnt two others, as not able to man them. But the *Muscovite* also there held them besieged till famine forced them to yeeld: the *Russians* finding there sixtie barrels of pouldred mans flesh (it seemeth of such as had dyed, or were slaine, that their death might giue life to the *Survuiuers*) a iust, but miserable and tragicall spectacle. We shall conclude this Discourse with giuing you two Letters, the one taken out of a Letter written from *Colmogro* Sept. 7. (the yeere is not dated) amidst these broiles; the other from Captaine *Margaret* before mentioned by *Tiburnus*: and after them, for further illustration and profitable vte of this storie, is added part of a Letter of Doctor *Halls*.

ON Thursday morning came George Brighouse from *Mosco*, he hath bene three weekes on the way, but by reason of his small staying here, I can learne but small occurrents, which is, still *Mosco* holdeth out, of late some of the Nobilitie issued out and gaue the *Enemie* a small skirmish, slue neere foure thousand of them, tooke prisoners one hundred and senentie, whereof eleuen *Polish* Gentlemen gallant men, are almost starued in prison. *Sandomirsky* is entred the borders with a new supply of Souldiers, the which *Demetrie* his sonne in Law hath long since expected.

The *Crim Tartar* is returned from thence into his owne Country, hath taken more then twentie thousand prisoners captiues out of *Resan* and thereabouts: *Knez Scopin* is two nineties from *Yerailaue*, he meanes to march from thence to *Mosco*, but by Georges speeches he makes no great haste.

Bouginsky that was Secretarie to *Demetrie*, is still under prestane with an Officer, was almost starued with hunger, but Master Brewster doth daily releene him to his great comfort.

George Brighouse came Poste by *Volodemer*: the Princeesse, wife to *Euan Euanowich*, that was eldest sonne to the old Emperour (shee to whom you gaue the good intertainment to) is there at his going vp and coming backe, made very much of him; he dined in her Presence: after dinner sent him a great Present of many dishes and drinckes for your sake, and often remembred you and your great kinnesse to her and hers: still remembring T. La. and kept him so a long time in her owne Cell.

There is a great conspiracy still in the *Mosco* against the Emperour *Vasili Euanowich*, onely the *Muscovites* stand with him, and very few of the Nobilitie. Daily there issueth out by force or stealth diuers of the Gentry, most of the Dutch, specially the Women are gone out of the *Mosco* to the *Tartar*. It is supposed that the Emperour cannot long hold out, and *Demetrie Euanowich* is reported to bee a very wise Prince.

Captaine MARGARETS Letter to Master MERICK from
Hamborough, Jan. 29. 1612.

Right worshipfull Sir, I could not omit this commoditie without commending my seruice to your Worship, and also briefly to aduertise you of the State of *Mosco*, which is not as I could wish. Also I left Master Brewster in good health at my departure; but three dayes after the Towne within the red wall was burnt with certaine fire Bals shot in by the *Russes*, so that there is but three houses left whole, the

Mosco yeelded.

Second *Demetrius* slaine.

* Under the Lord Willoughby Gen. Sir John Poole, &c.

A. Ianfonius, quindicies mille vasorum pul. ful.

Suisky imprisonment and death.

Polish crueltie.

Their reward.

Eaters of mans flesh forced to eat mans flesh.

* The *Polish* Vaind whose daughter married *Demetrie* that was slaine; who now had recovered libertie.

Russia spoiled by *Tartars*.

a Generall of the forces of *Suisky* in the field.

A *Dane* borne, see Doct. Halls Epistles.

Euan Vasiliowich.

Suisky now reigning.

Those of the Citie onely.

c *Lieslander* that inhabit there.

* The second *Demetrius*, which was soone after slaine by a *Tartar*.

* 1611. in *English* account. The *Poles* in *Mosco* besieged by the *Russes*.

the English house also being burnt. Master Brewster is constrained to haue his dwelling in a Seller vn- English house
der the Palace, without great friends except Mislofsqui. The Generall Cotqueuilsh is arrived there, burnt
and left a sufficient number of men to keepe the Castle, and the red Wall, hee himselfe with his Armie is
gone towards Relan, and he hath sent with much to doe, and vpon certaine conditions, to the River of
Sagia towards the Volga, to bring vittuals to maintayne them that are in the Castle besieged of the Mul-
couites. The King of Poland is altogether resolved to goe there in person this summer, and if the Russes
haue no forraine helpe, as there is no appearance, no question it will come to passe as I writ last to your
Worship, that they will be forced to yeeld. I write briefly to your Worship, because I hope to take my voy-
age to France through England, and there to meet with your Worship; intreating your Worship to ac-
cept these few lines as a testimony of the seruice I haue vowed to your Worship, &c. and so I end in haste.

Thus haue we finished foure Acts of this Tragedie: the first, ending with the end of Bealas fa-
mily; the second, with the ruine of that of Boris; the third, with that (whatsoever) Deme-
trius; the fourth, with this *Suskey*, attended with that shadow or ghost of another *Demetrius*.
Now as I haue seene sometimes the Spectators of Tragedies whiled with discourse of a Chorus,
or (as in our vulgar) entertayned with musicke, to remit for a time those bloudie impressions fix-
ed in attentiuie mindes; so haue we represented *Pheodores* Coronation added to the first; *Boris*
his Charter to the English to conclude the second; that of *Demetrius* to the third, and for this
fourth I haue here made bold with a Letter of my worthy friend (so am I bold to call that good
Man, zealous Protestant, elegant Writer, industrious Preacher, learned Doctor, and Reuerend
Deane, Doctor Hall, a Hall adorned with so rich Arras, and with all the ground, light, life, the
All of these, Christian humilitie) which may serue as a Letter of commendation to my intent,
as it was intended to another worke, which had it beene publike, might haue prevented the
greatest part of this: A worke of Master Samuel Southeby, in Sir Th. Smiths Voyage mentioned, Master S^{rs}
touching those Russian occurrents which he in part saw. As a Traueller he deserueth place here. Southeby
And howsoever I haue neither beene so happy to see the Worke nor the Workman, yet this E-
pistle tells what we haue lost, and my worke easily proclaimes the defect of such a Wardrobe,
being (as you see) like a Beggars cloke, all of diuersified patches; so much more labour to mee,
in both getting and stitching them, though so much lesse satisfaction to thee. Once, as I haue
placed this long Russian storie in the midit of Marine Discoveries, to refresh the Reader a while
on Land: so amidst these tragically, harsh Relations, I thus seeke to recreate thy wearie spirits
with this chat of mine, and after these *Minda* gates, more really, with this Letter so vsefull to
the present subiect, so pleasing in the stile. The whole, and the next following to *Bachinski*,
the Reader may finde in his so oft published Decades of Epistles.

Travell perfiteth wisdom; and observation giues perfection to travell: without which, a man may
please his eyes, not feede his braine; and after much earth measured, shall retorne with a weary
body, and an empty minde. Home is more safe, more pleasant, but lesse fruitfull of experience: But, to a
minde not working and discursive, all heauens, all earths are alike. And, as the end of travell is observa-
tion; so, the end of observation is the informing of others: for, what is our knowledge if smothered in
our selues, so as it is not knowne to more? Such secret delight can content none but an enuious nature.
You haue breathed many and cold aires, gone farre, seene much, heard more, obserued all. These two
yeares you haue spent in imitation of Nabuchadnezzars seven; conuersing with such creatures as Paul
fought with at Ephesus. Alas! what a face, yea what a backe of a Church haue you seene? what man-
ners? what people? Amongst whom, ignorant Superstition strines with close Atheisme, Treachery with
Cruelty, one Deuill with another; while Truth and Vertue doe not so much as giue any challenge of resi-
stance. Returning once to our England after this experience, I imagine you doubted whether you were
on Earth, or in Heauen. Now then (if you will heare mee, whom you were wont) as you haue obserued
what you haue seene, and written what you haue obserued; so, publish what you haue written: It shall
be a gratefull labour, to vs, to Posteritie. I am deceiued, if the sicklenesse of the Russian State, haue not
yeilded more memorable matter of Historie then any other in our Age, or perhaps in any Centuries of our
Predecessors. How shall I thinke, but that God sent you thither before these broiles, to bee the witnesse,
the Register of so famous mutations? He loues to haue those iust euils which hee doth in one part of the
World, knowne to the whole, and those euils, which men doe in the night of their secrecie, brought forth into
the Theater of the World; that the euill of mens sinne being compared with the euill of his punishment,
may iustifie his proceedings, and condemne theirs. Your worke shall thus honour him; besides your second
seruice, in the benefit of the Church. For, whiles you discourse of the open Tyrannie of that Russian Nero,
Iohn Basilus; the more secret, no lesse bloudy plots of Boris; the ill successe of a stolne Crowne, though
set vpon the head of an harmlesse Sonne; the bold attempts and miserable end of a false, yet aspiring
challenge; the perfidiousnesse of a seruile people, unworthy of better Gouvernours; the misse-carriage of
wicked Gouvernours, unworthy of better Subiects; the vniust usurpations of men, iust (though late)
reuenges of God; crueltie rewarded with bloud, wrong claimes with overthrow, treachery with bondage;
the Reader, with some secret horror, shall draw in delight, and with delight instruction: Neither
know I any Relation whence hee shall take out a more easie Lesson of Iustice, of Loyaltie, of Thank-
fulness.

But above all, let the World see and commiserate the hard estate of that worthy and noble Secretarie, Buchinsky. Poore Gentleman! his distresse recalls ever to my thoughts. Heops Storke, taken amongst the Cranes: He now nourishes his haire, under the displeasure of a forreigne Prince; At once in du-rance, and banishment. Hee served an ill Master; but, with an honest heart, with cleane hands. The Masters iniustice doth no more infect a good Seruant, than the truth of the Seruant can iustifie his ill Master. A bad Worke-man may use a good Instrument: and oft-times a cleane Napkin wipe a foule mouth. It ioyes me yet to thinke, that his pietie, as it euer held friendship in Heauen, so now it winnes him friends in this our other World: Lo, euen from our Iland unexpected deliuerance takes a long flight, and blesseth him beyond hope; yea rather, from Heauen, by vs. That God, whom hee serues, will beo knowne to those rude and scarce humane Christians, for a protector of innocence, a sauourer of truth, a rewarder of pietie. The mercy of our gracious King, the compassion of an honourable Counsellour, the loue of a true friend, and (which wrought all, and set all on worke) the grace of our good God, shall now lose those bonds, and giue a glad welcome to his libertie, and a willing farewell to his distresse. He shall (I hope) liue to acknowledge this; in the meane time, I doe for him. Those Russian Affaires are not more worthy of your Records, than your loue to this friend is worthy of mine. For neither could this large Sea drowne or quench it, nor time and absence (which are wont to breed a lingring consumption of friendship) abate the beate of that affection, which his kindnesse bred, religion nourished. Both rarenesse, and worth shall commend this true loue; which (to say true) hath bene now long out of fashion. Neuer times yeelded more loue; but, not more subtle. For euery man loues himselfe in another, loues the estate in the person: Hope of aduantage is the Load-stone that drawes the yron hearts of men; not vertue, not desert. No Age afforded more Parasites, fewer friends: The most are friendly in sight, seruicable in expectation, hollow in loue, trustlesse in experience. Yet now, Buchinsky, see and confesse thou hast found one friend, which hath made thee many, &c.

Q. V.
Of the miserable estate of Russia after SWISKEYS deportation, their election of the King of Polands Sonne, their Interregnum and popular estate, and chusing at last of the present Emperour, with some remarkable accidents in his time.

THUS haue we scene the Russian sinnes vtterly rooting vp so many Russian Imperiall Families and persons: the whole Family of Iuan exirpate, that of Boris succeeding, annihilate; two pretending Demetrij and Suiskie extinct: and yet haue wee greater abominations to shew you. No Tyrant, no Serpent, no Dragon is so exorbitant and prodigious as that which hath many heads: and therefore in diuine Visions Monarchies (how euer excessive and tyrannical) haue bene resembled by simpler and more vniforme beasts; but the Deuill in a great red Dragon with seuen heads and ten hornes, and the Beast likewise to which hee gaue his power and his seat and great authoritie, which opened his mouth in blasphemie against God, &c. On which sate the great Whore, the Antichristian Babylon. There was no King in Israel, is both Alpha and Omega, Preface and Conclusion in Diuine Writ to some misery in Israel, as if all Kings, and no King, were the Circumference of all the lines proceeding from Mischiefes Centre. And now was Russia a Monster of many heads, that is, a bodie fallen into many pieces. One man possessed of the Wife of that double Demetrius, got to Astracan, there seating himselfe to see vp an vsurped shop of Rule; the Southerne parts chose Prince Vladislau, Son of K. Sigismund of Poland; those of the North thought of other Princes; and at last when neither the Fig-trees sweetnesse nor Oliues fatnesse, nor cheering Wine from the Vine could take place in their inconstancie, the Brambles conceiued a fire which deuoured the Cedars of Libanus: a popular government happened; or if you will, a Confusion of the multitude bare sway, which killed and murthered euery Great Man, whom any Rascall would accuse to be a friend to the Poles, or to any of the dead Emperours, whom those popular inudicious Iudges fancied not. And now Russia blushed with impudencie, that is with shamelesse sight of the daily effusion and profusion of her best blood; now euery man was an Actor: and oh had they bene but Actors! too really did they present (not represent) bloudie Tragedies, of which their whole Countrey was become the Theatre; the Deuill the Choragus (a Murtherer from the beginning) and the whole World Spectator, stupid with admiration, quaking with horror of so vncouth a sight!

Now for the ouertures betwixt the Musconites, and Stanislaus Stanislawich Zolkiewskie, Generall of the Polakes, touching their Election of Vladislau Sonne of King Sigismund, and the Articles propounded: also the answere of Prince Vladislau to the same Articles, Anno 1612. I haue here exprest in Latine as I found them, fearing I should be over-tedious to translate them, especially seeing the businesse came not to effect: and the English Articles following of the Russian

Dan. 2. & 7. & 8.
Ap. 12. 3. & 13.
1. & 17. 1.
Iud. 17. 6. & 18.
1. & 19. 1. & 21.
25.

Iud. 9.
Popular go-
uernment in
Russia.

Russian Embassy to the King of Poland, doth lay open that and other passages of the Russian Confusions.

Pacta inter Primarium Ducem Exercituum Regni Poloniae, & inter Heroes Moscoviae.

Serenissimi Potentissimiq; Imperatoris Sigismundi tertij Dei gratia Regis Poloniae, Magniq; Ducis Lithuaniae, Ruthiae, Prussiae, Samogitiae, Kieviae, Volhoniae, Podoliae, Podlachiae, Suecorum, Oestonorum, aliorumq; nec non hereditarij Regis Suecorum, Gottorum, Vandalorum, Finlandiaeque Principis. Palatinus Kijevienfis, Primarius Dux Exercituum Regni Poloniae Capitaneus Rorhathienfis, Camenacensis, Kaloscientis. Ego Stanislaus Stanislaides Zolkiewsky de Zolkwia, Manifestum facio praesentibus pactis, & confirmatis meis literis. Quod Omnipotentis in Trinitate adorandi Dei gratia, & voluntate, tum & benedictione venerabilis Hermogenis, Moscovitarum, totiusq; Russiae Patriarchae, Metropolitanum, Archiepiscoporum, Episcoporum, Archimandrytarum, Humanorum totiusq; venerabilis Cleri. Et post pacta omnium Heroum, Comitum, Capitaneorum, Primariorum Dapiferorum, Aulicorum, Tenuitiorum, Aulicorum arcibus Praefectorum, & Decurionum Sclopetariorum, necnon quorumvis Moscoviae heredum, Heroumq; liberorum, Aduenarum, Mercaturarum exercentium, Iaculatorum, velitum, Fabrorum tormentariorum, & reliquorum incolarum magni Imperij Moscovitarum. Heroes, utpote Comes Albertus Iuanouiz Mscilawskij, Dux Vencellus Vencellaides Galiczijn, Albertus Iuanouiz Seremetij, Dux Vencellus Mieliechij, & Primarij Depu-
tati Vencellus Telepniewij, & Thomas Lugowskij, & uniuersi totius Moscoviae Primates, Ege-
runt, deliberaueruntq; mecum, de eligendo Imperatore, in Wlodjmirienfe uniuersumq; Moscouita-
rum Imperium, ac tradiderunt mihi suam confirmatam sigillatamq; obligationem & sacrosanctum uni-
ficum baptisma sacrae Regiae Maiestatis exosculati sunt non tantum Primarij Comites, sed etiam He-
roes, incolentes Aulici, Capitanei, Primarij Dapiferi, Aulici, Cubicularij, Structores, Tenuitij, &
Decuriones Sclopetariorum, omnisq; dignitatis homines, Iaculatores, velites, Fabri Tormentarij, varijsq;
status seruiles, & liberi homines Imperij Moscouitici, Hunc in modum: Quod venerabilis Hermoge-
nes Moscoviae, & uniuersa Russiae Patriarcha, Metropolita, Archiepiscopi, Episcopi, Archimandrytae,
Humani singuli & uniuersi venerabiles Heroes, Capitanei, Primarij Dapiferi, Aulici, Cubicularij,
Structores, & Decuriones Sclopetariorum, Tenuitij, heredes Heroum, Aduena, homines Mercatu-
ram exercentes, Iaculatores, Velites, Fabri tormentarij, omnis sortis seruiles, & hereditarij Imperij
Moscouitici, constituunt Legatos mittere, atq; supplicare magno Imperatori, Serenissimo Sigismundo
Regi Poloniae, & Serenissimo sacrae eius Maiestatis Regiae filio Vladislao Sigismundi, ut Serenissimus
Imperator Sigismundus Rex, commisereri eorum velit, constituatq; Wlodjmirienfis totiusq; Imperij
Moscouitici Imperatorem Vladislauum Moscoviae Patriarcha, Metropolita, Archiepiscopi, Episcopi, Archi-
venerabilis Hermogenes totius Moscoviae Patriarcha, Metropolita, Archiepiscopi, Episcopi, Archi-
mandryta, Humani, totus deniq; venerabilis Clerus, Deum ter optimum maximum roget, & Impera-
torem Serenissimum Vladislauum Sigismundi filium sacrae Regiae Maiestatis Imperio totius Moscouiae
constitui lato exoptant animo. Omnes etiam Heroes, Aulici Imperatorij, Capitanei, Primarij Dapife-
ri, Equites, Cubicularij, Structores, Decuriones Sclopetariorum, Tenuitij, in arcibus Praefecti, Di-
spensatores, liberi Heroum, Aduena, Mercaturam exercentes, Iaculatores, velites, Fabri tormentarij,
omnisq; conditionis seruiles, & liberi incola Imperij Moscouiae, Serenissimi Imperatoris, filij Serenissimi
Regis Poloniae Vladislai Sigismuntouiz, & posteritatis (si qua ipsius futura) exosculati sunt sacro-
sanctum unificum baptisma, hoc signo indicantes, se cum ipsi Imperatori, tum omni ipsius posteritati a-
ternis temporibus seruituros, omniaq; prospera exoptantes, in omnibus non secus ut superioribus here-
ditarijs magnis Imperatoribus, & Caesaribus, Magnis item Ducibus uniuersi Imperij Moscouitici,
nec ullum malum ipsi, & eius posteritati ominaturos, machinatos, cogitatos, aut alium quempiam ex
Moscouito Imperio, vicinisq; Imperijs, in Imperatorem Moscouiae, praeter Serenissimum Vladislauum
Sigismuntouiz filium Serenissimi Regis Poloniae introductores, adoptaturosue. Quibus vero cum condi-
tionibus in Imperatorem Moscouitici Imperij eum sint suscepturi, hac de re Heroes Dux Albertus I-
uanouiz Mscilawskij cum Collegis suis tradidere mihi obligatorium pactum. Ego vero Primarius dux
Regni Poloniae, post pactum istud in scriptis mihi traditum, de omnibus punctis cum Heroibus certam
conclusionem constituimus, & approbamus. Harumq; conditionum approbandarum gratia tradidi
Heroibus Duci Alberto Iuanouiz cum Collegis eius obligationem, & confirmant mea manu subscrip-
tione, & sigilli appositione, & sacrosanctum unificum Baptisma exosculatus sum ego Primarius Dux
exercituum Regni Poloniae & omnes Primipili, Centuriones sese obligando, pro Magno Imperatore
nostro Serenissimo Sigismundo Rege Poloniae, ipsiusque filio Serenissimo Vladislao, Sigismuntouiz, &
pro magnis Imperijs, uniuersaq; magno Regno Poloniae, Magnaq; Ducatu Lithuaniae, & pro nobis
metipsis, totiusq; exercitu, qui est penes sacrosanctam Regiam Maiestatem, & penes me Primarium
in Moscouia praestitere, utpote Sancti Petri Alexij & Anthoni, omniumq; Sanctorum, Serenissimus
Sigismundus Rex noster Poloniae miserebitur Imperij Moscouitici, & creabit Imperatorem Wlodjmi-
riensem, omniq; magnorum Imperiorum, totius Mulcoviae filium sacra sua Regiae Maiestatis Vladis-
laum

laum Sigmuntouiz. Cum verò iam Serenissimus Vladislaus Sigmuntouiz filius Serenissimi Regis Poloniz adueniret ad Arcem Sedis Imperatoria Moscouitice, tum coronabatur in Imperatorem Wlodimirensem, omniumq; totius Moscouice Imperiorum, ipsiq; Imperatoria Corona, & Diadema imponebatur à venerabili Hermogene Patriarcha totius Moscouice, & ab uniuerso venerabili Clero Græcæ Religionis, secundum pristinum morem & dignitatem. Factus verò Serenissimus S. R. Maiestatis filius Vladislaus Sigmuntouiz Imperator Moscouice, Templum Dei in Moscouia per omnes Arces, Vicos, vniuersumq; Imperium Moscouice repurgabit, & auget in omnibus ad pristinam consuetudinem, & ab omni incommode tutabitur, tum Sanctis Dei, & Dinorum imaginibus, & castissima Deipara, omnibus ossibus Sanctorum, quæ magna prodigia in Moscouia faciunt, debitum cultum flexis genibus præstare, illaq; adorare tenebitur. Et Poluica, nec non Spirituali viri, sexus Christianitati, omnibusq; vere Christianis, ut sint vera Christiana legis Græcæ Religionis non prohibebit. Romanæ Religionis aliarumq; diuersarum Sectarum Religionis Tempia, aut Synagogas, in Moscouitici Imperij Arcibus, & pagis, nullibi edificare debet ut nihilominus in Arce Moscouia præfata, vniuersum Romanum Templum esse possit, propter homines Polonos, & Lithuanos, qui penes Imperatorem filium Serenissimi R. Polo. sunt futuri, ea de re cum sacra R. Maiestate, & venerabili Hermogene Patriarcha Moscouice, omnibus spiritualibus, tum Heroibus, & Capitaneis collatio instituenda.

Religio autem sacrosancta Græca nullo in puncto violanda, aut perturbanda, vel alia quæpiam inuoluta introducenda est, in idq; danda opera, ut sancta, vera, Christiana Græca Religio, suam integritatem, & cultum retineat, iuxta morem antiquum, nec Imperium Moscouiticum, eiusq; incolæ veri Christiani, à Græca Religione ad Romanam, aut aliam quampiam, vi, seu robore, & seruitute, alijsq; his si-

Iudei in vniuersum Moscouice Imperium causa Mercatura, aut alterius cuiuspiam rei proficisci ne permittantur. Venerabilia & ossa Sanctorum, ab Imperatore filio Serenissimi R. Pol. Vladislao Sigmuntouiz sancta cum veneratione debent venerari. Et venerabilem Hermogenem Patriarcham Moscouice, Metropolitam, Archiepiscopos, Episcopos, Archimandrytas, Humeros, Presbyteros, Diaconos, & presentes spirituales, vniuersumq; Clerum Christianæ sacrosanctæ Religionis Græcæ, debito officere honore, in omnibusq; tutari, spiritualibus negotijs sese immiscendo, alienas sectas præter Græcam religionem introducere nullas debet. Quod autem Templum, Monasterij sue non Patrum dicatur, de varijs prouentibus, & qui dabantur antiquorum tempore Imperatorum Moscouice, utpote sacratæ panes, legumina, summa pecuniales, & his de varijs redditibus similia: hos prouentus Ecclesiæ dicatos, & omnium Imperatorum antiquorum Moscouice, nec Herorum, aut aliorum hominum donationes, si quas Templis, aut Monasterijs Dei dicauerunt, aut dicaturi sunt, adimere debet, nulla secundum antiquum morem constituta violando. Spirituales, & Regulares status nullo modo infringendo, Dimensuris omnia pensa spiritualia, & Regularia, quibus antiquitus dabantur, ex fisco Imperatorio omnia reddendo, ut solitum fuit, & ex Imperatorio Thesauro in Tempia & Monasteria, stipem variorum reddituum augendo. Heroes, Imperatorij Aulici, Capitanei, Primarij Dapiferi, Cubicularij, & cuiusvis generis Tennitarij, in omnibus negotijs, in omnibus Imperialibus, Castrensibus, & terrestribus causis, in Arcibus Palatini, Capitanei, sine Tennitarij & Telonarij, aut alij cuiusmodi Præfecti, & omnis conditionis homines, ut antiqua retineant Priuilegia prout constitutum est in Moscouitico Imperio, ab antiquis magnis Imperatoribus, in id Serenissimus Imperator incumbet seruo.

Poloni verò & Lithuani, in Moscouia nullis in terrestribus, forensibus negotijs, aut Arcibus Palatinorum, Capitaneorum esse deherent, nec successiones Præfecturæ, aut dignitatis in Arcibus illis tribuende sunt.

Quia autem Poloni, & Lithuani ex utraq; Imperio videtur consilium, ut præficiantur consilijs Arcibus ad absolutum leuamen huius Imperij, ea de re Serenissimus Imperator cum Heroibus collationem instituet suo tempore.

Iam vero vniuersa Respublica supplex Serenissimum Imperatorem precatur, ne ad executionem perducatur hanc conditionem, antequam fuerit hac in parte virumq; deliberatum.

Qui verò Poloni & Lithuani penes Serenissimum Imperatorem Vladislaum Sigmuntouiz sunt futuri, eos non solum honoraturi, sed etiam contentaturi pecuniari numeratione, & promotione secundum vniuersumq; merita sumus.

Moscouitici Imperij Heroes, Aulicos, Imperatorios, Capitaneos, Primarios Dapiferos, Cubicularios, Præfectos, Structores, Tennitarios, Arcium Præfectos, Sclopetariorum, omnesq; ad Aulam Imperatoriam pertinentes homines, & liberos Herorum, Aduenas, Mercatores, laculatores, velites, Fabros tormentarios, & omnis conditionis bellicosos homines, alijsq; heredes Imperij Moscouitici, Serenissimus Imperator debet habere in dignitate, honore, gratia, & amore, ut sint antiquitus apud priuilegijs magnos Moscouice Imperatores; Nec antiquos mores & status qui erant in Imperio Moscouice immutare, vel Moscouice Ducum, Herorumq; viduas Aduenas in patria, vel Tennitis elocare, aut deprimere.

Tributa pecunialia, stipendia reddere, & hereditates quas aliquis possidebat ad hæc usq; tempora, is etiamnum, & in posterum possidere debet.

Hæreditaria bona à nemine abalienare, sed semper omnibus hominibus Moscouitici Imperij præuidere perpendendo seruitia eorum, prout aliquis de Republica meritis est.

Aduenas omnibus qui vocati fuerant ex varijs Nationibus, à primis Imperatoribus Moscouice,

necessarijs providere, prout antea solum fuit: nec stipendia, Tenutas, & possessiones eorum ab his abalienare.

Herodibus, Aulicis, Cubicularijs, Dapiferis, & liberis Heroum, omnibusq; Aula Imperatoria inservientibus, Imperatoriam benevolentiam monstrare, & salaria debita, secundum antiquum morem reddere, Serenissimus Imperator tenebitur.

Quod si vero alicui salaria multiplicabuntur, possessionesq; aut tenuta, supra eius dignitatem, vel contra alicui minuentur, prater culpam ipsius, ea de re Serenissimus Imperator conferre, & consultare debet cum Herodibus Primarijs: & prout unanimis decreverint, idq; secundum aequitatem, ita sit facturum.

10 Qui vero Aulici, aut liberi Heroum sumunt beneficio Imperatoris, ex Arcibus omnibus stipendiarijs, quibus beneficia tempore prateritorum Magnorum Imperatorum Moscoviae ob merita ipsorum dabantur, illis quoq; iam & stipendia pecuniaria, & alimentaria, ex Mandato Imperatoris danda sunt.

In Arce dicta Moscovia, alijsq; Arcibus, Iudicia exequi debent, & observari ut solum, secundum statuta Moscovitici Imperij. Quod si vero aliqua essent corrigenda, ad corroboracionem Iudiciorum, conceditur Serenissimo Imperatori: sed cum consensu omnium Heroum Universitatis Moscoviae, ita tamen, ut respondeant aequitati.

25 Magnus autem Imperator Serenissimus Rex Poloniae, Magnus Dux Lithuaniae, cuiusq; totius Regni Poloniae, Imperia, necnon Magnus Ducatus Lithuaniae, cum Magna Imperatore filio Regis Poloniae Vladislao, Sigmuntoviz, cum omnibus Imperijs Moscoviae, in amicitia, societate, amore, aeternis temporibus ininvocabilitate, nec contra se invicem exercitus colligere, & bella concitare nullis modis debent.

Quod si autem aliquis hostium tentavit impetus facere in Imperium Moscoviae, siue etiam in Regnum Poloniae, & Magnum Ducatum Lithuaniae: contra istiusmodi omnes hostes iunctis viribus insurgere utrumq; Imperium tenebitur.

30 Caterum, in Tartarorum finibus quod si necessum fuerit servare utrumq; Imperij milites, cum iam coronatus fuerit filius Serenissimi Regis Poloniae, Imperator Imperij Moscovitarum: hac de re, collatio cum Herodibus instituenda, & cum Magna Imperatore Serenissimo Sigismundo Rege Poloniae, idq; decenter, animo sincero, absq; ulla machinatione damni alicuius, aut Tyrannidis illationis in homines Moscovitici Imperij: honorem, vitam, aut aliud quippiam istiusmodi nemini adimendo, cuiuscunq; contrarietatis ille fuerit: Aut si in Poloniam, vel Lithuaniam, alijsq; Imperia Moscovitici Imperij homines transmittendo, aut ex Lithuania in locum eorum alicuius alterius generis homines supponendo: Uxores, aut liberos alicuius dolo corruptendo, vel sobolis procreanda gratia sumendo, & ad exterius Nationes parentes cum liberis transmittendo.

Qui autem ex quocunq; Imperio istiusmodi facinoris reus, & poena dignus inveniretur: Is in Imperatoris, & terrestribus iudicijs prout meruit, puniendus esset: & decretum per Imperatorem, aut Heroes, vel Capitaneos de illo ferendum.

40 Uxores autem eorum, & liberi, fratres, & qui istud facinus nec perpetrarunt, nec ipsis fuit cognitum, aut illud perpetrandum consentire: Illi uedum puniendi, sed secundum aequitatem Privilegiorum suorum, patrimonium, tenutas, vitam, aulas, retinere debent.

Si vero reus non possit explorari, nemo tam Iudicio Imperatoris, at Heroum indicari, puniri, proscribi, vel incarcerari, aut ad alienos transmitti debet: sed unusquisq; in suis Tenutis & Aulis conservari.

Steriles autem, quia ex hac decesserint vita, bona ab illis relicta, vel consanguineis ipsorum, siue cuiuscunq; ipsi legaverint, tradenda: id tamen non absq; mutua collatione, & consilio esse debet.

Porro quoniam tempore praesentis seditionis multi perire, & multos ex Moscovitis prostratos constat a Polonis, & Lithuanis, & contra Polonos & Lithuanos a Moscovitis: istud factum, & nunc, & imposterum, nec commemorandum, nec ulla vindicta utrumq; pensandum esse debet.

50 Qui autem Poloni, & Lithuani Primipoli, Centuriones, alijsq; diversae sortis homines duxere captivitatem in Imperio Moscoviae, quorum aliqui adhuc in vinculis tenentur, illi ex Moscoviae Imperio redendi, siue ulla pecuniaria liberatione. Tum quoque vice versa Aulici, liberi Heroum, Iaculatores, Re-lites, Fabri tormentarii, omnesq; serviles & liberi homines, Aulicorum liberi, Iaculatorum, Favorum, tormentariorum, Sclopetariorum, & horum similium. Item Matres, Uxores, Liberi, & his similes, ex Imperio Moscovitarum, virilis aut muliebris sexus, in praesentem servitutem praesente primo Moscovitarum, virilis aut muliebris sexus, in praesentem servitutem praesente primo Moscovitarum, Imperatore Venceslao accepti in Poloniam vel Lithuaniam, illi ab Imperatore Serenissimo Rege Poloniae, restituendi a minimis ad maximas usq; absq; pecuniaria redemptione. Praesentis Imperatoris ex Arcibus, alijsq; possessionibus, cum ex tenutis & arendis census, omnesq; redditus, debet Serenissimus Imperator exigere, ut antea fecere Primi Imperatores, & prioris Magistratus mores, & statuta absq; consensu in nullis immutare.

60 Arces, aut Civitates, quae bello vastatae, ad eas mittere debet Serenissimus Imperator, & praecipere, ut conscribantur Registra eorum, quae per vastationem periere: ut vicissim sumptus praesentibus aliunde, secundum conscripta registra, possint reficiri.

Quorum vero Hereditates, Possessiones, vel Tenuta spoliatae, ijs lenamen dandum, sed non absq; con-

consensus Heroum. Et quæ regens vastata Arces, illas quamprimum restaurare, consilio inito cum Heroibus, & Nobilibus.

Mercatores Moscouitici Imperij omnium Cuiatum, in Polonia, & Lithuania, sic Poloni, Lithuani, in Moscouia, Polonia, Lithuania, merces coemere debent more usitato, ut antea: Istud tamen cauendum, ne inuicem sibi facessent negotia Mercatores, & alij Christiani in Lithuaniam ex Russia, & ex Lithuania in Russiam, sese transportando cum mercibus Heroes, & Aulici omnes, mancipia debent in seruitute detinere, prout solum.

In Volda, Dona, & Tekier Arcibus, velites, si illis opus fuerit, seruari debent: de quibus Serenissimus Imperator conferre debet cum Heroibus, & Nobilibus, postquam coronabitur.

Arces Moscouitici Imperij, ad Imperatorem pertinentes, tum illa, quæ in tenuis Polonis, & Lithuania tradita sunt, vel quas iam Vor præfatus sub potestatem suam subiecit: Ego Primarius Dux exercituum Regni Poloniæ, constitui cum Heroibus Moscouiæ, quod Serenissimus Rex Poloniæ, Filio sacra sua Regia Maiestatis Serenissimo Vladislao Sigmuntouiz, has arcas, cum omnibus quæ sunt vastata, Moscouitico Imperio restituere debet. Illustres vero Legati Moscouientes, hoc in negotio tractaturi sunt cum sacra Regia Maiestate de sumptibus, & expensis sacra Regia Maiestatis in milites expositis, & de persoluendis Polonis, & Lithuanis, sunt quoque consultaturi, quomodo absolui possint.

Demetrius
supposititius
secundus.

Vor autem præfatus, qui sese Cesaridem Moscouitici Imperij, Demetrium Euanouiz appellat: de illo, mihi Primo Duci Regni Poloniæ consilium inuendum, & omnis cura habenda, ut capi, vel penitus à vita tolli possit.

Qui postquam captus, vel occisus fuerit, Ego Primarius Dux exercituum Regni Poloniæ, cum exercitu sacra Maiestatis à primaria Arce, sedes Imperatorie, Moscouia præfata discedere ad Arcem Mozaisko, vel ubi fuerit opus, post collationem cum Heroibus institutam, ibiq; Legatos Moscouiæ, & mandatum sacra Regia Maiestatis, præstolari tenebor. Quod si nihilominus Vor præfatus contra Imperatoriam arcem Moscouiam sic dictam tentauerit insidiari, aut seditiones aliquas excitare; Ego Primarius Dux Regni Poloniæ, illum profligare, & armis persequi tenebor.

Domnum vero Sapieza, qui se Vor præfato adiunxit, ab illo & exercitum Polonicum, & Lithuanicum abducere; Quod si idem Vor præfatus, ex Moscouia cum Ruthenis discesserit, militum autem Polonorum, & Lithuanorum quosdam apud se detinuerit; Ego Primarius Dux Regni Poloniæ, cum exercitu sacra Regia Maiestatis, una cum Heroibus Moscouiæ, ne sanguicidium impostitum exordiat, sed Imperium pace publica asscuratum stabilietur, dabimus operam.

Demetrii primi
sup. vor. Pala-
malia.

Mulier vero, quæ cum eodem Vor præfato per Moscouiticum Imperium, cum exercitu passim grassatur, Imperatricem Moscouiæ sese ventiland; Illi prohibendum, ne eandem se impostitum cognominare, vel quippiam istiusmodi, aut aliquas difficultates, contra Imperium Moscouiticum moliri audeat: sed, quamprimum in Poloniam reducenda est. Imperator vero Serenissimus, filius Regi Poloniæ Vladislao Sigmuntouiz in omnibus antiquis, iura sancita, & pacta Magnorum Legatorum Moscouiæ, cum Serenissimo Sigismundo Rege Poloniæ, & confirmata priuilegia imitari debet.

Ciuitatem & Arcem Smolinsk præfatum quod attinet; Ego Dux Primarius exercituum regni Poloniæ supplicabo apud S. R. Maiestatem, ut prohibeat, ne milites in Ciuitate tanta homicidia exercent, & Arcem spolient.

De Baptismo
repetendo.

De baptismo vero, ut illud Imperator Vladislao Sigmuntouiz, filius sacra Regia Maiestatis suscipiat, & baptizetur in illorum Sacrosanctæ legis Græcæ religione, in illaq; persequeret, ut & de alijs nondum contractis actis, & conditionibus, & reliquis circumstantijs antiquis in Imperio Moscouitico, ad presentem usq; expeditionem bellicam obseruatis: Inter Serenissimos Imperatores & Imperia omnium, consilium & collatio institui debet, ut amor, & amicitia, vtrinq; augeri, & conseruari possit. Quæ de re, Ego Primarius Dux militia, cum iam à S. R. Maiestate commissa, & mandata nulla habeam, contuli cum Heroibus, quid ipsis responsi sum daturus: sed primam cum sacra Regia Maiestate hoc in negotio, tum etiam cum Serenissimo Imperatore Vladislao Sigmuntouiz filio sacra Regia Maiestatis, conferam.

Insuper, Ego Primarius Dux exercituum regni Poloniæ, in Arcem Moscouiam præfata, Polonos, Lithuanos, Germanos, & omnis generis bellicosos, qui sunt mecum, & cum Domino Sapieza, absq; permissu Heroum, vel ipsa necessitate, intromittere non debeo. In Arcem Moscouiam præfata, Mercatorum Polonorum, & Lithuanorum, mercium coemendarum gratia, ex omnibus Prouincijs regni Poloniæ, cum meis Imperialibus testimonialibus literis, non ultra viginti, vel paulo plures sunt intromittendi: absq; literis a me datis testimonialibus, in Arcem Moscouiam præfata, aut alibi, nemo proficisci debet.

Ob maius vero robur, & confirmationem Pactorum istorum, Ego Primarius regni Poloniæ Dux exercituum, Stanislaus Stanillaides, Zolkiewsky de Zolkwia sigillum meum apposui, & manum propriam subscripsi. Sic etiam Domini Primipoli, & Centuriones exercitus, qui tum temporis mihi aderant, ad hæc mea scripta nomina sua subscribere. Datum in Castris, apud Arcem sedis Imperatorie Moscouitici Imperatoris. Anno 1610. Augusti 27. die.

Respon-

Responsum ad Pacta inter Primarium Ducem Exercituum Regni Poloniae, & Heroes Mosconiae, Serenissimi Regis Poloniae, & Serenissimi V. L. A.

DISLAI SIGMUNT OVIZ Filij Sacrae
Regiae Majestatis.

Magnus Dei gratia Imperator Vladislaus Sigmuntoviz, Filius Serenissimi Regis Poloniae, Sueciae, &c. Amplissimi Moscovitarum Imperij universo venerabili Clero, Ministris Dei vigilarissimis, Heroibus, Capitaneis, Liberis Heroum, Advocatis velutim, Iaculatoribus, & Velitibus, Advenis, Mercatoribus, omnibus servilibus, & liberis hominibus significamus. Nos quandoquidem vobis Imperatorem totius Imperij Moscovitici, Caesarem, & Magnum Principem Wlodymiriensem, necnon universarum Moscovitici Imperij Provinciarum coronari petistis: Nos quoque post Legatorum vestrorum supplicationem, pro vobis intercessimus apud Serenissimum Tertium Regem Poloniae, Magnumq; Ducem Lithuaniae, Dominum parentem nostrum, ut secundum suae sacrae Regiae Majestatis misericordiam, consuetudinem, vestrae subveniat calamitati, & prout cepit, ad finem usq; vos, & totum Moscoviticum Imperium restauret, & pace confirmet: & sanguinem Christianum qui per malos quosdam pacis publica violatores, & per viros effunditur, coerceat: Serenissimus itaq; Rex Poloniae, Dominus Parens noster, post vestrum Legatorum supplicationem, & nostram filij sui intercessionem, Decretum nobiscum filio suo, in Moscoviticum Imperium, iter quamprimum suscipere: ut confirmetur Imperium, & sanguicidium sanguinis vestri cohibeatur, vobis vero pax, & Patria, ex integro restituatur. Et vobis venerabili Clero, Heroibus, Incolis, Capitaneis, & universis cuiuscumq; sortis hominibus, Spirituallibus, & Politicis, istud necessario sciendum est. Vos autem, qui Serenissimo Regi Poloniae, Domino Parenti nostro, & nobis, ad hoc usq; tempus fidem inviolatam conservastis, iam quoque nobis Magnis Imperatoribus vestris officia vestra, & promptitudinem animi conservabitis, aduentumq; nostrum in Imperium Moscoviticum, cum gaudio in pace expectabitis. Qui vero mala de nobis opinione, contumacia, & seditione Vor praefati, repulsam fecere, is ne amplius tergiversetur, promittendo illis nostram benevolentiam, & amorem, persuadere debetis, & ad nos Imperatores convertere, ut sint quoque vobiscum unanimis. Et supremi Cancellarij Exercitus, Serenissimiq; Regis Poloniae, Domini Parentis nostri, nostrisq; sese adiungant: Et cum supremo Cancellario, de nostris Imperatoribus, & terrestribus negotijs consultant, commodaq; Patria curent, ut quamprimum possit Imperium Moscoviticum, ad pristinum statum reduci, & paci, ac tranquillitati antiqua restitui: ac nos, donec venerimus, laei praestolentur. Seditionis, ac male de nobis opinantibus, nullam fidem habeant, nec ullis obediant, qui secundum animi sui praesumptionem falsam, se suamq; posteritatem Imperatoribus Moscoviticis successuram arbutantur. Et qui de sacra Regia Maestate, Domino Parente nostro, nobisq; metipsis, rumores nefarios, scriptis ad Arcium Praefectos literis sparsere, & disseminarunt, verbaq; aolose excogitata, inter homines dimisere, & iam disseminant: atque hac tyrannide, & malitia sua, recentes seditiones in Moscovia concitauerunt, quibus multam copiam sanguinis Christiani frustra effundi passi sunt. & totum Imperium diriserunt, & hac pertinacia, atque malitia sua, Dei ter Opt. Max. castissimaeq; Deiparae voluntati, necnon Serenissimi Sigismundi Dei gratia Regis Poloniae misericordia, & ipsius benivolo erga se animo aduersantur. Nobisq; Serenissimo Imperatori iuramentum exosculatione vini fisci Baptismatis praestitum violant. Quare quosdam eorum iam etiam propterea Deus Omnipotens, iusto suo iudicio, ex hac vita sustulit, & puniit: quosdam vero, eius atrocissima vindicta expectat, nisi a sua contumacia conversti, apud nos, Magnos Imperatores suos, culpam quamprimum supplices deprecantur. Insuper, omnibus vobis in universum sciendum est, quod ij, qui ad nos Magnos Imperatores suos, & nostram misericordiam, asylumq; confugerint, is secundum magnum affectum nostrum Imperatorum, miserebimur: panis remissis condonabimus omnia, & in tutelam eosdem nostrum recipiemus.

Sacrosanctam quoque Religionem vestram Legis Graece permittimus, earumq; secundum constitutiones Patrum Sanctorum, iuebimur, in nullo puncto violandam, & immutandam. Et universam venerabilium Patrum, Ministrorum Dei Confessorum vestrorum Coronam, debito in honore sumus habituri. Heroes, Aulicos, & cuiuscumq; sortis alios diligere, promovere, patriam possessionem, pecuniam, aliamque omnem provisionem, a nemine abalienando: sed suum unicuique attribueri promittimus, secundum antiquam consuetudinem: & insuper nostra Imperatoria provisione, unumquemq; secundum ipsius dignitatem, & merita promovere. Qui autem in malitia, & contumacia sua perserverare non cessabunt, ij, Deum Opt. Max. & castissimam eius Genitricem, strictissimo illos gladio puniuros certo sciant: & nostrum Imperatorum benivolum animum, in iram, & vindictam mutatum experientur. Non vult enim Deus Omnipotens, ut, ob malitiam, & contumaciam Rebellium, innocentium ulterius sanguis effundatur, Tempia Dei spoliarentur, & gloria sancti Nominis eius, magis, ac magis deprimatur. Vos omnes, apud animum vestrum diligentius perpendite, & his, qui adhuc nobis tergiversantur renunciate, ut animo mutato, ad veritatis agnitionem redeant, & seditiosos, & pacis publica diremptores relinquant.

Iam vero, ad quas Arces, & Civitates, haec litera nostra pervenerint, Mandamus, ut eorum Capitanei, & Tenentarii, omnia ad victum necessaria, & pecuniam colligant, in paratisq; habeant, ad nostrum aduentum. Interea Exercitus sacrae Regiae Majestatis, Domini Parentis nostri, nostrisq; proprijs, ne ullum detrimentum patiantur, sed una in fraterno amore, quoad venerimus, vinatis: Et donec Opt. Mat.

ex mera gratia sua, nostraq; Imperatorum cura, & diligentia, toto Imperio Moscovitico firmato, & restaurato, vobis potiri concesserit. Dabantur Varsovia, Anno Domini 1612. 9. die Martij.

The points of the Embassage of the Russian Messenger sent to his sacred Maiestie, briefly collected.

Ruteck.

Pheodor Euanowich.

Boris Godonow.

Gregorij Entropio, Rostrige.
Demetriy Euanowich.
Primates.

Lord Palatin of Sandomire.

Vasili Euanowich Suiskey.

The Wor.
Coluga.

Other Wors, or pretenders, Iuan, Peter, Pheodor.

The King of Poland.
The Lord of Premislaue.

Michael Salticoue.

The Articles are before in Latin.

Vasili Galichin.

Galechin.

Haluskin a Wor or Pretender.

BY what manner their naturall Lords ruled ouer them, they alleaged, to wit, beginning from *Borik*, who was of the blood of *Augustus Cesar*, Emperour of *Rome*, euen vnto the last Lord and Emperour *Pheodor Euanowich*, in whom their Race ceased.

That *Boris Godonow* abiding with *Pheodor Euanowich*, was created (by his owne force and power) Emperour or Lord: but after a little time, the pleasure of God so working, being thrust out of the Imperiall seate, departed this life shamefully, and by violent death, together with his Wife and Children.

That *Christophorus Otropitij* the *Rostrige*, being of base descent, vnder the Name which he did beare of Emperour, otherwise *Demetriy Euanowich*, slaine at *Owglets*, did fraudulently and by deceit (wherewith he deceived the common people, and others that beleued them) obtaine the Imperiall Seate by force, without the consent of the Spiritualltie, and all the chiefe Bishops and Lords, and great men of the Kingdome, who durst not withstand the same, seeing the Commons to yeeld thereunto.

How the excellent Lord *Palatin of Sandomire*, gaue his daughter in marriage to the *Rostrige*, and himselfe (many Gentlemen both of the Kingdome of *Poland*, and great Duchy of *Litow*, accompanying him) came into *Moscouia*.

Then, that *Vasili Euanowich Suiskey*, with his brethren, and many others associated to this attempt, and stirring vp other great men of the Land, did kill the *Rostrige*, with many Gentlemen of *Poland*, and the great Duchy of *Litow*, and put the rest into diuers Castles. And himselfe was made Emperour, although he were not elected by all the States. Whereupon many of our sort did not willingly acknowledge him Emperour, and many would not obey him.

How another named the *Wor*, did rise vp at *Kalusia*, and caused himselfe to bee named *Demetriy*, and so accounted. Whereof when many (both *Russes* and *Poles*) heard, they assembled vnto him, thinking him to be the true *Demetriy*: and the *Russes* did so much the more willingly draw vnto him, because of the murtherers.

How others called *Wors*, did name and call themselves sones of the slaine Emperour, as *Iuan*, *Peter*, *Pheodor*, and by many and diuers other names: and vnder the same names, did consume the State, and shed much blood.

How the Kings sacred Maiestie, comming to *Smolensko*, sent his Messengers the Lord of *Premislaue*, and other noble men, who comming vnto the Campe, the forenamed *Wors* fled away: but diuers of the *Russes* came vnto his Maiestie. And taking counsell with the *Boiarins*, at that time remayning with *Suiskey* in the chiefe Citie, we sent our Messengers to his Maiestie at that time, being at *Smolensko*, viz. *Michael Salticoue*, and others, requesting that his Maiestie would grant vs his Sonne to be our Lord.

How they were dispatched away, and what answere they brought from his Maiestie, with conditions engrossed, and signed with his hand and seale.

How that after the depoling of *Suiskey*, the noble Lord Generall of the Kingdome, comming into *Moscouia*, concluded all the said businesses and treaties: and confirmed them with the oath of himselfe, and his fellow Souldiers. And that they after that oath, likewise made their oath for the same. Then, that for the greater defence of the said principall Citie from the *Wors*, they sent Souldiers into the Citie, and sent also their Messengers from the whole Countrie *Fidareta*, the *Metropolitan* and *Vasili Galichin*, with others, vnto the Kings Maiestie, and required an oath in his Maiesties behalfe, of all the seuerall Prouinces.

How that his Maiesties Souldiers dwelled and behaved themselves in this capitall Citie of *Mosco*, before the troubles began, without iniuring any man, punishing the euill according to their deserts.

How the *Boiarins* handled other Gentlemen, and principall persons of the *Russe* Religion, although more inclined vnto them: but especially the Officers and Seruants of the *Wors*, as also such as had fled ouer.

It followeth, how they often sent word vnto the Citie of *Smolensko*, and willed them to deliuer vp the Citie vnto his Maiestie, to bee vnder his prosperous gouernment and power. As for the secret plots of their Messengers, *Galechin* and others, they said, they were ignorant, as also of some vnkowne practises, handled with the *Wor* called *Haluskin*. But they said, that they had written very often to the Citie of *Smolensko*, and commanded them to doe whatsoeuer stood with his Maiesties pleasure, and liked him, without further effusion of blood.

How

How also it befell in the chiefe Citie to *Lepan*, and *Sarnusky*, and the other Rebels, when they violated their fidelitie. *Lepan.*
Sarnusky.

That they certified his Maiesties Souldiers thereof, and that they, with them, did rise against the Rebels, and that euen to this present, they doe keepe, and will keepe their oath once made, and their due obedience vnto their Lord.

And, in that *Lepan* was punished of God for his treacherie, and departed this life with so shamefull a death, wee thinke it to bee for the good example of others, to reduce them into their former estate, to reuoke others vnto their fidelitie, and for keeping their oath already giuen.

10 Therefore, after many circumstances, they inferred, that they would presently send their Messengers to the generall Parliament: but mooued with the perswasion of the honorable Lord Generall, to wit, that his Maiestie would bee contented with their fidelitie once made, and performed vnder oath, and with their grieve for the same cause, and will cheerefully forgiue them: and doth not refuse to giue his Sonne to raigne ouer them. Adding withall, that many Kingdomes, to wit, the Kingdome of *Hungarie*, the Kingdome of *Bohemia*, and a great part of *Russia*, doe earnestly request, that he would receiue them vnder the happy gouernment of his Maiestie: that they might enioy the priuiledges of *Poland*, and *Litow*, to which, none in the whole world can be compared.

20 But, because his Excellent Maiestie, as a Christian Lord, reiecting all other Kingdomes, and Dominions, will graciously receiue vnder his Rule and gouernment the said Dominions, and that he is sorry for their destruction: he therefore now admonisheth them, if they will bee vnder his prosperous Rule, and enter into an vnion together with the Kingdome of *Poland*, and the great Duchy of *Litow*, and liue friendly with them: if they will performe, and consent therevnto, His Excellent Maiestie promisseth to remit their offence, and to receiue them vnder his happy gouernment and authoritie, and refuseth, and by no meanes will alter or change their faith and conscience, or places dedicated vnto God, or builded for deuotion: neither will impose on them any other Religion, or alter their ancient Manners, or Customes, but will bestow on them priuiledges and offices: and that the Rights and Priuiledges, which the *Poles*, with the great Duchy of *Litow* doe enioy, shall be conferred on them: and that they shall be equalled with the Kingdome and great Duchy of *Litow*, &c. which iurisdiccions and priuiledges, in former times, their Predecessors wanted.

30 For this perswasion therefore of the honourable Lord Generall, which he had in charge from his Maiestie to make, they yeeld all thanks: but notwithstanding they propound, and plainly adde, that their oath shall be so, that his Maiesties sonne shall succeed in their gouernment, with certaine additions, to wit, that they will haue none other ouer them but onely his Maiesties sonne, and that the whole Land doth make it knowne, and propound their iudgement and sentence, by way of denunciation, that by no meanes, but by offering his Maiesties sonne, these troubles of *Mosconia* can be extinguished. Adding withall, that at that time, in the first troubles, when the honourable Lord Generall came into the Country of *Mosconia*, and required the oath for the Kings Maiesties sonne: if his Maiestie had made any mention thereof, it is certaine, that the Commons and all the Nobilitie, would not haue consented thereunto by any meanes, and that greater effusion of blood had risen thereupon: And that they had taken for their Prince *Klutziusky*, called the *Wor*, to whom all were not assembled, who also at that time had a great power of men, as well of *Poles*, as *Russes* and *Litowes*. They therefore seeing the great discord amongst the people, taking counsell, did freely choose for their Lord and Emperour his Excellent Maiesties sonne, vnto whom they had a great affection, and who had a long time before layen in their hearts: assuring themselves also, that by this election of his Maiesties sonne, many troubles and dissentions would be pacified, and so reiecteth the aforesaid *Wor Klutziusky*: As also they receiued into their chiefe Citie the chiefe Generall. But, when it was heard that his Excellent Maiestie, would by no meanes giue vnto them his sonne for their Lord, and to rule ouer them, they fell into such effusion of blood and insurrections, As also the same time, the whole Country of *Mosconia* looked and expected nothing else then his Maiesties sonne. Calling to memorie, for their better aduice, that it was to be feared, least whilest his Maiestie came too late with his sonne, diuers parts of the Land should choose vnto themselves seuerall Lords. As to the Southward the Castles *Strachen* and others, to the King of *Persia*; part of *Pomerland* and *Siberia*, to the Kings of *Denmarke* and *England*; *Nonogrod*, *Plesco*, *Iuanogrod*, and others, to the King of *Sweden*: and that the other Cities would choose to themselves other Lords separate from the rest. In the meane season, they desire his Excellent Maiestie, to make a speedy end of these warres, according to his Obligation and promise ratified by the oath of the honorable Lord Generall, and the whole Armie: and that his Maiestie himselfe, with his sonne, would come into

40 50 60 *Mosconia*. They request also, that his Excellent Maiestie would retayne with himselfe and his Sonne, Counsellors, and Messengers of their Commonwealth, for the ordaining and concluding of perpetuall Conditions. They request also, that his Maiestie, in the name of his Sonne, would send vnto all the Inhabitants of the Townes, and write vnto the seuerall Cities, signifying his

The King
sents.

Klutziusky a
Wor or Preten-
der, acknow-
ledged Empe-
rour.

Astracan.
Laplansky

comming into their Dominions, and willing, that out of the severall Prouinces, all sorts of men send their Messengers, to treat and conclude of the affaires of all sorts of People, and of perpetuall tranquillitie. Promising after the said Charge and Letters to all people in generall, and notifying from their said Lord, that (by Gods grace) there may bee throughout the whole Land of *Mosconia*, tranquillitie, peace, and securitie.

To conclude, they pray heartily vnto the Lord God, to grant vnto his Maiestie in this businesse begun, a prosperous and speedy end.

Russian inconstancy.

Thus haue wee seene dissolute resolutions, or resolute dissolutenesse, men onely constant in inconstancy, resolved vpon irresolution. As we often see sicke persons turning euery way, and no way eased; in the night time longing for day, and in the day for night; such was now the *Russian* sicknesse, they would and they would not, and yet would againe, and againe would not, they scarcely knew what or why; fluctuating in an inward storme of diuersified hopes, feares, desires, distracted affections, no lesse then in that outward broile of State. For it was not long that they looked toward *Poland*, whether for breach of conditions of that part, or out of inueterate hate to the *Pole*, or their Nationall ialousie and distrust of Strangers, or a naturall inconstancy; they fell off from that Prince: and their Chancellor (Father to the now reigning Emperour) employed there with others in Embassage) were detayned thereupon prisoners. It is also reported that they made secret ouertures to His Maiestie of Great Britaine, and that Sir *Iohn Merick* and Sir *William Russel* were therein employed: but the strong conuulsions and sharpe agues and agonies of that State could not, or would not endure the lingring of such remote phisicke; the wheele of Things being whirled about before such a Treatie might admit a passage of Messengers to and fro. Once that *Russian* Head grew so heady and giddy, that at last it bred innumerable Heads, yea the whole Body became Heads in the worst of tyrannies, a popular (gouernment shall I say? or) confusion. Neither were *Hydras* heads (monstrously multiplying two for each cut off) like this: for besides so many *Wars* after the first and second *Demetrius* (which might make vp that comparison) each limbe, nay almost each haire of this *Hydra* (not the Nobles alone, but the basest which had nothing but themselves, and were nothing but Numbers) became so many prodigious Heads; they also like *Pharaohs* leane kine deuouring the fat, and vpon light pretences beheading themselves in cutting off the heads and nobler Persons amongst them.

Many-headed body.

Ianson. A. 1612.

When they had thus made away almost all the *Grandes*, and left the South parts to the spoile of the *Poles*, which once againe were drawing neere to *Mosco* to besiege it; the *Poles* also suffered some disaster, their Souldiers mutinying for want of pay, and banding themselves to returne into *Poland*, there inuaded the Mints and Custome-houses, and some gouernments, detayning them for their pay; sending also threatening Letters to diuers Cities and Townes, forced diuers Nobles and Plebeians to composition. The *Turkes* and *Tartars* brake likewise into *Walachia*, *Moldauia*, and *Polonia*, so that *Zolkiewsky* or *Sulcosky* the Generall was forced to goe against them, of whom he made so great a slaughter, that the Great *Turke* committed the *Pollake* Embassadour at *Constantinople* to Ward, and threatned the *Poles* with inuasion. These mutinous Souldiers continued meane while that and the next yeere to spoile *Poland*, doing much damage to the King and the Bishops, challenging many millions due, as they said, for pay. Yea they passed further into *Prussia*, and made spoile in euery place, on the eight of Nouember 1612. passing with a great prey to *Thorn*, being parted into three Bands, the *Sapians*, the *Sborouians*, and *Smolenskians*. Another companie of them terrified *Silesia*. The *Tartars* likewise made impression and committed great spoile in *Podolia*.

Gods providence permits not the utter ruine of *Russia*.

Strange alteration of affaires by a Butcher.

Pozarsky chosen Generall, and a Butcher Treasurer.

Boris Licin.

Thus an Armie diuided could not conquer, nor so utterly exterminate *Russia* as otherwise opportunity was offered: the *Pole* Souldiers being herein like angry Elephants which sometime recoyle vpon their owne troupes and doe more spoyle then the enemy could either haue effected or expected. But whiles the Inuaders were thus inuaded, the *Russes* were forward to worke those executions on themselves, which their enemies could haue wished to them; till at last awakened with the horror of their owne euils, some began to thinke of a better course. In the North about the *Dwina*, a bold fellow, a Butcher, rayling at the Nobilities basenesse, and the Officers corruptions, said, if they would choose a good Treasurer and pay Souldiers well, they might haue those which would fight and expell the *Poles* their Enemies: provided, that they would first choose a worthy Generall, for which place he recommended to them a poore maymed Gentleman, called *Pozarsky*, who had done good seruice, but being neglected, now had retyred himselfe not farre off. The multitude approued the Butchers counsell, and chose *Pozarsky* for their Leader, and that Butcher for a Treasurer, deliuering into his hands what money they had, which he so faithfully disbursed, *Pozarsky* also discharging so well the trust reposed, that a great Army was gathered, and the siege of *Musco* thereby rayfed. And joyning with *Knes Demetry Mastroukswich* (a kind of *Tartar* which commanded an Army of *Cossaks* in seruice of the *Russe*) they fell in consultation with *Boris Licin*, the third Great Souldier of that Countrey, vpon choice of an Emperour. Their mindes herein disagreeing (some naming one, some another) some named *Mastroukswich* himselfe, other for further securitie against the *Poles*, and

and to recompence the sufferings and imprisonment of the *Russian* Chancellor in *Poland*, named his young Sonne *Micallowich*, vnder whose Empire (having a good Councell appointed) they might live happily. This was first approved by the *Cossaks*, and then by the other Armies, the Butcher also was taken to become a Counsellor, and those three Leaders aforesaid were made Militarie Commanders for the present Emperour against the *Poles*. Embassadors also were sent to diuers Princes to mediate betwixt them and the *Pole*; and betwixt them and the *Sweden*; and by his Majestie of Great *Brittaine* (whom God long preserve to reigne over vs) his countenance and intercession, there hath beene some agreement, and the young Emperour hath settled his Dominions in peace, making at last a truce for fourteene yeeres with the *Poles*, obtayning also in that Treatie his Father the Chancellor his libertie and returne out of *Poland*, who since is consecrated Patriarke of *Russia*.

His Embassador to the Emperour came to *Lintz* in December 1613: and thence was conueighed by the Emperours Officers to the Court, where hee had solemne audience, where after rich presents of Fures and his Letters, he deliuered his speech, that *Michael Phedorowich* was now by unanimous consent aduanced to the *Russian* Empire, and willing to entertayne and continue the ancient confederacie betwixt both Empires: desiring the Imperiall Majestie to dehoit the *Pole* from his vniust attempts, to deliuer the *Russe* Captiues, and not againe to infect the recovered *Musco*, but to enter into peace, and abstayne from Christian bloudshed. Likewise to send an Embassador to his Court, &c. This mediation *Cesar* promised, and gaue the Embassador liberal entertainment, and gentle dispatch.

Not long after in May 1614. the *Russian* Embassador had audience with the States of the United Provinces at *Hage*, and before that in *England*. I was present both at his arrivall at *Gravesend*, and his honourable entertaynement into *London*, and saw him also presently after the running at Tilt at *White-hall*, the foure and twentieth of March, admitted to his Maiesties presence, performing that *Russian* Rite of bowing with his face downe to or neere the ground, &c.

Anno 1615. The *Turkish* Embassador treated with the *Casarean* Majestie about the mediation betwixt the *Pole* and the *Muscovite*, who employed to that purpose *Erasmus Heidel* and the Baron of *Dahn*. The *Pole* notwithstanding sent an Army in his Sonnes challenge (who was shortly to follow to *Smolensko*) into *Muscovia*; *Pontus Telligard* the *Sweden* Commander infecting also the *Russians* at the same time. But the next yeere 1616. Sir *John Merike* Knight, a man of great experience in those Northerne parts, was employed his Majesties Embassador to negotiate betwixt those two Great Princes, the *Moscouite* and the *Sweden*, the Articles of whose composition I obtayned by the mediation of Sir *Thomas Smith* (my ancient Benefactor in this kind) and haue here communicated to thee, but in another Chapter as being now past our Tragick Thunders: as also the following *Russe-China* Newes, that you may see not only the face of *Russia* washed from her bloody pollutions, but her hands further then euer extended (fortunate in treaty of Commerce) as far as *China*: likewise the *Russe* Patent to the *Englisk*. Sweet is the name of Peace, and the thing it selfe a Heauen vpon Earth. BLESSED ARE THE PEACEMAKERS (His Maiesties word else-where, here his deed) for they shall be called (said the only begotten Son) the Children of God; euen the God of peace will make them his heires of Heauen, which (models of Deity) seeke to establish the peace of God vpon Earth. And let it not seeme tedious here to present these His Majesties Trauels, amongst our other Trauellers, but in a more glorious manner (like to God vnmoueable which moueth all things) who hath not only been our Sunne, and with lightsome heate and influence filled our *Brittish* Hemisphere, but hath dispersed his bright rayes of Light, and warmed with sweet quickning beames of heat, those remoter frozen Climates of *Sweden* and *Russia*, (not to mention, or but to mention the quarrels of *Denmarke* and *Sweden*) and after their long frostie Night (such is the nature, such was the state of those States) to reduce the faire day-light of Peace, the warmth whereof hath thawed the Ice hardened hearts of Enmity, and filled all things with sweets, and cheere of a returning Spring. *Nulla salus bello, pacem te poscimus omnes.*

Micallowich
Son to the
Chancellor
chosen.

Our Kings me-
diation.
His Fathers
returne and
Patriarkship.

lanfon
G
to g
2

Sir *I. Merikes*
negotiation.
Sir *Dudley Digs*
was also sent
Embassador in
a troublesome
time, when he
could not with
safetie passe vp
to *Mosco* for
the enimie, in
the first times
of *Micallowich*.

John Merike
Embassador

CHAP. X.

A briefe Copie of the points of the Contracts betweene the Emperours

Maiestie, and the Kings Maiestie of Sweden, at Stol-

boun the seuen and twentieth of Febru-

ary, 1616.

Oblution of
former quar-
rels. Michaelo Pheo-
dorowich Em-
peror of Russia,
Gustavus Adol-
phus King of
Sweden.



Inprimis, and especially that all matters be set aside, forgotten, pacified, and renoun-
ced, which passed these former yeeres since the conclusion of peace at Taffina in the yeere
7003. betweene the former great Lords, Emperours, and great Dukes of all Russia, and
afterwards our great Lord, Emperour and great Duke Michaelo Pheodorowich of all
Russia, Sam. his Imperiall Maiestie, and Empire of Russia; and betweene their late
high, mightie Lord King Charles the Ninth of Sweden, the aboue named Kings Maiesties highly ho-
nored and beloued Father, especially their high mightie Lord King Gustavus Adolphus of Sweden, his
Kingly Maiesty and the Crowne of Sweden: As also both the Princes their Dominions, Lands, Ci-
ties, and people, chance or hap of the Subiects, which happened or was done by robbery, burning, killing,
or other enmitie: whatsoeuer might bee, or by whom it was done, that all those griefes and troubles in all
matters shall be set aside, and hereafter not be renewed or remembered of neither party, for ever and by
this present strong conclusion of peace betwixt our great Lord Emperour and great Duke Michaelo
Pheodorowich of all Russia, Sam. and betwixt their great mightie Lord, King Gustavus Adolphus
of Sweden, &c. and of other Dominions, Lands, Castles, aswell those of old, as those which by this
conclusion of peace are giuen and yeelde up, and betwixt all the Subiects and people to bee renewed, esta-
blished, confirmed and held vnremoneable in the manner of a peace for ever and ever, and sure friend-
ship perpetually: Also that the Emperours Maiesty, and the Kings Maiesty shall desire one anothers
best in all matters, and neyther seeke a better friend, but to deale faithfully and truly in all matters
reciprocally.

Great Nou-
grod, &c. return-
ed to the
Russe.

Churches re-
stored with
their goods,
&c.

Sir I. Merike
Ambassador.

Libertie of
persons.

2. Item, is giuen unto our great Lord Emperour and great Duke Michaelo Pheodorowich of all
Russia, Sam. his heires, successors and hereafter comming great Lords, Emperors, and great Dukes of all
Russia, and the Empire thereof, by their great Lord King Gustavus Adolphus of Sweden, for him-
selfe, his successors, and hereafter being Kings of Sweden, and for the whole Crowne of Sweden, doth
deliner and cleere by the power of this conclusion of peace, these Castles of the Empire in Russia with the
Townes and Suburbs which were taken in these yeeres, namely, great Nouogrod, Stararouffe, Porcoue,
Lodiga, Odo, with their Territories, Somerskey, Volost, with the Village belonging to the Emperours
Household, to Metropolis, Monasteries, Gentlemens Lands, Inheritances, Farmes, with all their profits
and reuenues according to former Borders and Limits, except those Castles which the Emperours Maie-
stie doth yeeld by power of this Contract of peace, as hereafter more certainly shall be exprest.

3. Item, The Kings Maiestie of Sweden doth giue unto the Emperours Maiestie, with the afore-
said Castles and Townes, all manner of Church ornaments which are in the Church of Sophia, The Sa-
pience of God, and within all Churches and Monasteries in Nouogrod, and in other Castles and
Townes which the Kings Maiesty hath giuen to the Emperours Maiesty without carrying any thing a-
way. Also the Kings Maiesty doth giue the Metropolitane and all the Spiritualltie, with all their goods,
as also all manner of Russe people what calling soeuer they be, which are in those Townes, Castles, and Ter-
ritories, dwelling now or planting themselves there with their Wives, Children, and all their goods what-
soeuer any hath. As also the Kings Maiesty shall giue all manner of Writings and Bookes, which are in
those Castles and Townes to be found in Roserades iudgement houses, or elsewhere with all Russe Ord-
nance, Munition, and Provisions there belonging, and the Bells in those aforesaid Castles and Townes, in
such manner as they were the twentieth of November last past, according to agreement made with the
Kings most excellent Maiesty of Great Brittaines Ambassador Sir Iohn Merick, except those Bells
which the people of Nouogrod themselves did sell after that agreement, for the payment of Souldiers, and
were carried away from Nouogrod, but those Bells which the Kings seruants and people did take per-
force without buying, shall be in right manner sought out and brought backe againe to Nouogrod and re-
stored there. Also which Bells the Kings Maiesties people bought at Nouogrod, it shall bee free for the
Nouogrod men to redeeme them backe againe at the same price they sold them for, and the Kings people
hereafter shall not buy any more Bells of the people of Nouogrod by no meanes whatsoeuer.

4. Item, the Kings Maiesties people of Sweden, at their departure out of the Emperours Maiesties
Castles and Towns aforesaid, namely, great Nouogrod, Stararouffe, Porcoue, Lodaga, Somersko, Vo-
loico, &c. shall use no violence to the Emperours Maiesties people by burning, robbing, or killing, neyther
carry any Russe people with them to the Kings Maiesties side, neither men, nor women, nor children, nor
any of their goods: and if any goods remayne of the Swethish people, at their going out of the aforesaid
Towne, which at that time they cannot take all with them, such goods shall be kept in safetie by those with
whom they are left, till such time as enery one of them shall come thither for his owne goods, or send some
bodis for them, and these people shall haue free libertie to goe without all molestation or let, to come for
their goods, and to returne againe at their owne convenient time.

5. Item,

5. Item, the Kings Maiesties Governours and Officers shall deliver unto the Emperours Maiesties Voyauodes and Commanders the aboue named Townes and Castles, to say great Nouogrod, Stararouie, Porcoue, with their Territories, and Somerskey, Volost in presence of the great Lords, James King, &c. his Maiesties great Ambassadour Sir Iohn Merike Knight, &c. or the said Kings Maiesties Gentlemen, the which the aboue said great Ambassadour shall send to that end cleansing and giving over the said Castles and Townes, two weekes after this contract is confirmed betweene vs both, great Commissioners by Writings, Hand, Seale, and Kissing of the Crosse of our side, and on their part, by oath upon the holy Euangelists.

Time of deli-
uerie;

10 6. And after that the Castle of Lodiga and Territories, shall bee delivered to the Emperours Maiesties Messengers by the Kings Maiesties Governour, three weekes after the confirmation of this contract, in presence of the aboue said great Lords, James King, &c. his Gentlemen, which to that purpose the great Ambassadour shall send, then the said Castle and Prouince to be redeemed and given up, with all the Russe Ordinance, people thereto belonging, none to be carried away, nor no violence to bee offered them by robbing, or otherwise spoyleing of them; nor no Russe Ordinance to bee carried away. But the Castle of Odow, and Prouince, and people is to remayne on the Kings Maiesty Gustavus Adolphus of Sweden, for a time, till this contract of peace be confirmed by both the Potentates, by their Writings, by the Emperours Maiesty with the Seale of the Empire, and by the Kings Maiesties hand and Seale of the Kingdome of Sweden, as also by the Emperours Maiesties kissing of the Crosse, and the Kings Maiesties Oath upon the holy Euangelists confirmed, and the borders divided and measured out iustly. And the Ambassadour which both the Princes shall send to that effect having bene with both the Princes shall returne againe to the borders, having well concluded the busines, as then two weekes after that time the Emperours Maiesties Voyauodes and Commanders, which his Maiestie shall send for the receiving of the said Castle and Prouince of Odow from Vlasquos shall receive the said from the Kings Maiesties Governours, with all the Russe people and Ordinance with all their goods, and what they haue, and as long as the Castle of Odow is on the Kings Maiesties side, all the people of Odow and the Prouince thereof shall give unto the Kings Maiesty their former Corne, and doe seruice as before for the mayntayning of those Souldiers that remayne there, the Kings Maiesties people in the meane time shall do to those people of Odow no violence nor robbery, neyther carry any Russe people, or Ordinance from thence, nor cause any to be conueighed away.

Odow to re-
mayne cauid
nary.

30 7. Item, the Kings Maiestie G.A. &c. best beloued brother Prince Charles Phillip, Prince hereditarie of S. &c. shall hereafter lay no claime or challenge to these Castles, and Townes, namely great Nouogrod, Porcoue, Stararouie, Somerskey, Volost, Odow, Ladogo, and all their confines, borders and Prouinces; nor come upon them with no manner of Warre, to seeke to attaine them: nor remember any more that oath which formerly the people of those places made to the Prince C. Ph. Also the Kings Maiestie G.A. shall promise not to give any aide of men or money to his aboue said Brother C. Ph. against the afore said Castles and Townes in no wise.

Charles Phillip
Prince of S
den not to lay
clayme.

40 8. And against or in lieu of the aboue said our great Lord Emperor, and great D.M.F. of all Russia, Sam. &c. for himselfe, his successors, and hereafter being great Lords, Zares, and great Dukes of all Russia, &c. and for the whole Empire of all Russia, &c. especially for the dominion of Nouogrod the great, hath given and yeilded unto their high mighty Lord King G.A. of S. &c. from the dominion of Nouogrod, from himselfe and the whole Empire of Russia, especially in respect of love and friendship, these Castles, Forts, and Land, following, which heretofore did adioyne to the Dominions of Nouogrod, as namely Euanoogrod, Yam, Coporea, Orieseke, with all unto them adioyning, Townes, Lands, and Prouinces, with all Townes, and Villages in the Countrey to them belonging, and due unto them, according to their former, iust, and auncient borders, with the people that dwell, and plant themselves there, with all other profits, reuenues, and payments, with the shoares of Rivers, with Lakes, nothing exempted, the Emperours Maiestie hath yeilded, and given to their Kings Maiestie, G.A. of Sweden &c. as proper and owne to him and his Maiesties successors, and hereafter being Kings of Sweden, and to the Crowne of Sweden for an everlasting propertie for them to hold, without causillation or any contradiction, by the Emperours Maiestie, or his Maiesties Successors, or hereafter being Emperours, and great Dukes of all Russia, as also by the whole Empire of Russia, and from the Dominion of Nouogrod, for everlasting times, in all points, as former great Lords, and great Dukes of all Russia, held and kept the same, namely the late, of blessed memory, great Lord Emperour, and great Duke Euan Vasiluwich, of all Russia, Sam. and the great Lord Emperour, and great Duke Pheodor Euanowich of all Russia, Sam. and the spirituallty, as Monkes, and all others in those Castles and Townes, as well Gentlemen, as other inhabitants of the said places, two weekes after the conclusion of this contract, when it shall be reuealed unto them, they shall haue free libertie, all such as desire to goe to the Emperours Maiesties side, with their wiues, children, families, all goods and chattels, which way soeuer they will into the Emperours Maiesties Lands and Townes. And that all Russe people, in the said Castles, Forts, and Townes, might know the same: it is here agreed and concluded, that as soone as the conclusion of this peace shall be effected and confirmed betwixt vs both, the great Potentates great Commissioners shall send their Posts and Messengers into all the aforementioned Townes and Castles, which they in presence of the Lord King James his great Ambassadors, Messengers, shall openly reueale and proclaime, that all spirituallty, with their goods, Courtiers, Gentlemen, Burgeses, and Townesmen, which are desirous to goe from thence within

Zat or Czar, is
a Title of the
great Duke.

Places yeeld-
ed by the
Maiconite to
the Swedes

two weeks after to the Emperours Maiesties side, they shall have libertie to go from thence with their wives, children, families, all their goods, and chattles and none of them to leane any thing behinde them against their wil, neither to be staied nor violated by the Kings Maiesties people, but moreover, to have connoys and prestanes, to bring them without all feare or wrong to the Emperours Maiesties next borders, in such manner that they be neither robbed nor killed, but especially and certainly, it is concluded and agreed on betweene vs both sides great Commissioners, that all Russe Countie Priests, and Husbandmen in the said Townes and Countries which are given and yielded by the Emperours Maiestie, shall by no manner of meanes be inticed or carried from thence, but shall remaine there with their wives, children, and familie, under the Sweths Crowne, as also all Courtiers, Gentlemen, and Burgeses, which doe not remoue from thence, in the foresaid two weekes.

Money to be
giuen to the
Sweden.

9. As also from the Emperours Maiestie, great Lord and great Duke M. F. of all Russia, Sam. &c. the Kings Maiestie, &c. shall haue 20000. rubbles, in ready good current inchangeable Silver deymings, and those monies immediately as soone as this contract of peace shall be concluded and confirmed betweene vs, shall be giuen to the Kings Maiestie of Sweden great Commissioners by the great Embassadour of the Kings most excellent Maiestie of great Brittain his great Ambassadour Sir John Merricke, Knight.

Ordinance and
Munition to
remaine.

10. And as for the Russe Ordinance in these Castles which shall be giuen to our Lord Emperour, and great Duke, &c. from the Kings Maiestie G. A. &c. which Ordinance shall remaine there, shall be giuen to his Maiesties Officers, and what munition of Artillerie, as prouision for Warres, and Bels, and other matters, which their Kings Maiestie hath taken in the Land of Russia out of those Castles, before the contract which the Kings Maiesties great Commissioners, and the great Lord King James &c. great Ambassadour Sir John Merricke, Knight, did erect, as the twentieth of Nouember, such Ordinance and prouisions shall remaine to the Kings Maiesties vse, and Crowne of Sweden, without all contradiction or cauillation.

The contract of
V. E. for Corelia
and the Terri-
tories, confir-
med to Sweden

11. And because the late great Lord Emperour, and great Duke Vasily Euanowich of all Russia, Sam. did giue and confirme by writings, unto their high, mighty, late Lord, King Charles the ninth of S. &c. and to the Crowne of Sweden the Castle Corelia, and the Prouince thereof, for that faithfull and good willing aide which was done unto him, against the Polish people: in like manner doth confirme, and establish the same by this contract of our great Lord Emperour, and great Duke M. F. &c. the same yeelding and donation of the great Lord Zare, and great Duke Vasily Euanowich, &c. for himselfe, his successours, and hereafter being Emperours, and great Dukes of all Russia, and for the whole Empire of all Russia, that the said Castle of Corelia, with all profits, reuenewes, and rents, by Land and by Water, according to their former auncient, and now being borderers, nothing exempted in all, accordingly as it was by former Emperours, and great Dukes of all Russia, as they posselt and held it, so hereafter it shall remaine to their Kings Maiestie, G. A. of S. &c. and to his Maiesties Successours, and hereafter following Kings of Sweden, and the Crown of Sweden, without all cauillation or contradiction for euerlasting times.

Commis-
sioners of both
sides to meete

12. And that hereafter there be no more difficulty or variance concerning the borderers of the Land, it is concluded and agreed upon, that in this yeare 7125. upon the first of Iune, our great Lord Emperour, and great Duke M. F. &c. and their high, mighty King G. A. &c. shall send on both sides, speciall good Courtiers, and Notaries, to meete between Lodiga and Oreseke, at the mouth of the Riuer Laua, whence it doth fall into the Lake of Lodiga, so that they shall meete upon the said Riuer, on the midst of the Bridge, which of both sides their people shall make upon that Riuer, and when there the one shall haue shewed the other their ample Commissions, and shall appeare that they are worthy to measure out the borders thereby, betweene the Emperours Maiestie, and the Kings Maiesties Lands: so that from the borders of Nouogrod, Lodiga, and Odow, with their Prouinces, and also from Somerskey, Volost, be deuided from the auncient and former precincts, and borders of Oreseke, Copora, Yam and Euanogorod, in iust manner as it ought to be, at the same time next ensuing the first day of Iune, then the said Courtiers and Notaries, three in presence in the said manner on both sides, shall meete together upon the borders of Nouogrod, betweene the Prouince of Olimets and Corelia at Salomensky Towne, by the Lake of Lodiga,; which Courtiers also shall view the same Prouinces according to the former borders, and as the former are exprest, how they haue bin, and confirme the same, and if they so chance, that they cannot happen upon the former auncient borders, then shall they, by iust inquisition, make new borders and Land-markes, in such manner, that hereafter there be no further controuersie concerning those borders, and those Courtiers or Gentlemen shall not part asunder of neither side, till they haue sufficiently and friendly ended that businesse in all manner, and what those Courtiers shall finish and effect in this manner, the same according as befiteth there shall expresse by writing upon parchment on both sides, and confirme the same by their subscription, Seales, kissing of the Crosse, and oath interchangeable: and as concerning the deuiding of borders, and the Gentlemen shall doe it, as namely of Nouogrod, Lodiga, Odow, Somerskey, Volost, of one part; and also betweene Oreseke, Copora, Yam, and Euanogorod, on the other side, and also betweene the borders of Nouogrod and Corelia, shall be set downe and written, the same shall be inremoueable and fast for euerlasting times, by our great Lord Emperour, and great Duke Michall Fedorowich of all Russia, &c. and the Kings Maiestie Gustauus Adolphus, &c. and their successours, and hereafter being on both sides, for euerlasting times, according to this contract of an euerlasting

lasting peace: and for more firme confirmation of the same, that it shall be held and kept; it shall be declared further in the Letters of contract, which shall be hereafter given betweene both Princes, from the Emperours Maiestie, by kissing the Crosse, and confirmation of his said Letters by his great Seale, and by the Kings Maiesties oath upon the holy Euangelists.

13. As also the former, of blessed and most famous memory, great Lord Emperour, and great Duke Fedor Euanowich of all Russia, Sam. our great Lord Emperour, and great Duke Michall Fedorowich, of all Russia, Sam, &c. Vnckle in conclusion of peace made at Tawlin, in the yeare 7103. did yeelde and give ouer all his pretention and claime to the Countrey of Leifland, as also the great Lord Emperour, and great Duke Vasily Euanowich, of all Russia, Sam. in a conclusion of peace made at Wyburgh, in the yeare 7117, did renounce the same; so it is now here concluded and agreed, that our great Lord Emperour, and great Duke M. F. &c. and his successours, and hereafter being Emperours and great Dukes, shall at no time for euer challenge unto themselves any right, or pretence to the Countrey of Leifland; neither shall our great Lord Emperour and great Duke M. F. of all Russia, Sam. nor his successours, great Lords, Emperours, and great Dukes of all Russia, hereafter write unto their great Lord, King Gustauus Adolphus, nor his successours hereafter, being Kings of Sweden, nor to the Crowne of Sweden, with the title of Leifland, or those Castles which the Emperours Maiestie hath now renounced to the Kings Maiestie for euer, neither by Letters of confirmation to write themselves, or name themselves in them, nor suffer his Voyauodes, Seruants and Commanders, to write themselves with the title of Leifland, or the Townes aforesaid, neither in writing nor speeches, to name themselves. As also our great Lord Emperour, and great Duke M. F. of all Russia, Sam. his successours, and hereafter being great Lord Emperour, and great Duke of all Russia, in their writings and speeches, shall give to their Kings Maiestie, and hereafter being Kings of Sweden, their accustomed title of Leifland, and Corella. Item, on both sides, the great Commissioners haue agreed, since at this Treatie we could not accord upon the full title of both the great Potentates; As to intitle the Emperours Maiestie, and of many other Dominions, Lord and Conquerour, and the Kings Maiestie, with the title of Ingermanland, wee haue of both sides great Commissioners, referred the same to both great Potentates liking therein; and if that either Potentate will be pleased to write the other with the full title, as to the Emperours Maiestie, the Kings Maiestie doth write the full title with the word Conquerour; and that the Emperours Maiestie also doe write to the Kings Maiestie his full title with Ingermanland, then both the Potentates are to send those titles by their Ambassadors, and nominate the same full title in one of their Letters of confirmation, and the other Letter to be written according to this our present agreement: and if in both the Letters, the titles be written to the full, as the Emperours Maiesties full title, with Conquerour; and the Kings Maiestie with Ingermanland, then both sides Ambassadors shall shew one the other the said Letters, and hauing shewen them, shall goe to each Prince with the same; if then on either side the Potentate shall not like thereof, and shall send the said Letters of confirmation with the short title, according to this our present agreement: the Ambassadors of both sides shall in like manner make knowne the same one to the other, and so proceede therewith to both Potentates.

14. Also it is agreed and concluded, that there shall be free commerce of Trade betweene both the great Kingdomes, the Empire of Russia, and the Kingdome of Swethen, and both Kingdomes subiects: so that all the subiects of our great Lord Emperour, and great Duke Michael Fedorowich, of all Russia, Sam. Merchants of the Dominions of Russia, from Nouogrod, Plefco, and other Cities and Townes, paying their due custome, shall haue free liberty without let to trafficke at Stockholme, Wiburgh, Reuall, Narue, and other Townes in the Countreys of Swethland, Fynland, and Leifland, and they that dwell and plant themselves at Iuangrod, Yam, Copora, Nettingburgh, and Coreilla, what Nation soener, either Russe or other people, shall haue free liberty without let to trafficke, and to trade, paying their due custome, in the right Customs houses, at Mosco, Nouogrod, Plefco, Lodiga, and other Townes of Russia, with the Emperours Maiesties subiects, and also haue libertie to trauell through the Dominions of our great Lord Emperour, and great Duke M. F. &c. for their trade of Merchandize within the Dominions of Russia.

15. And by reason heretofore our great Lord Emperour and great Duke Michall Phedorowich, of all Russia, &c. his Maiesties subiects Merchants, had their free house of merchandize at Reuall, also now by contract of Tawlin and Wiburgh, it is concluded they should haue a good place for a house, appointed them in Reuall, as also in other the Kings Maiesties Townes, as at Stockholme, and Wyburgh, they shall haue house and Diuine Seruice, according to their Religion, in the said houses, without let or hinderance, but at Reuall in their Church, as formerly they haue done: yet to set up no Church, according to their Religion. And as heretofore their Kings Maiesties his Subiects, haue had a free house of trade at Nouogrod, now also according to the contract of Tawlin, and Wyburgh, they are to haue a good place for a house, prepared them at Nouogrod, and the Emperours Maiesties other Cities, at Mosco and Plefco, house for the said purpose, and use their Diuine Seruice according to their Religion, in the house; but to build no Churches for that use any where.

For breuitie, I haue omitted the following Articles to the 29. the substance whereof is as followeth. The 16. determineth what debts shall be recouerable. The 17. Free passage of Subiects thorow each others Territories. 18. Freedome of Prisoners, on both sides. 19. Liberty of Inhabitants to stay in the places surrendered. 20. Fugitiues to be redeliuered. 21. Borderers

The title of Leifland resigned by V. E. at Wiburgh, Anno 7117, now confirmed.

Title to be giuen.

Commerce of Trade.

Merchants of both Kingdoms to haue houses and Churches in each others Countries.

to be restrained from robberies. 22. For ending of quarrels, if any happen. 23. 24. Confirmation of former contracts, of *Tawfina* and *Wiburge*. 25. No priuate or publike practise to be made against each other. 26. Shewing of Letters of confirmation at the meeting of Ambassadors of both sides. 27. Honorable conuoy for Ambassadors on either part. 28. And also for Interpreter's free passage.

29. Item, It is agreed and concluded, that if by the permission and pleasure of God, there happen an alteration of government in Sweden or Russia, then that Prince which shall newly come to his government first, shall reueale by his Ambassador to the other Prince from himselfe, and after that the other shall visit him by his Ambassador.

30. Item, If it so fall out at any time, that of both sides the Princes, as our great Lord, &c. & their great Lord King Gustavus Adolphus shall send one to the other their great Ambassadors, to confer of good matters, then those said great Ambassadors upon the borders shall meet without all controuersie or strife, either betweene Odow and Euangorod: or betweene Lodiga and Oreleke, where they shall thinke most fitting for them on both sides, in the midst of the diuision of the borders, and there to conferre of these good matters in friendly and louing sort, eyther by the Princes Commission or other commandement, as they shall haue.

31. Item, If it happen that the Emperours Maiesties Subiects and Merchants, their Boates, Lodies, and Merchants Vessels shall go to Reuell, Wybough, or other Townes and Castles of Swethen, Fynland or Lietland, or ships and other Vessels, whereupon the Emperours Maiesties Ambassadors and Messengers shall be going to the Emperours Maiestie, to the Pope, into England, or any other Kingdome, by the Kingdome of Swethen, or coming backe againe bee cast away and brought to the Swethish shoare, eyther upon the Salt Sea or the Lake of Lodiga, by tempests or other meanes, such people shall haue free libertie without hinderance to goe from thence with all the goods they can saue or shall get saued, and the Kings Maiesties people shall helpe them to saue their goods. In like manner if it happen with the Kings Maiestie Gustavus Adolphus of Swethen, &c. Subiects, and Merchants Boats, and Merchants Vessels with Commodities, or otherwise be cast away and brought to the Emperours Maiesties shoare upon the Ladigo or Plesco Lake, then these people shall haue free liberty to goe away with all their goods which they can saue or get to be saued without let or hinderance, and the Emperours Maiesties people shall helpe them to saue their goods.

32. Item, It is concluded and agreed on, that our great Lord, &c. shall not ayde or assist against the King Maiesty of Sweden Gustavus Adolphus, and the Crowne of Swethland, the Kingdome of Poland and Lettow, nor his Sonne Ladislaus and the Crowne of Poland, and the Dukedome of Lettow, nor all the Dominions of Poland and Lettow, nor shall helpe him with men or treasure, nor stand for him as one himselfe, nor any other Prince for him shall not practise or seeke any thing against the King of Sweden. Those Lands and Castles which belongeth to the Kingdome of Sweden of old, or those which now the Emperours Maiesty hath yeelded to the Kings Maiesty by this conclusion of peace, he shall not seeke to get them vnder him, or haue possession of them. In like manner the Kings Maiesty of Sweden shall not stand against the Emperours Maiesty &c. to assist the King of Poland and Lettow, and all the Dominions of Poland and Lettow, neyther with men nor treasure, and not to be with him as one. Nether shall the Kings Maiesty by himselfe or other Princes and Gouvernours seeke any practise against the Emperours Maiestie and his Lands and Castles which belong to the Emperour of Russia, hee shall by no meanes seeke to get vnder him or possesse the same. It is also agreed and concluded betweene vs, that those Ambassadors which the Emperours Maiesty shall send to the Kings Maiesty, and the Kings Maiesty to the Emperours Maiesty, for the confirmation of this conclusion of peace, shall haue full authority to assistance against Sigismond King of Poland, and the Crowne of Poland, and the great Dukedome of Lettow in such manner as shall be thought fit and requisite by both the Princes.

33. And for more certaine and firme assurance, that all this here hath bin concluded, and agreed on betweene vs the aboue said Emperours Maiestie, and Kings Maiesties great, ample, and powerfull Ambassadors, by the mediation and intercession of the great Lord King James his Maiesties great Lord, and great Duke M. F. of all Russia, Sam. and by his successours, and hereafter being great Lords, Emperours, and great Dukes; be kept faithfully, firmly, and vnmoueable, and shall be followed in all points, and finished without all fallshood or deceit: and our great Lords, Emperours, and great Dukes, &c. by his commandement, wee his great Commissioners, Ocholuech and Namestincke of Suddall Knefe Dannyll Euanowich Mezetskey. I the Emperours Maiesties Dwarenni and Namestincke of Shatskey Olexsey Euanowich Zuzen. I the Emperours Maiesties Duke, Dobrenia Semenou, haue confirmed this conclusion of peace, with the kissing of the Crosse, and thereunto set our hands and Seales: also the Kings Maiesties priue Chamber, for the more witnessing of the same, that this is also concluded here betweene vs, hath signed with his owne hand and Seale, both these obligations, and a confirmation, which wee the Emperours Maiesties ample Ambassadors, haue given to the Kings Maiesties great Commissioners; and against that we haue taken the like writing of confirmation, from the Kings Maiesties great Ambassadors

New Ambassadors in case of new successours.

Place of Ambassadors meeting.

Case of Shipwracke.

Neither party to aide the Pole, &c.

Confirmation.

Names of the Commissioners.

dours. Written at Stalbo, in the yeare from the creation of the World 7125, the seven and twentieth day of February.

Having here presented the fruits of his Maiesties mediation betwixt the Muscouite and Sweden: I thought good also to adde this other testimonie of *Beati Pacifici*, in the peaceable fruits of his endeouours betwixt the said King of Sweden, and the King of Denmarke, after bloody warres betwixt them, in which the English voluntaries were so great a part: of whom (if I mistake not) foure thousand serued the Dane, vnder the command of the right honorable the Lord Willoughby. The Articles of agreement betwixt them are these six, concluded January 16: 1613. translated out of the Dutch Copie, Printed at Copenhagen first, and after at Hamburge.

1. That the King of Sweden shall haue againe the Citie of Calmar, with all that belongeth vnto it, excepting Artillery, which shall be restored to the King of Denmarke, or to be sold for his profit.
2. That the King of Denmarke shall haue Elsborch and Orland, with all the forces and strength of Arensborch, in pawne, for the space of twelue yeares ensuing, for the sum of fiftene Ton of Gold; the which sum of money the King of Sweden shall pay vnto the King of Denmarke within the foresaid twelue yeares, at certaine times, in consideration of his charges during the said warres.
3. That the Navigation and passages by Seas and Land to Norway shall be used free without any hinderance of those of Sweden.
4. That Lapland shall be free without giuing of any contribution.
5. That the King of Denmarke shall haue Groneland free, without paying of any contribution vnto the King of Sweden.
6. That the King of Denmarke shall beare the three Crownes without any gaine-saying or contradiction of the King of Sweden (which was the first and principall cause of these foresaid bloody and vnnighbourly warres, and continuall irruptions.) Both Kings subscribing hereto.

CHAP. XI.

A relation of two Russe Cossacks trauailes, out of Siberia to Catay, and other Countries adioyning therevnto. Also a Copie of the last Patent from the Muscouite. A Copie of a Letter written to the Emperour from his Gouvernours out of Siberia.



TO our Lord Emperour and great Duke Michailo Fedrowich of all Russia, your Maiesties Vassals, Euan Koorakin, and Euan Koboolitin, doe knocke their heads, &c. Lord this present 7127. yeere (or 1619) we writ vnto your Maiestie by a Cozack of Tobolsko, Clement Obolskin, that there were come to Tobolsko Ambassadors out of the Dominions of Catay, and from the King of Altine, with the people of Tobolsko. Euanbko Petlin, and Andrusbko Madigene: And with them together doe go to you great Lord Ambassadors, out of the Dominions of Labin, and the Altine Char, from Skingia with presents, the which we dispatcht to your Maiestie, with Burnash Nikonene, the sixt of Iuly, and before them wee dispatcht to your Maiestie Euanbko Petlin and Patoy Kizall, by whom we sent vnto your Maiestie a Letter from Tambur, King of Cathay, and a Copie of the King Altines Letter translated, with a Card and description of the places, which way Euanbko Petlin, & Andrusbko Madigene, passed from the Castle of Tomao, into the Dominions of Catay, as also in what other Dominions they were. The Letter it selfe which came from Altine Char, Labatharshan doth carrie to your Maiestie: but as for the Letter out of Catay, there is none in Tobolsko to translate it.

Ambassador from Catay and from the King of Altine. See sup. pag. 527. & 552.

None able to translate the China Characters.

The Copie of the Altine Chars, or golden Kings Letter to the Emperour of Russia.

TO the Lord Emperour and great Duke; The golden King receiued your Letter. In former times (Lord) it came to my hearing, that your Princely good Ambassadors, did seeke a way or passage to come to me, since which time it is now thirteene yeeres, but then the people

Easterne Tar-
tar Nations.

Russian Pre-
sents.

Tarchan of La-
baia.
Sirgos.
Three Leo-
pards, &c. for
a Present.
His requests.

Relation of
two Russe tra-
uellers of their
Voyage to Ca-
tay.
Tomo a new
Castle beyond
Ob. See sup. pag.
527.
Kirgis.
Mutalla.

Sheromugala.
2. Manchika.

Wall of Catay.
The gate and
guard.

See for better
vnderstanding
hereof, Goes &
other 1. uices.
Relations in
the second
Booke.

ple of *Iskirgi, Tubent, Mattara, & black Kolmaks* did not offer your Princely good Ambassadors to come to me, but did rob and spoile them. Now since ten of your Maiesties people are come to me, and I haue sent to you *Ichkmen Kichenga*, to do obeyfance vnto your Maiesty, and see your Princely eyes, whom your Maiestie vouchsafed to doe their obeyfance and see your Princely eyes. And to me you sent of your Grace three Cups of Silver, a Bow, a Sword, two Gunnes, and two Garment Clothes, all which your Princely fauours I haue receiued, and what shall bee behoufull for your Maiesty from hence, I will furnish you withall. As also I am to request your Maiestie in respect the Ambassadors doe passe betweene vs very miserably, and poore, by reason there are now some small warres betwixt vs and the blacke *Kolmaks*, and there are but small forces in *Tobolsko Castle*, and in the Castles of *Tenne, Turko*, and from the *Barhan* people. Now if so be your Maiestie will fauour me, and defend me with these people from *Karakula*; and will bee pleased to proceed on warre on your owne side, and I on mine, that matter will bee done betweene vs, and all good matters continue betwixt vs. And so by your Princely fauour, Ambassadors may continually passe betweene vs. *Iuan Tarchan Varchies* and *Andrej Tarchan Varchies*, did conduct two of your Maiesties Messengers into the Dominions of *Catay*, according to your Maiesties commandement, and they are returned to me againe out of *Catay*. Also (Lord) there is come vnto me the *Tarchan of Labaia*, and I haue sent vnto you with my Presents the said *Tarchan Labar* and *Kitibachij Anchaj*, and with them ten men, and two men of *Sirgos*; in their Letter is written that there is sent vnto your Maiestie three Leopards with their claws, an Irish with his claws, three Lizernes with their claws, a red and a yellow Damaske vpon a gold ground, a piece of Velvet, and an ambling Horse. And I am humbly to request your Maiestie, if it bee your Maiesties fauour to grace mee for your owne honour with a garment of cloth of Gold, and of diuers colours, five Garments of fine Cloth, a Head-piece, a shirt of Male, a Sword, a Bow, twentie Gunnes, a Flaggon of Gold, a Kettle of Silver, and five sorts of Precious Stones, of each one, a Iennet, a Dwarfie, and Workmen to make Guns and Powder, and two thousand pence. Your Maiesties name is growne renowned and famous euery where, therefore I doe reuerence vnto your Maiestie, because many Kings of many Countreyes haue spread abroad the fame of your Maiesties name euery where. And I request that Ambassadors may speedily passe betwixt vs, and now if it be your Maiesties fauour, I desire you to dispatch these my Ambassadors with speed to me backe againe.

Anno 7128. the three and twentieth of September in the Emperours Dominions at *Soldota*, a *Cazacke of Siberia*, called *Enashko Pettlin*, did report, being examined of his Trauels. The last yeere past 7127. hee said that the *Boiaren* and *Voyanod Knez Euan Simonowich Koorockin*, sent him from the Castle of *Tomo*, and his fellow *Andrashko*, to conduct the Kings *Altines* Ambassadors, as also to inquire or search the Kingdomes of *Catay*. They went from the Castle of *Tomo*, about the ninth of May, and trauelled from *Tomo* to *Kirgis*, with much expedition tenne dayes, and in *Kirgis* is a Duke subiect to the Emperours Maiestie, his name is *Nemi*, who gaue them victuals and post. Through this Land of *Kirgis* they went halfe a day, and came to the Dominion of *Mutalla*, to the *Altine* King, who gaue them provisions and post, and dispatched them thence: so they passed through his Land five weekes to the Country of *Sheremugaly*; where reigneth a Queene called *Manchika*, who caused to haue provision and post given them. In this Countrey of *Sheromogula* they trauelled foure dayes, and came into the Dominions of *Catay*, called *Crim*, where is a wall made of stone fiftene fathomes high, alongst the side of which wall they went ten dayes, where they saw pettie Townes and Villages belonging to the Queene *Manchika*; but in those ten dayes they saw no people vpon the wall at all. At the end of these ten dayes, they came to the gate, wherein lye very great Peeces of Ordnance, shooting shot as bigge as a mans head, and in the said gate standeth in watch three thousand men, and they come with their Merchandizes to traffique at the gate. The *Altine* men also come to the gate, with their Horses to sell to the *Catay* men; but are not permitted to come within the walls, except very few at once. Thus their whole trauell from *Tomo* Castle to this gate, was twelue weekes, besides some dayes that they stood still, and from the gate to the great Empire of *Catay* tenne dayes, and came to the Citie or Castle of *Catay* about the beginning of September, and were lodged in the great Embassadors house: and hauing bene there in *Catay* foure dayes, there vsed to come vnto them a Secretary with two hundred men vpon Asles very well apparelled, and did entertayne and feast them with Sacke and other Drinkes made of Grapes, and told them that the Emperour, or King *Tambur* had sent him to aske them wherefore they were come into the Dominions of *Catay*. Whereupon they answered that our great Lord and Emperour had sent them to discouer the Dominions of *Catay*, and see the King thereof; but hee answered them againe, that without presents they could not see the King, and withall gaue them a Letter, which Letter they brought with them to *Tobolsko*, and from thence is sent to the Emperours Maiestie by them. Out of *Catay* they went about the twelfth of October, and came to the Castle of *Tobolsko* about Whitsontyde the same yeere 1619.

A Description of the Empires of Catay and Labin, and other Dominions aswell inhabited, as places of Pasture * called Vlusses and Hords, and of the great River Ob, And other Rivers and Land passages.

From *Kirgis* to the River *Bakanna* is sixe dayes trauell, and from *Bakanna* to *Kinchike*, is nine dayes trauell, from *Kinchike* to the great Lake, (in which Lake Rubies or Saphires grow) is three dayes trauell, and the compasse of that Lake is twelue dayes trauell on horsebacke. There falleth also into the said Lake foure Riuer, to wit from the East, South, West and North, yet the water doth not increase in the Lake, nor decrease. There falleth yet another Riuer into the said Lake, which commeth from betweene the East and the North, and is called *Kitta*, vpon which we went fifteen dayes to the head of it, where we found the King *Altine* in progresse; the way is very stony. And from the King *Altine* to an *Vlusses* five dayes trauell; the *Vlusses* is called *Algunat*, and the Duke in it is called *Tormoshine*; from him to another *Vlusses* five dayes, the *Vlusses* is called *Chikursha*, and the Duke in it is called *Carakula*; from thence to an *Vlusses* five dayes called *Suldussa*, wherein is a King called *Chaksara*, from him to an *Vlusses* called *Bisut*, five dayes, the Duke's name is *Chichim*; from him to an *Vlusses* called *Iglethin*, five dayes, the Duke is *Taschils Chereket*, from him to an *Vlusses* called *Beskuta*, five dayes, the Duke is called *Cherkar*; from him to an *Vlusses* called *Girut*, foure daies without water, the Duke is called *Chichenons*. From him to an *Vlusses* called *Isut* five dayes, the Duke of it is called *Chechen*. From him to an *Vlusses* called *Tulent Vniens* foure dayes, the Duke is called *Tayku, Katin*. From him to the *Vlusses Togorsin* three dayes, there is a King called *Bakshuta*. From thence to an *Vlusses* of the yellow *Mugalls* called *Mugolchin*, wherein is a Dutchesse called *Manchika*, with her Sonne *Ouchai Tairchie*, it is within two dayes journey of the Land of *Mugalla*, a very dangerous passage through the clifffes of the Rockes, which being past they came into the Land of *Mugalla*, wherein are two Castles or Cities built of stone, they are called with them *Bashum*, in one of them is a Duke called *Talai Tashen*; and in the other the Duke is called *Egidon Tashen*; there is also a third Citie in it called *Lobin*, wherein doth gouerne a woman called Dutchesse *Manchika* with her Sonne, the said Dutchesse doth command all the Cities of *Mugalla*, and her command extendeth into *Catay*. If any man be to trauell ouer the borders, and into *Catay*, he must haue a Passe vnder her Seale; which if they haue not, they may not passe through *Catay*. The Land of *Mugalla* is great and large from *Baghar* to the Sea; all the Castles are built with stone foure square; at the corners, Towers, the ground or foundation is layd of rough, grey stone, and are couered with Tiles, the gates with counterwards as our *Russe* gates are, and vpon the gates alarum Bels or Watch-bels of twentie poode weight of metall, the Towers are couered with glazed Tiles; the houses are built with stone foure cornerd high, within their Courts they haue low Vaults, also of stone, the feelings whereof, and of their houses are cunningly painted with all sorts of colours, and very well set forth with flowres for shew. In the said Countrey of *Mugalla* are two Churches of Friers, or Lobaes, built of square stone, and stand betweene the East and the South; vpon the tops of them are made beafts of stone, and within the Church iust against the doore are set three great Idols or Images, in the forme of women of two and an halfe fathome long, gilt all ouer from the heads to the feet, and sit a fathome high from the ground vpon beafts made of stone, which beafts are painted with all manner of braue colours. Those Idols haue each in their hand a Vessell, and there burne before them three tallow Candles; on the right side of them are erected eight Idols more in the forme of men, and on the left side eight Idols more in the forme of Maydens, gilt all ouer from the head to the foote, their armes stretched out after the manner as the *Mugall* people, or Religious men vse to pray. And a little way from these Idols stand two Idols more made naked as a man is in all parts, not to be discerned, euen as though he were aliue, hauing before them Candles burning, as small as a straw, and burne without a flame only in an Ember or Corall.

Their seruice or singing in these Churches is thus. They haue two Trumpets of a great length, about two fathomes and an halfe long, and when they sound on these Trumpets, and beate vpon Drummes, the people fall downe vpon their knees and clap their hands againe, casting their armes asunder, they fall to the ground and lye so halfe an houre. Their Churches are couered with glazed Tiles. As for bread in the Land of *Mugalla* there groweth all manner of Graine, as *Prosse*, or *Russe* Rice, Wheate, Oates, Barley, and all sorts of other Graine in abundance, and their Wheate bread is as white as Snow. As for Fruit in *Mugalla* they haue of all sorts, as Apples, Melons, Arbutles, Pompeons, Cherries, Lemons, Cucumbers, Onions, Garlicke. The men are not faire, but the women exceeding faire, and weare for their Apparell, Veluets and Damasks, the Capes of their Garments both of the men and women hang downe to their shoulders. They distill *Aquanitz* out of all sorts of Graine, without Hops. As for Precious Stones and Gold they haue none, but for Siluer they haue great store out of *Catay*. Their Boots they weare of their

* Such are the Tartars dwellings or fleecings; rather with their beasts.

Their Iournall; or daily Iourneyes from place to places Huge Lake.

King *Altine*. *Vlusses*, or Tartarian Hords.

Yellow *Mugalls* or Mead. Tartars. *Mugalla*, or Tartaria Orientalis from *Baghar* in *Bactria* to the Sea.

Their buildings.

Friers. Idols.

Candles.

Candle burning without flame. Rites of Religion.

Cornie.

Fruits. People and attyre.

Distilled wine.

Cutuffs, or Patriarkes,

Lobas, or Friers
Contincencie,
shaping.

Three King-
domes.
Ortus.

Talguth.

Shar.

Blacke Mongols,
or Cara Catay.
Shrokalgā in
Catay.
Walls of Catay.

Tower-becons

Cara Catay.

But five gates
in the wall.

Shirocalga.

Short Ord-
nance.

Tara.

Tayth.

owne fashion. They haue no Horses, only Mules & Asses in abundance; they till and plough their ground with great and small Ploughes, as we doe in *Siberia* at *Tobolsko*. Their *Cutuffs* are in our Language Patriarkes, and both in *Mugalla* and *Catay* are but two *Cutuffs*; the one was about twentie, and the other thirtie yeeres of age. Within the Churches are made for them high places with seats whereupon they sit: the King doth honour them with bowing downe before them. Their *Lobas* are in our Language Friers, which are shorne about twentie yeeres of age, and know no women from their Mothers wombe, they eate flesh continually euery day, and haue both Beards and Mustachoes: their Garments are of Damaske of all sorts and colours, and their Hoods yellow, they say that their Religion and ours are all one, only the *Russe* Monkes are blacke, and theirs white.

Beyond the Land of *Mugalla* are three other Countreyes or Dominions, stretching towards *Bughar*, the one called *Ortus*, the Kings name there is *Enakan*, the Citie is of stone, and the Kingdome rich.

The other is called Dominions of *Talguth*, the Kings name is *Sanelanche*, his Cities are also of stone, and his Kingdome rich.

The third Countrey where the chiefe Citie is, is called *Shar*, and the King thereof is called *Zellezney*, or Iron King, his Kingdome is rich, and not farre from *Bughar*. From this Iron King come Diamonds, and all these three Kingdomes are vnder the South, and on the other side of the blacke *Mugalls* are the yellow *Mugalls*, stretching all alongst the Sea, aswel Townes as walking people, with their Families and Herds.

From the Countrey of *Mugalla*, where the Dutchesse *Manchika* dwelleth, to the Citie of *Shrokalgā* in *Catay*, is two dayes trauell on horsebacke: and the bordering or frontier wals stand vnder the South towards *Bughar*, two moneths trauell, all made of Bricke of fiftene fathome high, whereupon they told about a hundred Towres in sight, on both sides of them, but towards *Bughar*, and towards the Sea, the Towres are not to bee numbred, and euery Towre standeth from another about a flight shot distant. The said wall stretcheth downe towards the Sea foure moneths trauell. The people of *Catay* say, that this wall stretcheth alongst from *Bughar* to the Sea, and the Towres vpon it stand very thicke; it was made, as they say, to be a border betweene *Mugalla* and *Catay*. The Towres vpon it are to the end, that when any enemy appeareth, to kindle fires vpon them, to giue the people warning to come to their places where they are appointed vpon the wall. At the entring without the wall dwell the blacke *Mugalls*; and within is the Countrey and Cities of *Catay*. In the wall to *Catay* are five gates, both low, and straight or narrow, a man cannot ride into them vpright on horse-backe, and except these five gates there is no more in all the wall; there all manner of people passe into the Citie of *Shrokalgā*.

Within the borders or wall is a Citie or Castle of *Catay*, called *Shirocalga*, built of stone, the Gouvernour thereof is called Duke *Shubin*, who is sent thither for a time from *Tambur* King of *Catay*, the Castle is very high walled and artificially built; the Towres are high after the manner of *Mosco* Castle, in the Loope-holes or Windowes are Ordnance planted, as also vpon the Gates or Towres; their Ordnance is but short, they haue also great store of small shot, and the Watchmen euery-where vpon the Gates, Towres, and Wals, well appointed; and asloone as they perceiue the Sunne going downe, the Watch dischargeth their Peeeces of Ordnance thrice, as also at the breake of day in the morning, they shoot out of their Pieces thrice, and doe not open the Castle Gates till the sixt houre of the day. Within the Castle are shops built of stone, and painted cunningly with diuers colours, wherein they haue all manner of Merchandizes, as Veluets, Damaskes, Dorogoes, Taffataes, Cloth of Gold, and Tissue of diuers colours, sundry sorts of Sugars, Cloues, &c. in the Gouvernours house is a strong Watch of *Partisans* and Halberds, and their Drummes made like great Barrells. When the Gouvernour goeth abroad, they carry a Canopie ouer him, and make way before him with Rods, as before our Emperour in *Mosco*.

And from *Shirocalga* to the Citie *Tara* is three dayes trauell: this Citie is large, built of stone, and the circuit of it is two dayes trauell, with many Towres, and foure Gates to come in at, the Markets in the Citie are well and richly accommodated, with Iewels, Merchandizes, Grocerie, or Spices, the Citie well inhabited hauing no place void or waste in it. The houses and shops are built with stone, with streets betweene; the Gouvernours here are called Duke *Bym* and Duke *Iuchake*, heere they haue Post Stages as wee, their Markets haue a very odoriferous smell with Spices.

And from this Citie, to a Citie called *Tayth*, is three dayes iourney, it is built of stone, large, and high walled, & is in compasse two daies trauel about, at the first comming to it are five gates barred and bolted with Iron, very thicke and close, fastned with Nails; the houses and shops, or Ware-houses are all built of stone, wherein are all manner of Merchandizes, Spices, or Grocerie, and precious things more abundant then in the aforesaid Cities, they haue Tauernes or Drinking houses stored with all manner of Drinkes, as *Aquanita*, Meade, and Wines from beyond Seas in abundance, there they haue also their Watch, Ordnance, and Munition in great store; the Gouvernours of this place are one Duke *Taga*, and the other Duke *Zumia*, there wee saw *Sinamon*, *Anniseeds*, *Apples*, *Arbuzes*, *Melons*, *Cucumbers*, *Onions*, *Garlicke*, *Radish*, *Carrets*, *Parse-*

Parfenips, Turnops, Cabbage, Limons, Poppiseeds, Nutmegs, Rice, Almonds, Pepper, Rubarbe, & many other Fruits, which we know not, so that they want nothing whatsoever groweth in the World; the shops are within the Citie, stored of all manner of Commoditie as is said, as also victualling and drinking Houses, stored with all manner of Drinkes, where they haue also Dicers and Whores, as with vs. Their Prisons in the Citie are of stone, for theft they hang the theeues, and for Robberie or Murther they stake the Murtherers, or else head them.

And from *Shirokaga* to a Citie of *Catay*, called *Shirooan* is a dayes iourney: this Citie is built of stone high walled, and large in compasse, it is a dayes trauell, it hath twelue Towres; whereupon, as also on the Citie Gates is planted Ordnance and small shot great store, with a continuall Watch or Guard, night and day, at the first comming are five Gates well furnished with Ordnance and Warlike Munition; and from one Gate to the other through the Citie is halfe a dayes going. The Gouvernour of this place is called Duke *Sanchik*. For Victuals and Merchandizes, here is more then in the Cities mentioned, all their shops very full, and the Citie so populous, that one can hardly passe the streets for the throng of people. The Ambassadors Houses are also faire built of stone, their Wels couered with Brasse, so that this Citie is adorned more with precious things then the former mentioned, and much more populous.

Now from the Citie of *Tayth*, to a Citie called *White Castle*, is two dayes trauell: this Citie is built of white stone, and thereof hath his name, it is high walled and large, being in compasse or circuit three dayes trauell, at the first entry it hath three Gates vnder one Towre, the Gates are high and wide with strong Iron barres: and the Gates fastened with Iron Nayles whited with Tinne, it hath great Ordnance in the Gates and Towres: some Peeeces carrying shot of two Poode waight, the shops within the Citie reach from Gate to Gate, and betweene them are streets paved with stone, all their shops and houses are built of stone before their shops. They haue grates painted cunningly, with all manner of colours, flowres and such like, and vpon the shops are the houses painted cunningly with Pictures and flowres in diuers colours, and the painting within is vpon Pastboard adorned with Damaske and Veluets; heere is more abundance of Riches and Commodities then in any of the Cities afore mentioned. The Gouvernours names here were Duke *Toyan*, and Duke *Sulan*.

From this white Citie, or Castle, to the greatest Citie of all *Cataya*, called *Catay*, is two dayes journey, where the King himselfe dwelleth, it is a very great Citie, built of white stone foure square, and in compasse it is foure dayes iourney, vpon every corner thereof are very great Towres high built, and white, and amongst the wall are very faire and high Towres, likewise white and intermingled with Blue or Azure, vpon the Gates, Wall, and Towres, the Loop-holes or Windowes are well furnished with Ordnance, and a strong Watch. In the midst of this white Citie standeth a Castle built of *Magnet*, or Load-stone, wherein the King himselfe dwelleth, called *Tambur*; this Castle standeth so in the midst of this Citie, that euery way you haue halfe a dayes going to it from the Gates, through the streets which hath stone shoppes on both sides with all manner of Merchandizes; vpon their shops they haue their houses built of stone, cunningly painted more then the former Cities. The Castle of *Magnet* is curiously set forth with all manner of artificiall and precious deuices, in the midst whereof standeth the Kings Palace, the top whereof is all gilt ouer with Gold. And they would not admit vs. to come before their King without Presents, saying, it was not the manner of *Catay*, to come before their King without some Present, and though (said they) your white Emperour had but sent with his first Ambassadors to our King some thing of no great value, our King would haue sent him many precious things, and dismissed you his Ambassadors honourably, and haue sent his Ambassadors with you: but now hee only endeth his Letter to your Emperour. The Citie of *Catay*, where the King dwelleth, is built vpon an euen plaine ground, and is incompassed round about with a Riuer called *Tonga*, which falleth into the blacke Sea, which is from the Citie *Catay* seven dayes trauell, so that there come no ships neerer the Citie *Catay*, then seven dayes trauell off, but all things are transported in small Vessels and ship-boats. The Merchandizes the King doth send into all parts of his Dominions of *Catay*, and from thence are carried ouer the borders, into the Land of *Mugalla*, to the King *Altine*, to the blacke *Kollmages*, to the Iron King, into *Boghar* and other Dominions, their Patriarkes and Friers, trauell with the Commodities, as Veluets, Sattens, Damasques, Siluer, Leopard Skinnes, Turkeffes, and blacke Zenders, for which they buy Horses, and bring them into *Catay*, for in *Catay* are but few horses, only Mules and Asses, and Cloth they haue none, their Horses and Siluer goeth into strange Countreyes, or as they say, *Nemisy*, the Siluer is made in Bricks, which they call *Krisy*, valued each *Krisy* at fiftie two Rubles, their Apparell they weare with long broad hanging sleeues, like the Gentlewomens Summer-coats or *Lettinks* in *Russia*, the people are very faire but not warlike, timorous & most their endeavour is in great and rich traffick. They told vs that not long before our comming, the people of *Mugalla* had taken two Castles from them by deceit, also

shortnesse of their iourney admits not. Perhaps this chiefe Citie was but the chiefe of that Prouince where the Vice-roy resided, and they were willing to make the most of their trauels *Russica* side. Yet the neerenesse of the Sea, there also causeth scruple. I suppose rather that these *Russes* entred *China* but a little way, and receiued the Vice-royes Letter only (there obserued with Regall Rites) and had much by Relation, of that little which they tell. How euer I haue here offered this to thy view at more leisure to vse thy more iudgement.

Yuu a

they

Shirooan

White Castle

Catay greatest Citie of *Catay*. If *Catay* be the same with *China* (as before in *Goes* and the *Iesuites* is obserued) many difficulties arise. But this *Russian* Relation and that of *Chaggy Memet* seeme to agree to place some *Catay*, North from *China*, if this did not speake of the wall. The *Tartar* names so differ from those of the *Portugalls*, that it is hard to reconcile them. And the *Iesuits* make foure moneths trauell from the wall to *Peking*, which is here but a few daies: except we say the *Russes* entred the wall at the North East part of it: which the

Merchants.

Kartalla River.
Ob.

they told vs that their King hath a stone which lighteth as the Sunne both day and night, called in their Language *Sarra*, and in our Tongue *Iachant*, or *Rubie*; another stone they say hee hath, which driueth away water from it, it is also called a *Rubie*. There come to them Strangers, or *Nemtsy*, every yeere, with all manner of Merchandizes, and barter for Deere Skinnies, and *Loshids*, *Sables*, *Beuers*, *Veluets*, *Taffataes*, and *Zendews*, or *Calico*; these strangers, they say, come to them out of the blacke Sea, from the East and the South, also, they say, there is a Riuer called *Kartalla*: which falleth into the great Riuer *Ob*; but they know neyther the head, nor the fall of it, they imagine it commeth out of the blacke Sea, and falleth into it againe, vpon this Riuer dwell many people with walking Herds.

For a triple testimony of Sir *Iohn Merikes* honourable courtesie, I haue added this succeeding Patent, which howsoeuer in some things it concurre with the former of *Boris* and *Demetrius*; Yet those being obscurely translated or written, this may illustrate them; and it also presenteth both larger Priuiledges, the Patriarkes name ioyned with the Emperours, and the Golden Seale.

WE the great Lord Emperour and great Duke Michael Pheodorowich of all Russia, sole Commander of Volodemir, Moisco, and Nouogrod, Emperour of Cazan, Emperour of Astracan, Emperour of Siberia, Lord of Plesco, and great Duke of Smolensky, Twensky, Vgorli-ky, Plermesky, Vatsky, Bolgorsky, and others; Lord and great Duke of Nouogrod, in the lower Countreyes, Cheringosky, Rahansky, Rostouskey, Yaraslauskyy, Belozersky, Vdorskey, Obdorsky, Condinsky, and of all the Northerne parts Commander, and Lord ouer the Country of Iuersky, and Caberdynland, Cherkaskey, and of the Dukedomes of Igorskey, and of many other Kingdomes, Lord and Conquerour. Together with the great Lord Philleret Neketich, the holy Patriarke and Head of the Reuerend Clergie of the Imperiall Citie of Mosco, and of all Russia by the flesh our naturall Father, and by the power of the Holy Ghost our Spirituall Pastor and Ghostly Father.

Whereas there was sent vnto us the great Lord Emperour, and great Duke Michael Pheodorowich of all Russia, and to our Father, the great Lord, the holy Patriarke of Mosco, and of all Russia, From our louing Brother James, by the grace of God, King of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland; and of many others his Maiesties Ambassadour Sir Iohn Merike, Knight and Gentleman of his Maiesties Priue Chamber, vpon both our Princely Affaires.

The said Sir Iohn Merike, in the name of our said louing Brother King James requested our Imperiall Maiestie, and our Father the great Lord, the holy Patriarke, to bee pleased graciously to fauour the English Merchants, to grant them leaue to come with their skippes vnto our Port and Hauens of Archangell, with all kind of Commodities, and freely to traffique from the Sea side, to our Imperiall Citie of Mosco, and to our Patrimonie of great Nouogrod and Plesco, and vnto all other our Cities, Townes, and Countreyes of our Empire, with all sorts of Commodities, without paying of Custome in as ample manner as formerly hath bene granted to the English Merchants, and that our Imperiall Maiestie, together with our deere Father the holy Patriarke, would be pleased to grant a new our gracious Priuiledges vnder our Princely Seale, according as our Predecessors Emperours, and great Dukes of all Russia, haue heretofore granted vnto them.

We therefore the great Lord Emperour, and great Duke Michael Pheodorowich of all Russia, sole Commander; together with our deere Father the holy Patriarke of Mosco, and of all Russia; for the loue we beare to our most louing Brother the great Lord King James, with whom wee are willing and desirous euer to remayne in the strongest bonds of brotherly loue and friendship, haue graciously granted to his Kingly Maiesties Subject the English Merchants; Sir Thomas Smith Knight, Sir Iohn Merike Knight, Sir Richard Smith Knight, Sir William Russell Knight, Sir George Bowles Knight, Hugh Hamerley Alderman, Ralph Freeman, Richard Wytch, Morris Abbot, Robert Bateman, William Stone, Rowland Healing, Iob Hanby, Richard Ironside, Edward James, Iohn Callen, Benjamin Deicrow, Fabyan Smith, and their fellowes free leaue to come with their skippes into our Kingdomes, into our Countreyes of Dweena, vnto the Port of Archangell, and from thence to our Imperiall Citie of Mosco, and of Nouogrod the Great, and vnto Plesco, and into all other the Cities of our Empire, to trade and traffique with all kind of Merchandizes, free of all Customes, as well the great Customes as Tole: vnlading of Vessels or Boats, passages through any place by water or Land entries, Head-money, Bridge-money, Ferryings, or any manner of Customes, or Duties whatsoever can be named.

The English Merchants being thus licensed to trade in our Kingdomes free of all customes for their owne commodities, shall neither colour nor sell strangers wares, as their owne; neither shall our people sell for them any of their goods, nor yet shall they keepe any of our people vnder their protection: and into what Cities the English Merchants themselves, or their Factors, or Seruants shall come with their goods, it shall be lawfull for them freely to traffique and sell their owne commodities, in barter, or otherwise against Commodities of our Countrey.

And whensoever the said Merchants shall come into our Patrimony of great Nouogrod and Plesco, or into any other the Cities of our Empire; wee straightly command our Nobles in generall, and all o-

ther

ther our authorized people, that according to this our Imperiall letters of priuiledge, they suffer the fore-
said Merchants to passe without all manner of hindrance or lets, & without taking any manner of custome
of them for themselves, or for their goods; and into what place soener they shall come, or passe with their
Merchandize, and shall not desire to buy nor sell with our people; those our authorized people shall free-
ly let them passe without taking any manner of customes, according to this our Imperiall gracious
priuiledge.

And wherefoener the English Merchants shall happen to sell or barter any of their commodities with
our Merchants, they are to barter and sell them in their owne house by grosse sale, and not by retale, in
small measure and weight, as by the yard, pound and ounce; that is to say, their Cloath by whole Cloathes
and Packs: Damaske and Veluets by the Peece; and all other wares that are to be sold by weight accor-
dingly. Also the Wines by the great, viz. by the Butt, the Pipe, the Hogthead, and by the Anne, and not by
small measure, as Veders or Pots.

And the said English Merchants are to sell and barter their owne Commodities themselves in our
Empire. But the Russe Merchants shall neither sell nor barter for them, neither shall the English
carry or transport to or from any place, any Wares belonging to other Strangers, by way of their
owne goods.

And if the said English Merchants shall be desirous to sell any of their commodities, at Colmogro,
or upon the River of Dwina, or at Vologda or Yereclaue, or other the Townes and Cities of our Empire,
they may sell at their pleasures; as likewise at their owne choise and pleasure, they may transport their
goods into all or any part of our Dominions, and hire Carriers, Boats, and men at such price as they them-
selves can agree.

Also when the English Merchants themselves, or any of their Factors, doe trauell out of our Do-
minions into their owne, or other forraigne Kingdomes, and that wee shall be pleased to deliuer them of
our Treasure, they shall take it with them, and sell, and barter it for such commodities as wee shall thinke
fit and necessarie for our use, and Treasury: our Gouvernours, and all other our Officers, in all our Ci-
ties and Dominions, shall suffer them and their people freely to passe without taking any custome of them:
but when the English Merchants haue done their trafficke, and are going from our Citie of Mosco, they
shall giue notice thereof unto the Chancellour of our Office of Ambassadors.

Further, when any English Merchants shall come with their Shippes and Vessels by Sea, into our Do-
minions, and that any misfortune happen unto them by shipwracke on any of our shoares or coasts, our Go-
uernours and Officers shall cause search to be made for their goods, and shall aide and helpe them faith-
fully therein, and the goods gathered together shall be restored to the English Merchants, who shall be
at that time in our Kingdomes; and if there shall be at that time none of the English Merchants, or
people in our Kingdomes, the said goods shall be taken and laid up in safety, and deliuered
without delay to the English Merchants when they shall come into our Countrey, and shall challenge
the same.

Further, of our gracious goodnesse, we gave free leaue to the English Merchants, and Company, to
keepe the house in Mosco by Saint Maxtime behinde the Market place, and shall remaine after their
old manner, and therein shall haue one housekeeper a Russe, or else one of their owne Seruants, but no
other Russe people: the houses which the English Merchants haue in other places of our Dominions, as
at Yereclaue, Vologda, Collm. and at Saint Michael Archangell, they shall keepe and use at their
pleasure, according to our former gracious fauour, without paying any duetie, rent, taxe, or any man-
ner of custome whatsoener: neither shall the people of the said Townes take any thing of them, or theirs,
for any duetie whatsoener belonging to their houses: and the said English Merchants shall enioy their
said houses peaceably to themselves, without the annoyance of any Stranger or other to lodge in them, whe-
ther in time of their being there, or in their absence.

And in their houses at Yereclaue, Vologda, Collmogro, and Archangell, they shall likewise haue a
housekeeper of their owne people, or of our Subiects, a man or two of the meaner sort; but so, that those
our people be no merchants.

Their Housekeeper being a Russe shall not undertake to meddle or sell any of their wares with-
out themselves be present, and they the English Merchants, by vertue of this our gracious Letters
of priuiledge, shall lay their wares and commodities in their owne houses, and sell them to whom
they please.

And it shall be lawfull for the said Merchants, when they shall arrine at our Sea Port, to lade and
unlade their Merchandizes, as in times past, at their pleasures: and when they lade or unlade their
Shippes, it shall be lawfull for them to hire any of our Subiects to helpe them, and shall haue leaue to
carry their goods to and fro with their owne Vessels, and house them in their owne Ware-houses: onely
they shall giue a note vnder their hand to our Gouvernours, Customers, or smorne men, what goods they
bring in, and Shippe out; Whereby it may be knowne what goods cometh in, and goeth out of our King-
domes: but in no wise our Officers shall open or unpacke any of their Wares or Merchandize in any place
wherefoener.

Also when the English Merchants shall Shippe or transport any of their Countrie Commodities from
Saint Michael Archangell, to our royall Citie of Mosco, or Russe Commodities into their owne Coun-
trie: our authorized Officers and Customers, by vertue of this our Imperiall Letters of priuiledge,
shall

shall suffer them to passe with their goods in and out, without doing them any manner of hindrance.

And whensoever any of the said English Merchants or Factors shall haue occasion to send ouerland, out of our Dominions, any of their people, or Seruants, into their owne Countreie ouerland, they shall freely passe by this our speciall command, onely they are to take a passe letter from our Chancellour of the Office of Embassie.

And whosoener in any of our Cities, shall haue any matter against the English Merchants by way of contention, we command that none of our Gouvernours, nor other of our Officers, doe iudge the English Merchants, their Factors or people: neither shall they send Officers for them, except for matter of murder or theft, and that also not to be done, but by manifest token thereof: but the English Merchants, their Factors and people, shall onely haue triall, and be iudged in our Imperiall Citie of Mosco, by vertue of this our gracious Letters of priuiledge, before our Chancellour in this Office of Embassie, and in no other place or Towne, and he to heare their causes, and to giue iustice betwene both parties, according to equitie and right: and where the truth cannot be found out by Law, it shall be referred to oath and lot, and on whom soener the lot falls, to him shall the right be adiudged.

And if any of the English Merchants, in any of our Cities within our Kingdomes, doe complaine of any wrong offered them by our people, for debts growing by trade or otherwise: we command our Gouvernours, and all other our authorisid people, that they presently minister true iustice unto them. And for any wrong or other matter of controuersie that the English Merchant shall haue against any of our Subiects, our Gouvernours and other our authorisid people upon their complaint for all controuersies (matters of debt excepted) shall giue our Subiects so offending upon suretie, setting them time to appeare at Mosco, to answere the same with the English Merchants, face to face, before our Chancellour, in the Office of Embassie: and in these matters our Chancellour shall truly examine the businesse, and minister true iustice: and what by examination cannot be found, shall be referred, as before, to oath and lot: the Iudges and Iustices through our Dominions shall take no kinde of duetie of the English Merchants for their matters of Law.

We will and command, that these our Imperiall gracious Letters of priuiledge, be strictly obserued in all points in all parts of our Dominions, and by all our Subiects, Gouvernours, Secretaries, and other Officers, without disobeying in any thing.

And whosoener shall not obey this our Princely and gracious Letters of priuiledge, but shall offer wrong to the English Merchants, those our Subiects shall be with vs in our high displeasure.

These our gracious Letters of priuiledges, are sealed with our Imperiall Seale of Gold, in our Princely Pallace of our Imperiall Citie of Mosco, in the yeare from the Worlds creation 7129. in the moneth of May, the eleuenth day.

Subscribed by our Imperiall Maiesties Chancellour of our Office of Embassie, and our priuie Chancellour Euan Corbatouefin Gramotin.

Sealed with
the Golden
Seale.

But it is now high time to leane Russia, and all that Barbarous shoare, of Samotees and Tartars: onely we will borrow helpe of some Barbarians to shippe vs thence to Sea. And although Finch, Gourdon, and others haue in the former Booke inserted so great light: yet seeing Master Marsh hath entered other guides, we will take Sea by Ob, and thence set forth on further discoueries.

CHAP. XII.

Notes concerning the discouery of the Riuer of Ob, taken out of a Roll, written in the Russian tongue, which was attempted by the meanes of ANTONIE

MARSH, a chiefe Factor for the Moscouie Company of England, 1584. with other notes of the North-east.



First he wrote a Letter from the Citie of Mosco, in the yeare 7092. after the Russe accompt, which after our accompt was in the yeare 1584. vnto foure Russes that vied to trade from Colmogro to Pechora, and other parts Eastward: whose answer was:

By writings receiued from thee, as also by reports, wee vnderstand thou wouldst haue vs seeke out the mouth of the Riuer Ob; which we are content to doe; and thou must giue therefore fiftie rubbles: it is requisite to goe to seeke it out with two Chimaes, or companies; and each Cochima must haue ten men: and wee must goe by the Riuer Pechora vpwards in the Spring, by the side of the Ice, as the Ice swimmeth in the Riuer, which will aske a fortnights time; and then we must fall into Onson Riuer, and fall downe with the streame before we come to Ob, a day and a night in the Spring. Then it will hold vs eight dayes to swimme idowne the Riuer Ob, before we come to the mouth: therefore send vs a man that can

How to finde
out Ob from
Pechora
Onson Riuer.

can write; and assure thy selfe the mouth of *Ob* is deepe. On the *Russe* side of *Ob* sojourne *Samoeds*, called *Ugorskai* & *Sibierskie*, *Samoeds*; and on the other side dwel another kinde of *Samoeds*, called *Monganei*, or *Mongaisky*, *Samoeds*. We must passe by five Castles that stand on the Riuer of *Ob*. The name of the first is *Tesuo Gorodok*, which standeth vpon the mouth of the Riuer *Paddou*. The second small Castle is *Nosoro-gorodok*, and it standeth hard vpon the side of *Ob*. The third is called *Necheionr-goskoy*. The fourth is *Charedmada*. The fift is *Nadesneaa*, that is to say, *The Castle of comfort, or trust*; and it standeth vpon the Riuer *Ob*, lowermost of all the former Castles toward the Sea.

Vgoriskai and Sibierskie.

Heretofore your people haue bin at the said Riuer of *Ob*s mouth with a Ship, and there was made shipwracke, and your people were slaine by the *Samoeds*, which thought that they came to rob and subdue them. The Trees that grow by the Riuer are Firres, and a kinde of white, soft and light Firre, which we call *Yell*. The bankes on both sides are very high, and the water not swift, but still and deepe. Fish there are in it as Sturgeons, and Cheri, and Pidle, and Nelma, a dainty fish like white Salmons, and Moucoun, and Sigi, and Sterlidi: but Salmons there are none. Not farre distant from the maine, at the mouth of *Ob*, there is an *Island*, whereon resort many wilde beasts, as white Beares, and the Morfes, and such like. And the *Samoeds* tell vs, that in the winter season, they oftentimes finde there *Morfes* teeth. If you would haue vs travell to seeke out the mouth of *Ob* by Sea, we must goe by the Isles of *Vaygats*, and *Noua Zembla*, and by the Land of *Matpheone*, that is, by *Matthewes Land*. And assure thy selfe that from *Vaygats*, to the mouth of *Ob*, by Sea, is but a small matter to sayle. Written at *Pechora*, the yeare 7092. the twenty one of February.

A shipwracke at the mouth of *Ob*.

An *Island* neere the mouth of *Ob*.

The way to discover *Ob* by Sea
Matpheone or Matthewes land
After our stile 1584.

Master MARSH also learned these distances of places and Ports, from Caninos to Ob by Sea.

FROM *Caninos* to the Bay of *Medemsky* (which is somewhat to the East of the Riuer *Pechora*) is seuen dayes sayling. The Bay of *Medemsky* is ouer a day and a halfe sayling. From *Medemsky* *Sanorost* to *Carareca*, is fixe dayes sayling. From *Carska* Bay to the farthest side of the Riuer *Ob*, is nine dayes sayling. The Bay of *Carska* is from side to side, a day and a nights sayling.

Caninos.

Medemsky.
Carareca.
Carska.
Ob.

He learned another way by *Noua Zembla* and *Matfuschan Yar* to *Ob*, more North-eastward. From *Caninos* to the *Island* of *Colgoiene*, is a day & a nights sayling. From *Colgoiene* to *Noua Zembla* are two dayes sayling. There is a great *Osera* or Lake vpon *Noua Zembla*, where wonderfull store of Geese and Swannes doe breede, and in moulting time cast their feathers, which is about Saint *Peters* day: and the *Russes* of *Colmogro* repaire thither yearly, and our *English* men venture thither with them seuerall shares in money: they bring home great quantitie of Doune-Feathers, dried Swannes, and Geese, Beares skinned, and Fish, &c. From *Naromske* *Reca* or Riuer to *Matfuschan Yar*, is fixe dayes sayling. From *Matfuschan Yar* to the *Peronologli* *Teupla*, that is to say, To the warme passage ouer-land, compassing or sayling round about the Sands, is thirteene dayes sayling: And there is vpon the Sands at a full Sea, seuen fathomes water, and two fathomes at a low water. The occasion of this highing of the water, is the falling into the Sea of the three Riuers, and the meeting of the two Seas, to wit, *The North Sea*, and *The East Sea*, which make both high water and great Sands. And you must beware that you come not with your Shippe neere vnto the *Island* by the Riuer *Ob*. From *Matfuschan Yar* to this *Island*, is five dayes sayling. *Matfuschan Yar* is in some parts fortie Versts ouer, and in some parts not past six Versts ouer.

Caninos.

Colgoiene.
Noua Zembla.

Naromske.

Matfuschan Yar.

The Sands.

The two Seas that is, the North and the East Sea.

The signes of the Cliffe or Isle of *Matfuschan*.

The aforesaid *Anthonie Marsh* sent one *Bodan* his man, a *Russe* borne, with the aforesaid foure *Russes*, and a yong youth, a *Samoed*, which was likewise his Seruant, vpon the discouery of the Riuer of *Ob*, by Land, through the Countrey of the *Samoeds*, with good store of commodities to trafficke with the people. And these his Seruants made a rich Voyage of it, and had bartered with the people about the Riuer of *Ob*, for the valew of a thousand rubles in fables, and other fine Fures. But the Emperour hauing intelligence of this Discouery, and of the way that *Bodan* returned home by, by one of his chiefe Officers lay in waite for him, apprehended him, and tooke from him the aforesaid thousand Markes worth of Sables, and other Merchandises, and deliuered them into the Emperours Treasurie, being sealed vp, and brought the poore fellow *Bodan* to the Citie of *Mosco*, where he was committed to prison, and whipped, and there detained a long while after, but in the end released. Moreover, the Emperours Officers asked *Anthonie Marsh*, how he durst presume to deale in any such enterprife: To whom he answered, that by the priuiledges granted to the *English* Nation, no part of the Emperours Dominions were exempted from the *English* to trade and trafficke in: with which answer, they were not so satisfied, but that they gaue him a great checke, and forfeited all the aforesaid thousand Markes worth of goods, charging him not to proceede any further in that action: whereby it seemeth they

Anthonie Marsh sent two of his men vpon the discouery of *Ob* by land with foure *Russes*.
Bodan Master *Marsh* his man brought to *Mosco*.

Russian ielousie of discouery

they are very iealous that any Christian should grow acquainted with their Neighbours that border to the North-east of their Dominions, for that there is some great secret that way, which they would referue to themselves onely. Thus much I vnderstood by Master Christopher Holmes.

The report of Master FRANCIS CHERRY a Moscouie Merchant, and
Master THOMAS LYNDES touching a warme Sea to the
South-east of the Riuer Ob, and a Note of
FRANCIS GAULLE.

A warme Sea
beyond Ob.

Master Thomas
Linde.

After Francis Cherry, one of the chiefe Merchants of the Moscomy Companie, which was the Emperour Iuan Basiluich his Interpreter, and hath trauielled in person into Permia farre to the East in Russia, saith, That he hath eaten of the Sturgeon that came out of the Riuer of Ob. And that in those parts it is a common receiued speech of the Russes that are great traual- lers; that beyond Ob to the South-east there is a warme Sea. Which they expresse in these words in the Russe tongue; *Za Obyreca moria Teupla*, that is to say, *Beyond the Riuer Ob is a warme Sea*. Furthermore, Master Thomas Lynde an honest and discreet English Merchant, which hath likewise liued many yeeres in those parts of Moscomy, saith, That this Sea beyond Ob, is by the report of the Russes, that are traualers, so warme, that all kinde of Sea fowles liue there as well in the Winter as in the Summer, which report argueth, that this Sea pierfeth farre into the South parts of Asia.

Third Volume
of English voy-
ages, pag 446.

Francis Gaulle that passed the Ocean betweene Japan and Nona Hispania, in the Latitude of 37. degrees and a halfe, writeth thus. Prouing a great Sea to come from the North-east parts of Tartarie; running thus East and East and by North about three hundred leagues from Japan, we found a very hollow water, with the streame running out of the North and North-west, with a full and very broad Sea, without any trouble or hinderance in the way that we past. And what winde soeuer blue, the Sea continued all in one sort with the same hollow water and streame, vn- till we had passed seuen hundred leagues. About two hundred leagues from the Coast of New Spaine we began to lose the said hollow Sea, whereby I perswade my selfe that there you shall finde a Channell or strait passage betweene the firme Land of New Spaine and the Countrie of Asia and Tartaria. We found all this way Whales, Tunnies, Bonitos, which are fishes that keepe in Channels, Straits, and running Waters, there to disperse their seede, which further con- firmeth me in that opinion.

See of these
voyages. Hak.
Tom. I.

But seeing thus we are shipped from Russia, and haue againe taken Sea, that which Ice permitted not to Stephen Burrough, Pet and Iackman, nor others, English and Dutch, which haue attempted that North-east passage; and that which Master Bassin said to me, that if he might haue employment, he would aduenture to discover from the Coast of China and Japan on the North of Asia hitheward; all this shall be suddenly pernious to our swifter and vnstayable thoughts, to set vs in a new discovery by Danish and English assistance for a North-west passage, so often, not so fortunately attempted, as by Reason it seemeth probable and almost certaine, especially that way where Sir Th. Button and Nelson left. But we will discover these Discoveries more methodically and historically to you, that you may see the English ancient right, as I may say, to those parts of the new World.

CHAP. XIII.

Discoveries made by English-men to the North-west: Voyages of Sir SEBAS-

TIAN CABOT, Master THORNE, and other Ancients:
and of Master WHEYMOUTH.



WE haue before giuen some light of the North-west, in Hudsons and other mens Voyages. The desire of Riches in some, of Knowledge in others, hath long whet- ted mens industries, to finde out a more compendious way to the East Indies, by a shorter cut then the vsuall passage, which in going to the places of principall Trade there, and the returning thence by enforced compassings, is made no lesse a Voyage for time, cost, danger and labour, then the immediate compassing of the whole Globe, as in Master Candishes circumnauigation (not to mention others) is euident. But if either by the North-east, or North-west, or North, a passage be open, the sight of the Globe (the Image of the site of the World) easily sheweth with how much ease, in how little time and expence the same might be effected, the large Lines or Meridians vnder the Line containyng fixe hundred miles,

con-

contracting themselves proportionably as they grow neerer the Pole, where that vast Line and Circumference it selfe becomes (as the whole Earth to Heauen, and all earthly things to heauenly) no Line any more, but a Point, but Nothing, but Vanitie. Hence such laborious searches from *Columbus* his first discoverie (that also occasioned by a conceit of finding the East by the West, whereupon he named *Hispaniola* *Ophir*, thinking he had then arrived at the East Indies) especially the *English*, seated commodiously for that discoverie, and to reigne ouer the Northerne and Westerne Ocean, haue herein beene more then industrious.

Doctor *Powell* in his historie of *Wales* saith, that *Madoc* sonne of *Owen* *Gwyneth* left the Land in contention betwixt his brethren, and prepared certaine ships with men and munition, and sought adventures by Sea, sayling West, and leauing the Coast of *Ireland* so farre North, that hee came vnto a Land unknowne, where he saw many strange things. There hee left many of his people An. 1170. and returned for more of his owne Nation and Friends to inhabite that large Countrey, going the second time thither with ten sailes. This westerne Land is like to be some part of the West Indies, though the vniuersall sauagenes of those parts make it questionable where. But he which seeth how some of our *English* in small time haue growne wilde in *Ireland*, and become in language and qualities *Irish*, few of whom doe in exchange become ciuized and *English* (euen as healthfull men are easier infected in a contagious aire, then sicke men recovered in that which is wholesome and sound) will not wonder that in so many Ages the halfe ciuized *Welsh*, amongst *Barbarians*, without succession of Priests and entercourse of these parts, might wholly put on fentie. *Meredith* ap *Rise* a *Welsh* Poet, which liued before *Columbus* had begun his discoverie, hath these verses.

Madoc wyf, myedic wedd, lawn Genan, Owyn Gwynedd
Ni finnum dir, fy enaid oedd Na da Mawr, ond y moroedd. that is.

Madoc I am the sonne of *Owen* *Gwynedd*, With stature large and comely grace adorned,
No lands at home nor store of wealth me please, My mind was whole to search the Ocean seas.

Columbus also sent his brother *Bartholomew* to King *Henrie* the seuenth, to make offer of his seruice in the New-Worlds discoverie, which fell by the way into the hands of *Pirats*, whereupon pouertie assaulted him with sicknesse in a forraine Countrey, so that hee was forced to get somewhat about him by making of Maps: one whereof had this more ancient then elegant inscription.

*D. F. Colon de vis-
ta patris Chri-
stop. Col. c. 13.*

*Ianna cui patria est, nomen cui Bartholomaeus
Columbus de Terra Rubra, opus edidit istud
Londonijs An. Domini 1480. atq; insuper anno
Octauo decimae, die cum tertia mensis
Februarij. Landes Christo cantentur abunde.*

Whose Countrey *Genna* is, whose name *Bartholomew*
Colon de Terra Rubra, this worke set forth new
At London, A thousand foure hundred eightie
Februarie thirteenth, sing praise to *Christ* on height.

One of these Maps hee presented to King *Henrie* with the said offer, who cheerfully accepted the same, and sent to call his brother into *England*, who before he could effect it, was imployed by the Kings of *Castile*.

Columbus his fortunes awakned others industrie, amongst the rest *Iohn Cabota* a *Venetian*, and his three sonnes *Lewis*, *Sebastian*, and *Sancius*, who obtayned a Patent of King *Henrie* the seuenth for discoverie with five ships with *English* Masters, Mariners, and Colours also, the same to erect in whatsoever Lands vnkowne before to Christians, to hold the same to them and their Heires as Vassals and Lieutenants to the Crowne of *England*, paying the fifth part of their gaine at *Bristol*, &c.

See Hak. tom. 3.
pag. 5.

In the yeere 1497. *Iohn Cabot* a *Venetian*, and *Sebastian* his sonne (these are the wordes of the great Map in his Maiesties priue Gallerie, of which *Sebastian Cabot* is often therein called the Author, and his Picture is therein drawne, with this Title, *Effigies Sebast. Caboti Angli, filij Io. Ca. Venetiani, Militis Aurati, &c.*) discovered that Land which no man before had attempted Jun. 24. about five in the morning. This Land he called *Prima vista* (primum visam, or first seene) because that was first descried from Sea. That lland which lyeth out before the land, he called *Saint Iohns* lland, because on that feast day it was discovered. The Inhabitants weare beasts skins and as much esteeme them, as we doe garments most precious. In their warres, they vse Bowes, Arrowes, Pike, Darts, Clubs of wood and Slings. The soile is barren in some places and yeeldeth little fruit, but it is full of white Beares and Stags of vnusnall greatnesse. It aboundeth with Fishes and those great, as Seales and Salmones; Soles also an elle long. Especially there is great store of those fishes which they call commonly *Bacallaos*. There breed also Hawkes as blacke as Ravens, Partridges and blacke Eagles.

This Map,
some say, was
taken out of
Sir Seb. Cabots
Map by Clem.
Adams 1549.

Thus wee see New-found Land discovered by *English* Ships, Mariners and iurisdiction. Sir *Sebastian Cabot*, for his *English* breeding, conditions, affection and aduancement, termed an *English* man, thus reported of this voyage; That vpon occasion of the admiration of *Columbus* his voyage into the East, where Spices grew, by the West, so rife then in the Court of King *Henrie* the seuenth, there arose in his heart a great desire to attempt some notable thing. And vnder-

Ramus. Tom. 2.

See Hak. Tom. 3.
pag. 7.

standing

All the Coast
to Florida dis-
covered by the
English: from
67. deg. 30. min.
as he writ to
Ramusio, R. pre-
fat. Tom. 3.
as likewise he
was cause of
the Russian and
Greenland dis-
coveries.

See sup. l. 2. c. 1.

W. Purchas.

Thorne and Eliot
first finders of
America.

standing by the Sphere (saith he) that if I should saile by the North-west, I should by a shorter Tract come into *India*; I thereupon caused the King to be aduertised of my deuise; who immediately commanded two Caruels to bee furnished with all things appertayning to the Voyage; which was, as farre as I remember, in the yeere 1496. in the beginning of Summer. I beganne therefore to saile toward the North-west, not thinking to find any other Land then that of *Cathay*, and from thence to turne toward *India*. But after certaine dayes I found that the Land turned toward the North, which was to me a great displeasure. Neuerthelesse, sayling along by the Coast to see if I could finde any Gulfe that turned, I found the Land still continent to the 56. degree vnder our Pole. And seeing that there the Coast turned toward the East, despayning to finde the passage, I turned backe againe, and sayled downe by the Coast of that Land toward the Equinoctiall (euer with intent to finde the said passage to *India*) and came to that part of this firme land, which is now called *Florida*; where my victuals sayling I returned towards *England*; the tumults and preparations of warres against *Scotland* caused that then no more consideration was had to this voyage. Whereupon I went into *Spaine*, &c. By the King and Queene there he was set forth and discovered the Riuer of *Plate*, and sayled into it more then fixe score-leagues. After this he made many other voyages, &c. Sir *Seb. Cabot* was after by King *Edward* the sixth constituted grand Pilot of *England* with the annuall stipend of one hundred and sixtie six pounds thirteene shillings and foure pence, and was Author of the *Russian* and North-easterne discoveries. *Fabian* in his Chronicle *A. R. Hen. 7. 14.* hath this testimonie. This yeere also were brought vnto the King three men taken in the New-found Land, in *William Purchas* time being Major. These were clothed in beafts skins, and did eate raw flesh, and spake such speech that none could vnderstand them, and in their demeanour like to brut beafts, whom the King kept a long time after. Two yeeres after I saw two of them at *Westminster*, apparelled like *English*, &c.

Master *Robert Thorne* writes, that his Father and Master *Hugh Eliot* a Merchant of *Bristol*, were the first discoverers of New-found Land: and if the Mariners would haue bene ruled and followed their Pilots minde, the West *Indies* had bene ours: so that it seemeth this Discoverie was before that of *Columbus*. Master *Hakluyt* hath published the particulars of these things more fully, as also diuers Treatises touching the North-west of Sir *Humphrey Gilbert* and others: to which I referre the Reader; and no lesse for the Voyages made by diuers *English* into those parts: three by Sir *Martin Frobisher*, in the yeeres 1576, 77, and 78. Two of Captaine *Iohn Davies*, in 86, and 87. that of Master *Hore*, *An. 1536.* that of Sir *Humphrey Gilbert*, 1583. that of Master *Charles Leigh* to *Ramen*, *An. 1597.* and before in 1593. that of *George Drake*; with those of *Iaques Cartier*, and diuers others. My purpose is not to steale Master *Hakluyt*'s labours out of the World, by culling and fleecing them for our purpose, but by this *Index* to instruct men where they may haue festiuall store in this kinde. I had rather giue you new things. Such are to the World, these that you had before in *Hudsons* voyages set together, as also those of *Greenland*: and such are those of *Waymouth*, *Knight*, *Hall*, *Bassin*, &c. And first, as Foreman of our Quest, we will giue you Sir *Humphrey Gilbert*'s Letter, written with his owne hand from *New-found Land*, whereof he tooke formall possession to the Crowne of *England*, and was as a Martyr of those Discoveries. It was written to Sir *George Peckham* (a great Aduenturer in that voyage, and a greater in one of longer life, his written Treatise of Westerne planting, extant in Master *Hakluyt*'s third Tome) and I haue here inserted, it being hitherto vnprinted, as a memorial of both their worths; and after it (though in time before) wee will recreate you with a plaine Mariners Letter endorfed in homely phrase, To the Honorable Kings Grace of *England*, here (as I thinke) giuen you from the Originall. I haue also another written to Cardinall *Wolsey* touching the same voyage in Latin, by *Albertus de Prato*; for the antiquitie, rather then any remarkable raritie, worthy here to be mentioned.

Sir George, I departed from *Plymouth* on the eleventh of *Iune* with fine sailes, and on the thirteenth the Barke *Rawley* ran from me in faire and cleere weather, hauing a large winde. I pray you sollicite my brother *Rawley* to make them an example of all *Knaues*. On the third of *August* wee arrived at a Port called *Saint Iohns*, and will put to the Seas from thence (God willing) so soone as our ships will be ready. Of the New-found Land I will say nothing, vntill my next Letters. Be of good cheare, for if there were no better expectation, it were a very rich demaynes, the Country being very good and full of all sorts of victuall, as fish both of the fresh water and Sea-fish, Deere, Pheasants, Partridges, Swannes, and diuers Fowles else. I am in haste, you shall by euery Messenger heare more at large. On the fifth of *August*, I entred here in the right of the Crowne of *England*; and haue engrauen the Armes of *England*, diuers Spaniards, Portugals, and other strangers, witnessing the same. I can stay no longer; fare you well with my good Lady: and be of good cheare, for I haue comforted my selfe, answerable to all my hopes. From *Saint Iohns* in the New-found Land, the 8. of *August*, 1583.

Yours wholly to command, no man more,

H. M. GILBERT.

I mer-

I mentioned before Master *Thornes* fathers finding *New-found Land*, with Master *Ellier*. These animated King *Henrie* the eight to set forth two ships for discouerie, one of which perished in the North parts of *New-found Land*. The Master of the other, *John Rut*, writ this Letter to King *Henrie*, in bad *English* and worse Writing. Quer it was this superscription.

Master *Grubbs* two ships departed from *Plymouth* the 10. day of *Iune*, and arrived in the *New-found Land* in a good Harbour, called *Cape de Bas*, the 21. day of *Iuly*: and after we had left the light of *Selle*, we had neuer sight of any Land, till we had sight of *Cape de Bas*.

10 PLeasing your Honorable Grace to beare of your seruant *John Rut*, with all his Company here, in good health, thanks be to God, and your Graces ship. The *Mary* of *Gilford*, with all her crew: thanks be to God: And if it please your honorable Grace, we ranne in our course to the Northward, till we came into 53. degrees, and there we found many great Ilands of Ice and deepe water, we found no sounding, and then we durst not goe no further to the Northward for feare of more Ice, and then we cast about to the Southward, and within foure dayes after we had one hundred and sixtie fathom, and then wee came into 52. degrees and fell with the mayne Land, and within ten leagues of the mayne Land we met with a great Iland of Ice, and came hard by her, for it was standing in deepe water, and so went in with *Cape de Bas*, a good Harbor, and many small Ilands, and a great fresh Riuer going vp farre into the mayne Land, and the mayne Land all wildernesse and mountaines and woods, and no naturall ground but all mosse, and no inhabitation nor no people in these parts: and in the woods wee found footing of diuers great beasts, but we saw none not in ten leagues. And please your Grace, the *Samson* and wee kept company all the way till within two dayes before wee met with all the Ilands of Ice, that was the first day of *Iuly* at night, and there rose a great and a maruailous great storme, and much foule weather; I trust in *Almightie Iesu* to beare good newes of her. And please your Grace, we were considering and a writing of all our order, how we would wash vs and what course wee would draw and when God does send foule weather, that with the *Cape de Sper* shee should goe, and he that came first should tarry the space of sixe weeks one for another, and watered at *Cape de Bas* ten dayes, ordering of your Graces ship and fishing, and so departed toward the Southward to seeke our fellow: the third day of *August* we entered into 30 a good Hauens, called *Saint Iohn*, and there we found eleuen saile of *Normans*, and one *Brittaine*, and two *Portugall* Barkes, and all a fishing, and so we are readie to depart toward *Cape de Bas*, and that is twentie fine leagues, as shortly as we haue fished, and so along the coast till we may meete with our fellow, and so with all diligence that lyes in me toward parts to that Ilands that we are commanded by the grace of God, as we were commanded at our departing: And thus *Iesu* saue and keepe your honorable Grace, and all your honourable Reuer. in the Hauens of *Saint Iohn*, the third day of *August*, written in haste. 1527.

By your seruant *John Rut*, to his vttermost power.
of his power.

40 I haue by me also *Albert de Prato's* originall Letter, in *Latin stile*, almost as harsh as the former *English*, and bearing the same date, and was indorsed; Reuerend. in Christo Patri Domino Domino Cardinali & Domino Legato Anglia: and began, Reuerendissime in Christo Pater salutem. Reuerendissime Pater, placeat Reuerendissima paternitati vestra, scire, Deo fauente postquam eximus a Plemut qua fuit x. Iunij &c. (the substance is the same with the former, and therefore omitted) Datum apud le Baya, Saint Iohan in Terris Nouis, die x. Augusti, 1527. Reuer. Patr. vest. humilis seruus, *Albertus de Prato*. (the name written in the lowest corner of the sheet.)

50 The voyage of Captaine *GEORGE WEYMOUTH*, intended for the discouerie of the North-west Passage toward *China*, with two flye Boates.

ON Sunday the second day of *May*, 1602. in the afternoone, I weighed anchor and set saile from *Redcliffe* with two Fly-boates, the one called the *Discouery*, of seuentie Tunnes; and the other called the *God speed*, of sixtie Tunnes, to discouer the North-west passage, hauing in my ships fve and thirtie men and boyes, throughly victualled and abundantly furnished with all necessities for a yeere and an halfe, by the right Worshipfull Merchants of the *Mosconie* and *Turkie* Companies: who for the better successe of the voyage provided mee of a great traualer and learned Minister one Master *John Cartwright*. The Master vndermee in the *Discouery* was one *William Cobreth*, a skilfull man in his profession; and in the *God speed*, one *John Drewe*, and Mate in the said ship one *John Lane*.

The first of *Iune*, we descried *Bughamnes* in the Latitude of 57. degrees. The second day we saw the Point of *Bughamnes* North-west from vs, being a very smooth land; and the land by

*Mosc. and Tur-
kie Compa-
nies.
Master Cart-
wright had bin
in Persia and
Turkie. See the
former Tome,
Bughamnes.*

by it to the Southward riseth with many Homocks. There lyeth a ledge of Rockes hard by the Nesse, in a sandie Bay faire by the shore. When we came neer the land, we met with a fisher Boat, and I agreed with one of the fisher men to carry me betweene the Isles of *Orkney*, because I was not acquainted with the coast. The fourth day, at ten of the clocke, wee descried the Isles of *Orkney*. Some of those Southerne Ilands are prettie high land; but the Northerne Iland, which is called the *Start*, is very low land. There is no danger, giuing the shore a good birth, vntlesse it be by the Norther point of the *Start*: there doth a ledge of Rockes lye a mile from the shoare.

Orkney. At noone I found my selfe to be in the latitude of 59. degrees and 30. minutes, the point of the *Start* bearing West: and at one of the clocke in the afternoone, we saw a faire Ile, which bare North-east and by North from vs: and at eight of the clocke at night, wee were North of the *Start*: Then I directed my course West and by North. The fifth day about ten of the clocke in the morning, we ranne some tenne leagues, and then we saw two small Ilands, some two leagues off: and at eight and nine of the clocke we saw foure or five Boats of Fisher-men, and spake with one of them, and they were *Scottish-men*. The sixt, in the morning fell much raine, and lasted till nine of the clocke: and at ten of the clocke it cleared vp, and became very faire weather, and very temperate and warme, and our course was West. The seauenth, the winde was at East and by North, faire weather, and our course West. The eight, at noone I obserued the Sunne, and found vs to be in 59. degrees and fortie seuen minutes, and we ran West South-west.

The Start. The twelfth day we held our course West, the winde at East North-east, with fogge in the morning: at noone I obserued the Sunne, and found my selfe in 57. degrees, and 55. minutes. The variation here was nothing at all. The thirteenth at noone, our course was West and by North, the winde at North-east, with fogge some three or foure houres, and then cleare againe: the ayre very warme, as in *England* in the moneth of May. The foureteenth was faire weather, and the winde at East North-east, and our course West and by North. The fifteenth much raine all the forenoone, our course West, the winde at East and by North. The sixteenth, the winde was at North North-east, with much raine, winde and fogge. In the forenoone, being very cold, and at noone, I obserued the Sun, and found vs to be in 57. degrees and 35. minutes: we found the variation to be eleuen degrees Westward; and by that meane I found my selfe to be one degree more to the Southward, then we should haue bin by our course; for we could not see the Sunne in 96. houres before this day at noone, and at our last obseruation before this, which was the twelfth day, we could not finde any variation at all. Then we stood close by a winde to the Westward, the winde being at North North-east. The seauenteenth wee ranne North and by West, the winde at North North-east, faire weather. This day we saw many gray Gullies, and some Pigi- ons. The eighteenth at noone I obserued the Sunne, and found our selues to be in the latitude of 59. degrees, and 51. minutes. And then we first descried a great Iland of Ice, which lay North from vs, as farre as we could ken it from the head of our maine topmast: and about two of the clocke in the afternoone, we saw the South part of *Groneland*, North from vs some ten leagues. As we coasted this Ice to the Northward, we found it to be a maine banke of Ice; for we saw the other end of it to beare West North-west from vs; the winde being at South South-west, little winde: Then we ranne West South-west, to cleere vs of the Ice. The nineteenth, the winde was at East South-east, with some small raine. The twentieth, our course was West North-west, the winde being at North and by East, little winde. This day sometimes we came into blacke water as thicke as puddle, and in sailing a little space the water would be cleare againe. Seeing this change of water, so often to be thick, and cleare againe so suddenly, we imagined it had bene shallow water: then we sounded, and could fetch no ground in one hundred and twenty fathomes: and the Sea was so smooth, that we could discerne no current at all. At this time I reckoned the *Cape of desolation* to beare North North-east twentie foure leagues from vs. The one and twentieth, the winde was variable. The two and twentieth, we were in the latitude of 60. degrees and 37. minutes: the winde being at West, wee ranne North and by West. The seauen and twentieth, the winde was at West South-west: then our course was North-west and by North, the weather faire and warme, as in *England*, in the moneth of May. This day we saw great store of Gullies, which followed our Ship sundry dayes.

Store of Gulls. The eight and twentieth, the winde being at North and by West, wee directed our course to the Westward; and about twelue of the clocke the same night, we descried the land of *America*, in the latitude of 62. degrees and 30. minutes; which we made to be *Warwick's* foreland. This Headland rose like an Iland. And when we came neere the *Foreland*, we saw foure small Ilands to the Northwards, and three small Ilands to the Southward of the same *Foreland*. The *Foreland* was high land: all the tops of the hils were couered with Snow. The three small Ilands to the Southward were also white, that we could not discerne them from Ilands of Ice: also there was great store of drift Ice vpon the Eastside of this *Foreland*: but the Sea was altogether voide of Ice: the Land did lye North and by East, and South and by West, being six leagues of length.

America descried in 62. degr. and 30. min. The nine and twentieth, at sixe of the clocke in the morning, wee were within three leagues of this *Foreland*: then the winde came vp at North-east and by East, a good stiffe gale with fogge,

fogge: and wee were forced to stand to the Southward, because wee could not wether the Land to the Northward: and as wee stood to the Southward along by *Warwicks Foreland*, we could discerne none otherwise, but that it was an Iland. Which if it fall out to be so, then *Lumleys Inlet*, and the next Southerly Inlet, where the great Current setteth to the West, must of necessitie be one Sea; which will be the greatest hope of the passage that way. The thirtieth, the winde was at North-east, with fogge and Snow. This day wee came into a great whirling of a Current, being in the latitude of 61. degrees, and about twelue leagues from the coast of *America*.

Warwicks Foreland supposed to be an Iland. The greatest hope of the North-west passage. A current Westward in fixtie one degrees.

The first day of Iuly, the winde was at West, with fogge and Snow; the ayre being very cold. 10 This day wee came into many Ouerfals, which seemed to runne a great current; but which way it did set, wee could not well discerne. The greatest likelihood was, that it should set to the West. But hauing contrary windes some fixteene or seenteene dayes, we alwayes lay in trauerse among these ouerfals; but could neuer finde any great current by our courses: wee sounded sometimes, but could get no ground in one hundred and twentie fathomes.

A current likely to set to the West.

The second day, wee descried a maine Banke of Ice in the latitude of 60. degrees: the winde was at North North-west, and very faire weather. Wee wanting fresh water did sayle close to this Land of Ice, and hoyed out our Boate, and loaded her twice with Ice, which made vs very good fresh water. Within twenty leagues of the coast of *America*, wee should oftentimes come into many great ouerfals. Which doth manifestly shew, that all the coast of *America* is broken Land.

A maine bank of Ice in 60. degrees. The North coast of *America* seemeth to be broken land.

The third, the winde was at South-west, very foggie: and as wee stood toward the coast of *America*, wee met with another maine Banke of Ice. The fogge was so thicke, that we were hard by the Ice, before wee could see it. But it pleased God that the winde was faire to put vs cleare from this Ice againe; and presently it began to cleare vp, so that wee could see two or three leagues off; but we could see no end of the Ice. Wee iudged this Ice to be some tenne leagues from the coast of *America*. We found the water to be very blackish and thicke, like puddle water.

Blacke puddle water.

The eight, the winde was at North North-west, very faire weather; wee standing to the 30 Westwards met with a mighty maine Banke of Ice, which was a great length and breadth, and it did rest close to the shoare. And at eleuen of the clocke in the forenoone, wee descried againe the Land of *America*, in the latitude of 63. degrees and 53. minutes, being very high Land: and it did rise as Ilands, the toppes being couered with Snow. This Land was South-west and by West, some fise leagues off vs: we could come no neerer it for the great quantitie of Ice, which rested by the shoare side.

America againe descried in 63. deg. 53. min.

The ninth, the winde being at North-east and by East, blew so extreame, that we were forced to stand to the Southward, both to cleare our selues of the Land, and of the Ice: for the day before we passed a great banke of Ice, which was some foureteene leagues to the Eastward of vs, when the storme began; but thanks be to God, we cleared our selues both of the Land 40 and of the Ice. This day in the afternoone the storme grew so extreame, that we were forced to stand along with our forecourse to the Southward.

The seenteenth was very foggie, the winde being at East: and about two of the clocke in the afternoone, wee saw foure great Ilands of Ice, of a huge bignesse: and about foure of the clocke we came among some small scattered Ice, and supposed our selues to be neere some great Banke. The fogge was very thicke, but the winde large to stand backe the same way wee came in; or else it would haue indangered our liues very much. And at nine of the clocke at night we heard a great noyse, as though it had bin the breach of some shoare. Being desirous to see what it was, we stood with it, and found it to be the noyse of a great quantity of Ice, which was very loathsome to be heard. Then wee stood North North-west, and the fogge continued so thicke, that wee could not see two Shippes length from vs: whereupon we thought 50 good to take in some of our sayles; and when our men came to hand them, they found our sayles, ropes, and tacklings, so hard frozen, that it did seeme very strange vnto vs, being in the chiefe time of Summer.

The loathsome noyse of Ice.

The eighteenth day, the winde was at North-east and by North, the ayre being very cleere and extreame cold, with an exceeding great frost; and our course was North-west. This day in the forenoone, when we did set our sayles, we found our ropes and tacklings harder frozen then they were the day before: which frost did annoy vs so much in the vsing of our ropes and sayles, that wee were enforced to breake off the Ice from our ropes, that they might runne through the blockes. And at two of the clocke in the afternoone, the winde began to blow very hard, with thicke fogge, which freezed so fast as it did fall vpon our sayles, ropes, and tackling, 60 that we could not almost hoyse or strike our sayles, to haue any vse of them. This extreame frost and long continuance thereof, was a maine barre to our proceeding to the Northward, and the discouraging of all our men.

Sayles, ropes and tackling frozen.

Thick fogge freezing as fast as it fell.

The nineteenth day, the winde was at North and by East, and our course to the Eastwards.

Xxx

The

Mutinie.

The same night following, all our men conspired secretly together, to beare vp the helme for England, while I was asleepe in my Cabin, and there to haue kept mee by force, vnill I had Iworn vnto them, that I would not offer any violence vnto them for so doing. And indeede they had drawn in writing, the causes of their bearing vp of the helme, and thereunto set their hands, and would haue left them in my Cabin: but by good change I vnderstood their pretence, and preuented them for that time.

The twentieth day, I called the chiefe of my Company into my Cabin, before Master *Iohn Cartwright* our Preacher, and our Master, *William Cobreth*, to heare what reasons they could alleadge for the bearing vp of the Helme, which might be an ouerthrow to the Voyage, seeing the Merchants had bin at so great a charge with it. After much conference, they deliuered mee their reasons in writing:

Concluding, that although it were granted, that we might winter betweene 60. and 70. degrees of latitude, with safetie of our liues and Vessels, yet it will be May next before we can dismore them, to lanch out into the Sea. And therefore if the Merchants should haue purpose to proceede on the discouerie of these North-west parts of America; the next yeare you may be in the aforesaid latitudes for England, by the first of May, and so be furnished better with men and victuals, to passe and proceede in the aforesaid action.

Seeing then that you cannot assure vs of a safe harbour to the Northward, wee purpose to beare vp the Helme for England; yet with this limitation, that if in your wisdom, you shall thinke good to make any discouery, either in 60. or 57. degrees, with this faire Northerly winde, we yeelde our liues with your selfe, to encounter any danger. Thus much we thought needefull to signifie, as a matter builded vpon reason, and not proceeding vpon feare or cowardise.

68. deg. 53. min

Then, wee being in the latitude of 68. degrees and 53. minutes: the next following, about eleuen of the clocke, they bare vp the Helme, being all so bent, that there was no meanes to periwade them to the contrary. At last vnderstanding of it, I came forth of my Cabin, and demanded of them, who bare vp the Helme? They answered me, One and All. So they hoysed vp all the sayle they could, and directed their course South and by West.

They returne
fro the North.Mutiners pu-
nished.

The two and twentieth, I sent for the chiefe of those, which were the cause of the bearing vp of the Helme, and punished them seuerely, that this punishment might be a warning to them afterward for falling into the like mutinie. In the end, vpon the intreatie of Master *Cartwright* our Preacher, and the Master, *William Cobreth*, vpon their submission, I remitted some part of their punishment. At twelue of the clocke at noone, wee came hard by a great Iland of Ice: the Sea being very smooth and almost calme, wee hoysed out the Boates of both our Shippes: being in want of fresh water, and went to this Iland to get some Ice to make vs fresh water. And as wee were breaking off some of this Ice (which was verie painefull for vs to doe; for it was almost as hard as a Rooke:) the great Iland of Ice gaue a mightie cracke two or three times, as though it had bin a thunder-clappe; and presently the Iland began to ouerthrow, which was like to haue sunke both our Boates, if wee had not made good haste from it. But thanks be to God, we escaped this danger very happily, and came aboard with both our Boates, the one halfe laden with Ice. There was great store of Sea Foule vpon this Iland of Ice.

A great Iland
of Ice cracked
like a thunder-
clap, and was
ouerthrowne.Great store of
Sea Foule vp-
on the Ice.An Inlet in 61.
degrees & 40.
minutes.

The five and twentieth and six and twentieth, the winde being at East, did blow a hard gale, and our course was West and by South, with fogge. This day in the afternoone I did reckon my selfe to be in the entering of an Inlet, which standeth in the latitude of 61. degrees and 40. minutes.

The returne out
of the Inlet.

The seven and twentieth, the winde was at South South-east, and blew very hard, our course was West. The eight and twentieth and nine and twentieth, our course was West and by South, the winde blowing very hard at East South-east, with fogge and raine. The thirtieth, the winde came vp in a showre by the West North-west, blowing so hard, that wee were forced to put a fore the Sea. Now because the time of the yeare was farre spent, and many of our men in both Shippes sicke, wee thought it good to returne with great hope of this Inlet, to bee a passage of more possibilitie, then through the Straight of *Danis*: because I found it not much pestered with Ice, and to be a straight of some leagues broad. Also I sayled an hundred leagues West and by South, within this Inlet; and there I found the variation to be 35. degrees to the Westward, and the needle to decline, or rather incline 83. degrees and an halfe.

The variation
35. degrees
Westward.An Iland on
the coast of A-
merica in 55.
deg. & 30. min.

The fifth of August (the winde all that while Westerly) wee were cleare of this Inlet againe. The sixth the winde was at East South-east with fogge. The seauenth, eight, and ninth, we passed by many great Ilands of Ice. The ninth day at night, we descried the land of America, in the latitude of 55. degrees, and 30. minutes. This Land was an Iland, being but low land and very smooth: then the night approaching, and the weather being something foggie and darke, we were forced to stand to the Northward againe. This night we passed by some great Ilands of Ice, and some bigge peeces, which did breake from the great Ilands: and we were like

to strike some of them two or three times : which if we had done, it might haue endangered our Shippes and liues. Our confort, the *Godspeede*, strooke a little piece of Ice, which they thought had foundred their Shippe; but thanks be to God they receiued no great hurt, for our Shippes were very strong.

The *Godspeede* strooke vpon a piece of Ice.

The tenth day, the winde was at North-east and by North, with fogge and raine; and our course was to the South-eastward: for we could by no meanes put with the shoare, by reason of the thicknesse of the fogge, and that the winde blew right vpon the shoare, so that we were forced to beare faile to keepe our selues from the land, vntill it pleased God to send vs a cleare, which God knoweth we long wanted. At fixe of the clocke in the afternoone, it was calme; and then I iudged my selfe, by mine account, to be neere the Land: so I sounded, and had ground in 160. fathomes, and fine grey Osie Sand: and there was a great Iland of Ice, a ground within a league of vs, where we sounded, and within one houre it pleased God to send vs a cleare. Then we saw the land some foure leagues South-west and by South from vs. This land lyeth East and by South, and West and by North, being good high land, but all Ilands, as farre as wee could discern. This calme continued vntill foure of the clocke in the afternoone of the eleuenth day: the weather being very cleere, we could not discern any Current to goe at all by this Land. This day the Sea did set vs in about a league neerer the Land, so that wee iudged our selues three leagues off. Here we sounded againe, and had but eightie fathoms.

The variation of the Compasse we found to be 22. degrees and 10. minutes Westward. At five of the clocke there sprung vp a fine gale of winde, at East South-east, and being so neere night, wee stood to the Southward, thinking the next day to seeke some harbour. But it pleased God, the next day, being the twelfth, to send vs a storme of foule weather, the winde being at East and by South, with fogge: so that we could by no meanes get the shoare. Thus wee were forced to beate vp and downe at Sea, vntill it should please God to send vs better weather.

The variation 22. degrees to West.

A Storme.

The foureteenth, I thought good to stand to the Westward to search an Inlet, in the latitude of 56. degrees. I haue good hope of a passage that way, by many great and probable reasons.

The fifteenth the winde continued at the South, with exceeding faire weather, and our course was West. We were this day at noone in the latitude of 55. degrees and 31. minutes: and I found the variation to be 17. degrees and 15. minutes, to the Westward. And about seuen of the clocke at night, we descried the Land againe, being tenne leagues to the Eastward of this Inlet. This Land did beare from vs South-west, some eight leagues off: and about nine of the clocke the same night, the winde came to the West; which blew right against vs for our entering into this Inlet.

55. deg. 31. min. Variation 17. deg. 15. min. They discerie the land againe.

The sixteenth, the winde was at West North-west, and was very faire weather, and our course South-west: about nine of the clocke in the forenoone, we came by a great Iland of Ice; and by this Iland we found some peeces of Ice broken off from the said Iland: And being in great want of fresh water, wee hoysed out our Boates of both Shippes, and loaded them twice with Ice, which made vs very good fresh water. This day at noone wee found our selues to be in the latitude of 55. degrees and twentie minutes: when we had taken in our Ice and Boates, the weather being very faire and cleare, and the winde at West North-west, we bent our course for the Land, and about three of the clocke in the afternoone, we were within three leagues of the shoare. It is a very pleasant low Land; but all Ilands, and goodly sounds going betweene them, toward the South-west. This Land doth stand in the latitude of 55. degrees; and I found the variation to be to the West 18. degrees and 12. minutes. This coast is voide of Ice, vnlesse it be some great Ilands of Ice, that come from the North, and so by windes may be driuen vpon this coast. Also we did finde the ayre in this place to be very temperate. Truly there is in three seuerall places great hope of a passage, betweene the latitude of 62. and 54. degrees; if the fogge doe not hinder it, which is all the feare I haue. At fixe of the clocke, wee being becalmed

55. deg. 20. min.

by the shoare, there appeared vnto vs a great ledge of rockes, betweene vs and the shoare, as though the Sea did flye ouer it with a great height. As we all beheld it, within one houre, vpon a sudden it vanished cleane away; which seemed very strange vnto vs all. And to the Eastward of vs, some two leagues, we saw a great Rocke, lying some three leagues off the Land: we then supposing it to be shoald water, by this broken ground, sounded, but could get no ground in one hundred and sixtie fathoms. About seuen of the clocke, there sprung vp a gale of winde, by the South South-east, which was a very good winde to coast this Land.

A pleasant low land, being all Ilands.

55. degrees. The variation 18. deg. and 12. min. Westward. Temperate ayre.

Great hope of a passage in three places.

A great ledge of Rockes strangely vanishing.

A great Rocke

But the seuenteenth in the morning, the winde being at the South, it began to blow so extremely, that we durst not stay by the shoare, for it was like to be a great storme: then our course was East North-east, to get vs Sea roome. This storme still increasing, our flye-boates did receiue in much water; for they wanted a Sparre-decke, which wee found very dangerous for the Sea. About twelue of the clocke at noone, this day there rose vp a great showre in the West, and presently the winde came out of that quarter with a whirle, and taking vp the Sea into the ayre, and blew so extremely, that we were forced alwayes to runne before the Sea, howso-

A Whirlewinde taking vp the Sea.

ever the winde did blow. And within twelue houres after this storme beganne, the Sea was so much growen, that we thought our flye Boates would not haue beene able to haue endured it.

They were carried 30. leagues into an Inlet in 56. degrees. They returned for England. This Book was also subscribed by W. Cobweth and Iohn Drem. The lands end.

The eighteenth, the winde was at North-west, and the storme increased more extreame, and lasted vntill eight of the clocke in the morning of the nineteenth day, so furious, that to my remembrance, I neuer felt a greater: yet when we were in our greatest extremities, the Lord deliuered vs his vnworthy seruants. And if the winde, with so great a storme, had bin either Northerly, or Southerly, or Easterly but one day, we had all perished against the Rocks, or the Ice: for wee were entred thirty leagues within a Head-land of an Inlet, in the latitude of 56. degrees. But it pleased God to send vs the winde so faire, as we could desire, both to cleare our selues of the Land and Ice. Which opportunitie caused vs for this time to take our leaues of the coast of *America*, and to shape our course for *England*.

The fourth, in the morning, wee descried the Iland of *Silly* North-east and by East, some foure leagues off vs. Then wee directed our course East and by North: and at tenne of the clocke in the forenoone, wee descried the Lands end, and next day were forced to put into *Dartmouth*.

CHAP. XIV.

JAMES HALL his Voyage forth of Denmarke for the discovery of Greenland, in the yeare 1605. abbreviated.

May 30.

May 1605.

July 13

Iohn Cunningham.

Iohn Knight, of whom after.



N the name of God Amen, we set sayle from *Copeman-hauen* in *Denmarke*, the second day of May, in the yeare of our redemption 1605. with two Shippes and a Pinnace: The Admirall, called the *Frost*, a shippe of the burthen of thirty or forty last, wherein was Captaine, and chiefe commander of the whole Fleet, Captaine *Iohn Cunningham*, a *Scottish* Gentleman, seruant vnto the Kings Maiestie of *Denmarke*, my selfe being principall Pilot. The *Lyon* Viceadmirall, being about 30

the foresaid burthen, wherein was Captaine, one *Godscalo Lindenhofe*, a *Danish* Gentleman, and Steereman of the same, one *Peter Kilson* of *Copeman-hauen*. The Pinnace, a Barke of the burthen of twelue Lasts, or thereabouts: wherein was Steereman or commander, one *Iohn Knight*, my Country-man. So setting sayle from *Copeman-hauen*, with a faire gale of winde Easterly, wee came vnto *Elsonure*, where we anchored, to take in our water.

The third day we tooke in our water, at which time, the Captaines, my selfe, with the Lieutenants, and the other Steeremen, did thinke it conuenient to set downe certaine Articles, for the better keeping of company one with another, to which Articles or couenants wee were all feuerally sworne, setting thereunto our hands.

The sixth we came to *Flecorie*, into which harbour, by Gods helpe, we came at two a clocke in the afternoone. The seauenth day we supplied our wants of wood and water. The eighth day, about two a clocke in the afternoone, we set sayle forth of the harbour of *Flecorie*, about six a clocke it fell calme, till about eight, about which time, the *Nase* of *Norway*, by the *Danish* men, called *Lyndis-nose*, bare next hand North-west of vs, sixe leagues off; at which time I directed my course West North-west, finding the compasse varied 7. degrees 10. minutes, to the Eastwards of the true North.

The thirteenth, we had sight of the Iland of *Faire Ile*, and also of the South-head of *Shotland*, called *Swimborne head*, which are high Lands: at noone, the Iland of *Faire Ile* bearing West half a point Northerly: foure leagues off I made obseruation, and found vs in the latitude of 59. degrees 20. minutes. This night about seuen a clocke, wee came about an *English* league to the Northwards of the North-west end of *Faire Ile*, wee met with a great race of a tyde, as though it had beene the race of *Portland*, it setting North North-west. Being out of the said race, I directed my course West and by North, hauing the winde North-east and by North: this evening *Faire Ile* bearing East South-east foure leagues: *Swimborne head*, North-east and by North eight leagues: the Iland of *Foole*, North-east and by East, seuen leagues. I found by exact obseruation, the compasse to be varied to the East-ward of the true North 60. degrees 10. minutes.

Variation obserued.

The fourteenth in the morning, the winde came to the East South-east, wee steering West and by North away: this morning the Iland of *Faire Ile* did shew in my sight to bee about ten leagues off, at which time we did descrie two of the Westermost Ilands of *Orkney*, which did beare South-west and by South.

The eighteenth, the winde at North-west and by West, wee laid it away South-west and by West, and sometimes South-west. This day at noone wee were in the Latitude of 58. degrees

40. mi-

40. minutes. The nineteenth day, the winde at South-west and South-west and by West, wee lying as the night before, being at noone in the Latitude of 59. degrees and a halfe. The foure and twentieth day, the winde at North-east and by East, we steering still with a fresh gale West South-west, this evening we looked to haue seene *Busse Island*, but I doe verily suppose the same to be placed in a wrong Latitude in the Marine Charts. The fixe and twentieth at noone, wee were in the latitude of 57. degrees 45. minutes. The thirtieth day in the morning betweene seven and eight, the weather began to cleere, and the Sea and winde to waxe lesse, wee looking for the *Lion* and the *Pinnasse*, could haue no sight of them, we supposing them to bee afterne off vs, we standing still vnder our courses. This day the winde came to the North-east and by East, being very cold weather, we lying North North-west away. Making my obseruation at noone, I found vs in the latitude of 59. degrees 15. minutes, our way North North-west fortie leagues. This afternoon between one and two a clock we descried Land, it bearing North North-east off vs about ten leagues off North-east & by North off vs about ten leagues, it being a very high ragged land, lying in the latitude of 59. degrees 50. minutes, lying alongst South-east and by South, and North-west and by North.

Busse Island
wrong placed.

First sight of
Groenland.

Cape Christian.

This Head-land wee named after the Kings Maiesties of *Denmarke*, because it was the first part of *Groenland*, which we did see. This afternoone about one a clock, bearing in for the shoare we saw an Island of Ice, which bore West South-west of vs three leagues off, so hauing the wind at East South-east, we bore in for the shoare, where wee found so much Ice that it was impossible either for vs or any other ship to come into the shoare without great danger: yet wee put our selues into the Ice as wee thought conuenient, being incumbered and compassed about with the same in such sort, as the Captaine, my selfe, the Boatswaine with another of our companie, were forced to goe ouerboord vpon an Island of Ice, to defend it from the ship, at which time I thought it conuenient to stand off into the Sea againe, and so being cleere of the Ice, to double *Cape Desolation*, to the North-westwards of which I doubted not but to find a cleer coast, so standing away all this night West South-west, to cleere vs of the Ice, which lay farre from the shoare, being very thicke towards the Land with great Islands of Ice that it is wonderfull. This evening, the *Cape Christian* bearing North-east and by East fise leagues, I found the Compasse varied 12. degrees 15. minutes to the North-westwards. Moreouer, standing to Seaward from the foresaid Cape, we came in blacke water, as thicke as though it had bene puddle water, we sayling in the same for the space of three houres.

The shoare full
of Ice.

Cape Desolation.

Compass varied.

Black water.

The one and thirtieth in the morning faire weather, with the winde somewhat variable, wee steering away North-west and by West, betweene foure and fise in the morning we had sight of the *Lion* againe, but not of the *Pinnasse*. They being a Sea-boord off and hauing espied vs, they stood with vs, at which time the Captaine, Lieutenant, and Steereman came aboard vs, earnestly intreating mee to bestow a Sea Chart of the Steerman, and to giue him directions if by tempestuous weather they should lose vs, they protesting and swearing that they would neuer leaue vs as long as winde and weather would permit them to keepe companie with vs. By whose speeches I being perswaded did giue them a Sea Chart for those Coasts, telling them that if they would follow me, that by Gods assistance I would bring them to a part of the Land void without pester of Ice, and also harbour the ships in good Harbour, by Gods helpe; they swearing and protesting, that they would follow mee so long as possibly they could, with which oathes and faire speeches I rested satisfied, thinking they had thought as they had sworne, but it fell out otherwise. So hauing made an end with vs about noone, they went aboard againe, wee being this day in the latitude of 59. degrees 45. minutes, hauing stood all the night before, and this forenoone also, so nigh the shoare as wee could for Ice, the *Cape Christian* South South-east and North North-west, and from the Cape to *Cape Desolation*, the Land lyeth East and by South, and West and by North about fiftie leagues. This day betweene one and two a clocke, the Vice-admirals Boat, being newly gone aboard, it fell very hase and thicke, so that wee could not see one another by reason of the fog, therefore our Captaine caused to shoote off certaine Muskets with a great peece of Ordnance, to the intent the *Lion* might heare vs, which heard of them they presently stood with vs, at which time the fogge began somewhat to cleere, wee hauing sight one of another and so stood alongst the shoare, as nigh as we could for Ice.

Sight of the
Lion.

June 1605.

The first of Iune, wee had a fresh gale of winde at South-west, wee steering North-east and by North into the shoare, about three in the morning there fell a mightie fogge, so that we were forced to lye by the lee, for the *Lion* playing vpon our Drum to the intent for them to heare vs, and to keepe companie with vs, they answering vs againe with the shooting of a Musket, wee trimming our sailes, did the like to them, and so stood away North-east and by East: larboord tackt aboard halfe a glasse, when we were hard incumbered amongst mightie Islands of Ice, being very high like huge Mountaines, so I caused to cast about and stand to the Westwards North-west and by West. About twelue of the clocke this night it being still calme, wee found our selues suddenly compass round about with great Islands of Ice, which made such a hideous noyse as was most wonderfull, so that by no meanes wee could double the same to the Westward: wherefore wee were forced to stand it away to the Southwards, South South-West, stem-

Islands of Ice.
Mightie in-
cumbrance of
Ice.
A mightie cur-
rent setting
North North-
west.

ming the Current, for by the same Current wee were violently brought into this Ice, so being incumbered and much to doe to keepe cleere of the mightie Ilands of Ice, there being as both I and others did plainly see vpon one of them a huge rocke stone, of the weight of three hundred pounds or thereabouts, as wee did suppose. Thus being troubled in the Ice for the space of two or three houres, it pleased God that we got thorow the same.

The second day in the morning about three a clocke, I came forth of my Cabin, where I found that the Shipper whose name was *Arnold* had altered my course which I had set, going contrarie to my directions North North-west away, whereupon hee and I grew to some speeches, both for at this time and other times hee had done the like. The Captaine likewise seeing his bad dealing with we, did likewise roundly speake his minde to him, for at this instant wee were nigh vnto a great banke of Ice, which wee might haue doubled if my course had not bene altered, so that we were forced to cast about to the Southwards, South and by East and South South-east, with the winde at South-west and by South or South-west till ten a clocke, when we stood againe to the Westwards, lying West North-west and North-west and by West, being at noone in the latitude of 60. degrees 18. minutes, Cape *Desolation* is, I did suppose, bearing North and by West three or foure leagues off, the weather being so thicke and hachie that wee could neuer see the Land.

The fourth day betweene one and two a clocke in the morning, it began to blow a fresh gale Easterly, we steering away North and North and by West, we being at noone in the latitude of 59. degrees 50. minutes, hauing made a West and by North way foure and twentie leagues. This euening about seuen a clocke we had very thicke water, and continued so about halfe an houre: about nine a clocke we did see a very high Iland of Ice to the windward of vs, and about halfe an houre after with some drift Ice, they in the *Lion* thorow the fearefulnesse of their Commanders presently cast about standing away larboord tackt, till they did perceiue that I stood still away as I did before, without impediment of the Ice, they cast about againe and followed vs.

The fift in the morning, being very faire weather with the winde at East South-east, our course North North-west, some of our people supposed they had seene the Land: our Captaine and I went aboard the Pinnasse, when after an houre of our being there wee did see the supposed Land to be an hachie fogge, which came on vs so fast that wee could scarce see one another. But the *Lion* being very nigh vnto vs, and it being very calme, wee laid the Pinnasse aboard of her, and so the Captaine and I went aboard of them.

The ninth day about foure a clocke, it began to blow an easie gale at South-east and by South, I directing my course still North North-west, when some of our people would not be perswaded but they did see Land, and therefore I stood in North and by East and North North-east, till about three a clocke in the afternoone, when wee met with a huge and high Iland of Ice, wee steering hard to board the same, and being shot a little to Northwards of it, there fell from the top thereof some quantitie of Ice, which in the fall did make such a noyse as though it had bene the report of fise Cannons. This euening wee came amongst much drift Ice, being both windwards and to leewards of vs, yet by Gods helpe we got very well through the same, when being cleere I directed my course againe North North-west.

The tenth day the winde at South-west and by West, I steering still North-west and by North. This forenoone also wee met with great Ilands of Ice, it being very hachie and thicke weather, the which did driue them in the *Lion* into great feare, and calling to vs very fearfully perswaded me to alter my course and to returne homeward, saying that it was impossible for vs by any working, and course keeping to sease vpon the Land, which did driue all our companie into such a feare, that they were determined, whether I would or not, to haue returned home, had not the Captaine as an honest and resolute Gentleman stood by mee, protesting to stand by me so long as his blood was warme, for the good of the Kings Maiestie, who had set vs forth, and also to the performing of the Voyage. Which resolution of his did mitigate the stubbornnesse of the people: yet nothing would perswade those fearfull persons in the *Lion*, especially the Steerman, who had rather long before this time haue returned home, then to haue proceeded on the action, as before the said Steerman had done when he was imployed eight yeeres before in the said action or discouerie. Therefore our Captaine and my selfe seeing their backwardnesse now, as before we had done, went our selues the same euening into the Pinnasse, hauing a mightie banke of Ice of our larboord side, and spake to them very friendly, giuing order both to our owne Ship and to them, that they should keepe a Seaboord of vs (for I did suppose this banke of Ice to lye in the narrowest of the Streight, betweene *America* and *Groenland*, as indeed by experience I found the same to be) therefore I determined to coast the Ice alongst till I found it to bee driuen and fall away, by reason of the swift current that setteth very forcibly through the said Strait, and then by the grace of God to set ouer for a cleere part of the coast of *Groenland*, so all this night we coasted the Ice as close aboard as we could East North-east and North-east and by East, till about midnight, when we found the said banke to fall away.

The eleuenth day, being cleere of the Ice, I stood away North North-east till sixe a clocke, when

A huge high
Iland of Ice.

Noyse by the
fall.

Our people
determined to
returne backe
againe.

Former disco-
ueries.

A mightie
banke of Ice.

when we met with another great banke of Ice, at which time the Commanders of the *Lion* being now againe very feartull as before, came vp to our ship, perswading the Shipper and Companie to leaue vs, and to stand to Seaboord with them. But the Shipper who was also Lieftenant of the ship, being more honestly minded, said, that he would follow vs so long as he could: with which answere they departed, vsing many spitefull wordes, both of the Captaine and mee, saying we were determined to betray the Kings ships, at which time they shot off a peece of Ordnance, and so stood away from vs. I seeing their peruerse dealing let them goe, wee coasting alongst the Ice North North-east with a fresh gale, it being extreme cold with snow and hayse, the Sea also going very high by reason of a mightie current, the which I found to set very forcibly through this Strait, which being nigh vnto *America* side, setteth to the Northwards, and on the other side to the contrarie, as by prooffe I found. So coasting alongst this mayne banke of Ice, which seemed as it had bene a firme Continent till about eleuen a clocke, when wee espyed the Ice to stretch to windward, on our weather bow wee setting our starboord takes aboard, stood away East and by South with the winde at South and by East, till wee had doubled a Seaboord the Ice, at which time I directed my course directly ouer for the cleere coast of *Groimeland*, East and by North, which course I directed all the *Frost* to goe, wee standing away our course all this night, it being very much snow and fleete.

The twelfth day in the morning about foure a clocke, we espyed the Land of *Groenland*, being a very high ragged Land, the tops of the Mountaines being all couered with snow, yet wee found all this coast vtterly without Ice, wee standing into the Land espyed a certaine Mountaine boue all the rest, which Mount is the best marke on all this Coast, the which I named Mount *Cunningham* after the name of my Captaine. We comming into the shoare betweene two Capes or Head-lands, the Land lying betweene them North and by East, and South and by West, the Southmost of which Forelands I named *Queene Annes Cape*, after the name of the *Queenes* Maiestie of *Denmarke*, and the Northermost of the two I called *Queene Sophias Cape*, after the name of the *Queene* Mother.

So standing into the Land, we came amongst certaine Ilands, where sayling in still amongst the same vnto the Southermost foot of the foresaid Mount, wee came into a goodly Bay, which wee did suppose to be a Riuer, being on both sides of the same very high and steepe Mountaines, wee named the same King *Christianus Foord*, after the name of the Kings Maiestie of *Denmarke*. So sayling vp this Bay, which wee supposed to bee a Riuer, the space of fixe or seuen *English* leagues, finding in all that space no anchoring, being maruellous deepe water, till at the length we had sayled vp the Bay the foresaid distance, at length I brought the Ship and Pinnasse to an anchor in sixteene fathom shelly ground, at which time our Captaine and I went aland, giuing thanks vnto God for his vnspeakable benefits, who had thus dealt with vs as to bring vs to this desired Land into so good an Harbour; which done, the Captaine and I walked vp the Hills, to see if wee could see any of the people, hauing our Boat to row alongst with vs. Hauing gone alongst the Riuer side vpon the tops of the Hills the space of three or foure *English* miles, at length looking towards our Boat, wee saw vpon the Riuer side foure of the people standing by their Houses or rather Tents, couered ouer with Seale-skins. Wee comming downe the Hills towards them (they hauing espyed vs) three of them ranne away vpon the Land, and the other tooke his Boat and rowed away leauing their Tents. Wee being come downe the Hills called to our men in the Boat, and entring into her rowed towards the Saueage who was in his Boat made of Seale-skins. Hee holding vp his hands towards the Sunne, cryed *Yota*; wee doing the like, and shewing to him a knife, hee presently came vnto vs and tooke the same of the Captaine. When hee had presently rowed away from vs, wee rowed a little after him, and seeing it was but in vaine wee rowed aland againe and went into their Tents, which wee found couered (as is aforesaid) with Seale-skins. Wee finding by the houses two Dogs being very rough and fat, like in thape to a Foxe, with very great abundance of Seale fish, lying round about their Tents a drying, with innumerable quantities of a little fish like vnto a Smelt (which fish are commonly called *Sardeenes*) of which fish in all the Riuers are wonderfull skuls, these fishes also lay a drying round about their Tents in the Sunne in great heapes, with other sundrie kindes. Then entring into their Tents, wee found certaine Seale skins and Foxe skins very well drest; also certaine Coates of Seale skins and Fowle skins with the feather side inward: also certaine Vessels boyling vpon a little Lampe, the Vessell being made after the manner of a little Pan, the bottome whereof is made of stone, and the sides of Whales finnes; in which Vessell was some little quantitie of Seale fish boyling in Seale oyle; and searching further, wee did finde in another of their Vessels a Dogs head boyled, so that I perswaded my selfe that they eate Dogs flesh. Moreouer, by their houses there did lye two great Boates, being couered vnder with Seales skins, but aloft open after the forme of our Boates, being about twentie foote in length, hauing in each of them eight or ten tofts or seates for men to sit on, which Boates, as afterwards I did perceiue, is for the transporting of their Tents and baggage from place to place, and for a saile they haue the guts of some beast, which they dresse very fine and thin, which they sow together.

Another banke of Ice.

The *Lions* departing from
A mightie current

Sight of Land.

Mount *Cunningham*

Queene Annes Cape.
Queene Sophia Cape.

Christians Foord.

Our anchoring.

Our first landing in *Groimeland*.

Our first sight of the people.

Boat of Seale skins.

Our entring into their Tents.

Eaters of Dogs.

Also

Of the other
sort of Boats.
There is one
of these Boats
in Sir T. Smiths
Hall.
The manner
of killing of
their great fish
or Seales.

Their com-
ming to our
ships.

Observation
of the latitude.
Observation
of the tides.

Our departing
in the Pinnasse
from the ship.

The Sauages
begin to sling
stones at vs.

They sling
stones againe.

Also the other sorts of their Boats are such as Captaine *Frobisher*, and Master *Iohn Davis* brought into *England*, which is but for one man, being cleane couered ouer with Seale skins artificially dressed except one place to sit in, being within set out with certaine little ribs of Timber, wherein they vse to row with one Oare more swiftly, then our men can doe with ten, in which Boates they fish being disguised in their Coates of Seale skinnes, whereby they deceiue the Seales, who take them rather for Seales then men; which Seales or other fish they kill in this manner. They shoot at the Seales or other great fish with their Darts, vnto which they vse to tye a bladder, which doth boy vp the fish in such manner that by the said means they catch them. So comming aboard our ships hauing left certaine trifles behind vs in their Tents, and taking nothing away with vs, within halfe an houre after our comming aboard, the Sauage to whom wee had giuen the Knife with three others, which we did suppose to be them which we saw first, came rowing to our ships in their Boats, holding vp their hands to the Sunne, and striking of their breasts, crying *Tota*. We doing the like, they came to our shippe or Captaine: giuing them bread and Wine, which, as it did seeme, they made little account of; yet they gaue vs some of their dried fishes, at which time there came foure more, who with the other bartered their Coats, and some Seale skinnes, with our folke for old Iron Naailes, and other trifles as Pinnes and Needles, with which they seemed to be wonderfully pleased, and hauing so done, holding their hands towards the Sunne they departed.

The thirteenth, there came fourteene of them to our ship, bringing with them Seale skinnes, Whale Finnes, with certayne of their Darts and Weapons, which they bartered with our people, as before. This day I made obseruation of the latitude, and found this Roadsted in the latitude of 66. degrees 25. minutes, and the mouth of this Bay or Sound, lyeth in the latitude of 66. degrees 30. minutes. Also here I made obseruation of the tydes, and found an East and West Moone to make a full Sea, vpon the Full and Change, more it floweth, three fathome and an halfe water, right vp and downe.

The fourteenth and fifteenth dayes we rode still, the people comming to vs, and bartering with vs for pieces of old Iron, or Naailes, Whale Finnes, Seales Skinnes, Morfe Teeth, and a kind of Horne which we doe suppose to be Vnicornes Horne, at which time the Captaine went with our Boat, to the place where we had seene their Tents, but found them removed; and the other fish and the Seale fish lying still a drying: the Captaine taking a quantitie of the Sea fish into the Boat, caused some of the Mariners to boyle it ashore, the Sauages helping our men to doe the same, the Captaine vsing them very friendly, they hauing made about a barrell and an halfe of Oyle, leauing it aland all night, thinking to bring the same aboard in the morning. But the Sauages the same night let the same forth. Yet notwithstanding, the Captaine shewed no manner of discontent towards them.

The sixteenth day, I went into the Pinnasse, to discouer certaine Harbours to the Northwards, the wind being at East South-east, I loosed and set saile, but instantly it fell calme, and so continued about an houre. When the wind came opposite at the West North-west a stiffe gale, we spending the tide till the floud being come, I put roome againe, and came to an Anchor a little from the *Frost* in twelue fathomes sandie ground. About one in the afternoone, the *Frost* departed from vs further vp the Bay, which we did suppose to be a Riuer, promising to abide our returne two and twentie dayes.

The seuenteenth day, the wind continuing at the West North-west blowing very hard, wee rode still, the people comming and bartering with vs.

The eighteenth day, the winde and weather as before, wee riding still. This forenoone there came to the number of thirtie of them, and bartered with vs as they had done before, which done, they went alhoare at a certaine point about a flight-shot off vs, and there vpon a sudden began to throw stones with certaine Slings which they had without any iniury offered at all; yea, they did sling so fiercely, that we could scarce stand on the hatches. I seeing their brutish dealing, caused the Gunner to shoot a Falcon at them, which lighted a little ouer them, at which time they went to their Boates, and rowed away. About one a clocke in the afternoone, they came againe to vs crying in their accustomed manner, *Niont*, they being sixtie three in number, the slipper inquired of me whether they should come to vs or not. I willed him to haue all things in a readinesse, they comming in the meane time nigh to the Pinnasse, I did perceiue certaine of them to haue great bagges full of stones, they whispering one with another began to sling stones vnto vs. I presently shot off a little Pistol which I had for the Gunner, and the rest of the folke to discharge, which indeed they did, but whether they did hurt or kill any of them or not, I cannot certainly tell, but they rowed all away making a howling and hideous noise: going to the same point, whereas in the forenoone they had beene, being no sooner come on Land, but from the Hills they did so assaile vs with stones, with their slings, that it is incredible to report, in such sort that no man could stand vpon the Hatches, till such time as I commanded for to lose sailes and bonnets two mens height, to shield vs from the force of the stones, and also did hide vs from their sight; so that we did ply our Muskets and other Peeeces such as wee had at them: but their subtiltie was such, that as soone as they did see fire giuen to the Peeeces, they would suddenly

ducke

ducke downe behind the Clifles, and when they were discharged, then sling their stones fiercely at vs againe. Thus hauing continued there till foure a clocke, they departed away.

The nineteenth day in the morning, about foure a clocke it beeing calme, I departed from this Roadsted, so causing our men to row alongst the shoare, till the tide of the ebbe was bent, at which time it began to blow a fresh gale at North-west and by West, we turning downe till about two a clocke, when the tide of flood being come: when I came to an Anchor in an excellent Hauen, on the South side of *Cunninghams Mount*, which for the goodnesse thereof, I named *Denmarkes Hauen*.

10 The twentieth day, in the morning the weather beeing very rainie with a little aire of wind, I loosed and caused to row forth of the foresaid Harbour, and comming forth betweene the Ilands and the maine, the people being as it seemed looking for vs espied vs: making a hideous noise, at which time at an instant were gathered together about seuentie three Boats with men rowing to vs. I seeing them, thought it best to preuent the worst, because we were to come hither againe: therefore to dissemble the matter, I thought it best to enter into barter with them for some of their Darts, Bowes and Arrowes, wee finding euery one of them to bee extraordinarily furnished therewith: so rowing forth to Sea amongst the Ilands, there stil came more Boats to the number of one hundred and thirtie persons, they still rowing by vs, made signes to vs to goe to anchor amongst some of the Ilands: but I preuenting their deuices, made certaine Skonces with our sailes, to defend vs from their Stones, Arrowes and Darts. They seeing this, went certaine of them from vs rowing to certaine Ilands, to which they did thinke wee would come: 20 leauing no more but about ten men and Boates about vs, who rowed alongst the space of an houre with vs, making signes of friendship to vs. At length perceiuing, that wee were not minded to goe forth amongst these Ilands, vpon which the rest of their folke were, they threw certaine shels and trifles into the Boat, making signes and tokens to fetch them, the which my Boy called *William Huntries* did. He being in the Boat, they presently shot him through both the buttockes with a Dart, at which time they rowed from vs, they mustering vpon the Ilands to the number of three hundred persons, keeping themselves farre enough from our danger. About sixe a clocke this Euening it began to blow a faire gale Easterly, we getting off to Sea, stood all this night North and by East alongst the Land.

Denmarkes Hauen.

The people come againe.

The subtiltie of the Sauages.

My Boy shot with a Dart.

A Topographical Description of the Land as I did discover the same.

NOW hauing proceeded for the discouerie of the Coast and Harbours so farre, and so long time as the time limited to me, therefore I thinke it conuenient, to make a brieue description of the same, according as by my short experience I found the same to be.

40 The Land of *Groenland* is a very high, ragged and mountainous Countrey, being all alongst the Coast broken Ilands, making very goodly Sounds and Harbours, hauing also in the Land very many good Riuers and Bayes, into some of which I entred sayling vp the same the space of ten or twelue *English* leagues, finding the same very nauigable, with great abundance of fish of sundrie sorts. The Land also in all places wheresoever I came, seemed to be very fertile, according to the Climate wherein it lyeth: for betweene the Mountaynes was most pleasant Plaines and Valleys, in such sort as if I had not seene the same, I could not haue beleueed, that such a fertile Land in shew could bee in these Northerne Regions. There is also in the same great store of Fowle, as Ravens, Crowes, Partridges, Pheasants, Sea-mewes, Gullies, with other sundry sorts. Of Beasts I haue not seene any, except blacke Foxes, of which there are very many. Also as I doe suppose there are many Deere, because that comming to certaine places where the people had had their Tents, we found very many Harts Hornes, with the bones of other beasts 50 round about the same. Also going vp into the Land wee saw the footing and dunging of diuers beasts, which we did suppose to be deere, and other beasts also, the footing of one which wee found to be eight inches ouer, yet, notwithstanding we did see none of them: for going some two or three miles from the Pinnasse we returned againe to goe aboard. Moreouer, in the Riuers we found sundry sorts of Fishes, as Seales, Whales, Salmon, with other sorts of fishes in great abundance. As concerning the Coast, all alongst it is a very good and faire Land, hauing very faire shoalading of the same: for being three *English* leagues off the same, I found very faire shoalading in fifteene fathomes, and comming neerer the same fourteene, twelue, and tenne fathomes very faire sandie ground. As concerning the people, they are (as I doe suppose) a kinde of *Samoites*, or wandring Nation traouelling in the Summer time in Companies together, first to one place, and hauing stayed in that place a certayne time in hunting and fishing for Deere and Seales with other fish, straight they remoue themselves with their Tents and baggage to another. They are men of a reasonable stature, being browne of colour, very like to the people of the East and West *Indies*. They be very actiue and warlike, as we did perceiue in their Skirmishes with vs, in vsing their Slings and Darts very nimbly. They eat their meate raw, or a little per-

The description of the land of *Groenland*.

Of the fertility of the Countrey.

Store of fowle. Blacke Foxes.

Fishes.

Of the Coast.

Of the people.

The colour of the people. The people very actiue.

They eat their
meat most part
raw.
Of their ap-
parell.
Of their wea-
pons.

We could see
no Wood.
Drift-wood.

July 1605.

Frost Iland.

Our meeting
again with
the ship.
Three of the
people taken.

Two men set
aland.

A great cur-
rent setting to
the South-
wards.

perboyled either with bloud, Oyle, or a little water, which they doe drinke. They apparell themselves in the skinnies of such beasts as they kill, but especially with Seales skins and towle skins, dressing the skins very soft and smooth, with the haire and feathers on, wearing in Winter the haire and feather sides inwards, and in Summer outwards. Their Weapons are Slings, Darts, Arrowes, hauing their Bowes fast tyed together with sinewes; their Arrowes haue but two feathers, the head of the same being for the most part of bone, made in manner and forme of a Harping Iron. As concerning their Darts, they are of sundry sorts and fashions. What knowledge they haue of God I cannot certainly say, but I suppose them to bee Idolaters, worshipping the Sunne. The Countrey (as is aforesaid) seemeth to be very fertile, yet could I perceiue or see no wood to grow thereon. Wee met all alongst this Coast much Drift-wood, but whence it commeth I know not. For coasting all this Coast alongst from the latitude of 66. degrees and an halfe, vntill the latitude of 69. degrees, I found many goodly Sounds, Bayes, and Riuers: giuing names vnto diuers of them, and purposing to proceed further, the folke in the Pinnasse with me did earnestly intreate me to returne to the ship againe, alleaging this, that if we came not in conuenient time, the people in the ship would mutinie: and so returne home before we came: the which indeed had fallen forth, if the Captaine as an honest Gentleman had not by seuerer meanes withstood their attempts, who would needes contrarie to their promises haue beene gone home within eight dayes after my departure from them. But the Captaine respecting his promise to mee, would by no meanes consent, but withstood them both by faire meanes and other wayes. So that vpon the seuenth day of Iuly, I returned again into the Kings Foord, which they in the ship had found to be a Bay, and comming to the place where wee had left the ship hoping to haue found them there, I saw vpon a certaine point a Warlocke of stones, whereby I did perceiue that they were gone downe the Foord. So the tide of ebbe being come, it being calme we rowed downe the Foord, finding in the mouth of the same amongst the Ilands, many good Sounds and Harbours.

The tenth day of Iuly the wind being at North North-west, I beeing in a certaine Sound amongst the Ilands, it being high water I weighed, stood West forth of the Foord going to Sea on the South side betweene a little Iland and the Maine, which Iland at our first comming, we called *Frost Iland*, after the name of the ship: we espied on the South sides certaine Warlockes set vp, whereupon I suspected that the *Frost* might be there, commanded the Gunner to shoot off a Peece of Ordnance, they presently answered vs againe with two other. We seeing the smoake (but heard no report) bore in to them, comming to an Anchor in a very good Sound by them, and found them all in health: the Captaine being very glad of our comming, forasmuch as hee had very much trouble with the company for the cause aforesaid. Also in the time of our absence the people did very much villanie to them in the ship, so that the Captaine tooke three of them; other of them also he slew, but the three which he tooke he vsed with all kindnesse, giuing them Mandillions and Breeches of very good cloth, also Hose, Shoes, and Shirts off his own backe. This afternoone, I with my Boy came againe aboard the ship, taking in this Euening all our prouision of water.

The eleuenth day, the wind being at North North-east, we set saile forth of the Sound which we named *Frost Sound*, but before our comming forth of the same our Captaine commanded a young man whose name was *Simon*, by the expresse commandement of the State-holder of *Denmarke* to bee set aland, wee also in the Pinnasse set another aland, they both being Malefactors, the which was done before our comming away, we giuing to them things necessarie, as victuall and other things also. Thus hauing committed both the one and the other to God, wee set saile homewards, we standing forth to Sea South-west, and South-west and by West till noone, when making obseruation, Queene *Annes* Cape bearing South and by East halfe Easterly some ten leagues, I found my selfe in the latitude of 66. degrees 10. minutes, when I directed my course South South-west till fixe a clocke when wee were amongst much Drift Ice, being to leeward two points vpon our lee-bow, so that I was forst to lie off West North-west till we were cleere of the same, at which time I directed my course South-west and by South, wee sayling so all the night following.

The twelfth day, the wind at North North-east, wee went away South-west and by South till ten a clocke, when we were amongst more Drift Ice, wee being againe to lie West North-west, to get cleere of the same, which we did about noone, we hauing this day and the Euening before a mightie hollow Sea, which I thought to be a current, the which setteth thorow *Fretum Davis* to the Southwards, as by experience I proued: for making obseruation this day at noone, we found our selues in the latitude of 62. degrees 40. minutes, whereas the day before we were but in the latitude of 66. degrees 10. minutes, hauing made by account a South and by West way about ten leagues. This afternoone I directed my course South South-west.

The thirteenth day, the wind as before, we steered still South and by West, being at noone in the latitude of 60. degrees 17. minutes, going at the same time away South and by East. This foresaid current I did find to set alongst the Coast of *Gronland* South and by East. The fourteenth day, close weather, being an easie gale we steering South-east and by East. The fifteenth day, still

All close weather til noone, we steering as before, being in the latitude of 59. degrees. This day at noone I went away East South-east; this afternoon it was hase and still weather, when we had sight of some Drift Ice. The 16. day, close weather with the wind at North-west and by West, our course East South-east til about ten a'clock, when we met with a mightie bank of Ice to wind-ward of vs, being by supposition seven or eight leagues long, wee steering South South-east to get cleere of the same. We met all alongst this Ice a mightie scull of Whales. Moreover, wee sight with a great current; which as high as we could suppose, set West North-west over for America. This day at noone, the weather being very thicke, I could haue no obseruation, this Evening by reason of the Ice, wee were forced to lye South and by West, and South South-west, to get cleere of the same, amongst which we came by diuers huge Ilands of Ice.

The seuenteenth day, being cleere of the Ice, about foure in the morning, I directed my course South-east by South till noone, at which time I went away East and by South, the weather being very haytie and thicke: about midnight it fell calme, the wind comming vp Easterly.

The eighteenth day, the wind still Easterly, we lying East South-east, away vnder a couple of courses larboord tackt. This day in the forenoone, we saw certayne Ilands of Ice. The nineteenth day, the wind still Easterly with the weather very hase.

The first day of August also it was very thicke weather, with a faire gale at South-west and by West. This forenoone wee met with a scull of Herrings, so that I knew wee were not farre from the Iles of Orkeney, so hauing a shrinke at noone, I found vs in the latitude of 58. degrees 40. minutes, at which time I sounded with the deepest Lead, finding 42. fathomes redde sandie ground, with some blacke dents. This Evening betweene five and sixe a clocke wee sounded againe, when we had no more but twentie fathomes dent ground, whereby I knew that we were faire by the shoare, when some of our men looking forth presently, espied one of the Ilands of Orkeney, it being very thicke, wee cast about, and stood with a small sayle to Seaboord againe, we lying West North-west off all this night.

The tenth day, about five in the morning, we came thwart of the Castle of Elsonuere, where we discharged certaine of our Ordnance, and comming to an Anchor in the Road, the Captaine with my selfe went ashore, and hearing of his Majesties being at Copeman-Hauen, wee presently went aboard againe, and set sayle: comming thither about two a clocke. The Pinnasse also which he had lost at Sea, in which my Countreyman John Knight was Commander, came also the same night about foure a clocke, both they and we being all in good health, praised bee Almighty God. Amen.

CHAP. XV.

The second Voyage of Master I. A. M. HALL, forth of Denmark into Groenland, in the yeere 1606.

contracted.



WE departed from Copeman-Hauen, the seven and twentieth of May, in the yeere of our Redemption 1606. with foure ships and a Pinnasse. The Fleet being Admirall, wherein went for principall Captaine of the Fleet Captaine Godske Lindeno a Danish Gentleman with my selfe, being vnder God Pilot Maior of the Fleet. In the Lyon which was Vice-Admirall, went for Captaine and Commander, Captaine John Cunningham a Scottish Gentleman, who was with me the yeere before. In the Teyren went Hans Browne, a Gentleman of Norway. In the smal ship called The Gilleflowre, went one Castine Rickerfon a Dane. In the Pinnasse called the Car, went one shipper Andres Noll, of Bergen in Norway. So by the providence of God, wee weighed and set saile about sixe a clocke in the Evening, with a faire gale at South South-west, comming to an Anchor in Elsonuere Road to take in our water.

The nine and twentieth in the morning, we shot off a Peece of Ordnance, for all the Captaines and Commanders to come aboard of vs, who being come, our Captaine commanded the Kings Orders to bee read, which done, they returned aboard, at which time wee weighed with a faire gale at East North-east, standing away North and by West till I had brought the Cole North-east and by East off, when I steered away North North-west, and North-west and by North. This Evening about five a clocke, I set the Annold, it bearing West halfe Northerly, three leagues and an halfe. All this Evening wee stood away North-west and by North.

The thirtieth day, the wind at East South-east, wee steering as before, this morning about sixe a clocke, the Lesold bore West and by North of vs sixe leagues off. At five this Evening, the Sam bearing West South-west five leagues, I directed my course West North-west, with the wind at North-east and by East.

The one and thirtieth in the morning, very hase weather with a stiffe gale at East North-east,

Drift Ice.

A mightie bank

of Ice.

A great scull of

Whales.

A great cur-

rent.

We fell with

Orkeney.

Godske Lindeno.

The Pinnasse

to elude some

of the Ice.

Captaine Cun-

ningham.

Hans Browne a

Gentleman of

Norway.

Rickerfon a

Dane.

Andres Noll of

Bergen.

East, we steering West North-west away, till about nine a clocke, when we had a shrink of the Land which was the wester gate of *Mardo*, we steering alongst the Land. Wee came to an anchor in *Flecorie*, where we were to make and take in wood and water.

The second of June we weighed, and came forth of the Harbour of *Flecorie* about sixe in the morning, hauing a fresh gale at East North-east. About eleuen at noone, I set the Nafe of *Norway*, it bearing North North-west foure leagues off. The fourth day in the morning about two a clocke, we were faire by the high Land of the *Teddoe*, I caulding to cast about stood to the Southwards, West and by South and sometimes West. This day at noone, I found my selfe in the latitude of 57. degrees 45. minutes, the Nafe of *Norway* bearing East North-east two and twentie leagues off. This day at noone also I cast about and stood to the Northwards, lying North with the stemme, hauing the winde at North North-west. This afternoone dyed one of our *Groenlanders* called *Oxo*. All this euening, and the night following, the winde as before, we lying also North with little winde.

One of our *Groenlanders* dyed.

The sixt and fixt most what calme.

Shotland.

Our *Groenlander* dyed.

The seventh day, the winde at South-west and by South and South South-west, we steering West and West and by North. This day at noone we were in the latitude of 58. degrees 40. minutes. The tenth day about foure in the morning, it began to blow a fresh gale at East and by South, at which time we stood alongst the Land to the Southward, till I had brought the South Head of *Shotland*, called *Swinborne Head*, North-west and by North about three leagues off; and *Faire Ile* next hand South-west and by South eight leagues off, at which time I directed my course away West with a fresh gale at East South-east about halfe an houre to three. I set the South head of *Shotland* it bearing North-east eight leagues off, *Faire Ile* next hand South-east seven leagues off, foule next hand North foure leagues, wee still steering away West with a fresh gale at East South-east. All this afternoone and the night following it was very thicke and raynie weather, the winde continuing as before. This night at midnight dyed the *Groenlander* which we had aboard vs, named *Omeg*.

The fourteenth day, the winde as the night before a faire gale, we steering as we did before, with hayse weather hauing a shrink, at noone I found vs in the latitude of 58. degrees 40. minutes, hauing made a West and by South way Southerly two and thirtie leagues, differing to the Westward from the Meridian of the Nafe 19. degrees 45. minutes. This afternoone we had a faire gale at South-east with thicke weather, we steering away West.

The fifteenth day, the winde as before, we steering away West, being by my imagination in the latitude of 58. degrees 40. minutes. The three and twentieth day, the winde at the North-east a faire gale, we steering betweene the West North-west, and the West and by North, being at noone in the latitude of 56. degrees 10. minutes, hauing by reason of a Northerly current contrarie to my expectation, made a West way Southerly two and twentie leagues. The Compasse also as I doe suppose, being varied more then a Point to the westwards.

Sight of Land with Ice.

The first of Iuly wee saw Land being eight leagues off, with a great banke of Ice lying off South-west, wee setting our tacks aboard laid off East and by South and East South-east, to double the same, about two a clocke hauing doubled the same, wee went away West and by South all this euening and night following. This Land I did suppose to be *Busse* Island; it lying more to the Westwards then it is placed in the Marine Charts.

A current.

The Pinnasse came foule of the *Lion*.

South current.

Variation obserued.

The second day thicke weather with the winde at North North-west, we steering West and by North. This afternoone we were in a great Current setting South South-west. The which I did suppose to set betweene *Busse* Island and *Freseland* ouer with *America*; wee steering West North-west with a faire gale at North. This night about nine a clocke, the Pinnasse came foule of the Vice-admirall, where with her anchor shee tore out about a foot of a planke a little above water, and broke downe the beakes head.

The sixth making obseruation, I found vs in the latitude of 58. degrees 50. minutes, contrarie to my expectation, whereby I did see the Southerly Current to bee the principall cause. The seventh day, the winde at North and by East, we lying West North-west, being at noone in the latitude of 59. degrees 40. minutes, our way North-west two and twentie leagues. This euening I found the North Point of the Compasse to be varied 12. degrees 5. minutes, to the Westward of the true North.

The eighth day, the winde came vp more Southerly betweene the South-west, and the South-west and by West with an easie gale, we steering away North-west and by West; being at noone in the latitude of 59. degrees 30. minutes, hauing by reason of the Current and Variation made a West way Southerly about ten leagues.

The ninth day close weather, it being calme all the forenoone, wee perceiving by our ships which lay becalmed, a violent Current setting South-west. This day at noone, we were in the latitude of 59. degrees 40. minutes. The tenth about foure in the morning, the winde came vp to the North North-west. I casting about stood to the Westwards, lying West with the stemme, being in the latitude of 60. degrees 16. minutes. We saw the coast of *America* about nine leagues off, at which time I made obseruation of the variation, and found the Needle varie 24. degrees to the Westwards of the true North.

A current setting South-west.

Sight of *America* in 58. degrees and 30. minutes.

The

The Hill tops were covered with snow, and the Shoare to the Northwards full with Ice, but to the Southwards it seemed cleere. Here I found a great Current to set West into the shoare, which about midnight did bring vs to bee incumbred with very many Ilands of Ice, hauing much to doe to get cleere off the same without danger: but by Gods helpe it being faire weather with a fresh gale at South-west, wee got cleere off the same, standing East South-east and South-east and by East.

A Current.

The fourteenth in the morning being cleere of the Ice, I went away East North-east and North-east and by East till eight a clocke, when I directed my course North-east and by North, being at noone in the latitude of 59. degrees, the Cape or Head land which wee saw that night bearing West South-west sixteene leagues off. All this afternoone and night following it was for the most part still weather: this euening I found the variation 23. degrees 55. minutes.

Variation obserued.

The sixteenth faire weather with a fresh gale at East South-east, our course as before, being in the latitude of 60. degrees 20. minutes, the ships way North and by East northerly twentie leagues. This afternoone and the night following the wind as before, we steering still North-east and by North.

The eighteenth also thicke weather, being forced to stand away North North-west to double a great banke with great Mountaines of Ice almost incredible to be reported, yet by the helpe of God wee passed the same, sayling all this day by great and huge mountainous Ilands of Ice, with the winde at South-west and by South, being at noone in the latitude of 63. degrees 45. minutes. Wee did see our selues beset round about with mightie bankes of Ice, being forced to make more saile, and to lye to and againe all this night to keepe vs cleere of great and small Ilands of Ice, where many times we were in such danger, that we did looke for no other thing then present death, if God had not bene mercifull vnto vs and sent vs cleere weather, where by his assistance we kept our selues very hardly and with great difficultie cleere of the Ice.

Compassed about with Ice.

The nineteenth day in the morning cleere weather with a fresh gale at South-west, wee plying amongst the Ice to see if wee could get a gut to get cleere of the same, at which time wee saw the Land of America about the latitude of 64. degrees, it lying next hand South and North, being high ragged Land couered with snow, the shoare being all beset with Ice. So lying off and on amongst the Ice in great perill till about noone, when God of his goodnesse sent vs to espie a little gut where wee went through, and stood South South-east away, coming still by many Ilands of Ice. Heere I did finde both by my course and reckoning (the variation also of the Compasse respected) that wee were carried with a mightie Current to the Westwards, as both now and afterwards wee did probably prooue and see the same. For I setting my course from the coast of America in the latitude of 58. degrees and a halfe for the coast of Groenland North North-east with a compasse, whose wyers were placed more then two third parts of a Point to the Eastwards of the North, the variation being 23. degrees 30. minutes Northwesting and 24. degrees, as by obseruation I found betweene the latitude of 58. and a halfe and 54. degrees, yet I did finde my selfe contrarie either to mine owne, or to any of their expectations which was in the Fleet with mee, carried almost foure Points with the Current to the westwards ouer our iudgements.

Land of America.

A mightie current setting to the westward.

Note.

The twentieth, wee still sayled to the Eastwards by many great Bankes and Ilands of Ice, being still compassed in, wee being forced to stand to the Southwards to get cleere, where being sometimes becalmed, wee did plainly see and perceiue our selues carried into the Ice to the westward very violently. This Current setteth West North-west. The twentieth in the euening I found the Compasse varied 23. degrees.

Here I did giue direction to the other steerman to direct their course for Groenland. Variation obserued.

The one and twentieth day in the morning faire weather, wee espyed a gut through the Ice, it seeming cleere to the Southwards of the same, where bearing into the same about noone, wee were cleere of all the Ice by the mercifull prouidence of God. Here I obserued the latitude, it being 63. degrees 33. minutes. Now hauing the one and twentieth day at afternoone caused the Admirall to call the other Captaines and Steermen aboard, with whom wee might conferre, and hauing shewed briefly my reckoning with the other euents, which contrarie to my expectation had happened, the cause whereof at that instant they did plainly see and perceiue: They confessing, the Current as they did now plainly see, to bee the cause of the same. So hauing done, I gaue to the other Steermen directions, that being cleere of the Ice they should goe betweene the East and the East and by North ouer for the coast of Groenland and not to the Northwards of the East and by North, because of the former euents. And now at this instant, by Gods helpe, being cleere I called to them, giuing the same directions. This afternoone and the night following it was calme. This euening I found the Compasse varied 23. degrees 25. minutes.

The Current.

Variation obserued.

The two and twentieth day at noone I found vs in the latitude of 63. degrees 20. minutes. The three and twentieth faire weather, the ayre very cold, as with vs in the moneth of Ianuarie, the winde variable betweene the East North-east, and the South-east and by East, being at noone in the latitude of 63. degrees, hauing made a South-east and by South way

Yyy

eleuen

Variation ob-
serued.

eleuen leagues. This day at noone I cast about to the Westwards, the other ships doing the like, lying North-east and by North with the stemme, finding this euening the Needle varied to the Westwards 23. degrees 30. minutes.

Wee lost the
Lion and *Gilliflowre*.

The foure and twentieth, the winde variable betweene the South South-east and the South-east and by South with raine and fogge. This day about eleuen a clocke wee did see much Ice to leeward, wherefore I cast about to the Southwards, the winde comming to the East North-east, wee lying South-east with the stemme, supposing the ship to haue made a North and by West way halfe Northerly two and twentie leagues. This afternoone, by reason of the fogge, we lost sight of the *Lion* and the *Gilliflowre*, wee looking earnestly forth for them, and shooting both we and the *Urin* diuers pieces of Ordnance, but wee could neither see nor heare them, at which time the winde came vp Southerly, we standing away our course betweene the East and East and by North.

The five and twentieth, wee had sight of *Greenland*, being about ten leagues to the Southward of *Queene Annes Cape*. Wee standing away East South-east in with the Land with the winde at South. All this night it did blow very much, wee steering North by West and North North-west.

The siluer
Myne.

The place of
the siluer
Myne.

The seuen and twentieth day in the morning was reasonable cleere weather with a fresh gale at South South-west. This morning betweene foure and five of the clocke, I espyed *Queene Annes Cape* to beare East by South next hand of mee, and *King Christians Foord* South South-east of me, being thwart of *Rumels Foord*, *Queene Sophias Cape* bearing North halfe westerly, about five leagues off. Therefore I thought it conuenient to put into *Cunninghams Foord* where the siluer was, both in regard that I had sworne to his Maiestie as concerning the same; and also because wee were expressely commanded to bring home of the same. So hauing a faire gale at West South-west, wee came into the aforesaid Riuer, anchoring in a very good Sound, hard by the *Vre* in sixteene fathoms, at the mouth of *Cunninghams Foord*, about five of the clocke. There came presently foure of the Countrey people vnto vs after their old accustomed manner. This euening about fixe of the clocke the *Vrin* anchored by vs. This night the Admirall, my selfe, and Captaine *Browne* went on Land to see the Myne of siluer: where it was decreed, that we should take in as much thereof as we could.

Barter for
Seales skinnies
and Whales
finnes.

Many greene
Ilands.

Another foord.

Queene Sophias
Cape.

Reine Deere.

Rumels Foord.
A hollow Sea.

Fos Bay.

No ground at
100. fathoms
in the midst
of *Fos Bay*.

On Sunday the third of August, the Sauages seeing our curtesie toward them, bartered Seales skinnies and Whales finnes with vs, which being done, wee went to our Boat, and rowing away, three of them taking their Boats, rowed with vs vp the Foord, calling to other of the people, telling them and making signes to vs, of our dealing towards them. Then they also came to vs and bartered with vs for old Iron and Knives, for Seales skinnies and coates made of Seales skinnies, and Whales finnes, and rowed still all with vs. In the end, hauing rowed five or fixe leagues vp the Foord, and seeing it to bee but a Bay, wee returned alongst many greene and pleasant Ilands, where wee found good anchoring: the people still followed vs to the number of five and twentie persons till about fixe of the clocke; when it fell thicke with some raine, and the winde being Southerly, wee rowed in among the Sounds, at which time they went from vs: wee rowing our Boat to one of the Ilands went to supper. And hauing supped, wee rowed some three leagues vp an other Foord, where we found very shallow water, in which place we stayed with our Boat all that night.

The fourth day in the morning about three of the clocke, wee returned to our ship againe with a gale of winde Southerly, being somewhat thicke and raynie weather, sayling by the Land among the Ilands, till we came three leagues to the Northwards of *Queene Sophias Cape*, when going without the Ilands, wee met with a very high Sea, so that wee had much to doe, but by the prouidence of Almighty God, the Boat was preserued from being swallowed vp of the Sea. In the end, wee got againe among the Ilands, and so about noone wee came to our ships. The fift day, some of our men went on Land among the Mountaines, where they did see reine Deere.

The sixt day, I casting about, stood into the shoare South-east, till wee had brought *Rumels Foord* East and by North off vs, bearing roome for the same Foord. There goeth a very hollow Sea betweene the Ilands of the *Kings Foord* and *Rumels Foord*. The winde being somewhat still, wee towed on head with our Boats till wee came thwart of a Bay, in which I was in the *Vrin* Boat, which I named *Fos Bay*, after the name of *Philip de Fos*, Pilot of the *Urin*. But the Admirals wilfulnesse was such, that I could by no meanes counsaile him therein though night were at hand, but hee would goe vp the Foord, till wee came on the starboord side of the Foord to fixe and twentie fathomes sandie ground. The *Vrin* let fall anchor by vs, but the winde comming off the Land (our Captaine and Companie being so obstinate and willfull, that I could by no meanes get them to worke after my will) the ship draue into the mid-foord, where wee could haue no ground at an hundred fathoms, till the Tyde of flood came, when the flood set the ship to the shoare: but I laying out a Cage-anchor got the ship off; and setting our foresaile, stood for another roade vp the Riuer.

The eight day about foure in the morning, wee came to an anchor in twentie fathomes sandie ground,

ground, having very faire shoalding within vs. About noone the *Urin* came and anchored by vs. It floweth in this Riuer South-east and North-west, and it standeth in the latitude of 66. degrees and 25. minutes.

Fos Riuer in 66. degrees 25. minutes. A Town found ten leagues vp the Riuer.

The ninth in the morning, our Captaine with the Captaine of the *Urin*, went with their Boates vp the Riuer, where they did come to see their winter houses, which were builded with Whales bones, the balkes being of Whales ribbes, and the tops were couered with earth, and they had certaine Vaults or Sellers vnder the earth foure square, about two yards deepe in the ground. These houses were in number about some fortie. They found also certaine Graues made vp of stones ouer the dead bodies of their people, the carkasses being wrapped in Seales skins, and the stones laid in manner of a Coffin ouer them.

10 This day, in this place we set a man on Land, which had serued our Captaine the yeere before, which for a certaine fault committed by him our Captaine left behinde in the Countrey. About noone our men came aboard againe; and after Dinner some of the people came vnto vs, of whom wee caught five with their Boates and stowed them in our ships, to bring them into *Denmarke*, to enforme our selues better by their meanes of the state of their Countrey of *Groineland*, which in their owne language they call *Secanunga*, and say, that vp within the Land they haue a great King, which is carried vpon mens shoulders.

A man left on Land.

Five of the people taken againe. Groenland called by the Inhabitants Secanunga.

The tenth of August in the morning, the winde being at East South-east, we weighed and came forth of *Rombes Foord*, but being come forth to Sea amongst the Ilands, the winde came 20 vp to the South-west and by South, the Sea going maruellous high, we lying West and West and by North to Sea, doubling certaine Ilands and Rocks. Where the Sea going so wonderfull high had set vs vpon the Rocks, where we had all dyed, if God of his mercy at that instant, when wee saw nothing before our eyes but present death, had not sent vs a great gale of winde at South South-west, whereby wee lay West North-west away with a flawne sheat, wee doubling of the Ilands and Rocks, were forced to goe betweene certaine little Ilands, which lye off Queene *Sophias* Cape foure leagues into the Sea. The which Ilands I named the yeere before, *Knights Ilands*, after the name of *John Knight*. So hauing passed these Ilands not without great danger, wee found betweene them many blinde Rocks, and being cleere in the Sea. The thirteenth at noone, we were in the latitude of 66. degrees 50. minutes, being off Cape *Sophia* West and by North halfe westerly about sixteene leagues.

Knights Ilands.

30 The eighteenth about foure in the morning, we got cleere off the Ice, steering South and by West away, it being very thicke weather till noone, when it cleered vp: at which time wee saw the shoare rising like Ilands, being very high and stretching South and by East, and North and by West about foure and twentie leagues, the shoare being beset all full with Ice, so that in that place it is impossible for any ship to come into the shoare. Also of the Southermost of these two Capes, lay such a great Banke of Ice stretching into the Sea, that wee were forced to lye West and by North to double the same.

All this afternoone, wee were almost compast with Ice, we bearing to the same, the winde comming vp to the East South-east, we standing South to the Ice were forced to loofe for one 40 Iland, and to beare roome for another till about foure a clocke, when by Gods helpe wee got cleere off the same, the winde comming vp to the South-east and by South, wee lay South-west and by South off all this night.

The two and twentieth thicke weather, the winde as before. This morning about seuen a clocke we saw a saile West and by South of vs, we standing to him, for it was our Vice-admirall the *Lion*, who had beene greatly troubled with the Ice, wee being glad to meete one another againe.

We met againe with the Lion.

The eight and twentieth about foure in the morning, the storme ceased, the winde comming vp to the West South-west. About three a clocke wee set our sailes standing South-east away. But being vnder saile, we spyed great bankes and Ilands of Ice to leeward of vs, lying off 50 East and by South, which Ice I did iudge to lye off Cape *Desolation* about eight leagues off: the which by reason of the fogge we could not see.

The nine and twentieth about sixe in the morning, the winde came vp to the North-east and by North, we making saile went South South-east away till noone with a stiffe gale, wee seeing in the morning pieces of drift Ice to windward of vs; hauing at noone a shrink of the same I found vs in the latitude of 59. degrees 46. minutes, hauing from noone to noone made a South-east and by South way eight leagues.

The one and thirtieth, the winde continuing, wee holding still our course with the winde still at North North-west, with faire and cleere weather it blowing very much, so that wee stood away vnder a couple of courses low set, the Sea very much growne, being in the latitude 60 of 59. degrees 10. minutes, hauing made an East South-east way somewhat Easterly foure and thirtie leagues. This afternoone after my obseruation, wee saw some Ilands of Ice with some drift Ice, I something maruelling of the same, knowing both by my account and my noones obseruation, that we were shot too farre from any part of *Groineland*, that was described in the Ma-

rine Chart. For the southermost part described therein is not in the latitude of 60. degrees, and we being now in the latitude of 59. degrees ten minutes, Cape *Desolation* bearing West North-west halfe Northerly about sixtie foure leagues, and Cape *Christian* which was the next known part of *Greenland* North-west and by West westerly eight and thirtie leagues, so holding our course East South-east away, about foure a clocke we had sight of Land, being very high Land, it lying alongst East South-east about sixteene leagues, the westermost part seemed either to fall away East North-east, and the southermost point bearing East northerly, fell away East and by North. This Land is very high, hauing the Hills covered with snow, the shoare being very thicke with Ice: this place because I knew not whether it was of the Mayne or an Iland, I named *Frost Iland*, after the name of the ship.

The first of September, at noone, I made obseruation, and found vs in the latitude of 58. degrees, hauing made a South-east and by South way southerly fixe and twentie leagues. This day at noone I directed my course East and by South, This afternoone about fixe a clock it fell calme, and so continued all the night following. This euening I found the variation 10. degrees 50. minutes North westing.

The fourth day the winde at East and by South, welying South and by East, hauing a shrink of the sunne about noone, I did suppose vs in the latitude of 57. degrees 20. minutes, hauing made a South-east and by South way southerly about ten leagues; all this day and the night following we lay as before.

The eighth day faire weather, the winde as before, it being almost calme, wee going away as before, being at noone in the latitude of 58. degrees 36. minutes, hauing made an East North-east way northerly twentie leagues, by reason of the great southerly Sea. All this afternoone and the night following it was for the most part calme. This euening I found the Compass varied about two degrees 45. minutes north westing.

The ninth day also faire weather, the winde southerly a fresh gale, our course still East, being at noone in the latitude of 58. degrees 40. minutes, our way East and by North easterly twelue leagues. This afternoone the winde came vp to the South or South and by East with raine. This night about midnight thicke weather with raine, the winde comming to the South-east, welying East North-east and North-east and by East with the stemme.

The tenth day about two in the morning, the winde came vp to the South South-west, wee steering our course East, being at noone in the latitude of 59. degrees 10. minutes, hauing made an East and by North way easterly foure and fortie leagues, wee hauing a fresh gale westerly. This day wee saw one of the Fowle the which are on the Iland of *Bas* in *Scotland*, called *Bas Geese*. This euening I found the variation 1. degree 4. minutes northeasting.

The eighteenth, this forenoone about nine a clocke, wee espyed land, rising somewhat ragged, the Eastermost point of the same bearing South-east and by South, and the Westermost part South and by West about eight leagues. These Ilands by my account and obseruation, I found to be the Ilands of *Ferri*, being at noone in the obseruation of 62. degrees 5. minutes.

The nineteenth I set a little Rocke, called the *Monke*; which lyeth off to the South-east end, it being about fixe a clocke, East South-east of vs three leagues off. This night about ten a clocke it fell calme.

The twentieth, wee did see the streame had set vs to the Northwards. This streame setteth vnder the Ilands of *Farre* next hand East and West. So casting about wee stood to the westwards, lying West South-west and sometimes West and by South, and sometimes South-west, it being very raynie weather, about midnight it fell calme and so continued all night vnto the morning.

The first of October in the afternoone about foure of the clocke, we had sight of *The Holmes*. The second day, wee steered away South-east and by South and South South-east for *The Col*. And about eight of the clocke this night wee came into *Turco*; where wee rode all the day following. The third day at night the winde came to the North-east; so wee weighed and came into *Elsenor Road*. The fourth day, by the prouidence of God, we arriued in our desired Port of *Copen Hawen*, 1606.

The seuerall burthens and numbers of men employed in the ships of the Fleet aforesaid, were as followeth.

The *Trust* being Admirall, was of sixtie tunnes, had eight and fortie men. The *Lion* Vice-admirall, was of seuentie tunnes, had eight and fortie men. The *Vrin* or *Eagle* Reare-admirall, of one hundred tunnes, had fiftie men. The *Gillisflowe* was of fortie tunnes, had sixteene men. The Pinnasse called the *Cat*, was of twentie tunnes, had twelue men. *Bredaranses Foord* is most Northerly. *Cunninghams Foord* is next in sixtie seuen degrees and odde minutes. The Foord wherein they saw the Towne ten leagues vp the same, is two leagues to the South of *Cunninghams Foord*. The Kings Foord is in sixtie fixe degrees and an halfe.

William

William Huntris of Stowborow in Yorke-shire, is Master Hall his man, and is allowed thirtie pound by the yeere of the King of Denmarke, for his skill in Nauigation.

I haue also Master Halls Voyage of the next yeere 1607. to Groenland from Denmarke, written, and with representations of Land-fights curiously delineated by Iofias Hubert of Hull, but the Danes (envious perhaps that the glory of the Discouery would be attributed to the English Pilot) after the Land saluted, mistimed, and in fine forced the ship to returne for Island. For which cause I haue here omitted the whole.

CHAP. XVI.

The Voyage of Master IOHN KNIGHT, (which had bene at Groenland once before 1605. Captaine of a Pinnasse of the King of Denmarke) for the Discouery of the North-west Passage, begun the eighteenth of Aprill 1606.

Set sayle from Grauesend in a Barke of fortie tunnes, called the *Hope-well*, well April 18. 1606. victualled and manned at the cost of the Worshipfull Companies of *Moscouie*, and the *East Indie* Merchants, for the Discouerie of the North-west Passage the eighteenth of Aprill 1606. and arriued the sixe and twentieth of the same month in the Ile of *Orkney*, in a Sound called *Pentlefrith*. Heere wee were stayed with contrary winds at West and North-west, and with much storme and foule weather about a fortnight. In which meane space, I entertained two men of this Countrey, which are both lustie fellowes at Sea and Land, and are well acquainted with all the Harbours of these North parts of *Scotland*. These men brought vs into a very good Harbour, called *Saint Margarites Hope*, where we had the Sea open to vs for all winds that are good for vs to proceed on our Voyage. In this Countrey we found little worthy of Relation. For it is poore, and hath no wood growing vpon it. Their Corne is Barley and Oates. Their fire is Turffe, their houses are low and vnseemely without, and as homely within.

Pentlefrith, in Orkney.

Saint Margarites Sound.

Vpon Munday the twelfth of May, I set sayle from *Saint Margarites Sound* or *Hope* in *Orkney*, at nine of the clocke in the morning, our course being West and by South: and at eight of the clocke at night, the Hill called *Hoyce*, did beare West Southerly eleuen or twelue leagues, and the *Stacke* South and by East Easterly three leagues and an halfe, the winde beeing at East South-east.

This day was for the most part calme, and sometimes wee had a fresh gale of winde: our course was West and by South, halfe a point Southerly. This day I passed by two small Islands. The one of them is called, the *Clete*, and the other the *Ran*. They are distant foure leagues the one from the other. The course betweene them is South-west and North-east. The Southermost is called the *Clete*, and is the lesser of the twaine: it is distant from the North-east part of *Lewis*, called the *Bling-head*, seuen leagues: and the course betwixt them is North-west and South-east. Also this *Bling-head*, is distant from the *Farro Head*, of the *Hieland* of *Scotland* West and by North halfe a point Westerly, and is distant seuentene leagues. Also the course betweene *Bling-head* and the North-west part of *Lewis*, is West and by South halfe a point Westerly, and faire low Land without Wood. There is good riding all along the shoare, the winde beeing off the Land, and in some places are very good Harbours for all winds. From eight to twelue at night, we ran sixe leagues West South-west.

Two small Islands.

The Bling-head the North-east part of Lewis.

This morning we had a fresh gale of wind at East North-east: our course was South-west and by West two houres five leagues. From two to ten South-west, and by South 20. leagues. From ten to twelue West South-west sixe leagues. The latitude at noone was 58. degrees 27. minutes.

Fifty eight degrees 27. min.

From Wednesday at noone till Thursday at noone, was for the most part raine and fogge, the wind at North-east and by East: our course was West halfe a point Southerly: our latitude at noone being Thursday, 58. degrees 23. minutes. From Thursday at noone till Friday at noone, being the sixteenth, our way was West Southerly about twentie leagues: the latitude at noone was 58. degrees 19. minutes. This night the wind was sometimes variable betweene the South and by West and South-east, with faire weather, the Magneticall Declination 18. degrees: the height of the Pole was 58. degrees 10. minutes. Also in the morning the Sunne beeing tenne degrees above the Horizon, was distant from the East to the North-wards of the East twentie two degrees.

Eightene degrees of variation.

From Friday at noone vntill midnight was little wind Southerly, and sometimes calme, and from midnight till twelue at noone the next day a stiffe gale of wind at East North-east. This foure and twentie houres I judged our way to be made good West, something Southerly thirtie leagues.

leagues. The latitude at noone was 58. degrees 10. minutes. Also the sunne did rise fiftie degrees to the Northward of the East.

From Saturday at noone being the seventeenth, till Sunday at noone being the eighteenth, our course was West and by South a stiffe gale of wind fiftie leagues, being close weather, we made no obseruation of latitude.

From Sunday at noone till Munday at noone I steered away West and West and by South, hauing a storme at East and by North: our course was West and Southerly fiftie leagues.

From Munday at noone till midnight, our course was West and Southerly: and from that time till noone West and by North and West among. I iudged wee sayled fortie leagues these foure and twentie houres, being for the most part foggie. The latitude at noone was 57. degrees 50. minutes.

A current to the Northward

From Tuesday at noone till noone on Wednesday, our course was West and by North fortie fife leagues, being foggie weather without obseruation. Here wee had a current, which I iudge setteth to the Northwards.

From Wednesday at noone till Thursday at noone, being the two and twentieth, our course was West and by North fiftie leagues with much fogge and close weather, and much winde at North-east and by East.

Many Gullies and much Rock-weed.

From Thursday at noone till midnight, our course was West and by North. Then the winde came to the North: wee tooke in our mayne course, and I spooned away with our fore-saile till Friday, the winde being at North North-east, I iudged our way West South-west, the twelue houres that I spooned about fiftene leagues, the other twelue houres West Northerly fife and twentie leagues. This three and twentieth day, wee saw many Gullies and much Rock-weed.

A current to the North east ward.

From Friday at noone till Saturday at noone, I iudged our way to bee made South-west and by West, but it proued West and by South, rather Westerly, twentie leagues by reason of a current, that I iudge setteth to the North-eastward. The latitude at noone was 57. degrees 53. minutes. The variation of the Compasse was about a point to the Westward. This forenoone and all night the wind was at North a very hard gale; wee spooned with our fore-saile. Also this forenoone, we saw much Sea Tange and Rock-weed.

The variation 13. degrees Westward.

From Saturday at noone till Sunday at noone, our course was Southward about twentie leagues, the wind being Northerly. This day we saw much Rock-weed and Drift-wood. The latitude was fiftie seuen degrees. The variation was to the Westward thirteene degrees or thereabout. The sunne being fife degrees high in the morning, was twentie foure degrees to the Northward of the East.

An Owle.

From Sunday at noone till two of the clocke the next day in the morning, beeing Munday, our course was West North-west, we made our way West and by North twentie leagues, hauing a fresh gale at South-east and by East: it fell calme till foure of the clocke: then it blew an easie gale at West South-west, wee stemming North-west, &c. betweene that and North North-east the wind being variable. The wind freshed toward noone. This morning we saw an Owle.

The variation 14. degrees and an halfe to the West.

The latitude at noone the eight and twentieth, was 57. degrees 57. minutes. The variation of the Compasse was fourteene degrees and an halfe to the West. This day wee had blacke water, and many ouer-falls, streame leeches, and sets of currents, as it seemed to the Northward, and some to the Westward.

Fiftie eight degrees of latitude. White fowles. Dead Cowes.

The thirtieth, we found our latitude to be fiftie eight degrees. Heere it seemed that we were in a tyde gate, which I iudged to set North and South, or that it was the Eddie of the currents, which we saw the other day. Also wee saw white Fowles, which cheeped like Spar-hawkes. Also we saw driuing many dead Cowes.

The variation of the Compasse 24. degrees North westward. Iune 1.

The one and thirtieth, the sunne being fiftie degrees above the Horizon, I found it to bee twentie seuen degrees to the Eastward of the South: againe in the afternoone, the sunne beeing fiftie degrees high, it was distant from the South to the Westward fiftie one degrees: at noone it was 55. degrees 6. minutes, the height of the Pole was 58. degrees 3. minutes. The variation of the Compasse was twentie foure degrees toward the North-west. Our way made these twentie foure houres was not aboue sixe leagues West, being little wind for the most part.

Many blacke wild fowles.

From Saturday at noone till two of the clocke it was calme: then it began to blow an easie gale at North. At night I obserued the sunne setting, and found it to set twentie one degrees to the Westward of the North, the winde continuing variable betweene the North and the West North-west till noone, being the first of Iune. Then I found my selfe by obseruation to be in the latitude of 57. degrees 35. minutes. I iudged our way from noone to noone West and by South or thereabout thirteene leagues.

From Sunday at noone till ten of the clocke the same Euening, it was calme. Then it began to blow a stiffe gale of wind at South South-east. Our course was West till noone, the next day being Munday, twentie three leagues. This day wee saw many blacke Fowles like Willocks flying in flockes together.

The fourth my latitude at noone, was 56. degrees 40. minutes. The latitude next day at noone

noone was fiftie fixe degrees. The variation of the Compasse by the Scale was twentie degrees, and by my other Instrument twentie foure degrees to the West. The sunne was twentie two degrees and an halfe high, and to the North of the West thirtie degrees by the Instrument, and twentie fixe degrees by the Scale.

Latitude 56. degrees.
Variation 24. degrees Westward.
Fifty eight degrees.

Our latitude at noone the eleuenth, was fiftie eight degrees. And at night the sunne did set fourteene degrees to the Westward of the North, and did rise fiftie degrees to the Eastward of the North.

The thirteenth, the Ice seemed to be disperfed thinner with the wind, or some other accident: then I set sayle with our two courses, but was forced to take them in againe, and moored to another great Iland of Ice, about a mile to the Westward of the other. Here setteth some smal current to the South-westward. For the great flakes of Ice that were somewhat deep, draue to the Southward, and the other small Ice which was flotie draue with the wind, which was variable betwixt the North-west and the North. Here we were in sight of Land, which bore West South-west from vs, shewing in some parts like Ilands. Our latitude at noone was 57. degrees 25. minutes.

A small current to the South-west. Sight of Land like Ilands.

From Friday at noone till eight of the clocke at night, wee continued moored to the said Ice: then it fell calme, and I loosed and rowed to the Westward with our Oares, hoping to get thorough, till twelue of the clocke, then the Ice grew very thicke. I moored againe till foure of the clocke the next morning. Then we rowed and sayled with an easie gale of wind till eight of the clocke the next morning being Saturday. Then it began to blow a fresh gale Easterly, and we cunnd the ship among the Ice with our Oares till noone. Our latitude was fiftie eight degrees. From Saturday at noone till midnight wee guided our shippe to the Westward among the Ice with our Oares, hoping to get thorough: but wee were suddenly compassed about with many great Ilands of Ice, and continued so distressed with a sore storme of wind at South-east, being foggie and thicke weather: we were so bruised betweene mightie great Ilands of Ice, that we were in danger euery minute to be crushed in pieces with force of the heauing and setting of the said Ice with the great Sea that the wind made, had not God of his mercie provided for vs: for our owne endeouours did little auaille to our helpe, though wee employed all our industries to the vttermost of our powres.

The nineteenth, we descryed the Land of *America*, which riseth like eight Ilands: the Northernmost part of it did beare North and by West about fiftene leagues from vs. I obserued the latitude, and found my selfe to be in 56. degrees and 48. minutes. The variation of the Compasse was twentie fve degrees to the Westward. All this Coast sheweth like broken Land or Ilands; and the tyde of flood commeth from the Northward.

The Land of *America* descryed in 56. degrees 48. minutes. *America* here sheweth like broken Ilands.

Tuesday the foure and twentieth all the morning, there blew a storme Northerly, and such a suffe of the Sea, and so much Ice came in, that our fasts brake that were fast on shoare, and our Rudder was driuen from our sterne with the force of mightie Ilands of Ice; so that we were forced to hale close into the bottome of the Coue to saue our clothes, furniture and victuals: wee did our best, but before we had done, our ship was halfe full of water: the night comming vpon vs being wearie, we tooke a little rest.

On Wednesday, we went hard to worke when the ship was on ground, to get the water out of her, and to stop so many of her leakes as we could come by, and to saue so much of our bread as we could; and some went to building our shallop. Also I caused our Boate to be lanched ouer the Iland; and sent my Mate *Edward Gorrell*, with three others, to seeke for a better place where to bring our ship on ground, if it were possible, to mend her againe. But they returned without any certaintie by reason of the abundance of Ice, which choked euery place. They found wood growing on the shoare.

Edward Gorrell the Masters Mate.

Thursday being faire weather. Here Master John Knight ended writing in this Iournall. On this Thursday the sixe and twentieth of Inne in the morning, our Master caused some of our men to goe aboard our ship, to saue what things they could. And hee and *Edward Gorrell* his Mate, and his brother, and three more of our Company tooke the Boate, carrying with them foure Pistols, three Muskets, fve Swords, and two halfe Pikes for to goe ouer to a great Iland, which was not aboue a mile from our ship, to looke if they could find any Harbour or any Coue, to get our ship into for to mend her. Also he carried an Equinoctiall Diall with him, and per to make a Draught of the Land. When they were passed ouer to the other side, our Master, his Mate, and his brother, and one more went on shoare, leauing two of vs in the Boate with one Musket, one Sword, and an halfe Pike to keepe it: which two stayed in the Boate from ten of the clocke in the morning, vntill eleuen of the clocke at night, but could heare no newes of them after their departure vp into the top of the Hill. Then did the Trumpettor sound two or three times, and the other did discharge his Musket two or three times, and so they came away to the other side to the West of the Company, where the ship was: where they were watching for our comming; who seeing vs two comming and no more, they maruelled where the rest of the company were. When wee came on shoare, they enquired for our Master and the rest of our company. But we could tell them no newes of them after their departure out of the Boat, but that we did see them goe vp to the top of the Iland. Which report did strike all our men into a great

M. John Knight with fve more passeth ouer to a great Iland, where he and three of his company seeme to haue bin intercepted by the Sauages.

Their Trumpettor.

Their Shallop
not finished.

They could
not passe to the
great land for
Ice.

The Sauages of
the Countrey
assault our men
at one of the
clocke at night.

Our men ex-
pulle the Saua-
ges.

Above fiftie
Sauages in
fight.

Very great
Boates of the
Sauages.

The descriptio
of the Sauages

A great Cur-
rent setting to
South,

great feare to thinke in what extremitie we were, because we did want our Master and three of our best men, and our Ship lay funke, and we had nothing to trust to but our Shallop, which was not at that time halfe finished. This night lying on shoare in our Tent, which was betweene two Rocks, we kept very good watch, for feare of any peoples sudden assaulting of vs: or if our Master and his company had traualled so farre, that they could not come againe that night, and would shoote a Musket, that wee might heare them. But they came not at all.

The next day being Friday, and the seuen and twentieth of Iune, wee consulted to goe ouer seuen of vs with our Boate, to try if we could see or learne any news of our Master, or any of our men; for we were afraid that they were either surprisid by the Sauages of the Countrey, or else deuoured by the wilde Beasts. So we tooke with vs seuen Muskets, and Swords, and Targets, and such prouision as we had in the Ship, and went downe to the Sea-side, but wee could not get ouer for Ice. At length we returned, with much adoe to get on shoare, and went to our Ship, to saue what things we could all that day.

On Saturday, the eight and twentieth, we did likewise saue what things we could, and gat all our things out of our Ship, and made her cleane in hold, hauing faire weather, hoping in God to saue her, and to mend all things, as well as we could; for she lay vpon hard rocks: wherefore we kept her as light as we could, for beating and bruising of her hull. That night about nine of the clocke, it began to raine very sore, and so continued all night: and about one of the clocke at night, our Boate-Swaine and our Steward being at watch, and their watch almost out, the Steward went aboard the Ship to pompe, leauing the Boate-Swaine at watch. Some Musket shot length from our Tent: while he was in pumping, there came ouer the rocks a great sort of the Countrey people toward the place where the Boate-Swaine was: who when they saw him, they shot their arrowes at him, running toward him as fast as they could. Whereupon hee discharged his Musket at them, and fled to our Tent as fast as hee could. Whereupon hee dis- vs, they were so many of them in sight. The Steward hearing his Musket goe off, came out of the Ship, and as he was comming, saw the Sauages running to our Shallop, and cryed out to vs that were asleepe in our Tent, to come to rescue the Boate-Swaine, and the Shallop. We made what haste we could; when we came towards them, and saw so many of them in our Shallop, we were afraid we were betraid. At this time it rained very sore; yet calling our wits together, we sent two of our men backe vnto our Tent, the rest of vs made toward them, and shot at them some three or foure Muskets: who when they saw vs shoote, they stood in our Shallop, and held vp their hands vnto vs, calling one to another. Then thought we with our selues, that we were better to dye in our defence in pursuing of them, then they vs, being but eight Men and a great Dogge. When they saw vs marching toward them so fiercely, our Dogge being formost, they ranne away: but we durst not pursue them any further, for it was in the night, and they were in sight about fiftie men. Thus we recovered our Shallop. Then we sent some more of our men to our Tent to keepe it; and the rest followed toward the place whither they fled. But before we could ouertake them, they were gotten into their Boates, and were rowing away. through the Ice; which was so thicke, that they could not passe away, but stucke fast; for their Boates were very great: wee seeing them sticke fast in the Ice, some setting with Oares, and some rowing, came so neere them, as we could, and shot at them some dozen shot, before they could get cleere: which shot caused them to cry out very sore one to another; for their Boates were full of men. As farre as we could iudge, they be very little people, tawnie coloured; thin or no beards, and flat nosed, and Man-eaters.

On Sunday, the nine and twentieth, all day long we gat such things as we could aboard our Shippe, for feare they should come ouer with more men, and beset vs, our Ship lying betweene two great Rocks, and all without so full of Ice, that we could not passe any way to Sea, no not with a Boate. That day, two of our men kept watch vpon the Rocks, to giue vs warning, if they did come ouer with Boats. Then did our Carpenter make what shift hee could with our Shallop, and did tench her in some places, but neither calked her, nor pitched her. Then did wee take her, and bring her downe close to the Shippe, and there shee did stand all night.

On Munday, the thirtieth day in the morning we went to worke to cut the Ice with Axes and Pick-axes, to get our Shippe; for all about the land was nothing but Ice, and no place to ride free neither with Shippe nor Boate. That night it pleased God, that wee got her out, and came away rowing with our Oares; but she was exceeding leake, and our Shallop too: and, which was worse, we had neuer a Rudder to stirre our Ship withall. Wee rowed all that night among the Ice.

The first and second dayes of Iuly, we continued also rowing vp and downe among the floting and driving Ice, with little hope of recovering our Countrey.

The third of Iuly, we had a gale of winde at North, and a great current setting to the Southward: Then made we fast our Ship to an Island of Ice, and went to worke, and to stow her things within boord, to make her stiffe; for wee had neuer a whit of balast in her. Then did our Carpenter make what shift hee could, to hang our Rudder, hauing nothing conuenient in our Shippe

Ship to make Gudgeons, nor Pintels. Then were we forced to breake open our Masters Chest, and to take all the Iron bands off it, to make fast two Pick-axes, for two Pintels, and to binde our Rudder withall. So, as it pleased God, that night we hanged our Rudder, having but two Pintels and a Cable through the middle of it, to keepe it to with two tacks. Then were we in good hope to get cleare of the Ice, because wee had some steerage, though it was but bad: for before, we durst beare but little sayle, our Ship being so leake, and her stemme so sore beaten with the rocks and Ice, and having no steerage, but were forced to rowe with our Oares, till wee were all sore and weary.

Pintels are small Iron pins made fast to the Rudder, and hung the Rudder to the Stern-post, &c.

The next day about tenne of the clocke in the morning, the winde came to the West North-west, and was faire weather: so we steered away East and by North, to get vs out of the Bay: And at noone, the watch being out, which was the third watch that we had after we came out of the Countrey (for before, continually we did watch all, to keepe our Shippe cleare of the Ice, as neere as we could) we began to Pumpe our Shippe, but could not make her sucke in a thousand stroakes, if she had stood but one halfe houre unpumped. Then were wee forced to vnmorage our Ship, to see if we could finde our leakes. We soone found a great many of leakes, but not that which caused vs to Pumpe so sore. At the last, we found it close abaft our forefoot, where her keele was splintred in two or three places, where the Sea came running in so fast, that it was not possible to keepe her free with both our Pumps, and wee could not come to it to stop it; for it was vnder the timbers. Then did wee take our maine Bonnet, and basted it with Oecom, and put it ouerboard, right against our leake, which eased vs some foure or five hundred stroakes in an houre. Then vpon consultation had among our selues, wee resolved to shape our course towards *Newfound Land*, to see if we could get any place to mend our Ship, hoping there to meete with some *English* or *French* men. At this time we had one of our men very sicke, and another had his hand very sore splitted; and most of vs all were so sore with rowing and pumping, that we were scarce able to stirre, but that we must perforce.

They get out of the Bay, where they rode.

Our Shipps Keele was splintred in two or three places. They consult to touch at *Newfound Land*.

The fift of Iulie, wee shaped our course for *Newfound Land*, with the winde at West South-west.

The one and twentieth, the winde was at South South-west; and we fell with the Land, being nothing but broken Ilands. Then we stood to the Westward, being in the latitude of 49 degrees and an halfe.

Broken Ilands in 49. degrees and a halfe, of latitude.

The two and twentieth was faire weather, and the winde very variable: and about sixe of the clocke at night, the winde came to the West North-west. Then we steered in among the Ilands, to see if we could finde any harbour to mend our Shippe; for she was very leake. When we were come in among them, we found nothing but broken Ilands, and a great current, which did see from Iland to Iland, and had no ground at an hundred fathoms. That night we were very sore intangled with sunken Rocks, and in great danger of casting away our Ship, having very thicke weather: wherefore we kept to and fro all that night.

Many broken Ilands, which were the *Illes de Fogo*.

Sunken Rocks.

The foure and twentieth of Iulie, in the morning, we spied some dozen Shallops, which were fishing some two leagues from vs. Then wee made what way wee could toward them, &c. We remained in this Bay of *Fogo*, in repairing our Shippe, and refreshing of our selues, vntill the two and twentieth of August. Then taking our leaues of our kinde and louing friends, with giuing them most heartie thankes for their goodnesse towards vs, we put forth to the Sea, and with an indifferent and reasonable good passage we arriued safely in *Dartmouth* in *Devonshire*, and sent word to *London* vnto our owners, of the losse of our Master and his three companions, and of the dolefull successe of our Voyage, the foure and twentieth day of September, 1606.

Twelue Shallops of Fishermen.

The rest of this Iournall, from the death of Master *John Knight*, was written by *Oliuer Browne* one of the Company.

CHAP. XVII.

The fourth Voyage of *JAMES HALL* to *Groeneland*, wherein he was set forth by *English Aduenturers*, Anno 1612. and slaine by a *Greenlander*.

Written by *WILLIAM BAFFIN*.

Ednesday, the eight of Iulie, 1612. in the morning I perceiued the Sunne and the Moone, both very faire aboue the horizon, as I had done diuers times before. At which time I purposed to finde out the longitude of that place, by the Moones comming to the Meridian. Most part of this day I spent about finding of the Meridian line; which I did vpon an Iland neere the Sea, hanging at the extreames of my Meridian line two threds with Plummetts at them, instead of an index and sights.

Thursday, the ninth day very early in the morning I went on shoare the Iland, being a faire morning,

morning, and obserued till the Moone came iust vpon the Meridian. At which very instant, I obserued the Sunnes height, and found it 8. degrees, 53. minutes, North: in the eleuation of the Pole 65. degrees 20. minutes. By the which, working by the doctrine of sphericall triangles, hauing the three sides giuen, to wit, the complement of the Poles eleuation; the complement of the Almecanter; and the complement of the Sunnes declination, to finde out the quantitie of the angle at the Pole: I say, by this working, I found it to be foure of the clocke, 17. minutes, and 24. seconds. Which when I had done, I found by mine Ephemerides, that the Moone came to the Meridian at London that morning at foure of the clocke, 25. minutes, 34. seconds: which 17. minutes, 24. seconds, subtracted from 25. 34. leaueth 8. 10. of time, for the difference of longitude betwixt the Meridian of London (for which the Ephemerides was made) and the Meridian passing by this place in Greenland. Now the Moones motion that day, was 12. degrees 7. minutes: which conuerted into minutes of time, were 48. minutes, 29. seconds: which working by the rule of proportion, the worke is thus: if 48. minutes, 29. seconds; the time that the Moone commeth to the Meridian sooner that day, then she did the day before, giue 360. the whole circumference of the earth, what shall 8. minutes 10. seconds giue, to wit, 60. degrees, 30. minutes, or neere there about: which is the difference of longitude betweene the Meridian of London, and this place in Greenland, called *Cockins Sound*, lying to the Westward of London.

60. degrees 30. minutes difference of longitude betweene the meridian of London and Cockins Sound in Greenland.

Obiection.

Answer.

This finding of the longitude, I confesse is somewhat difficult and troublesome, and there may be some small errour. But if it be carefully looked vnto, and exactly wrought, there will be no great errour, if your Ephemerides be true. But some will say, that this kinde of working is not for Marriners; becaule they are not acquainted to worke propositions by the table of signes, and an instrument is not precise enough to finde out the houre, minute, and second. For the losse of one minute of time, is the losse of 7. degrees of longitude. I answere, that although the most part are not vsed to this worke, yet I know some of the better sort, which are able to worke this and the like propositions exactly. And those which yet cannot, and are desirous to learne, may in short space attaine to such knowledge as shall be sufficient for such things. And how necessary it is, that the longitude of places should be knowne, I leaue to the iudgement of all skilfull Marriners, and others that are learned in the Mathematicks.

This afternoone it was agreed by the chiefe of our Company, that our Master, *James Hall*, should goe in the smaller Ship, farther to the Northward.

Cockins Ford in 65. deg. 20. min. Variation 23. deg. 58. min.

The foresaid Thursday in the euening, he departed out of the *Patience* into the *Haris-case*, to get forth of the Harbor, which our Master called *Cockins-ford*, in remembrance of Alderman *Cockin* one of the Aduenturers: which place, is in the latitude of 65. degrees, 20. minutes. And the variation of the compasse is 23. degrees, 58. minutes, to the Westward. That euening was very calme, and we towed our Shippe forth with the Shallops and Ships Boat. But within an houre or two after we were got into the Offin; the winde being at North, it blew a great storme, which continued all that night.

Many good Rodes.

The foureteenth, our Master turned the Ship vp to the Riuer againe, toward the Riuer where the supposed mine should be. But the tyde was so farre spent, that we could not get to Sea, but were constrained to Anker in a roade at the South side of the Riuer, some three leagues from the *Patience*, in which place are many good Rode-steeds to be found.

Great footing.

Thursday, the sixteenth day, the winde was at North-west, and blew so stiffe a gale, that we could not get to Sea that day. That night, eightene of vs went into the Ilands to looke for some Deere, but found none. But we perceiued the foote-steps of some great Beast, which wee supposed to be of some great Elke: the foote was as bigge as any Oxe foote.

Ramels Riuer.

Tuesday, the twentie one, the weather still continued in such sort, that wee could not by any meanes get to the Riuer, where the supposed Myne should bee. Wherefore our Master bare roome for *Ramelsford*, being a Riuer Southward of another, called *Cunninghams ford*, some twelue leagues. And we came to an Anchor at the entrance on the Southside of the Ford, about seuen of the clocke.

James Hall deadly wounded by a Savage.

Wednesday, the two and twentieth day, about nine or ten of the clocke, the Sauages came to barter with vs, being about fortie of them, and continued about an houre and an halfe: At which time our Master *James Hall*, being in the Boate, a Sauage with his Dart strooke him a deadly wound vpon the right side, which our Surgeon did thinke did pierce his liuer. We all mused that he should strike him, and offer no harme to any of the rest: vnlesse it were, that they knew him since he was there with the *Danes*; for out of that Riuer they carried away five of the people, whereof neuer any returned againe: and in the next Riuer, they killed a great number. And it should seeme that he which killed him, was either brother, or some neere kinsman to some of them that were carried away: for he did it very resolutely, and came within foure yards of him. And, for ought we could see, the people are very kinde one to another, and ready to reuenge any wrong offered to them. All that day he lay very sore pained, looking for death euery houre, and resigned all his charge to Master *Andrew Barker*, Master of the *Haris-case*, willing him to place another in his roome Master of the small Ship.

Thursday,

Thursday, the three and twentieth, about eight of the clocke in the morning he dyed, being very penitent for all his former offences. And after we had shrowded him, wee carried him in the Shallop, to burie him in some out Iland, according to his owne request while he was living. After we had buried him, we went in the Shallop to seeke for the mine, which we had expected so long. All that day we rowed along toward the North, passing by a Cape called, *Queene Sophias Cape*. That night we staid at an Iland, some three leagues short of the River.

The death of James Hall.

Queene Sophias Cape.

Friday, the foure and twentieth, in the morning, wee rowed along, and came to the place, which is on the South-side of the entrance of *Cunninghams River*: And we found diuers places, where the *Danes* had digged; it was a kinde of shining stone, which when our Goldsmith, *James Carlile*, had tried, it was found of no value, and had no mettall at all in it: but was like vnto *Mosconic* fludde, and of a glittering colour. That day after we had dined, wee rowed vp that River some foure leagues, where diuers of our company went vp into the Mountaines, and found a Valley more pleasant, then they had seene in the Countrey. That euening we returned, and came to the place where the *Danes* had digged their supposed Mine, and tooke some of it in our Boate to carry with vs, and returned toward our Ship. That night we rowed and sailed, and the next morning about nine of the clocke, we came to our Ship.

Cunninghams River.

The supposed Mine found to be of no value. A pleasant Valley.

Saturday, the five and twentieth, being Saint *James* his day, in the forenoone, we came to our Shippe, lying on the South side of the River, called *Ramels River*. And as soone as our Master found, that the people came no more to trade with vs, he determined to depart with the Shippe into the Kings Ford to the *Patience*: and rowing about the harbour, where we lay to finde some neerer way out to the Sea, we found among the Ilands, where many of their winter houses had bin, and some of their Tents were but lately carried away. In which place wee also found one of their long Boates, made of wood, and bound together for the most part, with shiuers of Whales fins, and couered with Seales skinnies, being some two and thirtie foote in length, and some five foote broad, hauing tenne thoughts or seates in it. That day about twelue of the clocke we weighed anchor, and departed out of *Ramels Ford*, which lieth in the latitude of 67. degrees, and the variation of the compasse is 24. degrees 16. minutes, being a very faire River, and one of the most principall, which wee saw in that Countrey, stretching in East and East and by South. This night, about one of the clocke, we came to the *Patience*, lying in the Kings Ford.

Many of their winter houses in Ramels River. The fashion of their greater Boates.

Ramels Ford in the latitude of 67. degrees. The variation is 24. degrees 16. minutes.

Sunday, the sixe and twentieth, Master *Andrew Barker*, and our Merchant, Master *Wilkinson*, with other of the Company, were in conference about returning home, because that since our Master was slaine, none of the Sauages would trade with vs, as they were wont.

Wednesday, the nine and twentieth, we were likewise occupied about taking in of ballast, for our Shippe was very light: and that euening it was agreed, that *Andrew Barker*, Master of the *Harts-ease*, should goe Master of the *Patience*, which was sore against the minde of *William Gourdon*: and *William Huntrice* was appointed Master of the *Harts-ease*, and *Iohn Gartenby*, one of the quarter Masters of the *Patience*, was Masters mate of the *Harts-ease*.

William Huntrice Master of the Harts-ease.

Tuesday, the fourth of August, in the morning the winde being Northerly, a very small gale we got to Sea, where the winde came to the Southward, and we tacked sometime on the one boord, and sometime on the other, making small way on our course.

They come out of harbour.

Munday the tenth, was raine and foule weather, as it had continued euery day since wee came from harbour, sauing the seuenth day, which was somewhat faire: For commonly while the winde is South, it is very thick and foule weather. We tacked sometimes on one boord, and sometimes on the other, making a South by West way, at noone sixe leagues.

Thick and foggy weather, the winde being South.

Wednesday, the twelfth, it waxed calme, we being somewhat Southward of a Cape, called *Burnils Cape*: and about three or foure of the clocke in the afternoone, the winde came to the North and by West, an easie gale, with faire weather.

Burnils Cape.

The eighteenth, at noone we were in 58. deg. 50. min. The seenteenth day, I tooke the variation of the compasse, finding it to be 13. degrees 22. minutes, contrary to the obseruations of others in this place. And if any doe doubt of the truth thereof, they may with a little paines proue it. The eighteenth of August, the declination of the Sunne was 9. degrees 58. minutes, for the Meridian of *London*. But we being almost foure houres of time to the Westward thereof, there are three minutes to be abated from the rest: and so the declination was 9. degrees 55. minutes; and his height aboue the horizon was 24. degrees 40. minutes in the latitude of 59. degrees 0. min. and his distance from the South to the Westward, by the compasse, was 81. degrees. And for truth of the first obseruation, I tooke another shortly after, finding them not to differ aboue 4. minutes.

Variation 13. degr. 22. min.

Wednesday the nineteenth, the winde still continued with thicke and hase weather, we being at noone in the latitude of 58. degrees 30. minutes, or thereabout, making a South South-east way, about ten leagues.

Thursday the twentieth, was faire weather, the winde at East North-east, wee steered away South-east and South-east and by East, making at noone a South-east and by South way, about thirtie leagues, being at noone in the latitude of 57. degrees 20. minutes. This day in the afternoone, I tooke the variation of the compasse, and found it about 11. degrees 10. minutes.

Variation 11. degr. 10. min.

Friday,

Friday the one and twentieth, faire weather, with the winde at North and North by East, and we made an East South-east way, halfe Southerly twentie foure leagues, being at noone by obseruation, in the latitude of 56. degrees 50. minutes.

Saturday the two and twentieth, faire weather, the wind at North and North by East, wee made an East way halfe Southerly, some twentie two leagues, being at noone in the latitude of 56. degrees 47. minutes.

Variation 7.
degrees 23.
minutes.

Sunday the three and twentieth, faire weather, the wind at West North-west, we making an East and East by North way about twentie foure leagues. This day I tooke the variation of the Compasse, and found it to be 7. degrees 23. minutes, being at noone in the latitude of 57. degrees 26. minutes.

Variation 7.
degrees 20.
minutes.

Munday the foure and twentieth, being *S. Bartholomewes* day, faire weather with an North North-west, wee making an East North-east way, halfe Northerly about twentie seven leagues, and were at noone by obseruation in the latitude of 58. degrees 4. minutes. This day I obserued and found the Compasse to be varied 7. degrees 20. minutes.

The true variation 6. deg.
4. minutes.

Tuesday the five and twentieth, faire weather and calme: the winde at North, wee made a North-east and by East way seenteene leagues, being at noone in the latitude of 58. degrees 30. minutes. This day I found the common Compasse to be varied one point, and the true variation to bee 6. degrees 4. minutes.

Wednesday the sixe and twentieth faire weather also, with the wind North North-west, we made a North-east and by East way halfe about twentie two leagues, being in the height of 59. 20 degrees 10. minutes.

Thursday the seven and twentieth indifferent faire weather, with a stiffe gale of wind at the North North-west, we making a North-east way about thirtie one leagues, being at noone in the latitude of 60. degrees 10. minutes.

Friday the eight and twentieth, the wind at South-east with a stiffe gale, wee made good about noone a North-east and by East way about twentie nine leagues. This day in the afternoon it blew so great a storme, that wee were in great distresse, the winde at East South-east. But about eleuen of the clocke it came to the North-west, and North-west by North. And we ranne some twentie leagues.

Saturday the nine and twentieth, it blew so stiffe, that wee could beare none but our fore-30 saile, making an East and by South way halfe Southerly, about thirtie leagues.

Sunday the thirtieth, all the forenoone it blew a very stiffe gale, and about noone the winde came Southerly; and it blew a very great storme, which continued all that day and that night in such sort, that we could not saile at all, but all that night lay at hull.

Munday the one and thirtieth, in the morning about foure of the clocke, the winde came to the South-west a very stiffe gale. At which time we set our fore-saile. The wind continued all this day and night, we steered away East and by South, making at noone an East North-east way about thirtie foure leagues.

Tuesday the first of September, the wind still continued at South-west, blowing a very stiffe gale, we steered away East and by South, making an East way about fiftie leagues. This day at 40 noone we were in the latitude of 60. degrees 45. minutes.

Wednesday the second faire weather with the wind at South-west, wee made an East and by South way halfe a point Southerly about fortie two leagues, being at noone in the latitude of 60. degrees 10. minutes. This day I obserued, and found the Compasse to be varied three degrees to the Westward.

Thursday the third day faire weather, the wind at South-west: wee made an East by North way at noone about twentie leagues. This day in the after-noon, the winde being at North North-west, it blew a very stiffe gale for two Watches; and toward seven or eight of the clocke the storme so increased, that our shippe was not able to beare any saile. And all that night wee lay at hull.

Friday the fourth, the storme still continued, and we could beare no saile all that day till about 50 foure of the clocke in the afternoon, at which time we set our fore course, and our maine course. The night before in the storme, we lost *The Haris-case*. This day wee made some twelue leagues East and by North. And we fell to lee-ward lying at hull some five leagues South by West.

They lose company of their
confort, *The*
Haris-case.

Saturday the fift calme weather, but very thicke and close all the forenoone: the wind continued still at North North-west, we making from the time wee set our courses the day before, about twentie leagues East halfe Southerly; being at noone in the latitude of 59. degrees 53. minutes.

Variation 6.
degrees to the
East.

Ground found.

Sunday the sixt, faire weather, the wind at North North-west, we steering away East North-east, and East and by North, made an East by North way, halfe Northerly some 29. leagues, 60 being at noone in 60. degrees 10. minutes. This day the Compasse was varied to the East sixe degrees. This afternoon it was almost calme: and wee sounded, and found ground at sixtie eight fathomes. This Evening about ten of the clocke the wind came to the South-east.

Munday the seventh, very faire weather, the wind South-east and South-east by East, wee racked

tacked in the morning to the North-ward, and ranne East North-east and East by North vntill seuen or eight in the afternoone: at which time we tacked vp to the Southward, and went away South-west till toward twelue a clocke that night twentie leagues.

Tuesday the eight, in our morning Watch I found our selues to be in 59. degrees 20. minutes: And about five of the clocke I espied Land, which we supposed to bee the Iles of Orkney, as afterward we found them to be the same. And toward three of the clocke, we came to an Anchor in a Channell running betweene the Ilands, where the people came to vs, and brought vs Hennes, Geese, and Sheepe, and sold them to vs for old clothes and shooes, desiring rather them then money. There are about eightene of these Ilands, which are called by the name of the

10 Orkeneis.

Wednesday the ninth, it was thicke weather, and the winde so Easterly that wee could not weigh Anchor.

Thursday the tenth, faire weather, and the wind came to the North-west, and about noone we weighed Anchor, and toward five of the clocke we were cleere off the Iles. The Channell for the most part lyeth North-west and South-east. All that night we stood away South-east.

Friday the eleuenth, faire weather, with the wind at North North-west. And about nine of the clocke in the morning, we steered away South South-east. At which time wee had sight of *Bugham-hesse*: And about two of the clocke we were thwart of it. The tenthenth, we came to an Anchor in *Hull Road*, for which the Lord bee praysed.

20 Here I thinke it not amisse briefly to relate the state and manners of the people of Groenland, forasmuch as I could learne: As also what likelihood there is of a passe into the Sea, which lyeth vpon *Tartarie* and *China*.

The North-west part of *Groenland* is an exceeding high Land to the Sea-ward, and almost nothing but Mountaynes; which are wonderfull high all within the Land, as farre as wee could perceiue: and they are all of stone, some of one colour, and some of another, and all glistering, as though they were of rich value; but indeed they are not worth any thing. For our Goldsmith *James Carle* tried very much of the Vre, and found it to bee nothing worth. If there bee any Metall, it lyeth so low in the Mountaynes, that it cannot bee well come by. There are some Rocks in these Mountaynes, which are exceeding pure Stone, Sner,

30 and whiter then *Alabastr*. The sides of these Mountaynes continually are couered with Snow for the most part, and especially the North sides, and the North sides of the Valleys, hauing a kind of Moss, and in some places Grasse with a little branch running all along the ground, bearing a little blacke Berrie, it runneth along the ground like Three-leaved Grasse heere in *England*. There are few or no Trees growing, as farre as wee could perceiue, but in one place some fortie miles within the Land, in a Riuer, which wee called *Balls Riuer*. There I saw on the South-side of an high Mountayne, which we went vp, and found (as it were) a yong Groue of small Wood, some of it fixe or seuen foot high like a Coppice in *England*, that had bene some two or three yeeres cut. And this was the most Wood that wee saw growing in this Countrey; being some of it a kind of Willow, Iuniper, and such like.

40 We found in many places much *Angelica*. We suppose the people eate the Roots thereof, for some causes. For we haue seene them haue many of them in their Boats.

There are great store of Foxes in the Ilands, and in the Mayne, of sundry colours: And there are a kind of Hares as white as Snow, with their furre or haire very long.

Also there be Deere, but they are most commonly vp within the Mayne very farre; because the people doe so much hunt them, that come neere the Sea. I saw at one time seuen of them together, which were all that wee did see in the Countrey: But our men haue bought diuers Coates of the people made of Deeres skinnes, and haue bought of their Hornes also. Besides, we haue diuers times seene the foot steps of some beast, whose foote was bigger then the foot of a great Oxe. Furthermore, the Inhabitants haue a kinde of Dogges, which they keepe at their Houses, and Tents, which Dogges are almost like vnto Wolues, liuing by fish, as the Foxes doe. But one thing is very strange, as I thought: for the Pizzles of both Dogges and Foxes are bone.

50 The people all the Summer time vse nothing but fishing, drying their fish, and Seales flesh vpon the Rockes for their Winter Prouision. Euery one both man and woman haue each of them a Boate made with long small pieces of Firre-wood, couered with Seales skinnes very well drest, and sewed so well with linewes or guts, that no water can pierce them through, being some of them about twentie foot long, and not past two foot, or two foot and an halfe broad, in forme of a Weauers shuttle, and so light, that a man may carrie many of them at once for the weight. In these Boates they will row so swiftly, that it is almost incredible: for no ship in the World is able to keepe way with them, although the haue neuer so good a gale of wind: and yet they vse but one Oare, who sitting in the middle of their Boate, and holding their Oare in the middle, being broad at each end like our Oares, will at an instant goe backward and forward, as they please.

Land descryed.

The Iles of Orkney.

The lying of the Channell in Orkney.

Bugham-hesse. They arrive at Hull.

High Mountaynes of stone very pure.

No profitable Vre.

Continuall Snow. Grasse. No Trees. *Balls Riuer*. A Groue of small wood.

Foxes. White Hares. Deere.

These seeme to be Elkes, or Loshes. Dogges like Wolues. The pizzles of Dogges and Foxes are bones, so also is the Marles pizzle, of which I haue by me one of stone. The great swiftnesse of their Boats. Their Oares broad at both ends.

Salmons and
Morfes, &c.
Angles and
Lines.

Their great
Boats 32. foot
long.

They worship
the Sunne.
Their salutation.

Their burials.

They burne
the weapons
and all other
Furniture of
the dead.

They vse fire.

They are not
Man-eaters.

Nayles & old
Iron greatly
desired of the
Sauages.
Men are not
to goe among
Sauages with-
out their wea-
pons.

In these Boates they catch the most part of their food, being Seales and Salmons, Morfes, and other kinds of fishes. Some they kill with their Darts, and other some with Angles, hauing a Line made of small shiuers of Whales Finnes, and an Hooke of some fishes bones: with which Line and Hookes, we also haue caught very much fish.

Also they haue another kinde of Boate, which is very long. For wee haue seene one of them thirtie two foot in length, open in the toppe like our Boates; hauing tenne seates in it. In which when they remooue their Dwellings, they carrie their Goods or House-hold-stuffe: for they remooue their Dwellings very often, as their fishing doth serue, liuing in the Summer time, in Tents made of Seales skinnies, and in Winter in Houses some-what in the ground.

Wee could not particularly learne their Rites or Ceremonies: but generally they worship the Sunne, as chiefe Authour of their Felicitie. At their first approach vnto vs they vsed with their hands to point vp to the Sunne, and to strike their hands vpon their breasts, crying *Ihont*; as who would say, I meane no harme: which they will doe very often, and will not come neere you, vntill you doe the like; and then they will come without any feare at all.

They burie their dead in the Out-Ilands neere the Seaside. Their manner of Buriall is this. Vpon the tops of the Hills they gather a company of stones together, and make thereof an hollow Caue or Graue, of the length and breadth of the bodie, which they intend to burie, laying the stones somewhat close like a wall, that neyther Foxes, nor other such beasts may deuoure the bodies, couering them with broad stones, shewing asfarre off like a pile of stones. And neere vnto this Graue where the bodie lyeth, is another, wherein they burie his Bow and Arrowes, with his Darts and all his other Prouision, which hee vsed while hee was yet liuing. Hee is buried in all his Apparell: and the coldnesse of the Climate doth keepe the bodie from swelling and stinking, although it lye about the Ground.

They eate all their Food raw, and vse no fire to dresse their Victuals, as farre as wee could perceiue. Also wee haue seene them drinke the Salt-water at our shippes side: But whether it bee vsuall or no, I cannot tell. Although they dresse not their meate with fire, yet they vse fire for other things, as to warme them, &c.

Diuers of our men were of opinion, that they were Man-eaters, and would haue deuoured vs, if they could haue caught vs. But I doe not thinke they would. For if they had bin so minded, they might at one time haue caught our Cooke, and two other with him, as they were filling of water at an Iland, a great way from our ship. These three I say were in the ships Boate without eyther Musket, or any other Weapon, when as a great company of the Sauages came rowing vnto them with their Darts, and other Furniture, which they neuer goe without, and stood looking into the Boate for Nayles, or any old Iron, which they so greatly desire, while our men were in such a feare, that they knew not what to doe. At length our Cooke remembred that hee had some old Iron in his pocket, and gaue each of them some, as farre as it would goe, with his Key of his Chest. And presently they all departed without offering any harme at all. But this I speake not, that I would haue men to trust them, or to goe among them vnprouided of Weapons.

CHAP. XVIII.

A true Relation of such things as happened in the fourth Voyage for the
Discouerie of the North-west Passage, performed in the
yeere 1615. Written by WILLIAM
B A F F I N.

The first by
Hudson in
which hee pe-
rished; the se-
cond by Sir
Thomas Button,
the third by
Captaine Gib-
bins.



After three sundry Voyages towards the North-west, to the great charge of the Adventurers: the last being vnder the command of Captaine Gibbins (in which was little or nothing performed.) Yet the Right Worshipfull Sir Dudley Digges Knight, Master Wostenholme Esquire, Master Alderman Iones, with others being not therewith discouraged, This yeere 1615. againe set forth the Discouery, a ship of fiftie five tunnes or thereabouts, which ship had bene the three former Voyages on the action. The Master was Robert Bileth, a man well acquainted that way: hauing bene employed in the three former Voyages: my selfe being his Mate and Associate, with fourteene others and two Boyes.

The sixteenth, we weighed Anchor at Saint Katharines, and that tyde came to Blackwall, the winde being at South South-west. The seuenteenth, wee went downe to Granesend, and the eighteenth to Lee, where we anchored that night.

Vpon

Vpon the sixt of May, we saw Land on the Coast of *Groenland*, on the East side of *Cape Farewell*: and that night we had a great storme: so wee kept a Southerly course to get about the *Ile* which lay on that shoare, and then kept our course vntill the seuenteenth day of May, all which forenoone we sayled by many great flands of Ice, some of which were about two hundred foot high above water (as I proued by one shortly after) which I found to be two hundred and fortie foot high, and if report of some men be true, which affirme, that there is but one seuenth part of the Ice above water, then the height of that piece of Ice, which I obserued was one hundred and fortie fathomes, or one thousand sixe hundred and eightie foote from the toppe to the bottome: this proportion I know doth hold in much Ice, but whether it doe so in all, I know not.

Groenland.
Cape Farewell.

High Ice
flands.

10 This seuenteenth of May, about noone we were come to the firme Ice, as one would suppose, being in the latitude of 61. degrees 26. minutes or thereabout, being the latitude of the South part of the *Ile of Resolution*: we comming to this Ice, our Master asked my opinion concerning the putting into the Ice: My iudgement was it would be best for vs to stand, and ply it vp to the Northwards. Hee answered, we were on the North side of the South Channell, and much Ice we must passe through, and if that we could get some two or three leagues within the Ice, it would euery tide open, and we should get some thing onward of our way, hauing all the Channell to the South-wards of vs. So with this resolution we put within the Ice, the wind being at East North-east: this first entrance I liked not very well, scarce finding any place to put in our ships head, and being neere thirtie leagues from the shoare, towards Euening wee were fast amongst the Ice.

Ile of Resolution.

20 But sometimes each day the Ice would a little open, we making what way we could towards the North-west in for the shoare till the two and twentieth day, hauing had the wind all Southerly. Yet we plainly saw that we set to the Southwards, for all that wee could doe.

The two and twentieth day, the wind came vp at North North-west: then our Master determined to stand forth againe. For if the wind should haue come to the North-east, it would be vnpossible for vs to fetch any part of the Channell, seeing wee droue so fast to the Southwards, with Southerly winds, and hauing so farre into the shoare, not hauing seene the Land.

30 Our Master was also determined to spend some twentie, or foure and twentie dayes in *Fretum Davis*, to see what hopes would be that wayes, supposing there would be little good to be done in *Hudsons Streights* for this time limited: then we plying to get to Sea-ward, and so by eight a clock at night, the three and twentieth day, we were cleere of the thicke Ice: againe, the Lord make vs thankfull, the wind at North-west and by North faire weather: but no sooner were we forth of the Ice, but that our Master changed his opinion: and being cleere of this thicke Ice wee stood to the Northward as much as the Ice and winde would giue vs leaue, running some thirteene leagues true North-east by North, being in the latitude of 61. degrees 50. minutes. The foure and twentieth day faire weather: the five and twentieth day, also faire weather, the wind at North and by West, till sixe a clocke, we hauing made a North-east by North way about twelue leagues and an halfe, our latitude at noone 62. degrees 20. minutes, at sixe a clocke the wind was at the North North-east. The sixe and twentieth day, all the forenoone

40 faire weather and cold: but in the afternoone it blew very hard, being close haffie weather, that about two a clocke this afternoone wee tooke in our sailes and hulled with our ship till the next morning at foure a clocke, all the time that we sayled this day we past through many ledges of Ice: hauing great quantitie to the Northward of vs, and hauing runne about twentie one leagues true vpon a West course. And note where I put this word *true*, I meane the true course, the variation of the Compasse, and other accidents allowed.

50 The seuen and twentieth day close foggy weather with much snow freezing on our throwds and tackling: the like we had not all this yeare before: but towards foure a clocke in the afternoone it began to cleere vp, and about sixe a clocke we saw Land, being the *Ile of Resolution*, and bearing West from vs about thirteene or fourteene leagues. This morning we set sayle, and stood to and fro as the Ice would suffer vs, and at ten at night, wee moored our ship to a piece of Ice, the wind being at West.

The eight and twentieth day being Whitfunday, it was faire weather, but the winde was at the West, and West by North: all this day we were fast to the piece of Ice. Yet we plainly perceiued that we set a great deale more into the Streights with the flood: Then we set forth with the ebbe the nine and twentieth day, the wind was variable, and faire weather: about eleuen a clocke we set saile and tacked to and fro along by the Land. And about two a clocke the next morning, the wind came to the South South-east, but we had so much Ice that we could doe but little good with a faire wind, the wind continued all this day and night a stiffe gale: this night (or rather Euening, because it was not darke at all) we were set within the point of the Land: so that now we were within the Streights.

No night.

60 The one & thirtieth day also faire weather, the wind for the most part at North North-west, the afternoone being cleere wee saw the point of the South shoare, called *Buttons Ile*, to beare from vs due South by the Compasse, which is indeed South South-east, somewhat Eastward, because here the Compasse is varied to the Westwards twentie foure degrees.

Variation 24 degrees.

The first of Iune, wee had some snow in the forenoone, but very faire weather in the afternoone, the wind at West North-west. We perceiuing the Ice to be more open close aboard the shoare, made the best way we could to get in, and to come to Anchor, if the place were conuenient; and by seuen a clocke we were in a good Harbour, on the North-west side of the Iland of *Resolution*, where an East South-east Moone maketh full Sea, or halfe an houre past seuen on the change day, as Sea-men account the water doth rise and fall, neere foure fathomes; the Compasse doth vary to the West 24. degrees 6. minutes, and is in longitude West from *London* 66. degrees 35. minutes. The breadth of the South Channell, or the distance betweene the Iland and the South shoare, is sixteene leagues, and the North Channell is eight miles wide in the narrowest place.

Vpon this Iland we went on shoare, but found no certaine signe of Inhabitants, but the tract of Beares and Foxes, Rockes and stonie ground, hardly any thing growing thereon: it is indifferent high Land to the Northward, hauing one high Hill or Hummocke on the North-east side, but to the Southward it falleth away very low.

The second of Iune in the morning the wind came vp at East South-east, with much snow and fowle weather: about noone wee weighed Anchor, and stood vp along by the Iland, so well as the Ice would giue vs leaue to get to the North shoare. Wee continuing our courses so neere the North shoare, as conueniently we could, with much variable weather and windes, but stedfast in continuance among Ice, till the eight day, hauing the wind full contrary to vs, and being somewhat neere a point of Land, or rather a company of Ilands, which after wee called *Savage Iles*, hauing a great Sound or In-draught, betweene the North shoare and them. At sixe a clocke we came to Anchor neere one of them, being the Eastermost sauing one. But whiles wee were furling our sailes, we heard and saw a great company of Dogges running vp and downe, with such howling and barking, that it seemed very strange. Shortly after we had moored our ship, we sent our Boat somewhat neerer the shoare, to see if they could perceiue any people; who returning, told vs that there were Tents and Boats, or Canowes, with a great many Dogges, but people they saw none. After Prayer, when our men had sapt, wee fitted our Boate and our selues with things conuenient: then my selfe with seuen others landed, and went to their Tents, where finding no people, we marched vp to the top of a Hill (being about a flight shot off) where we saw one great Canow or Boat, which had about fourteene men in it, being on the furthest, or North-west point of the Iland, and from vs somewhat more then a Musket shot. Then I called vnto them, vsing some words of *Groenlandish* speech, making signes of friendship. They did the like to vs; but seeing them so fearefull of vs, and we not willing to trust them, I made another signe to them, shewing them a Knife and other Trifles, which I left on the top of the Hill, and returned downe to their Tents againe. There wee found some Whale Finnes to the number of fortie or fiftie, with a few Seale skinnies which I tooke aboard, leauing Kniues, Beades, and Counters instead thereof; and amongst their houses I found a little bagge, in which was a company of little Images of men; one the Image of a woman with a child at her backe, all the which I brought away.

Among these Tents being five in number, all couered with Seales skinnies, were running vp and downe, about thirtie five or fortie Dogges; most of them muzzled. They were of our mungrell Mastiffes, being of a brinded blacke colour, looking almost like Wolues. These Dogges they vse in stead of Horses, or rather as the *Lappians* doe their Deere, to draw their sleds from place to place ouer the Ice: their sleds are shod or lined with great bones of fishes to keepe them from wearing, and their Dogges haue Collars and Furniture very fitting.

These people haue their Apparell, Boots, Tents, and other necessities much like to the Inhabitants in *Groenland*, sauing that they are not so neate and artificiall, seeming to bee more rude and vnciuill, ranging vp and downe as their fishing is in season. For in most places where wee came ashoare, we saw where people had beene, although not this yeere; but where their Habitation or their abode in Winter is, I cannot well coniecture.

This Iland lyeth in the latitude of 62. degrees 30. minutes, and in longitude West from *London*, 72. degrees or neere thereabouts, being sixtie leagues from the entrance of the Streights: here the Compasse doth varie 27. degrees 30. minutes, and a South-east Moone foure degrees East maketh a full Sea: it doth ebbe and flow almost as much water, as it doth at the *Resolution*, and here the floud commeth from the Eastward, although our Master was of opinion to the contrarie.

The tenth day in the morning, at sixe a clocke we set sayle, the winde at North, which continued not, but was very variable till noone, and then it came to North-west, we hauing sayled along by the shoare, about some nine leagues and an halfe North North-west, the Ice lying so thicke in the offen, that wee could not well get out of it: then perceiuing a good Harbour betweene two small Ilands and the Mayne, wee went in with our ship, where wee moored her, and stayed till the twelfth day at Euening.

In this place it is high water on the change day, at nine of the clocke, or a South-east Moone maketh a full Sea: the latitude of this place is 62. degrees 40. minutes; and the floud doth come from

from the Eastward, although our Master was perswaded otherwise, as well in this place, as at *Saluage* Ilands: for being among Ilands, euery point hath his feuerall set and eddie. But I going to the top of the Iland, plainly perceiued the Ice to come from the South-east, and from the North-west on the ebbe. In this place is no signe of people, as we could perceiue.

The sixteenth day, lying still in the Ice, the weather being very close and hasey, as it hath beene these six dayes: and being neere a great company of Ilands, in the afternoone, the winde being at West North-west, wee stood in amongst these Ilands, and in the euening we moored our Shippe to one of them in a small cove, the better to defend her from the Ice. In this place wee stayed all the seuenteenth day: and vpon the eighteenth, being Sunday, about eleuen a clocke
10 we set sayle, being almost calme, making the best way wee could to get forth. Here are a great company of Ilands, each hath his feuerall set and eddy, that the Ice doth so runne to and fro, and with such violence, that our Shippe was in more safetie further off then in this place: the latitude of the Ile we rode by is 63. degrees 26. minutes, and longitude West from *London*, neere 72. degrees 25. minutes: the Compasse hath variation 27. degrees 46. minutes; and at a quarter of an houre after nine on the Change day, doth make a full Sea. This Euening, and the next morning, wee had a faire steering gale of winde at South-east, wee standing along by the Land, it being all small broken Ilands, to a point of Land about twelue leagues in distance from the Ile wee put last from: which Point, I called *Broken Point*, it being indeede a point of broken Iles.

Many Ilands
and feuerall
tyde Sets.

20 On the nineteenth day, by twelue a clocke at noone, wee were about foure miles from the Point before named, fast inclosed with Ice, very faire weather; and well we might haue called this Point *Fairenesse* or *Faire Point*, for from this day till the thirtieth day, the weather was so faire, and almost, or altogether calme, that in few places elsewhere, finer weather could not be; and till the seuen and twentieth at night, wee were so fast inclosed vp with Ice, that at some times one could not well dippe a pail of water by the Ship sides: while wee were thus fast in the Ice, vpon the one and twentieth day, I saw both the Sunne and Moone at one time, as indeede it is vsuall in faire weather.

Broken Point.

This one and twentieth, being faire weather, as afore is said, and I seeing both the Sunne and Moone so faire: I thought it a fit time to make an obseruation for the longitude.

Obseruations
of longitude.

30 But the two and twentieth day being very faire and cleage, and also calme, being almost as steedy as on shoare: it was no neede to bid me fit my Instrument of variation to take the time of the Moones coming to the Meridian, hauing also my quadrant ready to take the Sunnes almicanter, it being indifferent large, as of foure foote semideamiter: haue taken the variation of my needle as precisely as possible I could, which was 28. degrees 20. minutes West, and if any be desirous to worke the same, they may, but my worke was as followeth.

The Sunnes almicanter, at the instant when the Moone was on the Meridian, was 26. degrees 40. minutes: and the Sunnes declination for that time 23. degrees 6. minutes. By which three things giuen, I found the houre to be fise a clocke 4. minutes 52. seconds, 1. third 4. fourths, or 76. degrees, 13. minutes, 16. seconds, of the equinoctiall afternoone: and according to *Searles* Ephemerides, the Moone came to the Meridian at *London* at foure a clocke 54. minutes, 30. seconds: and after *Origanus* the Moone came to the Meridian at foure a clocke 52. minutes, 5. seconds, at *Wittenberge* the same day. Now hauing this knowne, it is no hard matter to finde the longitude of this place sought. For according to the Moones meane motion, which is 12. degrees a day, that is in time 48. minutes: and to this account, if she be on the Meridian at twelue a clock this day, to morrow it will be 48. min. past 12. So I hauing the time found by obseruation at this place, viz. 5. houres, 4. minutes, 52. seconds, 1. third 4. fourths: but in this I neede not come so precise: and at *London*, at 4. houres, 54. minutes, 30. seconds: which subtracted from the former, leaueth 10. minutes, 22. seconds, 1. third, 4. fourths, now the Moones motion thae foure and twentie houres, was 22. degrees, 38. minutes: which conuerted into time, is 50. minutes 25. seconds 20. thirds: then the proportion standeth thus; If 50. minutes, 25. seconds, 20. thirds, giue 360. degrees, what shall 10. minutes, 22. seconds, 1. third, 4. fourths giue? the fourth proportionall, will be 74. degrees 5. minutes, which is West of *London*: because the Moone came later by 10. minutes, 22. seconds, and by the same working by *Origanus* Ephemerides, the distance is 91. degrees, 35. minutes, West of West. But whether be the truer, I leaue to others to iudge: in these workings may some error be committed, if it be not carefully looked vnto: as in the obseruation, and also in finding what time the Moone commeth to the Meridian, at the place where the Ephemerides is supputated for, and perchance in the Ephemerides themselves: in all which, the best iudicious may erre: yet if obseruations of this kinde, or some other, at places farre remote, as at the Cape *Bonaesperanze*, *Bantam*, *Japan*, *Noua Albion*, and *Magellan* Straits, I suppose wee should haue a truer
60 Geography then we haue. And seeing I am entred to speake of celestiall obseruations, I will note another which I made the twenty sixt of April, being outward bound at Sea, by the Moones coming in a right line, with two fixed Starres; the one was the *Lyons heart*, a Starre of the first magnitude; the other a Starre in the *Lyons* rumpe, of the second magnitude, as followeth: The circumference or outward edge of the Moone, being in a right or straight line, with those

two Starres before named : at the instant I tooke the altitude of the South ballance, which was 2. degrees 38. minutes, because I would have the time : but in this it is good to waite a fit time, as to have her in a right line, with two Stars not farre distant, and those not to be much different in longitude, because the Moon will soone alter the angle or position, and such a time would be taken when the Moone is in the nintieth degree of the eclipticke above the horizon, for then there is no parallell of longitude, but onely in latitude : but who so is painefull in these busineses, shall soone see what is needefull, and what is not : my observations were as followeth :

Lyons heart	Right ascension	46. deg. 28. min. 30. sec.	Lyons heart	Right ascension	163. deg. 23. min. 00. sec.
	Declination	13. deg. 57. mi. 30. sec.		Declination	22. deg. 38. min. 00. sec.
	Longitude	24. deg. 29. mi. 45. sec.		Longitude	5. deg. 53. min. 45. sec.
	Latitude	00. deg. 26. min. 30. sec.		Latitude	14. deg. 20. min. 00. sec.
	Almicanter	33. deg. 40. min. 00. sec.			
Moones	Parallax	00. deg. 47. min. 46. sec.	Moones	Parallax	00. deg. 47. min. 46. sec.
	Latitude	03. deg. 20. min. 00. sec.		Latitude	03. deg. 20. min. 00. sec.
	Almicanter	37. deg. 00. min. 00. sec.		Almicanter	37. deg. 00. min. 00. sec.
		Latitude of the place			56. deg. 43. min.

These notes I have set downe, that if any other be desirous to trie, they may spend a little time therein; my selfe have spent some therein, and more I would have spent, if leisure would have permitted : but finding it not to my minde, I have not here set downe my particular worke :

Master Rudson. the working of this observation I received from Master Rudson.

But if it had pleased God, we had performed the action we were bound for, I would not feare but to have brought so good contentment to the Adventurers, concerning the true scituation of notable places, that small doubt should have beene thereof: but seeing so small hopes are in this place, I have not set downe so many observations as otherwise I would.

We lying here inclosed with the Ice with faire & calme weather (as before is said) till the seven and twentieth day at evening, at which time we set sayle; the winde at South-east, an easie gale: all the eight and twentieth and nine and twentieth dayes, we made the best way through the Ice we could, but the nine and twentieth day, the Ice was more open then it had beene these ten dayes before, and at noone we saw Salisbury Iland, it bearing due West from vs.

The first of Iuly close foggie weather, with much raine, the winde at South South-east : by noone this day we were some three leagues from the Land : but having much Ice by the shoare, we stood along the Iland to the Northward : and the next morning wee were faire by another small Ile, or rather a company of small Ilands, which after we called Mill Iland, by reason of grinding the Ice, as this night we made prooffe thereof : at noone, being close to this Ile, wee took the latitude thereof, which is neere 64. degrees. Here driving to and fro with the Ice all this day, till seven or eight a clocke, at what time the Ice began to open and seporate; The Ice, as is said, beginning to open : we had not stood along by the Ile, on the East side thereof, an houre; but the Ice came driving with the tide of flood from the South-east, with such swiftnesse, that it over went our Shippe having all our sayles abroad with a reasonable gale of winde, and put her out of the streame, into the eddy of these Iles.

This Iland or Iles, lying in the middle of the channell, chauing many sounds running through them, with many points or headlands, encountering the force of the tide, caused such a rebound of water & Ice (which ran one way, and the streame another) our ship having met the Ice with the first of the flood, which put her so neere the shoare, that she was in the partition betweene the Ice, which the eddy caused to runne one way, and the streame the other, where shee endured great distresse; but God, which is still stronger then either Ice or streame, preserved vs and our Shippe from any harme at all. This continued till towards a high water, which was about one a clocke; then with no small trouble we got into the channell, and stood away to the North-west ward. After we had past some distance from this Iland, wee had the Sea more open then it was since we put first into the Straits; and sailed all the next day through an indifferent cleare Sea, with the winde at South-west : but towards eight a clocke at night, wee were come againe into much Ice; this Ice being more thicker and bigger then any wee had beene among : this place where we began to be inclosed againe, is fixe and twenty leagues distant from the small Iland we were at last : and our true course North-west by West : after wee were fast in the Ice, we made but small way, yet we perceived a great tyde to set to and fro. The next day, wee founded, and had ground at one hundred & twentie fathoms, soft Osey ground: standing more Northerly: the next morning we had ground at eightie fathoms, then the winde came to the North, and we setting somewhat Southward, had ground at a hundred and ten fathoms. Thus seeing this great abundance of Ice in this place, and the more we got to the North-west ward, the shoalder it was, the Ice also being foule and durty, as not bred farre from shoare: our Master determined to stand to the Eastward, to be certainly informed of the tide.

The sixt day in the morning, we brake in a planke and two timbers in our Ships bow, which after we had mended, we proceeded for to get to the East side, which we called the North shoare, because it is the Land stretching from the Resolution, on the North side of the Straits.

The

The seventh day we saw the land, it being but low land, and the Sea is shoald, in respect of other places, having ten or twelve fathom about a league off from shoare, some thirty fathoms five or six leagues off shore; but further off some twenty or eightene leagues, there is a hundred or a hundred and five fathoms; having very good channell ground, as small stones & shels, some twelve or foureteene leagues from shoare, but the further off the more Osey: and also here is a very great tide runneth to the Northward, which this evening we found to be the tyde of ebbe, for comming with our Shippe neere the shoare, about seven a clocke, we hoysed out our Boate, then I with five other went on shoare, and found it to ebbe: we staid on shoare about an houre and a halfe, in which time the water fell about three foote and a halfe, and a South-south East Moone maketh a full Sea, or halfe an houre past tenne, as Sea men account: we saw no signe of people to be here this yeare, but in yeares heretofore they have beene, as we might well see by diuers places, where their tents had stood: and perchance their time of fishing was not yet come, there being such great abundance of Ice as yet.

The eight day the winde was at West, and the ninth almost calme: wee reeking neere to this shoare the tenth day, our Master determined to stand for *Nottingams* land, to make triall of the tide there; yet the winde was at South-west, so that we were forced to turne, but towards night it came to the North North-west, so that then we stood away to the West wards, leaving the search of *Nottingams* Ile, having a great swelling Sea, come out of the West with the winde which had blowne, which put vs in some hope: the eleventh day in the morning, we saw Land West from vs, but had no ground at one hundred & thirty fathoms: so standing along by the Land which here lay about North-west by North, the next morne we were thwart of a Bay: then standing over to the Northwards towards a faire Cape or head land which we saw, in the afternoon it was almost calme, and being about a league from shoare, we hoysed out our Boat, and sent some of our men in her, to see what tide it was by the shoare, and from whence it came; they went from the Ship at five a clock, and came aboard againe at eight, who brought vs word, that it was falling water, and that it had eb'd while they were on shoare somewhat about two foot: also they affirmed, that the flood came from the Northward in this place, the which we also perceived by the setting of our Ship, she setting a pace to the Northward, although no whit of winde: also we might see by the rocks, that the water was now falne: this put vs in great comfort and hope of a passage in this place.

Then our Master called this Cape or head land, *Cape Comfort*, for the reasons before said; also we had one hundred and fortie fathoms in depth, not a league from the shoare: and here a South by East Moone maketh a full Sea: the latitude of this Cape is 65. degrees 00. min. and 85. degrees 20. minutes West from *London*. But this our sudaine comfort was as soone quailed, for the next day having doubled the Cape, and proceeded not past ten or twelve leagues, but we saw the land trending from the Cape to the Westward, till it bare from vs North-east by East, and very thicke pestered with Ice, and the further we proceeded, the more Ice, and the more Northerly, the shoul-der water and small shew of any tide. At six a clocke this afternoon, we sounded, & had ground in one hundred and thirty fathoms, soft Osey, having had at noone one hundred & fiftie fathoms.

This was the farthest of our Voyage, being in the latitude of 65. degrees 26. minutes, and longitude West from *London* 86. degrees 10. minutes: for seeing the land North-east by East, from vs about nine or ten leagues off, and the Ice so thicke: our Master was fully perswaded, that this was nought else but a Bay, and so tacked and turned the Shippes head homewards, without any farther search.

The fourteenth day, the winde was for the most part at South-east, that we could make but small way backe againe: and the next morning very foule weather, we comming to an Anchor in a small Inlet, neere the *Cape Comfort*, on the North-west side thereof; here wee found, as on the other side; a South by East Moone, to make a full Sea; but from whence the flood came, we could not well see, it being so foule weather at Sea: in the afternoon the winde came to North by West: then we waied, and stood along to the Southwards by the shoare, with a stiffe gale of winde, and very hasey.

By the sixteenth day at noone we met with a great quantitie of Ice, lying some few leagues within the point of the Land: among this Ice we saw a great number of Sea Morse, not seeing any more in all the Straits but here, and these very fearefull, not suffering a Ship or Boat to come neere them: by eight a clock we were come to this Southern point, which I called *Sea Horse point*, where we came to anchor open in the Sea, the better to try the tide: here most apparently we found to all our companies sight, that in this place the tide of flood doth come from the South-east, and the ebbe from the Northwest. We weighed, and stood over with a stiffe gale of winde, which continued all this day, and toward night very foule weather & a fore storme: by tenne a clocke we were come to Anchor on the North-west side of *Nottingams* Ile,

where are two or three smal Iles, lyeth off from the greater, which make very good Sounds & Harbors: about this Ile we had store of Ice, but nothing as we had heretofore in other places. We staid about this Ile til the seven and twentieth day, having much foule weather, many stormes, often fogs, and vncertaine windes, many times we weighed anchor to goe to that side of the Ile, where this Ship roade when Captaine *Button* was in her: finding in other places of this Ile the tyde of

Nottingams
land.

Cape Comfort.

Sea Horse point.

flood

flood to come from the South-east ward, and the time of high water on the change day, to be at halfe an houre past ten, and not at halfe an houre past seuen, as they supposed. In these ten dayes we staid about this Ile, we fitted our Ship with ballast, and other necessaries, as we had neede of.

Then proceeded as followeth the sixe and twentieth day, being indifferent faire weather, we passed betweene *Salisbury Ile* and *Nottingham Ile* at the South Point thereof, I meane of *Nottingham Ile*, where are many small low Iles, without the which had bene a fit place for vs to haue anchored, to haue found out the true set of the Tyde. But our Master being desirous to come to the same place where they had rode before, stood along by this Ile to the Westward, and came to an anchor in the eddy of these broken grounds, where the ship rode at no certaintie of Tyde.

The seuen and twentieth, the next morning the weather proued very foule with much raine and winde, so that our Reger anchor would not hold the ship at eightie fathoms scope, but was driuen into deepe water, that wee were forced to set saile, the winde being at East, and then come to the East North-east and about noone at North-east, still foule weather, being vnder saile, we stood away towards *Sea horse Point*: our Master (as I suppose) was perswaded that there might bee some passage betweene that Point of Land and that Land which they called *Swan Island*: so this afternoone we saw both *Sea horse Point* and *Nottingham Island*, the distance betweene them is not past fifteene or sixteen leagues, bearing the one from the other North-west and South-east.

The eight and twentieth day in the morning, wee were neere to *Sea horse Point*, the Land trending away West South-west so farre as wee saw, and very much pestred with Ice. At seuen a clocke our Master caused vs to tacke about, and stood away South-east and by South.

The nine and twentieth the next day at eleuen a clocke, we came to anchor at *Digges Ile*, hauing very foule weather. At this place where we rode it lyeth open to the West, hauing two of the greatest Iles, breake off the force of the Flood, till the Tyde be well bent; for after the water were risen an houre and a halfe by the shoare, then would the ship ride truly on the Tyde of Flood all the Tyde after. Now the time of high water on the change day, is halfe an houre past ten or neere thereabout.

The thirtieth day, being faire weather, wee weighed and stood along close by *Digges Ile*, where we presently perceiued the *Saluages* to bee close on the top of the Rocks: but when they saw we had espyed them, diuers of them came running downe to the water side, calling to vs to come to anchor, which we would haue done if conueniently we could. But in this place the water is so deepe, that it is hard to finde a place to ride in, which we seeing lay to and fro with our ship, while some of our men in the Boat killed about some seuentie fowles, for in this place is the greatest number of fowles (whom we call *Willocks*) that in few places else the like are not seene, for if neede were we might haue killed many thousands, almost incredible to those which haue not seene it. Here also as we lay to and fro with our ship, wee had sufficient prooue of the set of the Tyde: but when our men were come aboard againe, we set all our sailes for homewards, making the best expedition we could; but on the third of August, wee were forced to come to anchor about thirtie leagues within the *Resolution Ile* on the North shoare. The next day wee weighed anchor: And the fifth day in the forenoone, we past by the *Resolution Island*, but saw it not: Thus continuing our courses (as in the brieue Iournall may be seene) with much contrarie windes and foule weather.

Wee had sight of *Cape Cleere* in *Ireland* the sixt of September: the next morning by day light, we were faire by *Seely*, and that night at two a clocke the next morne, we came to anchor in *Plymouth Sound* with all our men liuing, hauing onely three or foure sicke, which soone recouered.

The next yeere being againe employed in discouerie, amongst other instructions they receiued this. For your course you must make all possible haste to the *Cape Delolation*, and from thence, you William Baffin as Pilot, keepe along the Coast of *Groenland* and vp *Fretum Davis*, untill you come toward the height of eightie degrees, if the Land will giue you leaue. Then for feare of inbaying, by keeping too Northerly a course, shape your course West and Southerly, so farre as you shall thinke it conuenient, till you come to the latitude of sixtie degrees: then direct your course to fall with the Land of *Yedzo* about that height, leauing your farther sayling Southward to your owne discretion, according as the time of the yeere and windes will giue you leaue, although our desires be, if your voyage proue so prosperous that you may haue the yeere before you, that you goe so farre Southerly as that you may touch the North part of *Iapan*, from whence or from *Yedzo*, if you can so compasse it without danger, we would haue you to bring home one of the men of the Countrey, and so God blessing you with all expedition to make your returne home againe.

CHAP. XIX.

To the Right Worshipfull Master Iohn Wostenholme Esquire,
one of the chiefe Adventurers for the discouerie of a passage
to the North-west.

Worthy Sir; there neede no filling a Iournall or short Discourse with preamble, comple-
ment, or circumstance, and therefore I will onely tell you, I am proud of any Remem-
brance, when I expose your Worth to my Conceit, and glad of any good fortune, when
I can avoid the imputation of ingratitude, by acknowledging your many fauours: and
seeing it is not unknowne (to your Worship) in what estate the businesse concerning the
North-west hath beene heretofore, and how the onely hope was in searching of Fretum Davis, which
if your selfe had not beene the more forward, the action had well nigh beene left off: Now it remaineth
for your Worship to know, what hath beene performed this yeere: wherefore I entreat you to admit of my
custome, and pardon me if I take the plaine highway in relating the particulars, without using any resi-
ned phrases and eloquent speeches.

Therefore briefly, and as it were in the forefront, I intend to shew you the whole proceeding of the voy-
age in a word: as namely, there is no passage, nor hope of passage in the North of Davis Streights, wee
hauing coasted all or neere all the Circumference thereof, and finde it to be no other then a great Bay, as
the Map here placed doth truly shew: wherefore I cannot but much admire the worke of the Almightye,
when I consider how vaine the best and chiefe hopes of man are in things uncertaine. And to speake of no
other matter, then of the hopefull passage to the North-west; How many of the best sort of men haue set
their whole indouours to prone a passage that mayes, and not onely in Conference, but also in Writing and
publishing to the World, yea what great summes of money hath beene spent about that action, as your
Worship hath costely experience off. Neither would the vaine-glorious Spaniard haue scattered abroad so
many false Maps and Iournals, if they had not beene confident of a passage this way, that if it had pleased
God, a passage had beene found; they might haue eclipsed the worthy praise of the Adventurers and true
Discoverers; and for my owne part, I would hardly haue beleened the contrarie, untill mine eyes became
witnesse of that I desired not to haue found, still taking occasion of hope on every little likelihood, till such
time as we had almost coasted the Circumference of this great Bay. Neither was Master Davis to be
blamed in his report and great hopes, if he had anchored about Hope Sanderlon, to haue taken notice of
the Tydes: for to that place which is in 72. degrees 12. minutes the Sea is open, of an vnsearchable depth,
and of a good colour, onely the Tyde keepe no certaine course, nor rise but a small height, as eight or nine
foote, and the flood commeth from the Southward, and in all the Bay beyond that place the Tyde is so small,
and not much to be regarded, yet by reason of snow melting on the Land, the Ebbe is stronger then the
Flood, by meanes whereof, and the windes holding Northerly the fore-part of the yeere, the great Iles of
Ice are set to the Southward, some into Fretum Hudson, and others towards New found Land, for in
all the Channell where the Sea is open are great quantities of them drining up and downe, and till this
yeere not well knowne where they were bred.

Howsoever the
passage this
way was em-
bayed; yet that
former discou-
erie of Sir
Tho. Button
(then by him
kept secret for
some intent of
his) is both
more probable
and to the most
iudicious more
then probable;
and that by
that Tyde ar-
gument from
the West, as in
Master Briggs
his Map and
notes appea-
reth.

Now that the worst is knowne (concerning the passage) it is necessarie and requisite, your Worship
should understand what probabilitie or hope of profit might here be made hereafter, if the voyage bee at-
tempted by fitting men. And first for the killing of Whales, certaine it is that in this Bay are great
numbers of them, which the Biscainers call the Grand Baye Whales, of the same kinde which are killed
at Greenland, and as it seemeth to me easie to be strooke, because they are not used to bee chased or bea-
ten, for we being but one day in Whale Sound (so called for the number of Whales that wee saw there)
sleeping and lying aloft on the water, not fearing our ship or ought else, that if wee had beene fitted with
men and things necessarie, it had beene no hard matter to haue strooke more then would haue made three
ships a sauing voyage, and that it is of that sort of Whale there is no feare. I being twice at Greenland,
tooke sufficient notice to know them againe; beside a dead Whale wee found at Sea, hauing all her finnes
(or rather all the rough of her mouth) of which with much labour, we got one hundred and sixtie the same
euening we found her; and if that soule weather, and a storme the next day had not followed, wee had no
doubt, but to haue had all or the most part of them, but the winde and Sea arising shee broke from vs, and
we were forced to leaue her. Neither are they onely to be looked for in Whale Sound, but also in Sir Tho.
Smiths Sound, Wostenholme Sound, and diuers other places.

Store of Grand
Bay Whales.

Baffin twice at
Greenland.

For the killing of Sea Morse, I can giue no certaintie, but onely this, that our Boat being but once a-
shoare in all the North part of this Bay, which was in the entrance of Alderman Iones Sound, at the re-
turne, our men told vs, they saw many Morfes along by the shoare on the Ice; but our ship being under
saile, and the winde comming faire, they presently came aboard without further search, besides the people
inhabiting about 74. degrees, told vs by diuers signes, that toward the North were many of those beasts,
hauing two long teeth, and shewed vs diuers pieces of the same.
As for the Sea Unicorn, it being a great fish, hauing a long horne or bone, growing forth of his fore-
head or nostrill (such as Sir Martin Frobisher in his second voyage found one) in diuers places we saw of
them, which if the horne be of any good value, no doubt but many of them may be killed.

Morfe.
Sea Unicorn.
The horne is
still kept in the
Robes at Wind-
fore (where I
haue scene it)
neere seven
foot long and
crested, &c.

And

And concerning what the Shoare will yeeld, as Beach finnes, Morse teeth, and such like, I can little say, because we came not on shoare in any of the places, where hope was of finding them.

But here some may object and aske, why we sought that Coast no better: to this I answer, that while we were thereabout, the weather was so exceeding foule wee could not, for first wee anchored in Wostenholme Sound, where presently our ship drove with two anchors a head, then were we forced to stand forth with a low saile. The next day in Whale Sound, we lost an Anchor and Cable, and could fetch the place no more; then we came to anchor neere a small Iland, lying between Sir Tho. Smiths Sound, and Whale Sound, but the winde came more outward, that we were forced to weigh againe: neuerthelesse if wee had beene in a good harbour, hauing but our Ships Boat, we durst not send her farre from the ship, hauing so few men (as seuentene in all) and some of them very weake; but the chiefe cause wee spent so little time 10 to seeke a Harbour, was our great desire to performe the Discoverie, hauing the Sea open in all that part, and still likelihood of a passage: but when we had coasted the Land so farre to the Southward, that hope of passage was none, then the yeere was too farre spent, and many of our men very weake, and withall we hauing some belife that ships the next yeere would be sent for the killing of Whales, which might better doe it then wee.

And seeing I haue briefly set downe, what hope there is of making a profitable voyage, it is not unfit your Worship should know what let or hinderance might be to the same. The chiefe and greatest cause is, that some yeere it may happen by reason of the Ice, lying betwene 72. degrees and a halfe, and 76. degrees no minutes, that the ships cannot come into those places, till toward the middest of Iuly, so that want of time to stay in the Countrey may bee some let: yet they may well tarry till the last of August, in which 26 space much businesse may be done, and good store of Oile made: neuerthelesse if store of Whales come in (as no feare to the contrarie) what cannot bee made in Oile may bee brought home in Blubber, and the Finnes will arise to good profit. Another hinderance may bee, because the bottome of the Sounds will not be so soone cleere as would be wished, by meanes thereof now and then a Whale may be lost (the same case sometime chanceth in Greenland) yet I am perswaded those Sounds before named, will all be cleere before the twentieth of Iuly: for we this yeere were in Whale Sound the fourth day among many Whales, and might haue strooke them without let of Ice. Furthmore, there is little wood to bee expected, either for fire or other necessities; therefore Coles and other such things must bee provided at home, they will bee so much the readier there.

Thus much I thought good to certify your Worship, wherein I trust you will conceiue, that much time hath not beene spent in vaine, or the businesse ouer carelessly neglected, and although wee haue not performed what we desired (that is, to haue found the passage), yet what wee promised (as to bring certaintie and a true description) truth will make manifest, that I haue not much erred.

And I dare boldly say (without boasting) that more good discoverie hath not in shorter time (to my remembrance) beene done, since the action was attempted, considering how much Ice we haue passed, and the difficultie of sayling so neere the Pole (upon a transe) and about all, the variation of the Compasse, whose wonderfull operation is such in this Bay, increasing and decreasing so suddenly and swift, being in some part (as in Wostenholme Sound, and in Sir Tho. Smiths Sound) varied above five Points or 56. degrees, a thing almost incredible and matchlesse in all the world beside, so that without great care, and good obseruations, a true description could not haue beene had. In fine, what soeuer my labours are or shall be, I esteeme them too little, to expresse my thankesfull minde for your many fauours, wherein I shall be euer studious, to supply my other wants by my best endeuours, and euer rest at 40

Your Worships command,

WILLIAM BAFFIN.

A briefe and true Relation or Iournall, contayning such accidents as happened in the first voyage, for the discoverie of a passage to the North-west, set forth at the charges of the right Worshipfull Sir Tho. Smith Knight, Sir Dudley Digges Knight, Master Iohn Wostenholme Esquire, Master Alderman Iones, with others, in the good ship called the Discoverie of London, Robert Bileth Master, and my selfe Pilot, performed in the yeere of our Lord 1616.

March 26.

IN the Name of God, Amen. The forenamed ship being in full readinesse vpon the twentieth sixe of March, we set saile at Grauesend, being in number seuentene persons, hauing very faire weather, which continued till the second of April: by that time we were off Portland, then the winde comming Westward with foule weather, we kept Sea till the fourth day, then being not able to fetch *Plimouth*, bore roome for *Dartmouth*, where wee stayed eleuen dayes, in which time was much foule weather and westerly windes.

The

The fifteenth day of Aprill, being cleere of *Dartmouth*, we were forced the next day to put into *Plimouth*. The nineteenth day we set saile from thence, and the twentieth in the morning we past betwene the Lands end and *Silly* with a faire winde. Continuing our course, as in the briefe Table or Iournall is set downe, with euery particular from noone to noone, that here I need not make a tedious repetition, nothing worthy of note hapning, but that we had a good passage, and the first Land we saw was in *Fretum Davis*, on the coast of *Groenland* in the latitude of 65. degrees 20. minutes. On the fourteenth of May in the forenoone, then sixe of the people being a fishing came to vs, to whom we gaue small pieces of Iron, they keeping vs companie being very ioyfull, supposing wee had intended to come to anchor: but when they saw vs stand off from shoare they followed vs a while, and then went away discontented, to ouer seeming.

20 We prosecuting our Voyage, were loth to come to anchor as yet, although the winde was contrarie, but still plyed to the Northward, vntill we came into 70. degrees 20. minutes: then wee came to anchor in a faire Sound (neere the place Master *Davis* called *London Coast*.) The twentieth of May at euening, the people espying vs fled away in their Boates, getting on Rocks wondring and gasing at vs, but after this night we saw them no more, leauing many Dogs running to and fro on the Island.

At this place we stayed two dayes, in which time wee tooke in fresh water and other necessities: here we had some dislike of the passage, because the Tydes are so small as not arising aboue eight or nine foot, and keepe no certaine course, but the neereft time of high water on the change day is at a quarter of an houre past nine, and the Flood commeth from the South.

20 The two and twentieth day at a North Sunne, wee set saile and plyed still Northward, the winde being right against vs as we stood off and on. Vpon the sixe and twentieth day in the afternoone, we found a dead Whale, about sixe and twentie leagues from shoare, hauing all her finnes. Then making our ship fast, wee vsed the best meanes wee could to get them, and with much toile got a hundred and sixtie that euening. The next morning the Sea went very high and the winde ariling, the Whale broke from vs, and we were forced to leaue her and set saile, and hauing not stood past three or foure leagues North westward, came to the Ice, then wee tacked and stood to the shoare-ward, a fore storme ensued.

By the thirtieth day in the afternoone, wee came faire by *Hope Sanderfon*, the farthest Land Master *Davis* was at, lying betwene 72. and 73. degrees; and that euening by a North Sunne we came to much Ice, which we put into, plying all the next day to get through it.

The first of Iune, we were cleere of the Ice before named, and not farre from shoare, the winde blowing very hard at North North-east, then we put in among diuers Ilands, the people seeing vs fled away in all haste leauing their Tents behinde, and vpon a small Rocke they hid two young Maides or Women. Our ship riding not farre off, we espyed them, to whom our Master with some other of our companie went in the Boate, they making signes to be carried to the Island where their Tents were close adioyning. When they came thither, they found two old women more, the one very old, to our esteemation little lesse then fourescore, the other not so old. The next time we went on shoare, there was another Woman with a child at her back, who had hid her selfe among the Rocks, till the other had told her how well wee had vsed them, in giuing them pieces of Iron and such like, which they highly esteeme, in change thereof they giue vs Seales skinnies, other riches they had none, saue dead Seales, and fat of Seales, some of which fat or blubber afterward we carried aboard, the poore women were very diligent to carry it to the water side to put into our caske, making shew that the men were ouer at the Mayne, and at an other small Island something more Eastward. Then making signes to them that wee would shew them our ship and set them where the men were: the foure youngest came into our Boate; when they were aboard they much wondred to see our ship and furniture: we gaue them of our meate, which they tasting would not eate. Then two of them wee set on the Island, where they supposed the men to be; the other two were carried to their Tents againe. Those that went to seeke the men could not finde them, but came as neere the ship as they could, and at euening wee set

50 them ouer to the other. This place wee called *Womens Ilands*; it lyeth in the latitude of 72. degrees 45. minutes: here the Flood commeth from the Southward, at nepe Tydes the water ariseth but fixe or seuen foote, and a South South-east Moone maketh a full Sea. The Inhabitants very poore, liuing chiefly on the flesh of Seales, dried, which they eate raw, with the skinnies they cloathe themselves, and also make coverings for their Tents and Boats which they dresse very well. The Women in their apparell are different from the men, and are marked in the face with diuers blacke strokes or lines, the skin being rased with some sharpe instrument when they are young, and blacke colour put therein, that by no meanes it will be gotten forth.

60 Concerning their Religion, I can little say: onely they haue a kinde of worship or adoration to the Sunne, which continually they will point vnto and strike their hand on their breast, crying *Nyont*; their dead they burie on the side of the Hills, where they liue (which is commonly on small Ilands) making a pile of stones ouer them, yet not so close but that wee might see the dead body, the aire being so piercing that it keepeth them from much stinking sauour. So likewise I haue seene their Dogs buried in the same manner.

Groenland.

Men and dogs.

Dead Whale.

Hope Sanderfon.

Tents, Men and Women.

The people described. Women.

Religion.

Buriall of Men and Dogs.

Vpon the fourth day we set sayle from thence, hauing very faire weather, although the winde were contrary, and plyed to and fro betweene the Ice and the Land, being as it were a channell of seuen or eight leagues broad: then on the ninth day, being in the latitude of 74. degree 4. minutes, and much pestered with Ice, neere vnto three small Ilands, lying eight miles from the shore, we came to anchor neere one of them.

These Ilands are vsed to be frequented with people in the latter part of the yeare, as it seemed by the houses and places where the tents had stood: but this yeare as yet they were not come; here the tides are very small, especially the flood, which riseth not aboue five or six foot, yet the ebbe runneth with an indifferent streame, the cause thereof (in mine opinion) is the great abundance of Snow, melting on the Land all this part of the yeare.

The tenth day wee set sayle from thence, and stood through much Ice to the Westward, to try if that further from the shoare, wee might proceede; but this attempt was soone quailed, for the more Ice we went through, the thicker it was, till wee could see no place to put in the Ships head.

Seeing, that as yet we could not proceede, we determined to stand in for the shoare, there to abide some few dayes, till such time as the Ice were more wasted and gone (for we plainly saw that it consumed very fast) with this resolution we stood in, and came to anchor among many Ilands, in the latitude of 73. degrees 45. minutes. On the twelfth day at night here wee continued two dayes without shew or signe of any people, till on the fifteenth day in the morning, about one a clocke, then came two and fortie of the Inhabitants in their Boaces or Canoas, and gaue vs Seale skinnies, and many peeces of the bone or horne of the Sea Vnicorne, and shewed vs diuers peeces of Sea Mors teeth; making signes that to the Northward were many of them: in exchange thereof, we gaue them small peeces of Iron, Glasse Beads, and such like: at foure seuerall times the people came to vs, and at each time brought vs of the aforesaid commodities, by reason thereof we called this place *Horne Sound*.

Here we stayed six dayes, and on the eighteenth day at night, we set sayle, hauing very little winde; and being at Sea, made the best way we could to the Northward, although the winde had beene contrary for the most part this moneth, but it was strange to see the Ice so much consumed in so little space, for now we might come to the three Ilands, before named, and stand off to the Westward almost twenty leagues, without let of Ice, vntill we were more North (as to 74. degrees 30. minutes) then we put among much scattered Ice, and plyed to and fro all this month, still in the sight of shoare, and many times fast in the Ice, yet every day we got something on our way, nothing worthy of note happening, but that at diuers times we saw of the fishes with long hornes, many and often, which we call the Sea Vnicorne: and here to write particularly of the weather, it would be superfluous or needelesse, because it was so variable, few dayes without Snow, and often freezing, in so much, that on Midsummer day, our shrowds ropes and sailes were so frozen, that we could scarce handle them; yet the cold is not so extreame, but it may well be endured.

The first of Iuly we were come into an open Sea, in the latitude of 75. degrees 40. minutes, which a new reuiued our hope of a passage, and because the winde was contrary, wee stood off twenty leagues from the shoare, before we met the Ice: then standing in againe, when we were neere the Land, we let fall an anchor to see what tyde went, but in that we found small comfort. Shortly after the winde came to the South-east, and blew very hard, with foule weather, thicke, and foggie: then we set sayle, and ran along by the Land: this was on the second day at night. The next morning we past by a faire Cape, or head land, which wee called *Sir Dudley Digges Cape*, it is in the latitude of 76. degrees 35. minutes, and hath a small Iland close adioyning to it; the winde still increasing, we past by a faire Sound twelue leagues distant from the former Cape, hauing an Iland in the midst, which maketh two entrances. Vnder this Iland we came to anchor; and had not rid past two houres, but our Ship droue, although we had two anchors at the ground, then were we forced to set sayle, and stand forth: this Sound wee called *Wostenholme Sound*: it hath many Inlets or smaller Sounds in it, and is a fit place for the killing of Whales.

The fourth day at one a clocke in the morning, the storme began againe at West and by South, so vehement, that it blew away our forecourse, and being not able to beare any sayle, wee lay a drift till about eight a clocke, then it cleared vp a little, and we saw our selues imbayed in a great Sound: then we set sayle and stood ouer to the South-east side, where in a little Coue or Bay we let fall an anchor, which we lost with cable and all, the winde blowing so extreame from the tops of the hills, that we could get no place to anchor in, but were forced to stand to and fro in the Sound, the bottome being all frozen ouer; toward two a clocke it began to be lesse winde, then we stood forth.

In this Sound we saw great numbers of Whales, therefore we called it *Whale Sound*, and doubtlesse if we had beene provided for killing of them, we might haue strooke very many. It lyeth in the latitude of 77. degrees 30. minutes. All the fifth day it was very faire weather, and wee kept along by the Land till eight a clock in the euening, by which time we were come to a great banke of Ice, it being backed with Land, which we seeing, determined to stand backe some eight leagues,

42. Inhabitants

Vnicornes
hornes.

Horne Sound.

They see many
Sea Vnicornes.Sharp frost on
Midsummer
day.Sir Dudley Digges
his Cape.Wostenholme
Sound.

Whale Sound.

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leagues, to an Iland we called *Hackluts Ile*, it lyeth betweene two great Sounds, the one *Whale Sound*, and the other *Sir Thomas Smiths Sound*: this last runneth to the North of seventy eight degrees, and is admirable in one respect, because in it is the greatest variation of the Compasse of any part of the World known: for by diuers good Obseruations I found it to be about five points or fifty six degrees varied to the Westward, so that a North-east and by East, is true North, and so of the rest. Also this Sound seemeth to bee good for the killing of Whales, it being the greatest and largest in all this Bay. The cause wherefore we minded to stand to this Iland, was to see if we could find any finnes or such like on the shore, and so indeed this night wee came to anchor, but with such foule weather, that our Boat could not land. The next day wee were forced to set
10 sayle, the Sea was growne so high, and the wind came more outward. Two dayes wee spent and could get no good place to anchor in: then on the eight day it cleered vp, and wee seeing a company of Ilands lye off from the shoare twelue, or thirteene Leagues, wee minded to goe to them, to see if there we could Anchor. When wee were something neere, the winde tooke vs short; and being loth to spend more time, we tooke opportunitie of the wind, and left the searching of these Ilands, which wee called *Careyes Ilands*, all which Sounds and Ilands the Map
* doth truly describe.

So we stood to the Westward in an open Sea, with a stiffe gale of wind, all the next day and till the tenth day at one or two a clocke in the morning, at which time it fell calme and very
20 foggie, and wee neere the Land in the entrance of a faire Sound, which wee called *Alderman Jones Sound*. This afternoone being faire and cleere, we sent our Boat to the shoare, the ship being vnder sayle, and assoone as they were on shoare, the wind began to blow; then they returned againe, declaring that they saw many Sea Morfes by the shoare among the Ice, and as farre as they were, they saw no signe of people, nor any good place to anchor in along the shoare. Then hauing an easie gale of wind at East North-east, we ranne along by the shoare, which now trendeth much South, and beginneth to shew like a Bay.

On the twelfth day we were open of another great Sound, lying in the Latitude of 74. degrees 20. minutes, and we called it *Sir James Lankasters Sound*: here our hope of passage began to be lesse euery day then other, for from this Sound to the Southward, wee had a ledge of Ice betweene the shoare and vs, but cleare to the Sea ward, we kept close by this ledge of Ice till the
30 foureteenth day in the afternoone, by which time wee were in the latitude of 71. degrees 16. minutes, and plainly perceiued the Land to the Southward of 70. degrees 30. minutes, then wee hauing so much Ice round about vs, were forced to stand more Eastward, supposing to haue beene soone cleare, and to haue kept on the off side of the Ice, vntill we had come into 70. degrees, then to haue stood in againe. But this proued quite contrary to our expectation: for wee were forced to runne about threescore leagues through very much Ice, and many times so fast, that wee could goe no wayes, although we kept our course due East; and when wee had gotten into the open Sea, wee kept so neere the Ice, that many times we had much adoe to get cleare, yet could not come neere the Land, till we came about 68. degrees, where indeede we saw the shoare, but could not come to it by eight or nine leagues, for the great abundance of Ice. This was on the
40 foure and twentieth day of Iuly: then spent we three dayes more to see if conueniently wee could come to anchor, to make triall of the tides, but the Ice led vs into the latitude of 65. degrees 40. minutes. Then wee left off seeking to the West shoare, because wee were in the indraft of *Cumberlands Iles*, and should know no certaintie, and hope of passage could be none.

Now seeing that we had made an end of our discouery, and the yeare being too farre spent to goe for the bottome of the Bay, to search for drest Finnes; therefore wee determined to goe for the Coast of *Groineland*, to see if we could get some refreshing for our men: Master *Hu- bert* and two more, hauing kept their Cabins about eight dayes (besides our Cooke *Richard Way- nam*, which died the day before, being the twenty six of Iuly) and diuers more of our company so weake, that they could doe but little labour. So the winde fauouring vs, we came to anchor in
50 the latitude of 65. degrees 45. minutes, at six a clocke in the euening, the eight and twentieth day, in a place called *Caukin Sound*.

The next day going on shoare, on a little Iland we found great abundance of the herbe called *Scuruie Grasse*, which we boyled in Beere, and so dranke thereof, vsing it also in Sallets, with *Sorrell* and *Orpen*, which here groweth in abundance; by meanes hereof, and the blessing of God all our men within eight or nine dayes space were in perfect health, and so continued till our arriual in *England*.

Wee rode in this place three dayes before any of the people came to vs; then on the first of August, six of the Inhabitants in their *Canoes*, brought vs *Salmon Peale*, and such like, which
60 was a great refreshment to our men: the next day following, the same six came againe, but after that we saw them no more vntill the sixth day, when we had wayed anchor, and were almost cleere of the harbour; then the same six and one more, brought vs of the like commodities, for which we gaue them *Glasse Beads*, *Counters* and small peeces of *Iron*, which they doe as much esteeme, as we Christians doe *Gold* and *Siluer*.

Sir Thomas Smiths Sound in 78. deg.

Variation of the compasse 56. degrees to the West.

Which may make questionable D. Gilberts rule. Tom. 1. l. 2. c. 1. that

where more earth is, more attraction of the compasse happeneth by variation to-

ward it. Now the known con-

tinents of Asia, &c. must be vn-

speakably more then here there can be, and yet

here is more variation then about Iapan or

Brasil, Peru, &c. Caries Ilands.

* This Map of the authour for this and the

former Voyage with the Table of his iournall

and sayling, were somewhat troublesome and too costly

to insert. Alderman Jones Sound.

Sir James Lankasters Sound. They see Land

and find themselves embayed Cumberlands Iles.

Caukin Sound.

Scuruie Grasse.

Six men.

Plenty of Salmon.

In this Sound we saw such great Scales of Salmon swimming to and fro, that it is much to be admired: here it floweth about eightene foote water, and is at the highest on the change day at seven a clocke: it is a very good harbour, and easie to be knowne, hauing three high round hills like Piramides close adioyning to the mouth of it, and that in the midst is lowest, and along all this coast are many good harbours to be found, by reason that so many Ilands lye off from the maine.

The sixt of August, by three a clocke in the afternoone, wee were cleere of this place, hauing a North North North-west winde, and faire weather, and the Lord sent vs a speedy and good passage homeward as could be wished: for in nineteene dayes after, wee saw Land on the coast of Ireland, it being on the five and twentieth day: the seven and twentieth at noone we were two leagues from Sully, and the thirtieth day, in the morning wee anchored at *Douer* in the roade, for the which and all other his blessings the Lord make vs thankfull.

CHAP. XX.

A brieue Discourse of the probabilitie of a passage to the Westerne or South Sea, illustrated with testimonies: and a brieue Treatise and Mappe by Master

BRIGGES.



Thought good to adde somewhat to this Relation of Master *Baffin*, that learned-vnlearned Mariner and Mathematician; who wanting art of words, so really employed himselfe to those industries, whereof here you see so euident fruits. His Mappes and Tables would haue much illustrated his Voyages, if trouble, and cost, and his owne despaire of passage that way, had not made vs willing to content our selues with that Mappe following of that thrice learned (and in this argument three times thrice industrious) Mathematician, Master *Brigges*, famous for his readings in both Vniuersities, and this honourable Citie, that I make no further Voyage of Discouery to finde and follow the remote Passage and extent of his name. Master *Baffin* told mee, that they supposed the tyde from the North-west, about *Digges* Iland was misreported, by mistaking the houre, eight for eleuen: and that hee would, if hee might get employment, search the passage from *Japan*, by the coast of *Asia*, or (*qua data porta*) any way hee could. But in the *Indies* he dyed, in the late Ormus businesse, slaine in fight with a shot, as hee was trying his Mathematicall proiects and conclusions.

Baffins death.

The King satisfied touching the passage.

Buttons hope.

Now for that discouery of Sir *Thomas Button*, I haue solicited him for his Noates, and receiued of him gentle entertainment and kinde promises: but being then forced to stay in the Citie vpon necessary and vrgent affaires, he would at his returne home, seeke and impart them. Since I heare that weightie occasions haue detained him out of *England*, and I cannot communicate that which I could not receiue: which if I doe receiue, I purpose rather to giue thee out of due place, then not at all. Once he was very confident in conference with me of a passage that way, and said that he had therein satisfied his Maiestie, who from his discourse in priuate, inferred the necessitie thereof. And the maine argument was the course of the tyde: for wintering in *Port Nelson* (see the following Mappe) hee found the tyde rising euery twelue houres fifteene foote (whereas in the bottome of *Hudsons Bay* it was but two foote, and in the bottome of *Fretum Davis* discovered by *Baffin*, but one) yea and a West winde equalled the nepe tydes to the spring tydes; plainly arguing the neighbourhood of the Sea, which is on the West side of *America*. The Summer following he found about the latitude of 60. degrees a strong race of a tide, running sometimes Eastward, sometimes Westward; whereupon *Iosias Hubbard* in his plat, called that place *Hubbarts Hope*, as in the Map appeareth. Now if any make scruple, because this discouery was not pursued by Sir *Thomas Button*, let him consider, that being Prince *Henries* Seruant, and partly by him employed (whence I thinke he named the Country *New Wales*) the vntimely death of that Prince put all out of ioint; nor was hee so open, that others should haue the glory of his discouerie.

And if any man thinke that the passage is so farre, as the Maps vse to expresse *America*, running out into the West: it is easily answered, that either of negligence, or ouer-busie diligence, Maps by *Portugals* in the East, and *Spaniards* in the West, haue bene falsely proiected. Hence that fabulous strait of *Anian*, as before by *Francis Ganles* testimonie and nauigation is euident: And hence the *Portugals* to bring in the *Moluccas*, to that moiety of the world agreed vpon betwixt the *Spaniards* and them, are thought to haue much curtalled *Asia*, and the longitude of those Ilands, giuing fewer degrees to them then in iust longitude is requisite. So the older Maps

of America make the Land from the *Magelane* Straits to the South Sea, runne much West, when as they rather are contracted somewhat Easterly from the North. The like is iustly supposed of their false placing, *Quinira*, and I know not (nor they neither) what Countries they make in America, to run so farre North-westward, which Sir Francis Drakes Voyage in that Sea (his *No-ua Albion*, being little further Westward then *Aquaticulo*) plainly euince to be otherwise. Yea the late Map of *California* found to be an Island, the Savages discourses in all the Countries Northwards and Westwards from *Virginia*: fame whereof filled my friend Master *Dermer* with so much confidence, that hearing of strange Ships which came thither for a kinde of Vre or earth, the men vsing forkes in their diet, with Caldrons to dresse their meate, &c. things nothing su-
 10 table to any parts of America, hee supposed them to come from the East, neere to *China* or *Ja-pan*, and therefore he made a Voyage purposely to discover: but crossed with diuers disasters, hee returned to *Virginia*, frustrate of accomplishment that yeare, but fuller of confidence, as in a Letter from *Virginia* he signified to me, where death ended that his designe soone after. But how of-
 20 ten are the vsuall Charts reiected by experience in these Navigations, in this worke recorded? Painters and Poets are not alwayes the best Oracles.

* This easily appeareth in obseruing his Voiage, & comparing that be- fore of *Fr. Gault* therewith.

For further proofes of a passage about those parts into the West Sea (or South, as it is called from the first discovery thereof to the South, from the parts of *New Spaine*, whence it was first descried by the *Spaniards*) there is mention of a *Portugall* (and taken in a Carricke in *Queene Elizabeths* dayes, of glorious memory) confirming this opinion; Sir *Martin Frobisher* also from
 20 a *Portugall* in *Guinie*, receiued intelligence of such a passage, he saying he had past it. The Pilots of *Lisbone* are said generally to acknowledge such a thing; and the Admirall of *D. Garcia Geoffroy Louisa* of *Cite-Real*, in the time of *Charles* the fifth, is reported by the Coast of *Baccalaos* and *La-
 30 brador*, to haue gone to the *Moluccas*. *Vasco de Coronado* writ to the Emperour, that at *Cibola* he was one hundred and fiftie leagues from the South Sea, and a little more from the North. *Anto-
 nio de Herera*, the Kings Coronist & Maior (part of whose worke followeth) maketh with vs also, in the distances of places by him described. But to produce some authority more full, I haue here presented *Thomas Cowles* a Marriner, and Master *Michael Locke* Merchant, and after them, a lit-
 40 tle Treatise ascribed to Master *Briggs*, together with his Map. And if any thinke that the *Spa-
 niard* or *Portugall* would soone haue discovered such a passage: these will answere, that it was not for their profit to expose their East or West Indies to *English*, *Dutch*, or others, whom they would not haue sharers in those remote treasures by so neere a passage. First, *Thomas Cowles* auereth thus much.

Some of our Merchants are said not to be so willing for like causes with this discovery.

I Thomas Cowles of *Bedmester*, in the Countie of *Somerset*, Marriner, doe acknowledge, that six
 40 yeares past, at my being at *Lisbon*, in the Kingdome of *Portugall*, I did heare one *Martin Chacke*, a
Portugall of *Lisbon*, reade a Booke of his owne making, which he had set out six yeares before that time,
 in Print, in the *Portugale* tongue, declaring that the said *Martin Chacke* had found, twelve yeares
 now past, a way from the *Portugall* Indies, through a gulfe of the New found Land, which he thought
 to be in 59. degrees of the eleuation of the North Pole. By meanes that hee being in the said Indies,
 50 with foure other Shippes of great burden, and he himselfe in a small Shippe of fourescore tunnes, was
 driuen from the company of the other foure Shippes, with a Westerly winde: after which, hee past alongst
 by a great number of Islands which were in the gulfe of the said New found Land. And after hee
 ouer shot the gulfe, he set no more sight of any other Land, untill he fell with the Northwest part of *Ire-
 land*; and from thence he tooke his course homewards, and by that meanes hee came to *Lisbone* foure
 or fwee weekes before the other foure Ships of his company that he was separated from, as before said. And
 since the same time, I could neuer see any of those Books, because the King commanded them to be called
 in, and no more of them to be printed, lest in time it would be to their hindrance. In witnesse whereof I set
 to my hand and marke, the ninth of *Aprill*. Anno 1579.

A Note made by me *MICHAEL LOK* the elder, touching the Strait of Sea,
 commonly called *Fretum Anian*, in the South Sea, through the
 North-west passage of *Meta incognita*.

When I was at *Venice*, in *Aprill* 1596. happily arrived there an old man, about threescore
 yeares of age, called commonly *Iuan de Fuca*, but named properly *Apostolos Valerianos*,
 of Nation a Greeke, borne in the Island *Cefalonia*, of profession a Mariner, and an ancient Pilot
 60 of Shippes. This man being come lately out of *Spaine*, arrived first at *Ligorno*, and went thence
 to *Florence* in *Italie*, where he found one *Iohn Dowglas*, an *Englishman*, a famous Mariner, ready
 comming for *Venice*, to be Pilot of a *Venetian* Ship, named *Ragasona* for *England*, in whose com-
 pany they came both together to *Venice*. And *Iohn Dowglas* being well acquainted with me be-
 fore, he gaue me knowledge of this Greeke Pilot, and brought him to my speech: and in long
 talke

talke and conference betweene vs, in presence of *Iohn Dowglas*: this *Greeke* Pilot declared in the *Italian* and *Spanish* languages, thus much in effect as followeth.

First he said, that he had bin in the *West Indies* of *Spaine* by the space of fortie yeeres, and had sailed to and from many places thereof, as *Mariner* and *Pilot*, in the seruice of the *Spaniards*.

Also he said, that he was in the *Spanish* Shippe, which in returning from the *Ilands*, *Philippinas* and *China*, towards *Noua Spania*, was robbed and taken at the *Cape California*, by *Captaine Candish Englishman*, whereby he lost sixtie thousand Duckets, of his owne goods.

Also he said, that he was *Pilot* of three small Ships which the *Viceroy* of *Mexico* sent from *Mexico*, armed with one hundred men, *Souldiers*, vnder a *Captain*, *Spaniards*, to discouer the Straits of *Anian*, along the coast of the *South-Sea*, and to fortifie in that Strait, to resist the passage and proceedings of the *English Nation*, which were feared to passe through those Straits into the *South Sea*. And that by reason of a mutinie which happened among the *Souldiers*, for the *Sodomie* of their *Captaine*, that Voyage was ouerthrowne, and the Ships returned backe from *California* coast to *Noua Spania*, without any effect of thing done in that Voyage. And that after their returne, the *Captaine* was at *Mexico* punished by iustice.

Also he said, that shortly after the said Voyage was so ill ended, the said *Viceroy* of *Mexico*, sent him out againe Anno 1592. with a small *Carauela*, and a *Pinnace*, armed with *Mariners* onely, to follow the said Voyage, for discouery of the same Straits of *Anian*, and the passage thereof, into the Sea which they call the *North Sea*, which is our *North-west Sea*. And that he followed his course in that Voyage West and North-west in the *South Sea*, all alongst the coast of *Noua Spania*, and *California*, and the *Indies*, now called *North America* (all which Voyage hee signified to me in a great Map, and a Sea-card of mine owne, which I laied before him) vntill hee came to the Latitude of fortie seuen degrees, and that there finding that the Land trended North and North-east, with a broad Inlet of Sea, betweene 47. and 48. degrees of Latitude: hee entred therein, sayling therein more then twentie dayes, and found that Land trending still sometime North-west and North-east, and North, and also East and South-eastward, and very much broader Sea then was at the said entrance, and that hee passed by diuers *Ilands* in that sayling. And that at the entrance of this said Strait, there is on the North-west coast thereof, a great Hedland or *Iland*, with an exceeding high *Pinacle*, or spired *Rocke*, like a pillar thereupon.

Also he said, that he went on Land in diuers places, and that he saw some people on Land, clad in Beasts skins: and that the Land is very fruitfull, and rich of gold, *Siluer*, *Pearle*, and other things, like *Noua Spania*.

And also he said, that he being entred thus farre into the said Strait, and being come into the *North Sea* already, and finding the Sea wide enough euery where, and to be about thirtie or fortie leagues wide in the mouth of the Straits, where hee entred; hee thought he had now well discharged his office, and done the thing which he was sent to doe: and that hee not being armed to resist the force of the *Saluage* people that might happen, hee therefore set sayle and returned homewards againe towards *Noua Spania*, where hee arrived at *Acapulco*, Anno 1592. hoping to be rewarded greatly of the *Viceroy*, for this seruice done in this said Voyage.

Also he said, that after his comming to *Mexico*, hee was greatly welcommed by the *Viceroy*, and had great promises of great reward, but that hauing sued there two yeares time, and obtained nothing to his content, the *Viceroy* told him, that he should be rewarded in *Spaine* of the *King* himselfe very greatly, and willed him therefore to goe into *Spaine*, which Voyage hee did performe.

Also he said, that when he was come into *Spaine*, he was greatly welcommed there at the *Kings* Court, in wordes after the *Spanish* manner, but after long time of suite there also, hee could not get any reward there neither to his content. And that therefore at the length he stole away out of *Spaine*, and came into *Italie*, to goe home againe and liue among his owne Kindred and Countymen, he being very old.

Also he said, that hee thought the cause of his ill reward had of the *Spaniards*, to bee for that they did vnderstand very well, that the *English Nation* had now giuen ouer all their voyages for discouerie of the *North-west* passage, wherefore they need not feare them any more to come that way into the *South Sea*, and therefore they needed not his seruice therein any more.

Also he said, that in regard of this ill reward had of the *Spaniards*, and vnderstanding of the noble minde of the *Queene* of *England*, and of her warres maintayned so valiantly against the *Spaniards*, and hoping that her *Maiestie* would doe him iustice for his goods lost by *Captaine Candish*, he would bee content to goe into *England*, and serue her *Maiestie* in that voyage for the discouerie perfectly of the *North-west* passage into the *South Sea*, and would put his life into her *Maiesties* hands to performe the same, if shee would furnish him with onely one ship of fortie tunnes burden and a *Pinnasse*, and that he would performe it in thirtie dayes time, from one end to the other of the Streights. And he willed me so to write into *England*.

The straight to be discouered in 30. dayes.

Captaine Candish.

Land trending in 47. degrees.

The mouth of the Straight where he entred 30. or 40. leagues broad.

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And vpon this conference had twise with the said Greeke Pilot, I did write thereof accordingly into England vnto the right honourable the old Lord Treasurer Cecill, and to Sir Walter Raleigh, and to Master Richard Hakluyt that famous Cosmographer, certifying them hereof by my Letters. And in the behalfe of the said Greeke Pilot, I prayed them to disburse one hundred pounds of money, to bring him into England with my selfe, for that my owne purse would not stretch so wide at that time. And I had answere hereof by Letters of friends, that this action was very well liked, and greatly desired in England to bee effected; but the money was not ready, and therefore this action dyed at that time, though the said Greeke Pilot perchance liueh still this day at home in his owne Countrey in Cefalonia, towards the which place he went from me within a fortnight after this conference had at Venice.

And in the meane time, while I followed my owne businesse in Venice, being in Law suit against the Companie of Merchants of Turkie, and Sir Iohn Spencer their Gouvernour in London, to recouer my pension due for my office of being their Consull at Aleppo in Turkie, which they held from me wrongfully. And when I was (as I thought) in a readinesse to returne home into England, for that it pleased the Lords of her Maiesties honourable Priuie Counsell in England, to looke into this Cause of my Law suit for my reliefe; I thought that I should be able of my owne purse to take with me into England the said Greeke Pilot. And therefore I wrote vnto him from Venice a Letter, dated in Iuly 1596. which is copied here-vnder.

Al Magco. Sigor. Capitan IUAN DE FUCA Piloto de Indias,
amigo mio charmo. en Zefalonia.

Muy honrado Sennor, siendo yo para bueluerme en Inglatierra dentre de pocas mezes, y acuerdandome de lo tratado entre my y V. M. en Venesia, sobre el viago de las Indias, me ha parecido bien de scriuir esta carta a V. M. para que si tengais animo de andar con migo, puedaís escribirme presto, en que manera quereis consentaros. Y puedaís embiarmi vuestra carta, con esta nao Ingles que sta al Zante (sino hallais otra coientura meier) con el sobrescrito que diga, en casa del Sennor Eleazar Hyman Mercader Ingles, al tragetto de San Thomas en Venesia. Y Dios guarde la persona de V. M. Fecha en Venesia al primer dia de Iulio, 1596. annos.

Amigo de V. M. Michael Lok Ingles.

And I sent the said Letter from Venice to Zante, in the ship Cherubin. And shortly after I sent a copie thereof in the ship Mynyon. And also a third copie thereof by Manca Orlando Patron de Nave Venetian. And vnto my said Letters he wrote mee answere to Venice by one Letter which came not to my hands. And also by another Letter which came to my hands, which is copied here-vnder.

Al Illmo. Sigor. MICHAEL LOCH Ingles, in casa del Sigor. LASARRO Merca.
der Ingles, al tragetto de San THOMAS en Venesia.

Muy Illustre Segor. la carta de V. M. receni a 20. dias del Mese de Settembre, por lo qual veo Loche V. M. me manda, io tengo animo de complir Loche tengo prometido a V. M. y no solo yo, mas tengo vinte hombres para liuar con migo, porche son hombres vaglientes; y assi esso esperando, por otra carta che auise a V. M. parache me embiais los dinieros che tengo escrito a V. M. Porche bien saue V. M. como io vine pouer, porche me glieno Capitan Candis mas de sessanta mille ducados, como V. M. bien saue: embiandome lo dicho, ira a servir a V. M. con todos mis compaÑeros. I no spero otra cosa mas de la voluntad e carta de V. M. I con tanto nostro Sigor. Dios guarde la Illustre persona de V. M. muchos annos. De Cefalonia a 24. de Settembre del 1596.

Amigo & seruitor de V. M.

Iuan Fucas.

And the said Letter came to my hands in Venice, the 16. day of Nouember, 1596. but my Law suite with the Companie of Turkie was not yet ended, by reason of Sir Iohn Spencers suite made in England at the Queenes Court to the contrarie, seeking onely to haue his money discharged which I had attached in Venice for my said pension, and thereby my owne purse was not yet ready for the Greeke Pilot.

And neuertheless, hoping that my said suite would haue shortly a good end; I wrote another Letter to this Greeke Pilot from Venice, dated the 20. of Nouember, 1596. which came not to his hands. And also another Letter, dated the 24. of Ianuarie, 1596. which came to his hands. And thereof he wrote me answere, dated the 28. of May, 1597. which I receiued the first of August

The Ship *Santa Anna*.

The Streight of *Nova Spania* thirtie dayes journey in the Streight.

1597. by *Thomas Norden* an English Merchant yet living in *London*, wherein he promised still to goe with me into *England*, to performe the said voyage for discoverie of the North-west passage into the South Sea, if I would send him money for his charges according to his former writing, without the which money, he said he could not goe, for that he said he was vndone vtterly, when he was in the ship *Santa Anna*, which came from *China*, and was robbed at *California*. And yet againe afterward I wrote him another Letter from *Venice*, whereunto he wrote me answere, by a Letter written in his *Greeke* language, dated the 20. of October, 1598. the which I have still by me, wherein he promisetht still to goe with me into *England*, and performe the said voyage of discoverie of the North-west passage into the South Sea by the said streights, which he calleth the Streight of *Nova Spania*, which he saith is but thirtie daies voyage in the streights, if I will send him the money formerly written for his charges. The which money I could not yet send him, for that I had not yet recovered my pension owing mee by the Companie of *Turkie* aforesaid. And so of long time I stayed from any further proceeding with him in this matter.

And yet lastly, when I my selfe was at *Zante*, in the moneth of Iune 1602. minding to passe from thence for *England* by Sea, for that I had then recovered a little money from the Companie of *Turkie*, by an order of the Lords of the Priuie Counsell of *England*, I wrote another Letter to this *Greeke* Pilot to *Cefalonia*, and required him to come to me to *Zante*, and goe with mee into *England*, but I had none answere thereof from him, for that as I heard afterward at *Zante*, he was then dead, or very likely to die of great sicknesse. Whereupon I returned my selfe by Sea from *Zante* to *Venice*, and from thence I went by land through *France* into *England*, where I arrived at Christmas, An. 1602. safely, I thanke God, after my absence from thence ten yeeres time; with great troubles had for the Company of *Turkies* businesse, which hath cost me a great summe of money, for the which I am not yet satisfied of them.

A Treatise of the North-west passage to the South Sea, through the Continent of Virginia, and by Fretum Hudson.

The noble plantation of *Virginia* hath some very excellent prerogatiues aboue many other famous Kingdomes, namely, the temperature of the aire, the fruitfulnessse of the soile, and the commodiousnesse of situatione.

The aire is healthfull and free both from immoderate heate, and from extreme cold; so that both the Inhabitants and their Cattell doe prosper exceedingly in stature and strength, and all Plants brought from any other remote climate, doe there grow and fructifie in as good or better manner, then in the soile from whence they came. Which though it doe manifestly prooue the fruitfulnessse of the soile, yeelding all kindes of Graine or Plants committed vnto it, with a rich and plentifull increase; yet cannot the fatnesse of the earth alone produce such excellent effects, vnlesse the temperature of the aire be likewise so fauourable, that those tender sprouts which the earth doth abundantly bring forth, may bee cherished with moderate heate and seasonable moisture, and freed both from scorching drought, and nipping frost.

These blessings are so much the more to be esteemed, because they are bestowed vpon a place situated so conueniently, and at so good a distance both from *Europe*, and the *West Indies*, that for the mutuall commerce betwixt these great and most rich parts of the habitable world, there cannot bee deuised any place more conuenient for the succour and refreshing of those that trade from hence thither: whether they be of our owne Nation, or of our Neighbours and Friends; the multitude of great and nauigable Riuer, and of safe and spacious Harbours, as it were inuiting all Nations to entertaine mutuall friendship, and to participate of those blessings which God out of the abundance of his rich Treasures, hath so graciously bestowed some vpon these parts of *Europe*, and others no lesse desired vpon those poore people: which might still haue remayned in their old barbarous ignorance, without knowledge of their owne miserie, or of Gods infinite goodnesse and mercy; if it had not pleased God thus graciously both to draw vs thither with desire of such wealth as those fruitfull Countries afford, and also to grant vs so easie, certaine, and safe a meanes to goe vnto them: which passage is in mine opinion made much more secure and easie by the commodious Harbours and refreshing which *Virginia* doth reach out vnto vs. The coasts of *Florida* to the West, being not so harberous; and of *New England* to the East, somewhat more out of the way, amongst so many Flats, and small Ilands not so safe. Neither is the commodiousnesse of *Virginia's* situation onely in respect of this West *Atlanticke* Ocean, but also in respect of the *Indian* Ocean, which we commonly call the South Sea, which lyeth on the West and North-west side of *Virginia*, on the other side of the Mountaines beyond our Falls, and openeth a free and faire passage; not onely to *China*, *Iapan*, and the *Moluccaes*; but also to *New Spaine*, *Peru*, *Chili*, and those rich Countries of *Terra Australis*; not as yet fully discovered. For the Sea wherein Master *Hudson* did winter, which was first discovered by him, and is therefore now called *Fretum Hudson*, doth stretch so farre towards the West, that it lyeth as farre Westward

ward as the Cape of *Florida*: So that from the Falls about *Henrico* Citie, if we shape our iourney towards the North-west, following the Riuer towards the head, wee shall vndoubtedly come to the Mountaines, which as they send diuers great Riuer Southward into our Bay of *Chesepiock*, so likewise doe they send others from their further side North-westward into that Bay where *Hudson* did winter. For so wee see in our owne Countrey, from the ridge of Mountaines continued from *Derbshire* into *Scotland*, doe issue many great Riuer on both sides into the East *Germane* Ocean, and into the Westerne *Irish* Seas: in like sort from the Alpes of *Switzerland* and the *Grizons*, doe runne the *Danubie* Eastward into *Pontus Euxinus*, the *Rhene* into the North *Germane* Ocean, the *Rhosne* West into the *Mediterrane* Sea, and the *Po* South into the *Adriatike* Sea. This Bay where *Hudson* did winter, stretcheth it selfe Southward into 49. degrees, and cannot be in probabilitie so farre distant from the Falls as two hundred leagues; part of the way lying by the Riuer side towards the Mountaines from whence it springeth; and the other part on the other side cannot want Riuer likewise, which will conduct vs all the way, and I hope carry vs and our prouisions a good part of it. Besides that Bay, it is not vnlikely that the Westerne Sea in some other Creeke or Riuer commeth much neerer then that place: For the place where Sir *Thomas Button* did winter, lying more Westerly then Master *Hudsons* Bay by one hundred and ninetie leagues in the same Sea, doth extend it selfe very neere as farre towards the west as the Cape of *California*, which is now found to bee an Iland stretching it selfe from 22. degrees to 42. and lying almost directly North and South; as may appeare in a Map of that Iland which I haue seene here in *London*, brought out of *Holland*; where the Sea vpon the North-west part may very probably come much neerer then some doe imagine: who giuing too much credit to our vsuall Globes and Maps, doe dreame of a large Continent extending it selfe farre Westward to the imagined Streight of *Anian*, where are seated (as they fable) the large Kingdomes of *Cebola* and *Quinira*, hauing great and populous Cities of ciuill people; whose houses are said to bee five stories high, and to haue some pillars of *Turgueses*. Which relations are cunningly set downe by some vpon set purpose to put vs out of the right way, and to discourage such as otherwise might be desirous to search a passage by the way aforesaid into those Seas.

Gerardus Mercator, a very industrious and excellent Geographer, was abused by a Map sent vnto him, of foure *Euripi* meeting about the North Pole; which now are found to bee all turned into a mayne Icie Sea. One demonstration of the craftie falshood of these vsuall Maps is this, that Cape *Mendocino* is set in them West North-west, distant from the South Cape of *California*, about seenteene hundred leagues, whereas *Francis Gaule* that was imployed in those discoveries by the Vice-roy of *New Spaine*, doth in *Hugo Linschotten* his booke set downe their distance to be onely five hundred leagues.

Besides this, in the place where Sir *Thomas Button* did winter in 57. degrees of latitude, the constant great Tydes euery twelue houres, and the increase of those Tydes whensoever any strong Westerne winde did blow, doe strongly perswade vs that the mayne Westerne Ocean is not farre from thence; which was much confirmed vnto them the Summer following; when sayling directly North from that place where they wintered, about the latitude of 60. degrees, they were crossed by a strong Current running sometimes Eastward, sometimes Westward: So that if we finde either *Hudsons* Bay, or any Sea more neere vnto the West, wee may assure our selues that from thence we may with great ease passe to any part of the East *Indies*: And that as the World is very much beholding to that famous *Columbus* for that hee first discovered vnto vs the West *Indies*; and to the *Portugal* for the finding out the ordinarie and as yet the best way that is knowne to the East *Indies*, by Cape *Bona Speranza*: So may they and all the world be in this beholding to vs in opening a new and large passage, both much neerer, safer, and farre more wholesome and temperate through the Continent of *Virginia*, and by *Fretum Hudson*, to all those rich Countreies bordering vpon the South Sea, in the East and West *Indies*. And this hope that the South Sea may easily from *Virginia* be discovered ouer Land, is much confirmed by the constant report of the Sauages, not onely of *Virginia*, but also of *Florida* and *Canada*; which dwelling so remote one from another, and all agreeing in the report of a large Sea to the Westwards, where they describe great ships not vnlike to ours, with other circumstances, doe giue vs very great probabilitie (if not full assurance) that our endeouours this way shall by Gods blessing haue a prosperous and happy successe, to the encrease of his Kingdome and Glorie amongst these poore ignorant *Heathen* people, the publique good of all the *Christian* world, the neuer-dying honour of our most gracious Soueraigne, the inestimable benefit of our Nation, and the admirable and speedie increase and aduancement of that most noble and hopefull Plantation of *Virginia*; for the good successe whereof all good men with mee, I doubt not, will powre out their prayers to Almighty God.

H. B.

VOYAGES,

As the Cape of Horns is situated from the Strait of Magellan, it is the passage out to the South Sea, which is the most direct way to the Indies, and the most commodious for the carrying of goods. The Spaniards, who first discovered this passage, called it the Strait of All Saints, because they found it open on the feast of All Saints. The English, who afterwards discovered it, called it the Strait of Magellan, in honour of the first discoverer. The Spaniards, who first discovered this passage, called it the Strait of All Saints, because they found it open on the feast of All Saints. The English, who afterwards discovered it, called it the Strait of Magellan, in honour of the first discoverer.

VOYAGES

M. A.



VOYAGES, AND TRAVELS TO AND IN THE
NEW WORLD, CALLED
AMERICA: RELATIONS OF THEIR
PAGAN ANTIQVITIES AND OF THE
REGIONS AND PLANTATIONS
IN THE NORTH AND SOUTH
parts thereof, and of the Seas and
Ilands adjacent.

THE FIFTH BOOKE.

CHAP. I.

A Description of the West Indies, by ANTONIO DE HER-
RERA * his Maiesties Chiefe Chronicler of the Indies,
and his Chronicler of Castile.

To the Licentiate PAVL of Laguna, President of the Royall and
Supreme Councell of the Indies.



He Licentiate Iohn of Obando, Predecessor of your Lordship (in
whose time the Office of chiefe Chronicler of the Indies was institu-
ted, for writing with greater authoritie, foundation, and truth,
the Acts of the Castilians in the New World, and to see and examine
that which the other Chroniclers should write (for I finde that
almost to all that is written no credit could be given, for ouer-much
licence, wherewith untill then it was done) hee used great diligence
in gathering the most certaine Relations that were found as well in
the Indies, as in Spaine, of that which happened in the Discoveries
of those Regions, the foundations of those Townes and Customes of
the people. And many yeers being past after his death, without making
any beginning of this History, your Lordship being provided for Presi-

dent of the Royall and Supreme Councell of the Indies, knowing how much it behoued, that deeds so worthy

rude, obscure and in very many places vtterly sencelesse. But hauing none to write for mee but my owne hands, I rather chose
to amend this as I could, then to translate it anew. I haue seene it also in French. The Latine is exceeding false in some numbers, as
2000. for 20000. diuers times, &c. which I note for their sakes which read that and haue not the Spanish. I haue not contracted this
(as I haue done diuers other Relations) because it is a brieue contraction of the Spanish-Indian Contrattation, presenting the
Spanish Proceedings, Colonies, Townes, Officers and Government Spiritual and Temporall in the Indies. This Author hath written
eight Decades of the Spanish Acts in the West Indies, which giue great light to those parts, but would be too long for this Worke.

* I found this
Worke transla-
ted in M. Hak-
luyts Papers;
but I can scarc-
ly call it Eng-
lish, it had
so much of the
Spanish garbe,
in litterall and
verball affec-
tion and obscu-
ritie. I haue
examined it
with the Spa-
nish Originall,
and compared
it also with the
Latine Transla-
tion, with great
gaines for thy
greater plea-
ture & profit,
correcting and
illustrating the
phrased and
licence, being
before very

of

Ramusio vncharitably taxed: for he doth but blame the folly of Spanish Authors which are more curious to set downe the names, &c. of those which haue there done any thing though but rebellions, then the description of the beasts, fishes, fowles, plants, Earth, Heauen, &c. in the Indies: for which hee there commends Quiedo.

of memorie should no longer be buried, and that they should be written by a Royall Chronicler (seeing so much fruit is gotten of Historie, that it exceedeth so much the Picture, as the soule, the bodie, against the opinion of a moderne Writer.) Providing all the meanes necessarie with liberalitie and diligence, haue bene the meere and onely Instrument; following the opinion of S. Augustine, that this Historie, and the Description that followeth hath come to the present estate. And because it hath not bene of least importance to honour the Author, animating him to goe forward with so great a labour, conforming your selfe with the vniuersall opinion of the much that is due to the watchings, and labours of the Writers; placing this Office of Chiefe Chronicler in that point and reputation that so noble an Exercise deserueth, (as the most famous men of the World haue iudged it, and it is esteemed and talked of among all Nations be they neuer so barbarous) your Lordship shall be prayesd eternally, and thanked of all that are interessd in it; by which is procured the making mention of their Fathers, and Predecessors with their Names and Countrey, all that hath bene possible, against the barbarous and most vnjust opinion of Iohn Baptista Ramusio, in his Proeme in the third Volume of the Navigations, where hee saith to bee a vaine thing, and ridiculous, that the Spanish Authors should take paines in writing the names and Countrey of those which serued in the matters of the Indies. wherein he sheweth the venime of the enuie conceined of the glorious deeds of these Catholike Kings, and of the Castilian Nation, seeing the Chronicles doe serue to honour the good, and to reproch the euill, for an example of those to come; which could not be obtayned with the opinion of this Ramusius, whom the saying of Cato against the Grecians doth fit. But the opinion of your Lordship hath bene according to your prudence and valour, of the which as it is iust, there will be a perpetuall memorie, and for that which this Nation is indebted vnto you for the same, you shall bee reknowledged of it eternally. God keepe your Lordship, from Vallyadolyeede the fiftenth of Oct ober 1601.

Chap. 1.
Of the bounds
and diuision
of the West
Indies.

1 The Spaniards
haue surpassed
all Nations of
the World, in
Navigation
of high built
ships. Remem-
ber that a Spa-
niard speaks
it.)

Pallos, is to
say stauces, or
sticks.

m The Spa-
niards did not
or would not
know any Pa-
lage.

a How the de-
grees of longi-
tude are rec-
koned.

The compasse of the Earth is 360. degrees, which being reduced to leagues of Castile are 6300. and by the compasse of the Earth is vnderstood the Sea together with it, which two Elements make the Globe; whose vpper face in part is Earth, and in part is Sea: The Ancients diuided the Earth in three parts, and gaue to euery one his name. The first they called *Europe*, more celebrated then any of the other. The second *Asia*, which is greater then the rest, and containeth the great Kingdome of *China*. The third *Africa*. And men being in a supposition that the World containd no more then was rehearsed, not contenting themselves with it, entred in the Art of Nauigating, and in the inuention of ships of high building, fitting them in such order that they might abide the force of the waues of the Sea, & in this Art the Spaniards haue surpassed all the Nations of the World. For whiles there reigned *Ferdinand* in Castile and in *Lyon*, the famous Kings Catholike *Ferdinando* the First, and *Isabelle* a most wise, prudent, and most puissant Queene; and *Don Iohn* the Second, called the *Pellican*, reigned in *Portugall*, (hee that euer will be worthy of memory) *Don Christopher Colom* first Admirall of the Indies, hauing liued many yeeres married in *Spain*; with the counsell of *Martin* of *Bohemia*, a *Portugall* borne in the Iland of *Fayall*, a famous Astrologian; and especially a Iudicarie, and of others with whom he communicated it, gaue a beginning to the Discouery of that which at this day is counted the fourth part of the World, and the greatest of them all, and taking his course toward the Sunne setting, going from *Pallos* a Village of the Earle of *Miranda*, in the Coast of *Andaluzia*, he sayled so much by the Ocean, that hee found this great Land, which the Equinoctiall Line cutteth in the middest, and it goeth so farre toward the South, that it reacheth to fiftie two degrees and an halfe, and goeth so high to the North, that it hides it selfe vnder the Pole Articke; without knowing any end.

The greatnesse of this fourth part hath set the people in great admiration, whose description shall here be handled, vnder the name of *Ilands*, and firme Land of the Ocean Sea, because they are compassed with this Sea, and placed to the West, and are commonly called, the *West Indies*, and the *New World*, and comprehended within the limits of the Kings of *Castile* and of *Lyon*. Which is an Hemisphere, and halfe of the World, of 180. degrees, beginning to reckon from Meridian Circle, which passeth by thirtie nine, or by fortie degrees of longitude, Occidental from the Meridian of *Toledo*, through the mouth of the Riuier *Maranyon*, and to the Orientall, through the Citie of *Mallaca*, in sort, that at twentie leagues sayling for a degree, these bounds haue from the one part to the other 3900. *Castilian* leagues, euery one of 3000. paces, of five foot of a *Castilian* yard, which men say are sixtie *Italian* miles, from the Orient to the Occident, which the Sea-men doe call East and West. And this account of twentie leagues to a degree, is according to *Ptolomie*, and to the opinion of many curious men. It hath seemed to others that the miles of euery degree are seuentie, and that they make no more then seuentene leagues and an halfe of *Castile*, which is held for the truest account.

The degrees of longitude, which are those that are reckoned by the Equinoctiall, which goeth from East to West, through the middest of the Orbe, and Globe of the Earth, haue not bene able to bee taken well, because there is no fixed signe in the Heauen. Degrees of altitude are those which are taken, and reckoned from the Pole which fall out certayne, because it is a fixed

There is discovered, and navigated from the North to the South, from 60. degrees of Septentrional altitude, vnto fittie three Austral, which are 1977. leagues of ground, which hath in breadth, at the broadest 1300. and thence downewards vnto eighteene, which is the narrowest by *Nom- bre de Dios*, or *Portobelo*, vnto *Panama*, whereby Nature diuided this Land, leaving almost the halfe of it to the North, and the rest to the South, which are the two parts of these bounds. The third, is the Ilands and firme land, that lye to the East of *Mallaca*, where through passeth the Line of the partition, betweene the two Crownes of *Castile* and *Portingall*, the which although they are part of the East *India*, they are named of the West in respect of *Castile*, as shall bee seene in the generall Map that followeth.

20 muse much vpon.
The Author had here inserted a Table or Generall Map of America; the defect of which wee have
supplied with this farre more complete of Hondius.

A marvellous
effect of the
Loadstone.
Don Antonio
Ossorio, disco-
uereth a great
secret of the
Loadstone.

HONDIVS *his* Map of AMERICA.



Chap. 2.
Of the Naviga-
tion of the
Indies.
How many
Navigations
there bee to
these Indies.

Difficultie in
going out of
the Barre of
Saint Lucar.
In what times
these Naviga-
tions are to be
made.
Monsons.

The voyage of
the Fleets till
they come to
the place wher
they goe.

What thing
the Brises are.

They take wa-
ter alreadie in
the Ile of Gua-
dalupe, where
the Courses
are diuided.

Which is the
best Navigati-
on from that
Cape of S. An-
tonie, to S. Iohn
de Vlva.

The Ocean that is toward the East, is called the *North Sea*, and that which falleth to the West, *Mar del Sur*, or the *South Sea*: this washeth *Noua Hispania* and *Peru*: that washeth those Regions which are situated on the South coast of *Brasile* toward the *Magellan* Streight: and especially the North coast from *Brasile* toward *Castile*, and other *Septentrional* parts. These two vast Seas are diuided into other lesser Seas and Gulfs, and are sayled by foure principall Navigations. The first and most ancient, from *Castile* to *Terra firme*, and to *Noua Hispania*. The second, from *Castile* to the River of *Plate*, and the Streight of *Magellan*. The third, from the coast of *Noua Hispania* to *Guatimala*, and *Panama*, to *Peru*, *Chile*, and the Streight. And the last, and newest, from *Noua Hispania* to the Islands of the West, and trafficke of *China*, as it is seene in the Table preceding.

The first Navigation, because it is most vsed, called *Carrera de las Indias*. The course of the *Indies*, is diuided in two, one to the port of Saint Iohn of *Vlva* in *Noua Hispania*, whitherto from *Spain* is sayled about one thousand and seven hundred leagues in two moneths and an halfe: and another to *Nombre de Dios*, and now to *Porto bello*, which is in the Kingdome which they call *Terra firme*, of one thousand and foure hundred leagues, in two moneths large, and both goe by one course, till they come to the Islands of the North Sea, from Saint *Lucar* of *Barrameda*, whence yee cannot take Sea without a Pilot skilfull in the Channell, a fit winde and spring Tydes, and light of the day, or lights, for to see the markes of the Barre.

The Times for to begin these Navigations, are diuers. For *Noua Hispania*, the winter being past, from the beginning of April vnto the end of May, and not after, that they may not come to the Islands of the North Sea after August, when the North windes begin to reigne, and the *Vra- canes* doe begin, which are stormes and great gusts arising of contrarie windes. And to *Terra firme*, the Navigation is before the entring of the Winter, in all August and September, that they may come to *Porto bello* from Nouember forward, when by the beginning of the North windes that Coast is alreadie least diseased, and more healthfull.

From Saint *Lucar* they goe to the *Canaries*, whither there is about two hundred and fiftie leagues of Navigation, of eight or ten dayes, through the Gulfe of *las Teguas*; which in winter is very dangerous for stormes: and in the Port of *Canarie* they cast anker when they thinke it good, or else in the Port of *Gomera*, which is the best of those Islands. From the *Canaries* they saile to *Deseada*, which stands in 15. degrees and little more; and to *Dominica*, whither they make seven hundred leagues, through the great Ocean, and they stay five and twentie dayes, whereby they cannot returne, because the Brises are ordinarie, and contrarie at their returne. The Brises are windes which comprehend all the Easterne windes with all their quarters, and are so ordinarie and firme, because the swift motion of the *First Moouer*, doth carry after him the Element of the Aire, as the other superior Orbes: and so the Aire followeth alwaies the motion of the Day, going from East to West, neuer varying, and the effectuall motion of the Aire carrieth after him also the vapours and exhalations that doe arise from the Sea, and therefore the Brise winde which runneth from the East, is so continuall in those parts. This voyage from the *Canaries* to *Dominica*, Peter Arias of *Anila*, which was called *Gentill* and the *Iuster*, made the first, the yere of 1514. when hee went with an Armie for Gouvernour and Captaine generall of the Kingdome of *Golden Castile*, now called *Terra firme*, since which the Navigation hath bene ordered, that vntill then went out of order.

Because it is now ordered that fresh water and wood be not taken in the Iland of *Deseada*, and in *Dominica*, the Fleet of *Noua Espanna* goe hence to *Ocoa*, a Port of the Iland *Hispaniola*, to take refreshing, and they stay long because the stormes from *Cuba* doe overtake it. And they that goe for *Noua Espanna*, doe water in the Iland of *Guadalupe*, and there they diuide the courses. The fleet of *Noua Espanna* goeth in demand of the Cape of Saint *Antonie*, which is in the furthest part and most Occidentall of the Iland of *Cuba*, to which place they saile about five hundred leagues in twentie dayes ordinarily, in sight of Saint Iohn of *Porto Rico* and of *Espannola*, two leagues off the Port of Saint *Domingo*, running along the coast by the Point of *Nizao*, and betweene the Islands of *Cuba* and *Iamayca*, they goe with great heede of the shoales, which are called the *Iardines*, neere to the midst of the coast of *Cuba* where many ships haue bene lost, passing afterward in sight of the Iland of *Pinos* and Cape *Correntes* twelve leagues short of the Cape of Saint *Antonie*. From whence there are two courses to the Port of *Venacruz*, both of ten or twelve dayes; one which they call *Within Land*, of two hundred and fiftie leagues, for the Summer time from May to September, when there bee no North windes which are crosse windes on the coast of *Yucatan*, whereby they passe; and another which they call *Without*, for the time of Winter, of about two hundred and eightie leagues somewhat higher in altitude: and the best Navigation, for to goe to the Port of Saint Iohn of *Vlva*, is to leane to the coast of *Florida*, and the Playnes of *Almeria*, that no contrarie wind stay him from seasonable attayning the Port of Saint Iohn de *Vlva*.

The fleets that went from *Dominica*, and now goe from *Guadalupe* to *Terra firme* (whither is about foure hundred leagues voyage of fiftene dayes) they goe in demand of *Cartagena*, farre off the

the coast of *Terra firme*, where the Brises are almost perpetuall, and contrarie to the returne, and the Southerne windes continuall in Summer, and the Northerne in Winter, which are crosse windes. They doe reknowledge by the way the Cape de *Vella*, between *Santa Martha* and *Venezuela*, and the Cape *del Aguja* neere *Cartagena*, where they vnlade the merchandise that are to goe to *New Kingdome*; and those which are to passe to *Peru*, are carried to *Porte bello*, whitherto from *Cartagena* are ninetie leagues, foure or fixe dayes sayling, reknowledging the Point of *Captina*, and from the *Canaries* to *Cartagena* is fve and thirtie dayes sayling.

Those that goe to *Hunduraz* and *Guatemala*, goe in companie with them of *Noua Espanna*, vnto Cape *Tiburron*, the vtmost Western part of *Espannola*, from whence running along by the Iland of *Jamayca* on the North side, vnto the Point of the *Negrillo*, the vttermost of it, they put to Sea in demand of the Cape of the *Cameron*, the beginning of the Gulfe and Prouince of *Hunduraz*, from whence they goe to anker to *Truxillo* fiftene leagues to the West from the Cape, where the merchandize are vnladen that are to remaine there, and the rest doe passe to the Port of *Canallos*, and to *Golfo Dulce*, along the coast by the Gulfe of *Hunduraz*, to transport them to *Guatemala*.

The returne from the *Indies* to *Spain*, cannot be made by the course which they take in going thither, and therefore they must come to a greater height, going out of the Tropicks to seeke fresh windes which doe blow from towards the North; all the Fleetes doe meete in the Port of *Hauana*, about the moneth of Iune, to come to *Spain* before Winter; for the East winde is against them, and is trauerse in the Channell, and the South also is trauerse in the Coast from the Cape *Saint Vincent* to *Saint Lucar*. The fleet of *Terra firme*, departeth from May forward from *Porte bello*, when the North windes doe already cease; and returneth to *Cartagena* to take the freight of Silver and Gold from the new Kingdom of *Granada*; and also for to auoid the Coast of *Veragua*, and the streame of *Nicaragua*, whence they can hardly get out if they ingulfe themselves by reason of the Brises, and contrarie and dangerous Currents that are in the way. From *Cartagena* they goe for Cape *Saint Antonie*, the furthest West of *Cuba* about two hundred leagues, voyage of ten dayes, with care of the shoales that are in the way of *Serrana* and *Serranilla*, and *Quitasueno*, and from the Cape of *Saint Antonie* to the *Anana*, are neere fiftie leagues: and the ships that come from *Hunduraz*, doe come also to reknowledge the Cape of *Saint Antonie*.

The fleetes of *Noua Espanna* doe depart in the beginning of May, while the North windes doe last, which doe serue for the returne to the *Anana*; ascending a little in altitude vnto the Sound, which they call *las Tortugas*, vnto which place they saile about three hundred leagues in fiftene dayes.

The ships of *Santa Martha* and *Venezuela*, to come to *Castile*, came out betweene *Cuba* and *Hispaniola*, to reknowledge the Cape of *Saint Nicholas* in the Western part of it, from whence through the middest of the Iles of the *Lucayos*, they goe take the course of the fleets, and when they come in sight of the Cape of *Saint Antonie*, they goe to the *Anana* for feare of Pirates.

From the *Anana* to *Castile*, hauing past the Channell of *Bahama* (which the Pilot *Antonie* of *Alaminos* sayled first of all, the yeere 1519.) they doe saile through the Gulfe which is called of the North, or of the *Sagarzo*, about nine hundred or a thousand leagues or more (a sayling of fve and twentie or thirtie dayes with ordinarie windes) by two wayes, one for Summer, in a greater height, till they come to thirtie eight or thirtie nine degrees, in the which stand the Ilands of *Azores*; and another for Winter, by a lesser height, because of the stormes and showres which doe come alwayes neere vnto it, whereby they goe vnto thirtie nine degrees no more, wherein standeth the Iland of *Santa Maria*, one of the Iles of *Azores*, and they ascend one degree more for to touch in the *Tercera*, where the fleets doe alwayes come to take refreshing, without permitting any one to goe ashore. And from the Ilands of *Azores* vnto *Saint Lucar* of *Barrameda*, the Mariners make three hundred leagues of Nauigation in fiftene dayes, others in thirtie for the many Brises that doe reigne in this Gulfe of the *Azores*, whereby they saile till they come vpon the Coast of *Portugal*, and the doubling of the Cape *Saint Vincent*; and after in sight of the Coast vnto the Port of *Saint Lucar*.

The Nauigation from *Castile* to the River of *Plata* (whitherto there is one thousand and fixe hundred leagues, and to the Streight of *Magelanes* neere two thousand) hath bene much longer in the time then in the distance of the way, because being necessarie to come to those Prouinces in their Summer, which is from September forward, they cannot depart from *Castile* at such time as not to passe the Equinoctiall by Iune or August, when in it the Calmes are many and very great, and therefore they stay fve moneths in the Voyage, which might bee made in two or three, if from *Siuil* they did depart by August or before; and touching in the *Canaries* they goe North and South; to eight or nine degrees on the other side of the Equinoctiall, from whence some doe saile East and West, to reknowledge the Cape of *Saint Augustine* in *Brasile*, and afterward in sight of the Land vnto the River of *Plata* and the Streight. Others from the eight degrees haue gone straight through the South Sea to the Streight, although few haue come to passe

B b b b

a Or little

Venice.

b Or of the

Needle.

The voyage of

Hunduraz and*Guatemala*.

c Or little

black Moore.

Chap. 3.

Wherein hee

prosecuteth

the Nauiga-

tions of the

Indies.

The Fleets doe

returne to Ca-

stile by another

way.

When the fleets

ought to depart

to come for

Castile.

Whither the

Fleets doe goe

from *Cartage-**na*.

d Or take a

way sleepe.

The ships of

Hunduraz re-

knowledge the

Cape of *Saint**Antonie*.

When the

Fleets of *Noua**Espanna* doe

depart thence.

The voyage of

them of *Santa**Martha* and*Venezuela*.

Nauigation

from the *Ana-**na* to *Castile*.

Nauigation

from the Ilands

of *Azores* vnto*Saint Lucar*.

Nauigation to

the River of

Plata.

it, before the Summer bee ended, which is very short and full of stormes, because it stands in so great a height, whereby this Navigation is very difficult.

Navigation of
the South Sea.
Navigation of
Panama to the
Citie de los
Reyes.

The Navigation of the South Sea hath alwayes beene along the Coast, and because the South windes are very continuall, and the Current of the Streight ordinarie to the North; The Navigation of *Panama* to the Citie of *The Kings*, is wont to continue two moneths, and the returne lesse then thirtie dayes, and the same from the *Kings* to *Chile*, from whence to *Panama* are sayled nine hundred leagues in lesse then two moneths, eight being needfull for the going, which is already shorter then it was: for putting to the Sea they finde better windes to performe it.

Navigation of
the West In-
dies.

The Navigation to the Westerne Ilands, *Malucas* and *Philippinas*, from *Castile* to the Streight of *Magellane* passeth foure thousand leagues, and so for being so long as for the difficultie of passing the Streight of *Magellanes*, it is held for difficult to vse it, and from *Nova Espanna* through the Westerne Gulie, which is in the South Sea. This Navigation was made from the Port of the *Natiuitie* in the Coast of *Nova Espanna*: at this time it is made from the Port of *Acapulco*, from whence to the *Malucas* and *Philippinas*, they doe make a voyage of one thousand sixe hundred, or a thousand and seuen hundred leagues, which is sayled in two moneths, or two and a halfe, departing in Nouember which is the time most free from calmes. And the returne to *Nova Espanna* is longer, because not being able to returne the way they went, it is necessarie to ascend to 39. degrees, and depart in May and Iune, when the Brises bee lesse, and they stay foure moneths in sayling two thousand leagues that may bee in the journey.

Chap. 4.
Of the Indies
of the North.
Here was inser-
ted a Map of
the North parts
of America. But
Master Briggs
hath in the
former booke
giuen you a
farre farre bet-
ter, to which I
referre you.
Which bee the
Indies of the
North and
which of the
South.
Wherefore it
was called *New*
Spain.
Great pastures
in *New Spain*.
* The wea-
thermost or
vpper Ilands.

Nature hauing diuided these western *Indies* in two parts, by the Isthmos or narrowesse from *Porto bello* to *Panama*, placed the one to the North, and the other to the South; wherefore wee will call them the *Indies* of the North, and of the South. The Kings of *Castile* and *Lion*, with the aduice of the supreme Councell of the *Indies*, haue ordayned, that in each place there bee a Vice-roy, Courts, and Gouvernements, and Bishopricks, as hereafter shall bee shewed. And first shall be entreated of the Northerne *Indies*, which commonly they call *Nova Hispania*, because the first discoverers (which were *Iohn Gryalua* and his Companions) hauing not seene in the Ilands houses of stone, nor other things as in *Spain*, which here they found with people apparelled, and more ciuill; They named it *New Spain*: which exceedeth the other part of the *Indies* in pastures, and therefore they haue innumerable Cattle of all sorts: and it exceedeth also in husbandrie and fruits: it hath no wine, because generally the grapes doe not ripen with perfection, the raines of Iuly and August not suffering them to ripen. The vpper Ilands haue also great Pastures, and a pleasant prospect: for all the yeere they are Greene and flourishing, with great pleasantnesse, and great *Arcahuicos*, which are very thick Groues and Inclosures, and in the Playnes are great Lakes and Quagmires. Neither Bread nor Wine grow in them; for the great ranknesse of the ground doth not suffer it to ripen nor eare: the Riuer for the most part haue gold, *Florida*, *Nicaragua*, and *Guatemala* are almost in this manner, as of all more particularly wee will rehearse in their place, and in the Table following shall the bounds of these Northern *Indies* bee scene.

Chap. 5.
Of the bounds
of the iurisdic-
tion of Saint
Dominicke.

The Court of the Iland *Hispaniola*, which in time and place is the first, being neere vnto *Castile*, it hath of bounds East and West five hundred and fiftie leagues, and North and South more then three hundred, wherein are included the Ilands and Gouvernements of *Hispaniola*, *Cuba*, *Saint Iohn*, *Iamayca*, *Margarita*, and the fishing of the Pearle: the Prouince and Gouvernment of *Venezuela*, and for neernesse the Prouinces of new *Andaluzia*, *Guayana*, and *Florida*, with all the Ilands of the North Sea, which doe passe a hundred which are named, and are about sixe hundred great and small: and those which doe leane toward the Coast of *Terra firme*, the Mariners doe call of the *Leeward*, and the other to the *Weatherward*. The temperature of them all is commonly moist and exceeding hot, and although they be plentiful in Pastures and Trees, they are not so of the Seedes of *Castile*, nor of Wheat, Barly, Vines, nor Oliues: but there is great store of great Cattell and small, as Kine, Mares, Swine, and Sheepe, and therefore their principall trafficke is Hides and Sugar, for there is great store; and although in the most of them there is gold; it is not sought for.

Chap. 6.
Of the Iland
Hispaniola and
of *Cuba*.

The Countre-men called the Iland of *Hispaniola*, *Ayiti* and *Quisqueya*, which signifieth Roughnesse, and a great Countre. The figure of it is like a Chesnut leafe: it stands in nineteene degrees and a halfe of eleuation of the Pole, it compasseth about foure hundred leagues and somewhat more, and hath in length East and West an hundred and fiftie, and North and South from thirtie to sixtie where it is broadest, it is very plentiful of Sugar, and Cattell, and of *Tuca*, the roote whereof maketh the *Cazabi*, the bread of the Countre-men. They haue no Millet nor Wheat, although they begin to reape some in the inward parts and coldest. It is rich of Copper mynes and other metals, and some veine of Gold though but little is gotten, for want of workemen: it hath ten *Spanish Townes*.

Cazabi bread.
Ten Spanish
Townes.

HONDIVS his Map of Hispaniola, Cuba, &c.



- 40 The Citie of Saint Dominicke or Domingo neere the Coast of the South, on the River of Ozama. The Citie of Saint Dominicke, stands in the said 19. degrees and a halfe, and 60. of Occidentall longitude from the Meridian of Toledo, from whence vnto it there may bee by direct line one thousand two hundred fortie seven leagues, it hath aboute fixe hundred households. There is resident in it the Audience or Councell, the Officers of the Goods and Royall Treasure; a Mint house, and the Cathedrall Church. And the Archbishopricke hath for Suffraganes the Bishopricks of the Conception de la Vega (which is vnited with that of Saint Dominicke) those of Saint Iohn, Cuba, Venezuela, and the Abbotship of Iamayca; and in the Citie are Monasteries of Dominicans, Franciscans, Mercenaries, and other two of Nunnes, a Grammar Schoole, with foure thousand * Pesos of Rent, and an Hospitall with twentie thousand. The Hauens which is great, and capable of many ships, is in the mouth of the River Ozama, and hath the Citie on the West, which the Deputie Don Bartholomew Collon did build the yeere 1494. on the East side, better and wholsomer in situation, and the chiefe Knight of Alcantara, Nicholas of Ouando being Gouvernour of Hispaniola, An. 1502. remoued it where now it is, from the other side the Riuer to the East, vpon occasion that the Citie had fallen by a great Earthquake. The Village of Saluatyon of Ygney, eight and twentie leagues from Saint Dominicke to the East, of the Archbishopricke; the Capitaine, Iohn of Esquivel, did people it. The Village of the Zeybo, twentie leagues from Saint Dominicke to the East, toward the Iland of Saona; the Capitaine also planted it in the time of Nicholas of Ouando. The Village of Cotuy, sixteene leagues from Saint Dominicke to the North, and very close in his circuit, Roderick Mexia of Trillo, founded it. The Village of Azua in Compostella, in the coast of the South, foure and twentie leagues from Saint Dominicke to the West, in his borders are many sugar Mills; it was peopled by the President James Vellazques, it was called Compostella by a Gallizian Knight, which held an Heritage in that situation, and Azua is the name of the place which the Indians had there. The first that carried sugar Canes to the Indies, and began to make triall of them there, was one Atienza, and the Bachellor Velosa. The Village of Yaguana, which they call
- * Peso is foure shillings English.
- Saluatyon of Ygney.
- The Village of Zeybo.
- El Cotuy.
- Azua.
- Who carried to the Indies the sugar Canes.
- La Yaguana.
- Santa

Santa Marie of the Port, seated on the Westerne coast of the Iland, is fiftie or sixtie leagues from *Saint Dominicke*, as betweene the North and the West; the chiefe Knight *Nicholas* of *Ouando* did people it.

Concepcion de
la Vega.

The wood of
the Crosse of
the Valley.
Saint Iago de
los Canalleros.

Puerto de Plata.

Monte Chryste.

La Isabella.
La Verapaz.
Saluatierra.

The Maguana.
Villanueva.

El Bonao.

La Buenaen-
tura.

14000. Spani-
ards there were
in the Hispanio-
la at her be-
ginning.

Ports & Points
most notable.

Puerto Hermoso.

* Or Gnata.

Where they
tooke armes
the first time
against Indians.

The Citie of the *Concepcion of the Valley*, is in the Kingdome of *Guarinoex*, which the first Admirall *Don Christopher Collon* built, neere to the which he obtayned the victorie in the great battle of the *Valley Royall*: it is twentie leagues from *Saint Dominicke* to the North-east, where is a Cathedrall Church (although there is no Prelate, for it is vnited to the Church of *Saint Dominicke*) it hath one Monasterie of religious *Franciscans*, where is the wood of the Crosse which the *Indians* could not burne, cut, nor ouerthrow, which hath done many miracles.

Saint Iago de los Canalleros is ten leagues from the Citie de la Vega directly to the North-east; it was first a Fortresse which the first Admirall made in the Countreies of the *Cacique Guanacamel*, for the securitie of the Valley, and the Fort *Magdalene* which was foure leagues off.

The chiefe Knight of *Alcantara*, *Nicholas* of *Ouando*, An. 1502. did people the Port of *Plate* in the North coasts, fise and thirtie or about fortie leagues from *Saint Dominicke*, because the ships of *Castile* might more commodiously trafficke, and because it was no more then ten leagues from the great *Valley*, where in other ten leagues stood the Village of *Saint Iames*, and the *Concepcion* within sixteen, and within twelue the Mynes of *Cibao*, and it was of the Bishoprick of the *Valley*, the Port of *Plate* stands in little more then twentie degrees. The Village of *Monte-Chryste*, is in the coast of the North fourteene leagues, to the West of Port of *Plate*, and fortie from *Saint Dominicke*, is of the Bishoprick of the *Valley*; it hath a good Hauen, and certaine salt Pits in it; 20

There was in old times in this Iland the Citie of *Isabella*, now disinhabited, which the first Admirall built the yeere 1493. the Village of *Verapaz* in *Xaragua*, which *Iames Velazques* built in the yeere 1503. and the same yeere peopled also *Saluatierra* of the *Zabana*, which signifieth *Playnes* and *Pastures*, in the *Indian* language: and that Prouince is plaine and faire. Hee also peopled (betweene the two mightie Riuer *Neyba* and *Yagui*) the Village of *Saint Iohn* of the *Maguana*, in the midst of the Iland, where the Church continueth yet; and heere reigned *Coanabo*, who tooke *Alonso de Oieda*. Hee also planted *Villanueva de Yaguime* vpon the Hauen, where *Oieda* cast himselfe to swim, being prisoner in a ship, with two paire of fetters; and it stands in the South coast, which the Admirall did call the Coast and Hauen of *Brasile*. The Village of *Bonao* is neere vnto *Cotuy*, which the first Admirall also built, where hee made a Port for the securitie of the Mynes, which were the first that were found in this Iland. The Village of *Bonaenventura* is eight leagues from *Saint Dominicke* to the North, and *Lares de Guababa*, which *Nicholas* of *Ouando* peopled, being *Comendador Lares*.

This Iland flourished so much, that there were in it fourteene thousand *Castillanes*, many of them Noble people, and the Plantations of other parts which happened afterward, caused it to be disinhabited, for from it, and from the Iland of *Cuba*, went all the substance for the new Countreies that were found.

The Ports, Roades, Capes, and Points most famous, and the Ilands pertayning to the Coast of this Iland, are in the South Coast, the Point of *Nizao*, ten leagues from *Saint Dominicke* to the West. The Port of *Ocoa*, eightene, which is a Bay where the Fleets which goe for *Noua Hispania* doe anchor and take refreshing, when they doe not anchor in the nooke of *Zepezepin*, which is neere vnto it, or in another which they call the *Faire Hauen*, two leagues before they come to *Ocoa*. *Azuua* a Port and Towne twentie foure leagues beyond *Ocoa la Calongia*, a large Point thirtie leagues, right against the Ilands of *Boata* and *Altobelo*, fise leagues from the Coast, and the *Beatados*. *Yaguimo* about thirtie foure more to the West, and *Abaque*, an Iland neere the Cape of *Tiburou*, the furthest West of *Hispaniola*: *la Nabaza* ten leagues to the Sea East and West from the Cape, and Cape *Rojo* twelue leagues from it to the North: the *Roques*, or *Hermanos* these, and *Guanabo* another Iland of eight leagues in length, in the nooke of *Yaguana*. The Port of *Saint Nicholas*, the furthest West on the North side of the Iland. A little further the Port of * *Mosquitos*, in the North Coast, and twentie leagues forward the Port of *Valparayso*, or of the *Concepcion*, North and South, with the *Tortuga* an Iland neere the Coast of fise leagues in length: Port *Royall* twelue leagues to the West from *Monte-Chryste*, which is as much, or a little more before *Isabela*, and this from the Port of *Plate*, other twelue leagues: *Cabo Frances*, and *Cabo del Cabron*, in the turning, which the Coast maketh to the East, before the Gulfe of *Samana*, which entrech fise or sixe leagues the Land inward, vnto the place where the Towne of *Santa Cruz* stood. And in the Riuer of *Samana*, was the first time that Armes were taken against the men of the *Indies*; because they would haue done violence to the first Admirall. The Cape of *Deceit*, (*Cabo del Enganno*) is the furthest West of the Iland where the Coast returneth by the South to the West, at the beginning of the which stands the *Saona*, an Iland which the fleets doe reknowledge, when they goe, and somewhat more towards *Saint Dominicke* is another little Iland, which is called *Saint Katherine*; and all the names rehearsed were given by the first Admirall. 60

The

The Iland of *Cuba* which first was called *Iuana*, or *Ioane*, by the Father *Don Iuan*, and after *Cuba*, it was commanded to be called *Fernandina* by his Father. The Captaine *Sebastian* of *Ocampo*, made an end of compassing the yeere of our Lord 1508. by order of *Nicholas* of *Onando* : for vntill then it was not wholly believed that it was Land, and the yeere 1511. the President *James Velazquez* went ouer with three hundred *Spaniards*, by order of the second Admirall to pacifie it. It hath two hundred and thirty leagues from the Cape of *Saint Antonie*, vnto the Point of *Mayzi*, going by Land, although by the Sunne, and by water there are not so many. It hath in breadth from the Cape of *Crosses*, to the Port of *Manati*, fortie fue leagues, and then it be- ginneth to streighten, and goeth to the last Cape, or Occidentall Point, where it is narrow, of twelue leagues, little more or lesse, from *Matamano* to the *Anana*. Her situation is within the Tropicke of *Cancer*, from twentie to twentie one degrees, the Countrey is almost all plaine, with many Forrests, and thicke Woods : from the Easterne Point of *Mayzi*, for thirtie leagues it hath most high Mountaynes, and likewise in the middest it hath some, and there runne from them to the North, and to the South, very pleasant Riuer, with great store of fish. On the South side it hath the little Ilands, which the first Admirall called the *Queenes Garden*, and the other on the North side, which *James Velazquez* called the *Kings Garden*, the trees are of many diffe- rences, and wild Vines as bigge as a man : they gather no Wheate nor other Seedes of *Spaine*, but great abundance of Cattle : it hath great Copper Mynes, and of Gold, and is it found in the Riuer, though it be base in the touch.

- 10 *James Velazquez* peopled first the Citie of *Saint Iames* in the South Coast, fortie leagues from the Cape of *Tiburón*, which is in *Hispaniola*, and two leagues from the Sea, neere to a Port, one of the best in the World, for securitie and greatnesse. The Citie came to haue two thousand Inhabitants; now it hath few with a *Gouernours* Deputie: the Cathedrall Suffragane to *Saint Domingo*, is resident in it, and a Monastery of *Franciscan* Friers. The Village of *Baracoa*, is a Towne furthest East of the Iland of *Cuba*, at the beginning of the North Coast 60. leagues from the Citie of *S. Iames* toward the East North-east, which was also an inhabiting of the President *James Velazquez*. The Village of *Bayamo*, which *James Velazquez* also built, is 20. leagues from *S. Iames* to the North-west, it is the soundest Town of the Iland, of a more open soyle, and of a good disposi- tion. The Village and Port of the Prince, in the Coast of the North, is about fortie leagues from *Saint Iames* to the North-west. The Village of *Sancti Spiritus*, is a Port on the South side, be- tweene the *Trinidad*, and the *Cayo de Basco Porcallo*, of *Figueras*, about fiftie leagues from *Saint Iames*, a Colonie of *James Velazquez*.

S. Iago.
Baracoa.
Bayamo.
Puerto del Prín- cipe.
Sancti Spiritus.

- 30 The Village and Port of *Saint Christopher* of the *Abana*, is in the North Coast, almost op- posite to *Florida*, in twentie two degrees and an halfe in height, of more then fixe hun- dred Houholds; where the *Gouernour* resides and the Officers Royall. The Port is mar- uellous in greatnesse and securitie, especially since that King *Philip* the Second, the pru- dent, sent the Campe-master *John* of *Texeda*, and *Baptista Antonelli*, to fortifie it: in it all the Fleetes of the *Indies* doe meere for to come for *Spaine* in company. It was first called the Port of *Carenas*: and *James Velazquez* built this Village, and all the rest of the Iland, with the assistance of the Father *Bartolome de las Casas*, which afterward became a *Dominicke* Frier, and Bishop of *Chiapa*.

El Abana, or the Hauana.

Puerto de Ca- renas.

- 40 The Ports and Capes, and point of the Coast of *Cuba*, and the Ilands belonging to it besides those which are rehearsed are in the South Coast, the Port of the Citie of *Saint Iames* in twentie degrees, and twentie fue leagues to the West: the Port of *Sancti Spiritus*, Cape of the *Crosse* twelue leagues forward, and the *Queenes Gardens*, which is a great shelte of Ilands and shoales: the Port of *Trinitie* in twentie one degrees, about thirtie leagues from the Cape of the *Crosse*, and ten more to the West, the Gulfe of *Xagua*, a great defence with some Ilands, in the middest, and forward the *Two Sisters*, two Ilands at the beginning of the great shelve, and Ilands, and shoales, which they call *Camarco*, betweene the Coast and the Ilands, which is of ten leagues in length, and seuen in breadth twelue leagues from the Cape of *Correutes*, which is as many from the Cape of *Saint Antonie*, the furthest West of this Iland. In the North Coast standeth the Port of *Abana*, and thirtie leagues to the East is the Port of *Slaughters* where was a Towne, and was cal- led *de Matangas*, of the *Slaughters*, because the *Indians* killed certaine *Spaniards*, which they car- ried in their *Canoos* vnder securitie to the other side, only one escaping, and two women whom they kept sometime with them. From the *Matangas* to the Port of *Yucanaca*, are fiftie leagues to the *Kings Garden*, which is a great shelte of little Illets and shoales, and at the end of the Iland *Obahana*, eight leagues before the Port of the Prince, foure or six from the Port of *Fernando Alanse*, and six to the East of this, *Cubana* which is a point. The Port of *Varacoa* is about twentie leagues before the point of *Matzi*, the farthest West of *Cuba*, and the hidden Port and Gulfe neere to Cape *f. Roio*, in the South-coast, about twentie leagues from the Port of *Pidge- ons*, which is about ten leagues from the Port of *Saint Iames*.

Wherefore it was called the *Slaughters*.

* Or *Slaugh- ters*.

f Or *Red*.

Chap. 7.
Of the Ilands
of Iamaya, S.
Iohn, the Lu-
cayos, & the
Caniballs.

Siuill, Melilla,
& Orifon, inha-
bitings of Ia-
mayca.

Cape of Mo-
ranta.

The first ciuill
warre among
the Spaniards,
was in Iamaya.

n Or Lizards:
• Or Negrillo.

p Or open the
eye.
S. Iuan de puer-
to Rico.

S. Iohn.

The Arrecibo
Guadianilla.
S. German.

The tree Ta-
bernacle.

The hauens of
this Iland.

THE Iland of Iamaya was so abundant of victuals, and breedings, that it gaue great pro-
uision of Cotton, Horses, Swine, and *Cozabi*, for the new Discoveries, and the first Admi-
rall called it *Saint Iames*, when hee discovered it: and the first that passed to inhabit it, was the
Captayne *Iohn Esquinnell*, the yeere 1509. by order of the second Admirall *Don Diego Colon*. It
stands in seuentene degrees and an halfe of altitude in the midst of it, and twentie leagues
from *Cuba* to the South, and as many from *Hispaniola*, direct to the West. It hath in compasse
one hundred and fiftie leagues, it hath East and West fiftie, and twentie in breadth. There are in
it three Villages, *Siuill* in which is the Seat of the Colledge, toward the North Coast somewhat
Westerly; *Iohn Squinnell* a Gentleman of *Siuill* peopled it: *Melilla*, which stands in the
North Coast, fourteen leagues from *Siuill* to the East: *Orifon* in the South Coast towards the
West fourteen leagues from *Siuill*, and are Plantations of the President *Francisco de Garay*,
which gouerned in it. But of the Towne of *la Vega*, whence the Admirals Lords of this I-
land tooke the Title of Dukes, nor of other two Plantations painted in some Maps, there is
no notice.

There is in the Coast of this Iland, the Point of *Moranta* the vttermost West of it, by the
North Coast ten leagues to the West, the Port of *Ianta*, and tenne leagues forward the Port of
Melilla, where they say the first Admirall arrived, and called it *Santa Gloria*, when hee returned
lost from *Veragua*; and heere happened to him the mutiny of the *Porras* of *Siuill*: and it was the
first Ciuill Warre of the *Indies*. Other ten leagues thence standeth the Port of *Siuill*, before the
Point *Negrillo*, from whence the Coast windeth, vnto the *Cabo de Falcon*, neere to *Orifon*, and
goeth by the South to the Port of *Guayano*. And five leagues from this Coast, are the *Har-
mingas*, a dangerous shoale, and seven leagues further *las Vuoras*, small Ilands compassed with
shoales, and to the South of them the *Serrana*, and a little Iland compassed with shoales, with o-
ther foure or five neere vnto it, and to the North-west of it, the *Serranilla*, and to the West of
it the *Roncador*, another Rocke, and to the South-west of it, *Saint Andrewes*, an Iland compas-
sed with shoales North and South, with *Nombre de Dios*, about fortie leagues from it, and neere
from thence another called *Santa Catalina*; the *Caymanes* directly West from *Iamaya*, twen-
tie five leagues from the little *Blackmoore*, which are two little Ilands fixe leagues the one
from the other, and the great *Cayman* another Iland of seven leagues in length, fiftene leagues
from the *Caymanes* to the West, and to the North Coast, betweene *Cuba* and *Hispaniola*, another
shoale which is called *Abre-oio*.

The Iland of *Saint Iohn* of *Port Rico*, which the *Indians* called *Barriquen*, lyeth betwixt
twelue and fiftene leagues from *Hispaniola*, to the East, of fortie five leagues in length, East
and West; and from North to South, betwixt twentie and thirtie, very plentifull of all that
Hispaniola hath, and of Millet, Yuca, and of Mynes of Gold. The temperature is good, and
almost one all the yeere, except in December and January. There is in it three *Spanish* Townes
with a Government, and a Bishoppricke: the President *Iohn Ponce* of *Lion* passed to discover this
Iland the yeere 1508. being *Gouernour* in the Prouince of *Ygney*, for *Nicholas* of *Onando* in *Hi-
spaniola*, and returned the yeere 1510. by order of the King to people it. The Citie of *Saint*
Iohn, is in the beginning of the North Coast, on the East side in eightene degrees of height,
and they call it of *Port Rico*, for the excellencie of the Hauens. The Bishop and the *Gouernour*
are resident in it, and the Officers of the Kings Reuenues: and it is Suffragane to *Saint Domingo*.
Arrecibo stands thirtie leagues to the West from *Port Rico*: the Towne of *Guadianilla*, or *Saint*
German the New, in the Westerne Coast three and thirtie leagues from *Port Rico* to the
South-west.

There was in old time in this Iland another Towne which was called *Guanica*, in the South
Coast, at the end of it where now is the Port of *Mosquitos*, which is very good, from whence
it was remoued to another situation of the Westerne Coast, which they call *Aguada*, or the *Wa-
tering*, with name of *Soto-Mayor*: there is in this Iland a row of Mountaynes, that diuide it in
the midst East and West vnto the Sea, and Borders of *Saint German*, and heere is found the
Tree called *Tabernaculo*, which yeeldeth white Rozen, like Gumme-*Anime*, and it serueth for
Pitch for the ships, and for fire or light, and it tis medicinable to take out the colde or num-
nesse, and to cure wounds.

There are few Ports in this Iland, for all the Coast of the North is very foule with shoales,
and Rockes: those that are, are to the East from the Port of *Saint Iohn*. The Riuer of *Luyfa*,
and that which they call *Canoba*, and *la Cabeça*; the farthest East point of the Iland, neere to
the Hill of the *Loquillos*, and in it a Port which they call *Saint Iames*; three leagues further is
another called *Tabucoa*, and three leagues from the Coast, on this side of the passage, is a little
Ilet, and at the beginning of the South passage, another which they call *Boyqui*, and forward
the Iland of *Saint Anne*, *Guayama* a Port, and afterward the Riuer *Neabon*, and *Xania*, six leagues
before the Port of *Guadianilla*, two leagues to the East of the Riuer of *Mosquitos*, in whose mouth
is the Riuer called *Guanica*, and six leagues from it, the Cape *Roio*, the furthest West of the South
Coast: and to the West of it, toward *Hispaniola* is the Iland of *Mona*, and to the North of it
the

the *Manico*, and *Zeebeo*, other two little Ilands: the Port of *Pines*, and the Port of *Mayaguez*, and the Bay of *Saint German* the old, and the mouth of the River *Guanabo*, or the *Watering*, and that of *Gnabataca* more forward, and afterward in the North Coast, that of *Camay*, and of *Cibuco*, and *Tea*, neere to Port *Rico*, and in the middest of the Coast of the South Sea, leaning vnto it the *Haberianas*, foure or fiue little Ilands. There is also much Ginger gathered in this Island, which is a Root like vnto Madder, or Saffron, which the *Portugals* brought from the East, to this Island of *Barlouto*.

Who carried the Ginger to the Ilands of *Barlouto*. The Ilands of the *Lucayos*.

The Ilands which are to the North of *Saint Iohn*, *Hispaniola*, and *Cuba*, of which none is inhabited with *Spaniards*, are called the *Lucayos*. One the most Septentrionall, is about twentie seuen degrees of altitude, which is called *Lucayoneque*, or *Tucayoneque*, which hath almost to the West *Bahama* another Island in twentie fixe degrees and an halfe, of thirteene leagues in length, and eight in breadth, from whence the Channell of *Bahama* betweene *Florida* and the shoales *Delos Mimbres* taketh the name, whereby the Currents of the Sea doe goe so swift to the North, that although the wind be prosperous the ships cannot enter it, and although they be contrary they goe with the Currents.

Where the Channell of *Bahama* is. Admirable Current. *Baxos de Bimini*

The shelles of *Bimini*, are so called of an Island in the middest of them, of fiue leagues in length, which the first Admirall gaue the name the first time he came to *Cuba*, and it is that which *Iohn Paul* of *Lyon* did agree to inhabit. *Abacoa*, is another in the middest of the said shelle of twelue leagues in length: *Cigato* of twentie fiue. *Curateo*, another small Island in twentie fixe degrees: and *Guanima* fiteene leagues of length, and ten in breadth, and neere vnto it *Guanabani*, the first Land of the *Indies*, which the first Admirall discovered, which he called *Saint Sauour*; *Tuma* of twentie leagues, and eight in breadth, in twentie foure degrees and an halfe, which the Admirall named *Isabella*, in honour of the famous Queene *Donna Isabella* his particular Protectresse, and that gaue him this Discoverie. *Iumeto* in twentie three degrees and an halfe, fiteene leagues in length, to the North of *Hispaniola*. *Samana* seuen leagues ouer, betweene *Iumeto* and *Guanima*, three square of eight leagues in length, in twentie foure degrees, *Tabaque* of ten leagues, in twentie two degrees and an halfe. *Mira-par-vos*, are three little Ilands in triangle, compassed with shelles, to the South of *Iumeto*. *Mayaguana*, twentie leagues in length and ten in breadth, in twentie three degrees. *Tuagua* of ten leagues, in twentie degrees and an halfe. The *Caycos*, an Island of fiue leagues, in twentie one degrees, and to the North of it is another, called *Hamaua*, and another *Concina*. *Macarey* stands in twentie degrees compassed with shelles. *Abrecois* is a great shelle of fiteene leagues, the middest of it in twentie degrees, and among these Ilands are many little ones without name.

Guanabani the first Land that was discovered in the *Indies*.

The Ilands that are from the Island of *Saint Iohn* of *Porte-Rico*, to the East of it, toward the coast of *Terra firme*, were called the *Canibals*, by the many *Caribes*, eaters of humane flesh that were in them: and in their language, *Canibal*, is to say *Valiant man*; for they were held for such of the other *Indians*. All these Ilands are dangerous for shelles, and the nearest to *Saint Iohn*, are *Santa Cruz*, to the South-west from it, in 16. degrees, and a halfe of fiteene leagues, and *Sabala*, *las Virgines*, two little illets compassed with shelles, and other eight or ten Ilands, the greatest of ten leagues: *Virgen gorda*, and the *Blancos* or *White Ilands*, Westward from *Virgen gorda*, *La Aneгада*, of seuen leagues in length, in 18. degrees and a halfe compassed with shelles, as *Sambro* is, a little Island neere vnto it: and these Ilands which are called the *Weather Ilands* or *Barlouto*, the first Admirall discovered: and in particular, the men of *Santa Cruz*, and others, had a custome to goe and hunt for men to the Island of *Saint Iohn*, for to eate, and at this day they of *Dominica* doe it. They did eate no women, but kept them for slaues. Now they say, that with in this little while, they of *Dominica* did eate a Fryer, and that all they which did eate his flesh, had such a fluxe, that some dyed, and that therefore they haue left eating humane flesh: and it may be, because instead of men, with lesse danger, they steale Kine and Mares, for the great quantitie there is of them, and with this they satisfie their raging appetite.

The *Canibals*. Or *Indian Canibals*. What a *Canibal* signifieth.

Anguilla hath ten leagues of length, it standeth in 18. degrees. *Saint Martin* in 17. degrees and a halfe, it is of fiteene leagues, compassed with little Illets: and neere vnto it *Saint Eustace*, *Saint Bartholomew*, and *Saint Christopher*, euery one of tenne leagues. The *Barbada* in 17. degrees and a halfe, compassed with shelles, neere to the *Redonda* and the *Snower* or *Nienes*, and of *Mouferrate*, of fiue leagues euery one, in 15. degrees and a halfe. The *Antigua*, *Guadalupe*, and *Todos Santos*, from 14. to 15. degrees. The *Deseada* to the East of *Guadalupe*, about fixe leagues, the first which the Admirall *Don Christopher* discovered, in the second Voyage that he made to the *Indies*, in 14. degrees and a halfe, for which the fleet goe alwayes from the *Canaries*. *Marigalante*, the name of the Shippe the Admirall had, fiue leagues to the South-west from the *Desired*, and from the *Dominica*, in 13. degrees, twelue leagues in length, where the Fleetes take in water and wood, for it hath good roads, although with danger of the *Canibals*. Neere vnto *Dominica* to the South, stands *Matinino*, *Santa Lucie*, and the *Barbudos*, the which because they fall on the left hand of the Fleetes, when they goe, they call them already of the Ilands of the *Leeward* (*de Sotauento*) which appertaine to the coast of *Terra firme*: and of them the greatest, the first, and the most Orientall is the *Trinidad*, neere two hundred leagues from *Hisp*

Men-hunters. Frier vnwholsome food.

The discovery
of the land of
the Trinitie,
the year 1498

Arrogantie of
Americus Ves-
putius.

Wherefore men
do say that the
fishing of the
Pearles passed
from the land
of Cubagua to
the Margarita,
land of Cuba-
gua.

Or the Friars

Chap. 8.
Of Venezuela,
riuer of Hacha,
new Florida, and
Gulfe of Noua
Hispania, which
is the rest that
remaineth of
the limits of
this Countie.

Wherefore it
was called Ve-
nezuela, or lit-
tle Venice.

The Citie of
Coro.

Our Lady of
Carnalleda.

Hispaniola, North and South with the *Dominica*, about sixtie leagues from it. It hath fiftie leagues in length East and West, and almost thirty in breadth. The Admirall discovered it the year 1498. the third Voyage that he made to the *Indies*, and called it the *Trinitie*, because having great trouble in the Voyage, he had promised to God to giue such a name to the first Land that he should finde, and presently the Mariner that was in the top, saw three points of Land, whereby the name fitted every way to his vowe: then hee discovered also the mouthes of the *Dragon*, and of the *Serpent*, the gulfe of *Paria*, and all the firme Land vnto *Cumana*, which iniustly *Americus Vesputio* claimes to himselfe, whose name vnworthily is giuen to the port which they call *Peninsula Australis* or *Indies* of the South. This land of *Trinidad* is knowne that it is no good Countie, though it hath many *Indians*; it hath thirtie five leagues of longitude, and others say more, and twentie five of latitude, it stands in 8. degrees: the most orientall part of it, is a point on the North side, which is called *de la Galera*: and to the North of it a small land, compassed with little Iles, which they call *Tabago*: and in the South coast a Cape which they call the *Round Point*: at the East, the point of *Anguilla*, at the West in the gulfe of *Paria*, which is that that is from the land to *Terra firme*, which may be eight leagues of distance, because the firme Land maketh an oblique semicircle, as a Diadem; and in the entrance of the East is the distance recited; in the entrance of the West, the straightnes is much, and with great depth, and two little Ilands at the end of the North coast; by the West, which is called the *Dragons mouth*: and to the North *S. Vincent*, and *Granada*, other two little Ilands.

The land of *Margarita*, so named by *Christopher Colon*, the first Admirall (as also all the rest, a most sufficient proote of the Finder, to the confusion of those which deprived him of the glory of the discovery of the firme Land, attributing it to themselves, although changing the times) it is twentie leagues from *Trinidad* Westward, and one hundred and seventy from *Hispaniola*: it hath sixteen leagues in length East and West, and yet some say twenty, and the halfe in breadth; it hath no store of water, although it is very plentifull of Pastures for Cattle. There is in it two Townes, one neare the Sea, which reacheth to a fortresse where the Gouverneur is resident, and another two leagues within the Land, which is called the Valley of *Sancta Lucie*: there is in his coast a good port, and a nooke, and many beds of Pearles, whither the fishing of them is removed, which before was in *Cubagua*; and they say it went away from thence, for the rumour of the ordinance of the many Shippes that resorted to this land, to the trafficke of the Pearles, which was very great. *Cubagua* stands one league from *Margarita* to the East, there is no water in it, and yet the new *Cadix* was built there, and they carried their water seven leagues, from the Riuer of *Cumana*. To the East of *Cubagua* are foure little Ilets, close by the shoare, which the first Admirall called *Los Frayles*: and to the East betweene them and *Granada*, other foure or five, which he called (*Los Testigos*) the *Witnesses*, and to the West after *Cubagua*, another little land which he named (*Tortuga*) the *Tortoise*, neere to the point of *Araya*: and from hence the discovery being made from below *Paria*, he went to *Hispaniola*, with a purpose to finish the discovery of *Terra firme*: and as here after shall be seene, hee went after to discover, and found the Ilands of the *Guanaos*, and from before *Veraagua*, vntill he passed *Nombre de Dios*. The Officers and Royall treasure are in *Margarita*; and it, and the land of *Cubagua*, are in eleven degrees, a little more.

The Government of *Venezuela* parteth the bounds in the coast of *Terra firme*, to the East, with the new *Andaluzia*, from whence to the Riuer of *Hacha*, and Government of *Sancta Marta*, with which it ioyneth by the West, is an hundred and thirty leagues, and within the land about eightie, vnto the bounds of the new Kingdome of *Granada*. In this Countie are vaines of Gold of more then two and twentie carraets and a halfe: it is plentifull of Wheate, because there is two harvests in the year, and most abundance of all kinde of Cattle, great and small. There goeth from this Prouince great store of Meale, Bisket, Cheese, Bacon, and much Cotten-linnen: and in the port of *Guayra*, in the Prouince of *Caracas*, are laden many Cowe-Hides, and *Sarsaparilla*. There is in it eight *Spanish* Townes: and the name *Venezuela* was giuen it, because when the *Belzares*, *Almaines*, went to gouerne in this Prouince the year 1528. by a couenant which they made with the Emperour, they thought to inhabit in a Rocke and hills that are in the mouth of the Lake of *Maracaybo*, where it falleth in the Sea, a Towne which they named *Venezuela*. It stands in 8. degrees, a little more, and from hence the Couernment tooke the name. His first Towne is the Citie of *Coro*, which the *Indians* call *Coriana*, which commonly they call now *Venezuela*, it stands in 11. degrees of altitude, and 79. degrees one third part from the Meridian of *Toledo*, one thousand and five hundred leagues from it: here the Gouverneur is wont to be resident, and there is the Cathedrall Church suffragane to the Archbishop of *S. Dominicke*. *John of Ampues* built first this Citie, and then those that went for the *Belzares* made their abode in it, the first was *Ambrosio Alfinger*: it is so healthfull, and of so good an ayre, that there is no neede of Physitians.

The second place is our Lady of *Carnalleda*, in the Prouince of *Caracas*, neere to the Sea, East from *Coro* eightie leagues, and with a bad Hauen: *Don Francisco Faiardo* built it the year 1560. which

which went for that purpose from the *Margarita*. *S. James* of *Lyon* in the same Province, seven leagues within the Land, and three from *Carnalleda* to the South, and sixtie from *Coro*, where at this time the Gouvernour is most resident. The new *Valencia* sixtie leagues from *Coro*, and twentie five from *S. James* of *Lyon*, seven from the port of *Burburata*. The Captaine *Villacinda* peopled it. The new *Xerez* about fifteene leagues, almost South from the new *Valencia*, and twentie from the new *Segonia*, and sixtie from *Coro* to the South-east, a new Towne. The new *Segonia*, in the Province of *Bariquizimito*, twentie leagues from *Xerez* to the South, and tenne from *Tucuyo*, and eightie from *Coro* to the South-east, where the Officers royall, the Gouvernour, and the Lieutenants are resident at times: *John* of *Villegas* peopled it in the year 1552. The Citie of *Tucuyo* is famous, because in it they slew the tyrant *Lope* of *Aguirre*, it stands tenne leagues from *Segonia*, to the South-west, eightie five from *Coro*; it is the habitation of the Captaine *Carnajal*. *Truxillo*, or our *Ladie of Peace*, in the Province of *Cuyas*, about eightie leagues almost to the South, direct from *Coro*, somewhat to the East, and twentie five from *Tucuyo*, directly to the West.

S. Iago de Leon.

Xerez.

Segonia.

Tucuyo.

Truxillo.

The Auditor *Vallejo* discovered this the yeate 1549, the Bacheller *Tolosa* being Gouvernour in it: and the year 1559. the Captaine *James Garcia* of *Paredes* inhabited *Truxillo*: and there may be in this Government more then 100000 *Indies* tributaries, and in them are not comprehended from eighteene vnder, nor above fiftie yeares, because the supreme Counsell of the *Indies* hath provided, that in no place of this Orbe, these doe pay tribute: and because daily they increase and diminish in number, it cannot be said precisely and perfectly how many there are.

The Lake of *Maracaybo*, which the *Castilanes* call of our *Ladie*, is of fresh water, it entreth fortie leagues within the Land, from the Sea, and hath more then tenne in breadth, and eighty in compasse, with many Townes vpon his Borders: in the end of it entreth a Riuer that descendeth from the new Kingdome of *Granada*, by the which, and the Lake, Marchandise are transported which came to the new Kingdome of *Castile*, and to other places; some of the men of this Lake doe liue in Boates, their houses being made in the Trees within the water, and at the Border, whence it tooke also at the first, the name of *Venezuela*; sayling by some parts of this Lake, ye can see no Land: there enter into it other great Rivers, it runneth to the Sea, it hath about halfe a league of mouth, and in it the shoale and rocks abovesaid.

The Lake *Maracaybo.*

The Ports, Capes, and Points of the coast of this Government, and those annexed vnto it, are to the West, *Marcapana*, the *Vrchila*, an Island against the Riuer *Oynare*, neere to another called *Rocke of the Ilets*, and afterward the Cape of the *Codora*, and *Puerto Flecharado*, and the Hauen of *Sardinas* or *Pilchers*: and opposite the Ile of *Aues* or *Birds*, before *Burburata*, a maruellous hau-
 30 uen, which the Bachiler *Tolosa* peopled, and is a Scale or Port for the new Kingdome (*Nuevo Reyno*) & Provinces of *Peru*, and after that is *Gulfo triste*, and to the North of the *Bonayre*, an Island of ten leagues in length, and eight in breadth, and afterward *Punta seca*, and right against it *Curacao*, and a little forward *Curacante*, foureteene leagues in length, right against the Cape of *S. Roman* to the South of the Island of *Aruba*. *S. Roman* entreth twentie leagues into the Sea, it standeth twelue from *Coro*, the *Indians* doe call it *Paraguana*, it lacketh a little to be an Island: it
 40 may haue in compasse twenty five leagues and more of plaine ground, with a Mountaine almost in the middest: it is discovered a great way into the Sea. There is at the beginning of the Gulfe of *Venezuela*, the entrance and channell of the Lake of *Maracaybo*, and at the entrance of it the Riuer *Murave*, and to the West the *Monkes*, three little Ilets close by the Point and Cape of *Coquibacoa*, where onely in all the *Indies* was found waight and touch for the Gold, and afterwards the deepe *Baye* (*Bahia Honda*) and the *Portete*, the Cape of *Vela*, which the Captaine *Alfonso* of *Ojeda* named, when *Americo Vespucio* went with him the first time, much after that the Admirall discovered this coast, which stands in 12. degrees, somewhat more. And there is from the Cape of *Vela*, to the Riuer of *Hache* eighteene leagues, without any stone in them, nor water,
 50 but raine water. This Government remained destroyed, since the time of the *Almaines*, because they would not inhabit, onely seeke to make slaues, and to waste the Countrie.

The ports and points of the Government of *Venezuela.*

They called first the Riuer of *Hache*, our *Ladie of the Snomes*, and after of the *Remedies*, neere vnto the Sea, betweene *Venezuela*, and *Sancta Marta*, to the East, thirtie leagues from it, and sixtie from *Coro* to the West, North and South with the Cape of *Vela*, with eight leagues of bounds betweene *Venezuela* and *Sancta Marta*, without shoues of Gold. It is gouerned by *Alcaldes* immediate to the Counsell of *Hispaniola*, and the Spiritualltie is of the Bishopricke of *Sancta Marta*. The Towne is 1000. paces from the Sea, on a little hill: the Hauen hath the North for tra-
 90 uers, it is a most fertile Countrie, and yeeldeth whatsoeuer is in *Castile*: there are many Tigers, Beares, Ants, and Lizards in the Rivers, much Gold, and Stones of diuers vertues, for the Spleene, the Kidneys, for the Milt, and Flx, and they haue good Salt-pits. *Nicolas Federman* for the *Belzars*, was he that began to inhabit this Towne. The gouernment of *Serpai*, which they call the new *Andaluzia*, and in the Indian Language *Guayana*, extends the limits. From the Island of *Margarita* vnto the riuer *Marayon*, three hundred leagues to the East, and as many North and South within the Land, wherein the *Indians* *Omagues* are included, and the *Omygas*, with

with the Provinces of Dorado, to the south of this Gouvernement, wherein falleth by the Coast the Province of Maracapaná, in the bounds of Venecuela, where the mouths of Santa Fe were inhabited, in whose Borders is the knob of Unare, and neere vnto it a great Lake with great store of fish and salt, and the Indians which are called of Perito, twentie leagues within the Land, and the Indians Palenques, so called for the Poles wherewith they fortified themselves, and the Province of Cumana, North and south with the Margarita, where is a Towne of Spaniards, which is called new Cordona, which the Captayne Gongalo of Ocampo built, when he went to chastise the Indians of Cumana, for the destruction of the Monastery of the Religious Franciscans. And to the East or the Iland of Trinidad, and the River of Saint John of the Amazonas, is the Province of the Indians Aruacas, part of the Caniballs, and all Warlike, that neuer are quiet or peaceable.

After the point of Paria, which stands in seven degrees, and the Dragons Mouth neere vnto Trinidad stands the point Del Gallo, or Anegada, to the South of the Trinitie, and the River of Paria, or Orinico, which some call Tuyapari, and others will haue that these two, and the River of Saint John, and of Orellana be all one thing, and also the Marañon; but in this they are deceived. There be other Rivers in the Province of the Aruacas that are well knowne, the River of Saint John, or of Orellana springeth in the Andes of Peru, right against Cuzco, from whence it runneth fiftene hundred leagues, or more, winding vnder the Equinoctiall, by Countreyes well inhabited, though not well discovered, till it came to run into the North Sea, whose mouth hath in breadth fiftie leagues; and in the first five hundred from the mouth vpwrd, many Ilands inhabited; and eightie or a hundred leagues more to the West, stands the River of Morayon, almost in the bounds whereby passeth the Line of the Diuision betweene Castile and Portugall, and is great and terrible, having fiftene leagues of mouth, and the streame commeth from the parts of the South, and the Provinces of Brasil, and they say that the spring is vnder Popayan, and the bounds of the new Kingdome of Granada.

River Morayon

the Iland of

Cubagua.

Strange Hogs.

An earthquake

in the coast of

Terra firme, the

yeare 1530. very

admirable.

Margarita.

Florida.

Seven leagues from Cumana stands the Iland of Cubagua, where stood as was said, the new Cadiz, which was disinhabited because the fishing for Pearles fayled: this Iland had no water that could be drunke, nor trees, nor beasts; for all is brackish, except those Hogges that haue the Nauell in their backe-bone, and some small Conies, and hauing so great inhabiting, they went seven leagues to the river of Cumana for water, although there was an opinion that it bred webbes in the eyes. In this River and coast, hapned in the yeare 1530. the first of September, the haueen being cleare, the Sea did rise foure fadomes from his ordinary course, and entring into the earth it began to shake, and the fortress which the Captaine Iacome of Castellon had built by order of the Counsell of Hispaniola, fell, and the earth did open in many places; where-out sprang much salt water as blacke as inke, and did stinke of brimstone, and the mountaine of the gulfe of Cariaco remained open with a great rift: many hogges fell, many people died drowned, and with feare, and taken with the earth quake. Margarita one league from Cubagua a more pleasant Iland, the Bachiller Marcelo of Villalobos did people it.

The Province and Gouvernement of Florida, bordering on the Counsell of Hispaniola, according to the Gouvernement of Peter Melendez, is all that which lyeth from the River of Palmes, which doth confine with the Gouvernement of Panuco in new Spaine, limits of the Counsell of Mexico, which is neere the tropicke in 22. degrees, vnto the point of Bacallao, which falleth in 48. degrees, and a halfe, in the which are 1258. leagues of Coast, and from thence to 73. degrees of altitude to the North by the Coast, and within the Land all that which hee discovered. Of this hath bene coasted and discovered, from the River of Palmes vnto the Point of Santa Helena, and the River Jordan, which are about 600. leagues; it is a firme Land of a good climate, plentiful, and well inhabited in many places, as those that went through it with Hernando de Soto did know it, the yeare 1536. and 1537. Iohn Pardo borne in Cuenca, went by Land from Florida to new Spaine, in lesse then two yeares, and it is the neereft Europe of any part of the Indies, & from the Bay of S. Ioseph, which is eightie leagues from Panuco. There is also discovered vnto New found Land, but that which is particularly taken for Florida, is the point that goeth into the Sea North and South, with the Iland of Cuba, of a hundred leagues in length, and twentie five in breadth East and West, and (when it is most) thirtie. Iohn Ponce of Lyon discovered it Anno 1512. on Easter day, and for this cause he called it Florida: and afterward returned the yeere 1521. and retired wounded to Cuba, where he dyed, leauing a report that he sought the Fountaine or River which the Indians said that old men washing themselves therein, became yong. This Province is according to the temperature of Castile, and many fruits were found there like the fruits of Spaine, and it seemeth fit for Cattle and Corne. There is no Gould, neither seemeth that the Indians did know it, nor Siluer; for it hath bene seene that they haue found the Chests with bars of it and money in their coasts, and made no account of it: yet Hernando de Soto, within the inward parts of the great River, found great abundance of Pearles.

The spring which Iohn Ponce did seeke that renewed the old men.

They of Florida knew neither Gold, Siluer, nor Monie.

There are but two Fortresses in this Province with men in Garison, both in the Coast that looketh to the East: the one is called Saint Marke, in the point of Saint Helena, about one hundred leagues from the Havana, and another of Saint Augustin, which is the principall, because the

HONDIVS his Map of New Spaine.



40 The Councell is Resident in *Mexico*, and the Vice-roy governeth in it, and three Judges, the Officers of the Reueneue and Royall Treasure, a Founding House, and a Mint House, and the Archiepiscopall Metropolitane, that hath for Suffraganes the Bishopricks of *Tlascala*, *Guaxaca*, *Mechoacan*, new *Gallicia*, *Chiapa*, *Tucatan*, *Guatemala*, *Verapaz*, and the *Phillipinas*. And Don *Fernando Cortes* was he that built this great Church, and set for Bales of the Pillars certayne Idols of stone which are seene to this day, and the Bishop, President and Gouvernour of New Spaine, Don *Sebastian Ramirez* of *Fuenleal*, continued the building with great speed. The first Bishop of *Mexico* was Frier *John de Zumarraga* of the Order of Saint *Francis*, of great vertue and example, borne in *Durango*, in the Lordship of *Birkeye*, which also was the first Archbishop.

50 There are in *Mexico* Monasteries of *Dominican*, *Franciscan*, and *Austine* Friers, the company of *Iesus*, *El Carmen*, *la Merced*, the Bare-foot, and *Trinitarie* Friers; ten Monasteries of Nunnes, one Colledge of *Indian* children, and another of *Arrepentidas*, the *Repentantes* m and n *Recogidas*, or *Retired*, and the Vniuersitie, where curious and learnedly the Sciences are read with other Colledges and Hospitals. And the *Spaniards* which inhabit the bordering Townes of the *Indians*, and *Granges*, are about three thousand, and there are reckoned about two hundred and fiftie Townes of *Indians*, in which the chiefe places of Doctrines are one hundred and fve: and in them and thereabouts are six thousand *Granges*, more then five hundred thousand tributarie *Indians*, and more then one hundred and fiftie Monasteries of *Franciscan*, *Dominican*, and *Austine* Friers. And the Doctrines (or Schooles) of Priests and Friers, to teach the Faith Catholike to the *Indians*, are without number, besides the Fathers of the Company, and *Mercenarie* Friers: there is also Resident in *Mexico*, the holy Office of the Inquisition, whereof we will ipreat hereafter.

60 In the Coast bounding on this Archbishopricke towards the South Sea, and the Province of *Acapulco*, is the good Port of *Acapulco*, in seenteene degrees height, sixe leagues from the River *Tapes*, whereby the Archbishopricke is joyned with the Bishopricke of *Tlascala*. And other

Suffraganes of the Archbishopricke of *Mexico*, m Se. of the life they led in the Stewes. n From the World. * Los ciento y cinco cabeceiras de doctrina. I thinke he meaneth some Parishionall division, in each of which the *Indians* had their peculiar Priests and Schooles of priests to teach them religion. After in cap. 28 he calls them *beneficios curados*, *Benefices*, with Cure as *Personages*. eight

eight more to the West, the Riuer of *Citala*, and other foure, the Riuer of *Mula*. In the Coast of the North, it hath that which falleth in the Gouernment of *Tanuco*. In the limits of this Councell are the Mynes of *Puchuca*, fourteene leagues from *Mexico*, and the Mynes of *Tasco* twentie two, those of *Tsmiquilpo*, which are of Lead, twentie two, the Mynes of *Talpuiana* twentie foure, the Mynes of *Temazcaltepeque* eighteene, those of *Cultepeque* 22. those of *Zacualpa* twentie, those of *Zupanguo* 40. those of *Guanaxato* sixtie, those of *Commaia*, seuen. From *Guanaxato*: those of *Achichica*, eighteene from the Citie of *los Angeles*, and those of *Gantla*, or *Zumatlan*, and *Saint Lewes of the Peace*, and in them all there may bee about foure thousand *Spaniards*, which with industrie and labour doe attend these Mynes, all of Silver except one, which as hath bene said, is of Lead, and procuring that the *Indians* taking example of them, may liue politickly: and the first that with maruellous cunning and wisdom, brought in the breedings of cattell and tillages, which haue bene the mightiest meanes for the preferuation of the Mynes, was the aboue said President *Don Sebastian Ramirez* of *Fuenleal*, originall and the foundation of all the good of those Realmes.

Don Sebastian Ramirez brought in the breeding and ploughing. Gouernment of *Panuco*.

The Prouince of *Panuco* to the North of *Mexico*, *Nunno* of *Guzman* had in government: it hath fiftie leagues in breadth, and in length, and after it was incorporate with the limits of the Councell or Audience of *Mexico*. The Countrey that looketh toward *New Spaine* is the best, plentifull of victuals, and hath some Gold. That which runneth toward *Florida* is miserable, from whence till yee come to his bounds, are more then fise hundred leagues. This gouernment hath three *Spanish* Townes, *Panuco*, in somewhat more then twentie three degrees, and by another name the Village of *Saint Stephen* of the Hauen; which *Gonzalo* of *Sandonall* built, by order of the Marquesse *Don Fernando Cortes*, when they went to resist *Francisco Garay*, and to pacifie the *Indians* of *Chila*, the yeere 1520. and it standeth sixtie fise leagues from *Mexico* to the North North-east, eight leagues from the Sea, neere to a Riuer whose entry is a Hauen: it is a chiefe *Alcaldia*, or Iusticeship, prouided by the Vice-roy of *New Spaine*. The Village of *Saint James of the Valleys*, twentie fise leagues from *Panuco* to the West. The Village of *Saint Luys de Tampico*, eight leagues from *Panuco* to the North-east, neere to the Sea: and although in the Coast of this gouernment are many Riuers, & some rode vnto the Riuer of *Palmas*, they are not knowne in the Gulfe of *New Spain*, but the Riuer of *Panuco*, & his hauen, which is not very good.

S. Iago de los Valles.

Los Angeles.

The Bishopricke of *Tlascala*, which by another name is called *de los Angeles*, betweene the Archbishopricke of *Mexico*, and the Bishopricke of *Guaxaca*, is of 100. leagues, and more in length, from the Coast of the South to that of the North, and betwixt the confines of the Archbishopricke, and of *Guaxaca* 80. and as many in breadth, by the Coast of the North Sea, and no more then 18. or 20. by that of the South. There is not in it all more then three *Spanish* Towns, which is the City or Towne of the *Angels* 22. leagues from *Mexico* to the East, somewhat inclining to the South, of 1500. households in foure streets: it is a chiefe Iusticeship where the Cathedral Suffragane to the Archbishopricke of *Mexico* is Resident, with Monasteries of *Dominicks*, *Franciscan*, and *Aufine* Friers, one of Nuns, & one Colledge of more then 300. *Indian* children, to be instructed, with 10000. *Pezos* rent, which the Bishop *Don Sebastian Ramirez* built, which sent the Batchelor *Salmeron* Auditor of the Councell to build this City, and although he had determined to haue made it in *Tlascala*, he left it because he would not endamage the *Indians*, nor touch their Lands; for he had a great regard in generall to the good of the *Indians*, and in particular for those of *Tlascala*, being so well deseruing of the Crowne Royall.

The Bishop *Don Sebastian Ramirez* built the Citie of the *Angels*.

A *Vulcan* or *Bolcan*, is a place whence fire issueth, as *Etna*, *Hecla*, &c.

The Citie was built in the bounds of *Cholula*, from whence went 25000. men to warre, and it was seated in a Plaine called *Cuetlaxcoapa*, neere to a Valley called *Atlixco*, on the border of a small Riuer that commeth out of the *Vulcan*, where they gather Wheate, Wine, and all the Fruits of *Castile*, Sugar and Flaxe, and all manner of Herbs. For it is a temperate Countrey, more hot then cold, although the Corne of the grounds neere the Citie, are somewhat blasted: and a little space from *Tlascala*, spring Fountaynes whence groweth a Riuer that when it commeth betweene the Citie of the *Angels* and *Cholula*, it goeth very great and without fish, it passeth through the Prouinces of *Mechoacan*, and enteth into the South Sea by *Zacatula*, and there bee in it so many *Caymanes*, or Crocodiles, that they haue dispeopled some places.

Tlascala.

The Valley of *Atlixco* famous.

In *Tlascala* to the North of the *Angels*, which stands in more then twenty degrees in height, where the Cathedral Church was till the yeere 1550. when it was remooued to the Citie: the first Bishop was Frier *Iulian Garces*, the Valley of *Atlixco*, which may haue in breadth about one league and an halfe, where the Corne is neuer blasted, and there is gathered in it about 100000. *Hauages*, and there are more then 1000. *Spaniards* that do traffick in it, and 7. leagues from the Citie to the East, is the Valley of *Ocumba*: and in the Prouince of *Tepeaca*, the Marquesse of the Valley built a *Spanish* Towne, which he called *Segura*: and in the Valley of *S. Paul*, may be other 1300. households of *Spaniards*, in Farmes and Grangeries of cattle, that multiply so much, that there were men that with two shag-haired sheepe came to haue about 40000.

La Veracruz, *San Juan de Ulua*.

The Citie of *Veracruz*, one way stands sixtie leagues from *Mexico*, and by another sixtie fise, it stands one quarter of a league from the Sea, it is of more then two hundred *Spanish* households. There is in it Treasurie Royall, and House of Contractation. The Port is called *Saint Iohn of Vl-*

na, a name which the Captayne *Iohn Grijalua*, which discovered it the yeere 1518. and the frame of the Key that it hath, the Vice-roy *Don Antonio of Mendoza* began. It is five leagues from the mouth of the River of *Veracruz*, between the Coast and the little Iland, which is about one league in compasse, compassed with shelues, and so low that the tydes doe couer it right against the mouth of the River of *Saint Iohn of Vlua*. They goe into this Hauen by two Channels: the most frequented is that of the Flat, the other is called the *Gallifian Channell*, which is very deepe, and there the ships doe fasten themselves to a great wall of more then foure hundred foot with Rings of Iron and Brasse, and when the North winds are very strong, they are not very sure. The *Veracruz* stands in eightene degrees, somewhat more, and there was wont to be the vnloading of the Fleets, and they stayed foure or five monethes in vnloading, because it stands five leagues from *Saint Iuan of Vlua*, therefore it is now made in the Port of *Buytron*, which is from the Port of *Saint Iohn of Vlua* about eight hundred paces, and it is finished in one moneth and an halfe, and it is called *Buytron*, by a House that was there of one called *Buytron*, and they begin to make a Towne there in that situation.

There are in this Bishopricke two hundred chiefe Townes of the Indians, and one thousand subiect, although there may be two hundred fiftie thousand Tributarie Indians, in thirtie six charges of * Doctrines of Priests, and thirtie Monasteries of *Dominicke*, *Franciscan*, and *Austine* Friers: and in the Coast of this Bishopricke on the North Sea, is the River of *Aluarado*, where the bounds of the Bishopricke of *Guaxaca*, and the River of *Almeria* doe ioyne neere to the River of *Saint Iohn of Vlua*, where the Towne of *Medellin* was built by *Andrew of Tapia*, the yeere 1522. when the Marquesse *Don Fernando Cortes* sent the said *Andrew of Tapia*, and *Gonzalo of Sandenall*, to conferre with *Christopher of Tapia*, which had Warrants to take away the Government of *New Spaine* from the Marquesse, and the Factor *Salazar*, and the Ouer-seer *Peralmindez* dispeopled. The River of *Almeria* springeth in the long *Rome*, in the Prouinces of *Totonagues*, and *Micantle*, and betweene Mountaynes it goeth into the North Sea, and against this River is the Iland of *Sacrifices*, which the Captayne *Grijalua* gaue the name vnto, and the River of *Zempoala* to the North from *Veracruz*, and vpward the River of *Saint Peter* and *Saint Paul*, which springeth in the same *Rome*, and the River of the *Caxones*, *Tuspa*, and *Tamiagua*, neere the Government of *Panuco*.

30 The Bishopricke of *Guaxaca* (so called by the Prouince wherein it is, and *Antequera* by the Citie where the Cathedrall is resident betweene the Bishopricke of the *Angels*, and the Bishopricks of the Councell of *Guatemala*) is of one hundred and twentie leagues, from the one Sea to the other, by the Confines of the Bishopricke of *Tlascala*, and sixtie by the Confines of *Chiapa*, and one hundred in breadth by the Coast of the South Sea, and fiftie by the North Sea, wherein are included the Prouinces of *la Miseca*, high and low; the high fortie leagues from *Antequera* to the West, & the low more to the South Sea. *Iohn Nunnez Sedeno*, and *Fernando of Badaioz* inhabited first the Citie of *Antequera*: and after the first Councell of *Mexico* inhabited it againe; the only Iudges therein were Batchelour *Iohn Ortiz of Matienzo*, and *Delgadillo*, which was the first, that as a man of *Granada*, began to breed Silke in *Mexico*. The President and Gouvernour, the Bishop *Don Sebastian Ramirez*, began the Cathedrall Church, the beginning of the good of those Kingdomes: the Church hath all the Pillers of Marble of one piece, very great and bigge, and the Citie hath about foure hundred Spanish Households.

This Valley of *Guaxaca*, from whence the Marquesse of the Valley taketh his Title, beginneth from the Mountayne of *Cocla*, in the bound of *Guaxolotlan*. In it is gathered much Silke, Corne, and Millet; it hath the *Zapoteca* Tongue. There hath beene in it good Mynes of Gold. The situation of the Citie of *Antequera* (which as hath beene said) they call *Guaxaca*, was inhabited with people of *Mexico*, which lay in Garrison by order of the second *Motexuma*, and the many Garrisons that the Kings of *Mexico* had through their Empire made general in it the *Mexican* Tongue. The River of this Citie doth sinke vnder the ground, against *Cimatlan*, and riseth two leagues off, at the Mountaynes of *Coatlan*, other two from *Guaxaca*; and at a halfe a league from the Citie right against a Hill that stands to the North, is a point of a little Hill, and there goeth a glade of a Valley all plaine, for the space of eight leagues, which is the abovesaid faire Valley of *Guaxaca*, pleasant, and temperate, and of a most healthfull Ayre, where plentifully are gathered all kind of things, and especially fruits of *Castile*, most pleasant. To the South west stands the Prouince of *Tutepeque*, which hath many Townes by the Sea-coast, and is of more then sixtie leagues: and that of the River of *Aluarado*, betweene the North and North-east: and that of the *Zapotecas* to the North-east from *Antequera*, and *Guaxacoalaco* in the Confines of *Tabasco*, all rough Countrey, & notwithstanding the rich Mynes of Gold, little is gotten because of the roughnesse. There are foure Spanish Townes. The said Citie of *Antequera* is eightie leagues from *Mexico*, to the South-east in the high way of *Chiapa*, and *Guatemala*: and the first that entred to pacifie this Prouince, was *Iohn Nunnez of Mercado*, the yeere 1522. by Commission of *Don Fernando Cortes*, and from thence were men of War sent to serue the King *Quartimoc*, in the defence of *Mexico*, when *Don Fernando Cortes* subdued it.

* A kinde of Parish or Schoole diuision, Sp. *partidos de doctrina*.

Chap. 10.

Of the Bishopricks of *Guaxaca*, *Mechuacan*, and *Yucatan*: & of the Prouince of *Tabasco*, which is the rest of the bounds described.

Guaxaca Title of the Marquesse of the Valley.

Stinking River

Tutepeque.

- S. Alifonso of the Zapotecas.** The Treasurer *Alfonso* of *Estrada*, when he did gouerne in *Mexico*, inhabited the Village of *Saint Alifonso de los Sapotecas*, twentie leagues from *Antequera*, toward the North-east. They liue in it by Gold, Cotton-wooll, and Miller; there are about thirtie thousand *Indians* tributaries. It stands betweene most high Hills. *Saint Iago de Nexapa* is in the Valley of *Nexapa*, twentie leagues from *Antequera* to the East, in the way of *Chiapa*, and *Guatemala*. The Village of the Holy Ghost in the Prouince of *Guazacoalco*, at the Coast of the North Sea, in the Confines of *Tabasco*, is ninetie leagues from *Antequera*. *Gonzalo* of *Sandonall* inhabited it in the yeere 1522. It hath about fiftie Townes of *Indians*, it stands on the border of the Riuer, on the side of *Chiapa*: this Riuer springeth in the Mountaynes of the *Mixes*, and *Chontales*, neere to *Tecoantepeque*, and with the waters of the Neighbour Prouinces of *Chiapa*, and the *Chontales*, it goeth into the North Sea, there enter into it ships of one hundred tun.
- Golden Riuer.** In all this Bishopricke there is no Riuer that doth not yeeld Gold, and the *Indians* doe liue without want if they will worke, for they lacke nothing for backe nor belly: and they haue the *Cacao*, a Fruit like Almonds, which serueth for Money, and they make Wine of it, and it is eaten tosted, and is held for a great sustenance. They are wholesome Countreyes, and pleasant. The Silke was before nourished by the *Castilians*, with the Mulberie Trees of the Countrey, wherewith the *Indians* serued themselves, for to make Paper of the second barke: and the *Spaniards* haue planted so many of *Castile*, that they grow infinitely: and if the *Indians* did pay tithes of it, and of other things, fise Bishoprickes might be made; but none doe pay tithes but the *Castilians* onely.
- Cacao-money and Wine.** This Bishopricke hath three hundred and fiftie Head-townes of *Indians*, and in them, and in three hundred Granges of more then an hundred & fifty thousand tributary *Indians*, & one hundred and twentie Monasteries of *Dominicke* Friars, and the rest Schooles of Priests for Doctrine.
- The *Indians* should pay no Tithes.** The Coast of the North Sea of this Bishopricke, beginneth in the Riuer of *Aluaro*, that cometh from the Mountaynes of the *Zapotecas*, and betweene many other it goeth to the Prouince of *Chinaulta*, and crossing ouerthwart the Mountaynes whence it sprung, goeth out into the North Sea, betweene the Riuer of *Guazacoalco*, and *Saint Iohn of Ulua*, and there is also the Riuer called *Agnalulco*, whose mouth may serue for a Haven; and the diuided Rocke, a point of the Land that cometh from the Mountaynes of *Saint Martine*, named by ships that haue bin lost vpon a shoale full of Rockes vnder water, which lye along the Coast right against them in the Coast of the South Sea. This Bishopricke hath the Haven of *Guatulco* in fiftene degrees and an halfe, great, good, and frequented. The President *Don Peter* of *Aluaro* set this Prouince of *Guatulco* in obedience, and the Port of *Tecoantepeque* is neere, which also is reasonable; and the Towne is great, and there is in it a great fishing for Shrimps, and other fish which they carrie to *Guaxaca*, and in the high way of *Cuztata* is a Myne of Chrystall-borill. *Tecoantepeque* is fortie fise leagues from *Antequera*, they passe by the Mountaynes of the *Chontales*, *Nixapa*, and *Mexcalpeque*, whitherto this Bishopricke extendeth, and hath many Townes subiect by the Coast of the Sea.
- Riuer of *Aluaro*.** The Bishopricke of *Mechoacan* (which is a Prouince betweene the Archbishopricke of *Mexico*, and the new *Galicia*) hath in breadth by the Coast of the South Sea, about eightie leagues, and sixtie within the Land, with open bounds, by the Septentrionall parts: in it are included the Prouinces of *Zacatula*, and of *Colima*, both in the Coast of the South Sea. The Citie of *Mechoacan*, or *Pazcuaro*, in little more then nineteene degrees, and fortie seuen leagues from *Mexico*, of plaine way. In *Guayangareo* called *Kallodolid*, is Resident the Cathedrall Suffragane *Christopher* of *Olid* built *Mechoacan*, the Cathedrall was first Resident in *Zinzonza*, vnto the yeere 1544. that he remoued it to *Pazcuaro*. The Bishop was *Don Basco de Quiroga*, and it hath one Monasterie of *Franciscan*, another of *Austine* Friars, and it stands seuen leagues from *Mechoacan*, to the East.
- Guatulco.** The Mynes of *Guanaxnato*, are twentie eight leagues from *Mechoacan*, to the North, toward the *Zacatecas*, wherein there are about sixe hundred *Castilians*, in two Campes * which they haue with their chiefe *Alcade* or Commissioner, and the seate and dwelling of those that follow the Mynes is a *Reall* or Campe. The Village of *Saint Michael*, in the Prouince of *Mechoacan*, is thirtie fise leagues from *Pazcuaro*, to the North-east, in a rough Countrey. And the Village of the Conception of *Salaya*, which was built by commandement of the Vice-roy, *Don Martin Enriquez*, the yeere 1570. for to assure the way of the *Chichimecas*. The Village of *Saint Philip* fiftie leagues off *Mechoacan*, toward the North, and sixtie two from *Mexico* to the North-west, with one Monasterie of *Austine* Friars, in a barren soyle and cold; it was built for the securitie of the way of the *Zacatecas*.
- The Bishopricke of *Mechoacan*.** The Prouince and Village of *Zacatula*, in the Coast of the South Sea, stands in more then 18. degrees, and fortie leagues from *Mechoacan*, to the South-west, neere the Sea; *Iohn Rodriguez* of *Villanorte*, and *Sinon* of *Cuenca*, built it the yeere 1523. it stands ninetie leagues from *Mexico*, and the Prouince and Village of *Colima*, in little more then 18. degrees, in the Coast of the South Sea, and in the confines of new *Galicia*, fiftie leagues from *Mechoacan*, to the South-west, with a chiefe

chiefe Commissioner, in a hot soyle, and plentifull of *Cacao*, and *Cassia Fistola*, with Gould, and well conditioned people. *Gonzalo* of *Sandonal* built it in the yeare 1522. All the Countrey of *Mechoacan* is most plentifull of Wheate, Millet, and all kinde of *Spanish* Fruits, and Cattle, stored of Fish: it hath Graine, Cochinilla, and Cotten wooll, and the people is industrious, and giuen to labour.

There are in this Bishopricke one hundred and thirtie Townes, the nintie foure head Townes with Schooles of Doctrine: this Bishopricke reacheth no Coast of the Sea of the North, in the South Sea are many Riuer, and in the furthest West of the Prouince, almost in the border of the new *Galicia*, is the port of *Nauidad*, in the height of 19. degrees, good and frequented, from whence the Nauigation is made to the *Phillipinas*; and more to the East, neere the Port of Saint *James*: there are very good Copper Mines in these bounds, of the which the *Indians* make very curious Vessels, for it is pleasant, and other so hard that they digge the ground with it instead of Iron, which they could neuer doe till the *Spaniards* taught it.

The Prouince and Gouernment of *Yucatan* (which tooke this name when the Captaine *Franciscus Fernandez* discovered it, and our *Ladie of the Remedies*, when *Iohn* of *Grijalua* discovered *Cozumel*) was at the first held for an Island, because it was almost compassed with Sea, in sort that it may be called *Peninsula*, and it compasseth more then two hundred and fiftie leagues: it is in length where it extends it selfe East and West, about one hundred leagues, and as many North and South, from the Coast that looketh to the North, ynto the part that doth confine with the Prouinces of *Guatemala*, whereby it hath ouert what about fise and twentie leagues. The temperature is hot, and very moist, and though there be no Riuer, nor running water in it all, the water is so neare for Wells, and they finde so many shels of Sea-fish vnder the stones, that this, and the Coast being so low, hath giuen occasion to suspect that it hath beene Sea in other times: it is much compassed with Wood: they gather no Corne, nor seedes of *Castile*, there is no Gould, nor any other kinde of Mettall, whence is knowne the inuention (or deceit) of those which said that there were found in this Prouince, when the *Spaniard* entred in it, Crosses of Latten, which was neuer found in any Prouince of the *Indies*: it is very plentifull of game, especially wilde Boares and Deere, they breede vp in it great store of Poultry: they gather much Cotten wooll, and Azure, the people multiplieth and liueth long; a man there was which attained to three hundred yeares: it hath all the kinde of Cattle of *Spaine*, and good Horses.

There are in this Gouernment without that of *Tabasco*, which goeth ioyntly with it, foure *Spanish* Townes, and one Bishopricke: and the Townes are buildings of the first Gouernour, the President *Don Francisco* of *Monteio*. The Citie of *Merida* is in twentie degrees height, almost in the midst of the Prouince, neerer to the coast of the North Sea, twelue leagues within the Land. In it are resident the Gouernour, the Officers of Reuenues, and treasure Royall, and the Cathedrall suffragane to *Mexico*, with a Monasterie of *Franciscane Fryers*, they called it *Merida*, for the great and auncient building that it hath like *Merida* in *Castile*; and it causeth admiration, that hauing no kinde of Mettall in this Prouince, so great Stones could be wrought, in the which were found engrauen naked men, with eare-rings, whereof is inferred that they were Temples, and that it was a very famous Countrey. The Village of *Valladolid* is thirtie one leagues from *Merida*, toward the South-east with a most sumptuous Monasterie of *Franciscan Fryers*, and 15000. tributarie *Indians* in the limits. The Village and port of Saint *Franciscus* of *Campeche*, in 20. degrees, in the Coast that looketh to new *Spaine*, about fiftie leagues from *Merida* to the West, declining to the South, it hath a reasonable Hauē, though little depth for being a Bay. *Don Francisco* of *Monteio* gaue it the name. The Village of *Salamanca* the President called so by his owne Countrey. In the Prouinces of *Bacalar*, and *Chetamal*, seuentie leagues from *Merida*, North and South, leaning to the West, and other seuentie from *Valladolid*, neere to the Coast of the gulfe of *Honduras*: there are in this Prouince Monasteries of *Franciscanes*, and six Schooles of Priests for Doctrine.

The Coast of all this Prouince is so shallow, that in few parts ye can ride at anker at lesse then foure or fise leagues from the Land, and so there is no Port but for small Shippes, and it floweth and ebbeth more in this Coast then in any other place of these Prouinces of new *Spaine*. The Ports that are, be these: *Ciclo*, and *Teliebaque*, *Cical* and *Canguil*: the Riuer with two mouthes, *Campeche* in the Coast that looketh to new *Spaine*, and in it the small Cape from whence the Coast beginneth to winde to the East, and neere to the Point a little Island which is called *la Desconocida* or the *Vnthankesfull*, compassed with shelles: and to the West from this, about eighteene leagues, another which they call the *Zarza*, and the *Triangle*, which are three small Islands, close by another little Island compassed with shelles, other sixteene leagues from *Cabo Delgado*, Islands de *Arenas* (of *Sandes*) and the *Redde* (la *Bermeia*) and another Island thirtie leagues from the said Cape to the North, and *los Negrillos*, three little Ilets compassed with shelles, to the East from the *Redde*, about thirtie fise leagues, and the *Scorpion* twentie leagues of the coast North and South, with *Merida*, and the Cape of *Contoche*, the Point most to the East of *Yucatan*, from whence goe foure little Islands, which are called de *Mugeres* of *Women*, leaning to the Coast in the which is the Island of *Cozumel*, named by the famous *Idoll* Place in it, whither

Yucatan.

It was a deuise of those which said the Crosses were found of Latten in Yucatan, where as there neuer was Crosse in the Indies before the Spaniards. A Man of 300. yeeres old.

Merida.

Valladolid.

Campeche.

Salamanca.

Shallow Coast. Tides. The Ports and points of this Gouernment.

a Or Sharpe.

b Or Bermeia.

c Or Alacranes.

A famous wor-
shipping place
of the Gentiles
in Cozumel.

* Or take away
sleepe.

Tabasco.

Riuers of this
Prouince.
Lake of Xica-
lango.

Chap. II.
Of the bounds
of the Counsell
of Guadalaiaara.

Guadalaiaara.

The Holy Ghost.
Santa Marie of
the Lakes.

The Chichime-
cas Sauages.

Xalisco.

The Zacatecas.

all the people of the Prouince went in Pilgrimage; it stands foure leagues to the Sea, at the be-
ginning of the Gulfe of *Honduras*, almost North and South with *Valladolid*, more inward to the
Gulfe, other three little Ilets with shelues, almost ouer against the Lake of *Bacalal*, which is with-
in the Land thirtie leagues from the Lake of *Chetemall*, in the Coast that goeth painted with I-
lands vnto *Salamanca*, which is the first *Pantoia*, neere one thelfe called * *Quitafuenno*, and another
Zaratan, and another *Lamanay*, and the last *Tllob*.

The Prouince of *Tabasco*, which goeth with the Gouernment of *Tucatan*, and falleth vpon the
Coast of the North Sea in the gulfe of new *Spaine*, hath in length East and West, about fortie
leagues, from the confines of *Tucatan*, vnto the confines of *Goazacoalco*, wherewith it ioyneth
on the East, and as much North and South from the North Sea, vnto the confines of *Chiapa*. It
is all plaine ground of Marshes, Lakes and Quagmires, and so they goe ouer it in Boates, and Ca-
noes; it is very moist, and hot, and therefore very plentiful of Pastures for Kine, and of Millet
and Cacao, which is the greatest stocke or substance of this Prouince, wherein is onely one Town,
which is *Tabasco*, and by another name, the Village of our *Lady of the Victorie*, so called for the
Victory that *Don Hernando Cortez* had there of the *Indians*, when hee went to new *Spaine*, the
yeare 1519. The tribute which the *Indians* doe pay in this Prouince, is two thousand Xi-
quipiles of *Cacao*, and euery Xiquipill are eight thousand Almonds, and one load maketh three
Xiquipiles or Terces. In the Coast of this Prouince besides other Riuers and Marishes, is found
the Lake of *Xicalango*, or *Port Royall*, great and capable, with two little Ilands at the mouth,
and it was the Captaine *Lewis Martin*, that by order of *Don Fernando Cortes*, made an end of pa-
cifying this Prouince.

The bounds of the Counsell of new *Gallicia* or of *Xalisco* (which *Nunno* of *Guzman* said hee
had discouered, and *Don Fernando Cortes*, that the Captaine *Goncalo* of *Sandouall*,
did it in his name, when hee sent him to pacifie the *Colimas*) it parteth bounds with
the Counsell of new *Spaine*, neere by the Port of the *Natiuitie*, and the Lake of *Chiapa-
la*, going toward the North-east, whereby (and by the North, and somewhat of the West,
for it is not all discouered) it hath the bounds open, for the rest to the West is all Sea:
that which is inhabited on the one side, and the other, may come to one hundred leagues,
wherein are comprehended the Prouinces of *Guadalaiaara*, *Xalisco*, the *Zacatecas*, *Chiametla*, *Culi-
acan*, the new *Bizkey*, and *Cinoloa*; and for Circuit the discouerie of the Prouinces of *Cibola*, and
of *Quibira*.

The temperature of the Prouince, and borders of *Guadalaiaara*, is good, and the Countrie plen-
tifull of Corne, and Millet, and other Seedes of *Spaine*, and many Vaines of Siluer: there are
in it *Spanish* Townes. *Nunno* of *Guzman* peopled the Citie of *Guadalaiaara*, the head of this
Kingdome, the yeare 1531. and gaue it the name of his Countrie: it stands in 106. degrees and a
halfe of longitude from the Meridian of *Toledo*, 1780. leagues by a direct Voyage, & in 20. degrees
one third part in height, eightie seuen leagues from *Mexico*, betweene the North and the West,
more toward the West: in it is resident the Counsell, the Officers of the reuenues, & Royall trea-
surie, and the Cathedrall suffragan to *Mexico*, since the yeare 1570. for before it was commanded
to be built in *Compostella*: it hath one Monasterie of *Franciscan*, another of *Austine* Friers. *Nunno*
of *Guzman* built also the Village of the *Holy Ghost* in *Tepique*: and the Village of *Santa Marie*
of the Lakes, stands thirtie leagues from *Guadalaiaara* to the South-east, with the chiefe Com-
missioner. It was built for to be sure of the *Chichimecan* *Indies*, that are in Countries between the
North and the East, a barbarous people, which liue scattered in the field, without any taste of hu-
manitie or policie, liuing in Canes, & in the Groues like sauage beasts; they liue vpon wilde chase
and fruits, they know no riches, nor pleasure; they goe naked, and some couered with Beasts skins:
their weapons are Bowes and Arrowes, they are well bodied, great eaters, they make wine of cer-
taine rootes wherewith they drinke themselves drunke.

In the Prouince of *Xalisco*, which is plentiful of Millet, more then of Sheepe, or Horses, there
is onely the Citie of *Compostella* neere the Sea, three and thirtie leagues from *Guadalaxara*, to
the West, where the Counsell was at the first, and commanded to build the Cathedrall, vntill
the yeare 1560. that they remoued to *Guadalaiaara* to be more in the borders: there is in it a Mo-
nasterie of *Franciscan* Friers; and it was also inhabited by *Nunno Guzman*, the yeare 1531.
which trauelled two yeares in these Countries, which they called the greater *Spaine*, in emu-
lation of *Don Fernando Cortes*, in all that time nothing being knowne of him in *Mexico*. The
Village of the *Purification*, to the South-west, from *Guadalaiaara*, and thirtie leagues from
it, neere the port of the *Natiuitie*, in the confines of the bounds of this Counsell, and of
that of *Mexico*, in a very hot and sickly Countrie: and vnto the end of the yeare 1531. *Nunno*
of *Guzman* discouered one hundred and fiftie leagues of Land by the Coast of *Xalisco*, which stand
in somewhat more then 22. degrees.

In the Prouince of the *Zacatecas*, are rich mines of Siluer, and want of Water, Corne and
Millet: there are three Townes of *Spaniards*, and foure Camps appointed of mines: those which
they call of the *Zacatecas* are the principall, fortie leagues from *Guadalaxara* to the North, and
eightie

eightie from *Mexico*, wherein are ordinarie more then five hundred *Spaniards*, five hundred *Slaties*, one thousand *Horses* and *Mules*, and one Monasterie of *Franciscane* Fryers; and there is resident alwayes one of the Officers Royall of *Guadalajara*. In this Prouince also are the Mines of *Auinyo*, in the confines of the *Zacatecas*, and those of *Saint Martin* seuen and twentie leagues from the *Zacatecas*, to the North-west, wherein are wont to be about foure hundred *Spaniards*, and *Xerez* of the Frontier, thirtie leagues from *Guadalajara*, to the North, and tenne from the mines of the *Zacatecas*, in the way to them. There are besides these other Reales or Campes, whereof no mention is made, because they are so famous. The Village of the *Erena*, & the Mines called of the little * *Hat*, are five and twenty leagues from *Zacatecas* to the North-west, neere to those of *Saint Martin*, and others that are in the limits. The Village of * *Nombre de Dios*, is sixtie
10 eight leagues from the Citie of *Guadalajara*, and tenne from the Mines of *Saint Martin* to the North, with a Monasterie of *Franciscan* Friers, abundant in Corne, and Millet, and good Mines in his Borders. The Village of *Durango*, in the Borders of the Mines of *Saint Martin*, and the Valley of *Saint Salvador*, eight leagues from *Nombre de Dios*, a wholesome Countrie, & many Riuers, with whose watering they gathered great store of Corne, and Millet, and of other Prouisions, and in the Borders are the Mines of *Saint Luke*, and a very good Salt-pit. And the *Indians* of this Kingdome in many places were in armes, and the *Chichimecas*, and *Guachachiles* did great hurt in the way of *Guadalajara* to the *Zacatecas*, and this warre was very cottly, and tedious, and was ended, the Marquesse of *Villamanrique* being Viceroy. The *Indians* are diuided in this precinct in one hundred and foure partitions or tribes.

The Erena.
*Or Sombriere
*The Name of
God.

20 The Prouince of new *Bizkie*, is North-westward from the *Zacatecas* fiftie leagues from them; a Countrie of Prouisions, and much Cattell, and of good Siluer Mines, the Mines of *Hindebe* are in it, of *Santa Barbola*, and of *Saint John*, and in it is the Prouince of *Topia*; and in this discovery, and inhabiting, *Franciscus Tharra* did many seruices. The Prouince of *Chiametla*, twenty leagues broad and long, in the Coast of the South Sea, about fortie leagues from *Xalisco*, hath Mines of Siluer, and in it stands *Saint Sebastian*, a Village of *Spaniards*, which was first of the Counsell of *Mexico*, and it stands in more then 22. degrees. *Culiacan* is a gouernment in the South Sea, more to the East, and West from *Chiametla*; it is a plentifull Countrie of Viſtuals, and shoues of Siluer Mines, whereof there is a Campe peopled, which they call of the *Virgins*. The Village of *Saint Michael*, eightie leagues from *Compostella*, and one hundred and three from *Guadalajara*, *Nunno* of
30 *Guzman* inhabited it the yeare 1531.

Nueva Vizcaya.

Chiametla.

S. Michael.

The Prouince of *Cinaloa*, the last, and most Septentrionall of the new Kingdome of *Galicia*, two and fortie leagues from *Culiacan*, one hundred and fiftie from *Guadalajara*, to the North, was a Towne built in it that was called *Saint John* of *Cinaloa*; of *Spaniards*, and could not be kept. This Prouince was discovered, *Don Antonie* of *Mendoza* being Viceroy in new *Spaine*, and they said there was a Citie scene wrought with stone, which they called *Granada*, and that those *Indians* were warriors, and that in the Countrie was great store of Viſtuals. *Quibira*, stands in fortie degrees, of a temperate and fruitfull soyle. *Cibola*, stands thirtie leagues from *Culiacan*, toward the North, and *Quibira* two hundred from *Cibola* to the East; it is all of poore people; for that they haue no Cotten, they weare Deere skinnies, and of the Countrie Kine, which haue a lumpe on the ridge of the backe, and long haire in the fore parts, the hornes
40 lesser then ours; and in them consisteth the greatest part of the sustenance of the people, for of the skinnie they cloathe, and make Shooes, and Cords; they eat the flesh, and make tooles of the bones: they haue sundry languages in this Prouince, because they communicate little the one with the other.

Cinaloa.

Quibira.
Cibola.

California is a great point of the Land that putteth out to the Sea in the vttermost West of new *Spaine* in two and twentie degrees height, from whence it extendeth to the North-west, neere about two hundred leagues, although of it there is no certaine notice, nor of the Ports, and Ilands of the Gulfe *California*, which is made betweene the said point, and Gulfe of new
50 *Spaine*, which goeth along that way, as to the North-west; in the which although there be many Riuers, Capes, and Points, and landing-places, there is no particular notice had of them, because they are not much frequented. At the beginning, and entrance of this Gulfe are very long and narrow Ilands along the Coast, and very close with it, which is called the *Guaymall*, that reacheth from the Riuer of our *Ladie*, or of *Sebastian* of *Bora*, vnto the Riuer of *Christmas* in *Culiacan*. The Riuer of the Village of *Saint Michael* is called *Ciguatlan*; and neerer to new *Spaine* is the Riuer of *Pasita*, and against it the *Desart* Iland, and after ward the Riuer of the *Holy Ghost*, and the port of *Xalisco*, and to the South of the point of *California*, is *Annublada* or the *Cloudie* Iland, and the Iland of *Saint Thomas*, and the Iland of *Flores*, and another which is called *Las Monias*.

California.

60 It was first called the Counsell of *Guatemala* of the confines, because it was commanded first to be built in the confines of the Prouinces of *Nicaragua*, and *Guatemala*, without assigning any certaine Towne. It hath in length East and West two hundred and fortie leagues, and from the Meridian from 84. to 98. of longitude, and North and South, in breadth one hundred and eightie,

Chap. 12.
Of the Bounds
of the Counsell
of S. James of
Guatemala.

a Or true
Peace.
b Or Rich
coast.

Guatemala.

Saint James.

Saint Salvador.

The Trinitie.

Saint Michael.

Xerez.

* Or fierie
mouthes like
Aina.

Cacao descri-
bed.

Ports of this
Gouernment.

Bottomlesse
Lake.

Soconusco.

tie, from 9. to 10. degrees of height, vnto eigheteene or nineteene, in the which are comprehended the Prouinces of *Guatemala*, *Soconusco*, *Chiapa*, *Suchitepeque*, the *Verapaz*, *Honduras* and *Cacos*, *Saint Sauour*, and *Saint Michael*, *Nicaragua*, *Choluteca*, *Taguzgalpa*, and *Costarica*, and in euery one of these Prouinces they alter in speech: and according to the opinion of Religious men, it was the worke of the Diuell, for to plant dissentions and discord betweene these Nations which were bloody and reuengefull. The Gouernment and Prouince of *Guatemala* on the South Sea coast, in length of it may be about seuentie leagues, and in breadth North and South thirtie: it is a Countrie of a good temperature, plentifull of Millet, Cotten wooll, Corne and other fruits, though they preferue not the Seede of one yeare for the other: the waters are few, 10 but when it raineth they are very violent from Aprill to October, the windes are North and South, and the North lasteth but fifteene or twentie dayes, and it is very cold, and furious. There are in it five Spanish Townes, buildings of the President *Don Pedro* of *Aluvarado*, in the yeare 1524. and 25. The Citie of *Saint James* of *Guatemala*, whose situation was called *Cachequill*, which signifieth an *Eagle*, because the Generall of this Nation, when hee went to warre, did beare an Eagle for his Plume: it is the head of the Gouernment, where the Counsell is resident, in 24. degrees and a halfe of height, and 93. degr. from the Meridian of *Toledo*, from whence it may bee distant by a greater circle of one thousand sixe hundred and sixtie leagues, and it is twelue from the Sea, and a towne of sixe hundred Spanish households: the Officers of the goods and Royall Treasure, are resident there, the melting house, and the Cathedrall Suffragane to *Mexico*, with one Monasterie of *Dominicans*, and another of *Mercenarie* Friars, and one Hospitall, and 20 in the bounds five and twentie thousand tributarie *Indians*. This Citie is seated in a very pleasant Valley, with fruits of diuers sorts, and all kinde of prouision and dainties.

The Citie of *Saint Sauour*, which in the *Indian* language is called *Cuzcatlan*, is fortie leagues from *Saint James* to the South-east, with one Monasterie of *Dominicans*. The Village of the *Trinitie*, which in the *Indian* tongue was called *Conzonate*, sixe and twentie leagues from *Saint James* to the South-west, foure leagues from the Port of *Axacutla*. It is a chiefe Commissionership with title of his Maiestie, with one Monasterie of *Dominicans*, in a plentifull soile of Cacao, and the *Indians* of it are of the iurisdiction of *Saint James*, it is a place of great trafficke, and the Port a touch for the ships of *Pern*, and of *New Spaine*. The Village of *Saint Michael* sixtie two leagues from *Saint James*, and two and twentie from *Saint Sauour* to the South-west, two leagues from 30 the Sea and Bay of *Fonseca*, which serueth it for Hauen, and in the bounds are eightie Townes of *Indians*. The Village of *Xerez* of the frontier, in the *Indian* speech called *Choluteca*, in the confines of *Guatemala* and *Nicaragua*, eightie leagues from *Saint James*, and twentie from *Saint Michael* to the South-east, both plentifull of Cotton wooll and Millet. Neere the Citie of *Saint James* is that * *Volcan* so famous of *Guatemala*, and in all the *Indies* are many of these *Vulcanes* (but the most famous are those of *Guatemala*, which hath burst out diuers times, casting fire, stones, and ashes, with great hurt of the Countrie.) That of *Arequipa*, of *Blascula*, *Quito*, and others. In this Countrie are many springs of water, hot, and of sundrie properties and colours: there is much and good Balme, which the *Spaniards* knew without learning it of the *Indians*, against the which some Author speaketh, and also liquid Amber, Gumme-anime, Copall, and Suchicopall, 40 and other Gummes, and Liquoris most perfect, and beasts that breed the Bezar stone, they gather great store of Cacao, which is great riches: it is a meane Tree, the leaues like a Chesnut though bigger, it giueth flower and fruit euery Moone, and the same doe in that Countrie the Orange trees. The Cacao is a tree that loueth moisture better then the Sunne, and therefore they plant neere him another tree to shadow him.

The Ports of this Gouernment in the South Sea, beside the rehearsed, are the Bay of *Fonseca* neere to *Saint Michael*, in twelue degrees and a halfe of height, *Gil Gonzales* of *Ayula* gaue it the name in the yeere 1522. for the Bishop *Iohn Rodrigues* of *Fonseca*, President of the Councell of the *Indies*. And within the Bay is an Iland which he named *Petronilla*, by a Neece of the Bishop. The Port of *Axacutla*, neere to the *Trinitie*, in twelue degrees height, is the best of this Gouernment for *New Spaine* and *Pern*, and the Bay of *Guatemala* twelue leagues from it, and the Riuer 50 of *Xicalapa* seuen leagues from the Bay to the West. On the North side this Prouince hath no coast, for it commeth not to the Sea by fortie leagues, vnto a landing place which they call the Port of the fresh Gulfe, from whence the merchandize that goe from *Spaine*, are conueighed by the Gulfe of *Honduras*, into the Land with carriages vnto *Guatemala*, *Saint Sauour*, and the *Trinitie*, and twelue leagues before *Guatemala*, in the high way of *Mexico*, is the great Lake of *Atitlan*, of ten leagues in compasse, and foure in breadth, without bottom.

The Prouince and Gouernment of *Soconusco* is the furthest West from *Guatemala* vpon the coast of the South Sea, of length and breadth about foure and thirtie leagues, plentifull of Cacao (the greatest trafficke of it, and of all that in it is sowne except Wheat) there is no more then one Spanish towne, which is called *Guenetlan*, founded by *Don Pedro* de *Aluvarado*, where the Gouernour is resident; her coast which is in the South Sea, beginneth seuen leagues from the Riuer of *Ayula* to the West, and presently the Riuer *Coatlan*, *Capanercalte*, *Colatl*, *Haxatlan*, *Amituc*, and *Quizatlan*. 60

The

The Prouince and Bishopruck of *Chiapa* is Mediterranean, betweene *Soconusco* by the South, *Chiapa*, and the vttermost of *New Spaine* by the West, and by the North and the East, betweene *Tabasco* and * *Verapaz*, in length East and West about fortie leagues, and some lesse in breadth, some * Or true lesse fertile of Wheat and Miller, and other Seedes, and of Cattell, except Sheepe that are not peace. many. It hath one Towne of *Castilians*, which is called *Citie Royall*, seuentie leagues from Saint *James* of *Guatemala* toward the North-east, which by a particular priuiledge is gouerned by ordinarie Iustices. The Cathedrall is resident here with one Monasterie of *Dominicke* Friars, and many *Indian* Townes in her limits: *Chiapa* is the principallest Towne of them, from whence the Prouince tooke the name. The Countre-men haue skill in breeding of Horses, that those of this
10 Countre become the best that are in *New Spaine*: they are Musicians and Painters, and learne any Trade that doth consist in arte: they were in old time of *Nicaragua*, and the Captaine *James* of *Mazariegos*, the yeere 1531. built this Citie in a Valley where now it stands, round, of a maruellous situation in 18. degrees and a halfe, sixtie leagues from the North Sea, and as many from the South.

The Prouince of *Verapaz* (a name which the *Dominicke* Friars gaue it, because they pacified *Verapaz*. it with preaching) is also Mediterranean betweene the bounds of *Soconusco*, *Chiapa*, *Yucatan*, *Honduras*, and *Guatemala*, of thirtie leagues ouer, and as many from Saint *James* of *Guatemala*; a moist Countre, and therefore the better for the Millet that in it is gathered twice a yeere, and for Wheat. There is Cotton wooll, and some Cacao, and much Fowle of those that giue the co-
20 loured feathers for the pictures which the *Indians* doe make, which is a merchandize of this Prouince, and the Kings of *Mexico* carried them from this Prouince, which was the most esteemed thing they had, and it was iudged for a great sinne to kill these Fowles, but to plucke them and to let them flie. There is in this Countre but one Monasterie of *Dominicke* Friars, with one *Indian* Towne of seuentene *Indian* children that are there, by order of the religious men for to instruct them the better; for before they liued scattered and like sauages, and now they liue like Christians, and in temporall things politickly.

In this Prouince there is no Gouvernour, but a chiefe Iustice, prouided by the Councell. The Riuer of *Zacatula* diuideth this Prouince from the Prouince of *Guatemala*, from the which it extendeth vnto the fresh Gulfe, whither all the Riuers of it doe runne, whereby and by the many
30 falls of waters that descend from most high Hills, the Countre was so moist, that the Millet rotted; but it is bettered in the temperature, since the cutting downe of the Woods: it hath many Lions, Tigres, and Buffes, whose flesh the *Indians* doe eat although it be luscious and soft; it is called the *Fresh Gulfe*, for the multitude of the Riuers which on that side doe enter into the Sea. *Golfo dulce*. The water is fresh, and there are exceeding great Fishes, and specially the *Manati*, which is the *Manati a fish* Sea calfe, which swimmeth so delicately, that being very great he maketh no noyse; when hee fleeth he goeth to the Deepe, and waxeth angrie and fierce against them that seeke him, and giueth great strokes; his flesh is very fat like vnto fat beefe. described.

THE Prouince and Gouvernement of *Honduras* hath in length East and West, by the coast of the
40 North Sea, more then one hundred and fittie leagues, and in bredth from the Sea vnto the bounds of *Costa Rica* and *Guatemala*, in parts eightie: it hath many Hills, and is plentifull of Millet, Wheat, and all sorts of Cattell, and some Mynes of gold and silver: there is in it fixe *Spanish* Townes in one Bishoprucke, and the first Bishop was Friar *John* of *Talauera*, Prior of *Prado*, of the Order of Saint *Ierome* of *Spaine*.

The Citie of *Valladolid*, in the *Indian* language, is called *Comayagua*, in more then sixteene degrees, stands sixtie leagues from Saint *James* of *Guatemala* to the East, and about fortie from the North Sea: in it is the Gouvernour resident, and the Cathedrall, since the yeere 1558. when it went from *Truxillo*, whereat first it was; and one Monasterie of *la Merced*. The Captaine *Alonso* of *Caceres* pacified this Countre, by order of *Don Peter* of *Aluaro*: it stands in the mid-
50 dest of the two Seas, and from the one to the other are three and fittie leagues, from the Port of *Cauillos* or of *Horses* in the North Sea, vnto the Bay of *Fonseca* in the South Sea, and the Inginer *Baptista Antoneli* visited this way, by order from the King; because many thought that by it the trafficke of the North Sea was more easie to the South Sea, and hee found that it had many inconueniences.

The Citie of * *Gracias a Dios*, is thirtie leagues from *Valladolid* almost to the West; the Captaine *Gabriel* of *Rojas* peopled it 1530. for the benefit of the Mynes of gold that were thereabouts, and had great encounters with the *Indians*, which assaulted him many times in a Fort that he had. But the Gouvernours of *Honduras* and *Nicaragua*, not succouring him by reason of grudges betweene them, hee was forced to forsake it. And in the yeere 1536. Captaine *Gonzalo* of
60 *Aluaro*, inhabited this Citie againe. The Village of Saint *Petro* is thirtie leagues from *Comayagua* to the North, somewhat aside to the West, and eleuen from the Port of *Cauillos*, where the Officers Royall are resident, because the Port of *Cauillos* is sickly, whither the dispatches of the ships doe come. The President *Don Peter Aluaro* built it 1536.

The Village of Saint *John* of the Port of *Cauillos* is in 15. degrees of altitude, eleuen leagues
from Saint *John*.

- from Saint Peter, foure from *Comayagua*, it is inhabited with Factors of the Merchants, and with Black-moores, because it is an vnwhollsome Port; for although it be a Bay, it is a good one, it was called the Port of *The Horses*, because some were cast in the Sea by a storme. The Citie of *Truxillo* is sixtie leagues from *Comayagua* to the North-east, and fortie from the Port of *Horses* to the East, and one from the North Sea: the Cathedrall was here, the Hauen is called *Saint Gil*, it is good, though it be a Bay dead and sheltered, where the ships that goe for *Guatemala* doe touch first. *Francisco de las Casas*, began to inhabit this Citie 1524. and because they were all people of *Estremadura*, he called it *Truxillo*, and *Don Hernando Cortes* ended the inhabiting of it when he went to the *Ybueras*. The Village of *Saint George of Olancho*, is fortie leagues from *Comayagua* to the East, of fortie households, and in her borders sixteene thousand tributarie Indians, and much gold, chiefly in the Riuer of *Guayape*, ten leagues from this Towne. This Valley of *Olancho* is very pleasant and profitable, and in it was much gold gotten, and the Governours of *Honduras* and *Nicaragua*, had in other times great differences: for euery one would haue it in his iurisdiction, and therefore here it was where *Gil Gonçales Dauila* tooke one hundred and twentie thousand *Pesos* of gold of *Hernando of Soto*, and dismissed the people which *Pedrarías Dauila* had for his defence; and here *Gabriel of Rojas*, defended the entrance of *Gonçalo of Sandomal*, for *Don Hernando Cortes* did send him from *Truxillo*, and here the Indians killed *John Grijalua*, a very famous Captaine, and others.
- The coast of this Prouince is all in the North Sea, in the Gulfe which they call *de Honduras*, which is all the Sea coast betweene this Prouince and *Yucatan*, to the place where it ioyneth with it by *Verapaz*, where it was called the Gulfe of *Guanajos*, the first Point is of the *Ybueras*, so called, because they first found many pompions on the Sea, which they call *Ybueras* in the language of *Hispaniola*; it stands in sixteene degrees of height. Neere to the *Fresh Gulfe* a Port for *Guatemala*, where *Saint Gil* of *Bonauista* was built, neere to the Cape of *Three Points* to the East from the *Fresh Gulfe*, and *Gil Gonçales Dauila* peopled it 1524. And more to the East is the Riuer *Piche*, and *Rio Baxo*, and the Riuer of *Ulua*, by another name *Balabama* before the Port of *Horses*, which stands in fiftene degrees. And afterward the Riuer and Point *de la Sal*, and *Triumpho de la Cruz*, a Cape of three points, where the yeere 1524. the Master of the field *Christopher of Olid* planted; and the Riuer *Hulma* or of *Xagua*, and to the North of his mouth the Island of *Vila*; and to the North-east, *Guayana*, *Helen*, and *Guanaja*, and *Saint Francis* North and South with the Point of *Truxillo*, which are the Islands of the *Guanajos*. The said Point is called by another name, *Cabo Delgado*, the *Small Cape*, or of *Honduras*, from whence to the Cape of ** Camaron*, in search whereof they goe from *Jamayca*, are thirteene Riuers, and at the Point of the Cape a plazell or great shelve of more then twentie leagues into the Sea, and in the midst of it neere to the Coast a great Iland, which is called the Iland *de los Baxos* (of the shelues) and another to the North, neere the shelve called *Saint Millan*, and hauing passed the shelve, the Bay of *Cartago*, and the *Deepe Bay*, before the Cape of *thanks be to God*, which stands in fourteen degrees one third part, and to the North of it three Islands, which they call the *Viciosas*, and *Quita sueno* or *Take away sleepe*, and *Roncador*, the *Suorter*, two dangerous shelues, and hauing passed the Cape, the Gulfe of *Nicuesa*, where hee was lost in the yeere 1510. and the Riuer of *Tare* in thirteene degrees, where the Governments of *Honduras* and *Nicaragua* are ioyned.
- The Islands of the *Guanajos*, which are the rehearsed, the first Admirall *Don Christopher Colon* discovered 1502. in the last voyage he made to the Indies, when he discovered *Terra firme* in the coast of *Veragua*, where his ill lucke appeared; for if as he went to *Veragua*, hee had gone to the other side, he had discovered *New Spaine*.
- The Prouince and Government of *Nicaragua*, which the Governour *James Lopez* of *Salzedo*, called the *New Kingdome of Lion*, on the West ioyneth with *Guatemala*, and on the North with *Honduras*, and on the South with ** Costa Rica*. It is of one hundred and fiftie leagues East and West, and eightie North and South, a plentifull Countrie of Miller, Cacao, Corton wooll, store of Cattell, without Corne or Sheepe, it hath five *Spanish Townes*, *Lion* of *Nicaragua* is one hundred and foure leagues from *Saint James* of *Guatemala* about the South-east, and twelue from the South Sea, neere to the great Lake of *Nicaragua*, where the Governour is resident, the Royall Officers, and the Cathedrall, and *James Alvarez Ossorio* was the first Bishop. It hath five Monasteries of Mercenaries, and in her bounds one hundred and twentie thousand tributarie Indians. The Citie of *Granada* is sixteene leagues from *Lion*, which and *Lion* were built by the Captaine *Franciscus Hernandez* 1523. and *Granada* stands by the border of the great Lake, and foure and twentie leagues from the Port of *Realcio*, besides the great Lake, stands the Lake of *Lindiri*, and the famous *Vulcan* or *Fierie mouth* of *Massayatan*. The great Lake ebbeth and floweth, it hath many Islands, it runneth into the North Sea, by the Riuer which is called *El Desaguadero*, or *The Voyding*, it hath great store of Fish and many Lizards. At two leagues from it, and seuen from *Granada* is the great fierie mouth of *Mombacho*, very high with many Groues of diuers fruits, of which much refresh the Countrie. A Friar perswading himselfe that that masse of fire that in so many yeeres burned without consuming within the mouth of *Massaya* was gold, hauing made by a certaine arte certaine Cauldrons with their chaines to draw it, they scarcely came at the fire, when the Cauldron and the Chaines were melted like Lead.

Truxillo.

Saint George.

Valley of Olancho.

Points and Ports of this Gouvernement.

* Or Shrimpe.

Babia honda. Cabo de Gracias a Dios.

Nicaragua.

* Or rich Coast.

Granada.

Lake of Nicaragua. Vulcan of Massayatan and Mombacho.

The new *Segovia* which was the beginning of *Peter Arias* his plantation, is thirtie leagues *Segovia*. from *Lion* to the North, and as many from *Granada*, somewhat Northward also, in which limits much gold is gotten. And *Iaen* a Citie is thirtie leagues from the North Sea, in the end of the *Iaen*. great Lake, whereby the River which they call the *Voyding*, and the merchandize which are carried from *Nombre de Dios*, and now from *Porte bello*, are conuayed in it. The Village of *Realejo* one league from the Port of the *Possession*, which commonly is called of the *Realejo*, stands in e- *Realejo*. leuen degrees and a halfe, and is one of the best Ports and surest in all that Coast, wherein are made good ships by reason of the good prouision of Timber there.

There are in this Gouvernment many Townes of *Indians*, and in them store of tributaries, and 10 in the Confines of this Gouvernment, and of *Costa Rica*, and of *Nicoya* eight and fortie leagues from *Granada*, in the South coast, is a Corregidorship; in which, and in the Iland of *Chyra*, which is of the iurisdiction thereof eight leagues to the Sea, are many tributarie *Indians* of the Crowne Royall, subiect in other times to the Councell of *Panama*, vnto the yeere 1573. at which time it was incorporated in *Costa Rica*; whose Gouvernour placeth a Deputie, and the Bishop of *Nicaragua* a Vicar. There is in it a reasonable Port, in the coast of this Prouince on the North Sea. After this is the River *Tare* that diuideth it from that of *Honduras*, the River of *Tairepa*, before Ports and Ri- uers of this coast. the River and Port of Saint *Iohn*, which is called the *Voyding* or *Desaguadero*, with a great Iland at the mouth, and after, some other Rivers common to *Costa Rica*. In the South Sea, it hath be- sides the *Realejo*, the Port of Saint *Iames*, before the *Chira*, and the Port of *Paro* right against 20 *Nicoya*, in the Gulfe called of the *Salt-pits*, before the Point of Saint *Lazarus*, and the Cape of *De Salinas*. *Borrica*, at the East side whereof are the Ilands of Saint *Marie*, Saint *Martha*, *Cobaya*, and *Se- baco*, neere to the bounds of *Veragua*, common to *Costa Rica*.

In the Coast of *Nicaragua*, on the South side, the Village of *Bruxelles* was peopled 1529. and *Bruxelles*. *Iames Lopes* of *Salcedo* disinhabited it, because they had receiued in it *Pedro de los Rios*, Gouver- nour of *Castilla del Oro*, which went to take the Gouvernment of *Nicaragua*, where *Salcedo* had thrust himselfe, and had gone from *Honduras* his owne Gouvernment vnto it. Captaine *Francis- cus Hernandez* planted it 1524. in the doubtfull Streight, in the seate of *Vritina*, and on the one side it had the Sea, on the other the Playnes, and on the third side the Mountaine of the Mynes, and in all this Orbe there are no *Indians* more expert in the *Castillan* tongue then those of *Ni-*

30 *caragua*. The Prouince and Gouvernment of *Costa Rica*, the furthest East of the Northerne *Indies*, and *Costa Rica*. Councell of *Guatemala*, hath in length East and West ninetie leagues from the Confines of *Ve- ragua* vnto those of *Nicaragua*, with which it ioyneth by the North, and by the West. In it are two Townes, it is a good Countrey, with many shoues of Gold, and some of Siluer. The one Towne is the Village of *Aranjuez* five leagues from *Chomes Indiantes*, a Towne of the iur- *Aranjuez*. *Cartago*. risdiction of *Nicoya*. The Citie of *Cartago*, fortie leagues from *Nicoya*, and twentie from the Sea almost in the middest of the Prouince, hath a Port and landing place in the Coast of the South Sea, and the North Sea, wherein there is some Rivers betweene *Nicaragua* and *Veragua*, common to this Gouvernment, and the Bayes of Saint *Ierome* and of *Caribaco*, neere the limits 40 of *Veragua*.

THE part of the *Indies* of the South is vniustly called *America*, it is all that is discovered *Chap. 14.* from *Nombre de Dios* and *Panama* to the South, wherein is included *Terra firme*, the *Of the Indies* *of the South*. Kingdomes of *Piru*, the *Piru Chile*, which the *Indians* call *Chille*; The Prouinces of the Streight, the River of *Plate* and *Brasile*, where are five Councels of *Panama*, new Kingdome of *Granada*, Saint *Francise* of *Quito*, *Lima*, the *Charcas*, and the eleuen Gouvernments: part of their Coast toucheth in the North Sea, and part in the South: in the which for the most part reigneth the South and the South-west, which contrarie to his nature is there pleasant; and doth mitigate the great heate, whereby that Countrey may bee inhabited, although it ne- 50 uer rayneth nor hayleth in it, but in a very little distance. And the two rowes of Mountaines that runne equally through all these *Indies*, haue a great difference, though they are in one al- titude of the Pole: for the one is well replenished with Trees and it alwayes rayneth in it, and it is hot: the other is all bare, and cold in Summer and Winter. These rowes are called *Andes*, and *Sierra* or the *Mountayne*; they haue most high Hills, and goe in sight the one of the other one thousand leagues, almost equally. In the Hill are bred sundrie beasts, and in the parts where they open they make Valleys, which is excellent dwelling, as that of *Xanxa*, and *Guaylas*, and *Yucay*. In the *Andes* also are bred sundrie beasts, and past the Citie of *Cuzco*, these rowes doe diuide themfelues, leauing in the middest a great champaine Countrey, which is the Prouince of *Collao*, where are infinite Rivers, Lakes, and Pastures, without Trees or Wood, for the distemperature of the Countrey, though wholesome and much inhabited. There follow- 60 eth after it the Prouince of the *Charcas*, hot and of great plentie, with very rough Hills of great riches of Mynes: and the figure of these *Indies* is seene in the Table before going.

A great diffe-
rence oft m-
perature in the
two rowes of
Piru.

The two rowes
doe runne al-
most 1000.
leagues equall.

Qualities of
the Prouince
of *Collao*.

HON.

HONDIUS his Map of America Meridionalis.



Quantities of
the Countie
of Panama, and
her bounds,

Panama.

THE limits of the Counsell of Panama, which was first called *Castilla del Oro*, and afterwards *Terra Firme*, are very small, for the Counsell is principally resident there, for the dispatch of the Fleetes, and Merchants, which goe and come to *Pirú*: it hath in length East and West, about nintie leagues, from the confines of the gouernment of *Cartagena*, and *Popayan*, vnto the Castle of *Veragua*, and in breadth from the South Sea to the North sixtie leagues, and thence downward vnto eightene by *Nombre de Dios*, or *Porto bello* to *Panama*: it is a ground generally very rough with Mountaines, full of quagmires, the ayre close with vapours, moist, hot, and for this cause very sickly from May vnto Nouember, a barren soyle, and destitute of many things: for there groweth nothing but Millet, and very little, though there be good Pastures for Kine, and breeding of Cattle. The gouernment of *Veragua* stands in the bounds of this Counsell, and in it, and in that of *Panama* these Townes following.

The Citie of *Panama* is in the coast of the South Sea, neere vnto it, in 9. degrees of latitude, and 82. of longitude from the Meridian of *Toledo*, from whence it is distant by direct way one thousand five hundred and fixtie leagues. It is a Towne of six hundred households, the most are Merchants and dealers. And with the Counsell are resident the Kings Officers, and Royall treasure, which doe goe already to *Portobello*, when there is any Fleete to the dispatching of it, and likewise the Cathedrall suffragan to the Archbishopricke of the Kings (*delos res*) is here resident with three Monasteries, of *Dominicke*, *Franciscane* and *Merced* Eriers. The Port of this Citie is reasonable, although at low water the Ships remaine dry, and therefore in Summer they ride in the strand, and in winter in the haven of *Perico*, two leagues from the citie. *Pedrarías* *Daniela* peopled it, being Gouernour of *Castillo del Oro*, or of the Gold, against the will of the dwellers of *Santa Marie*, the auncient of *Darien*, the year 1519. and a little after the Cathedrall Church was removed thither; and it might haue had a better seate, and more wholesome, and to the purpose

purpose for the trafficke of the South Sea, not going very farre from whence the Citie now stands.

The Citie of *Nombre de Dios*, was by *James of Nicuesa* first planted 1510. and afterward by *James of Albitz*, by order of *Pedrarias*, and he was the first Admirall that discovered her port. It is removed to *Portobelo*, for the first Admirall discovered it, and gaue the name, because it was more wholesomer, and fitter for the loading and vnloading of the Fleetes, and for their securitie, and of the new Citie of *Saint Phillip*, which is built there: the Inginer *Baptista Antonelli*, hath made a Castle, and appointed another on the other side the hauen, for to keepe the entrie. The Merchandize are carried from *Portobelo* to *Panama* by two wayes, one by Land with carriage, which is eightene leagues of lesse difficultie then by the way of *Nombre de Dios*: the other by Sea, and the Riuer of *Chagre*, whose mouth is eightene leagues from *Portobelo*, to the West, whereby the Merchandize goe vp when the water reacheth to the vent of the Croffes, and from thence they go in carriages fise leagues to *Panama*.

The Village of *Nata* stands thircie leagues from *Panama* to the West, in the Coast of the South Sea, Captaine *Franciscus* Companion peopled it, by order of *Peter Arias*, for the warre with the *Casique Urraca*. The inhabiting of *Acla*, and Captaine *Gabriel* of *Rois* finished by commandement of *Peter Arias* in the Coast of the North Sea, and entrance of the Gulfe of *Vraba*, right against the Island of *Pinos*, whereof at this present there is no more memory then that there was the death of that famous Captaine, whose memory will last eternally, the President *Basco Nunez* of *Balboa*, and of his company. In the breach of *Almagro*, and in the head of the Riuer *Chiepo*, there is Gold, and in times past was much gotten. In all these Riuers are many Lizards or Crockadiles, and very great, which put the first discoverers and pacifiers to great trouble, and did deuoure some men. It happened that a man being in a Boate neere to the Kings House in *Panama*, a Lizard came and snatched him from the Stearne of the Boate, and carried him away to eate him on certaine Rockes, and hauing begunne to teare him in pieces, they shot at him with a Caliuier and killed the Lizard, so that he before his death receiued the Sacraments of the Church.

The Prouince of *Veragua*, which stands in somewhat more then tenne degrees, doth confine with *Costarica*, on the West side: it hath in length East and West fiftie leagues, and in breadth fise and twentie: a Mountainous Countrey, full of bushes, without Pastures or Cattle, Wheate, Barley, little Millet, or little Pulse; but full of Gold with many vaines of it, and rich Mines in the Riuers, and breaches, and those Indians that are, are in warre: it hath the Citie of the *Conception* fortie leagues from *Nombre de Dios*, to the West, where the Gouvernour and the Officers (which they of *Panama* at this present doe prouide) are resident. The Village of *Trinitie* stands six leagues to the East of the *Conception* by Sea (for yee cannot goe by Land) neere to the Riuer of *Bethlesem*, at three leagues from the Sea. The Citie of *Santa Fe* stands twelue leagues from the *Conception* to the South, with melting houses, and Deputie Officers. The Citie of *Charles*, in the coast of the South Sea, neere to the Sea, fiftie leagues from the Citie of *Santa Fe*, to the East: all the Indians of this gouernment are in warre.

There is no Port of name in the two Coasts South, and North, of this gouernment, and in all the bounds of the Counsell, are the Riuers, Ports, and points following. The Bay of *Carabaco*, or of *Saint Hierome*, in the coast of the North Sea, and the confines of *Veragua*, and to the East of it, and of the Riuer of the *Trinitie*, of the *Conception*, and of *Bethlesem* (where was the first inhabiting that the first Admirall made in *Terra firme*, of all that Orbe, in the yeare 1503. which continued not: and right against the *Shield*, an Island, and the Riuer of *Chagre*, and more to the East a league the *Portete*, to the place where the Admirall came discovering the same yeere, and the Ports of *Langostas* twelue leagues from *Nombre de Dios*, to the West, and the Port of *Gallinas* or of *Hennes* nine degrees, and the Port of *Bonaenture* six, *Portobelo* fise, and right against it the Islands of the *Lookings*, and those of the *Prouisions* or *Bastimentos*: and hauing *Nombre de Dios* two leagues, the Riuer of *Sardinilla*, and the Island of *Sardina*, fouré; and the Riuer of *Millet* or *Mayz*, and the Riuer of *Snakes*, or *Culebras*, eight; and at the entry of the Gulfe of *Vraba*, where in the yeare 1509. the Bachiller *Enciso* built the Citie of *Santa Marie* of *Darien*. This Bachiller *Enciso* was he that published that in the Prouince which was called *Castilla del Oro*, there were places where the gold was fished with nets, which encouraged many people to goe to the Indies, which passed in the yeare 1514. with *Peter Arias Danila*: and the President *Basco Nunez* of *Balboa*, went 1513. from the *Darien* in demand of the South Sea, and discovered it. The Point of the Island of *Captina*, stands right against the Mountaines of *Saint Blas*, and the Island of *Comagre*, and the Island of *Pinos*, more within the Gulfe of *Vraba*, and in the inward Port of it, the Port of *Nilcos*, neere to the mouth of the Riuer of *Darien*, which diuideth the bounds of this Counsell, and those of the Gouvernement of *Cartagena*, and there is *Culata de Vraba*, where in the yeare 1510. *Alonso* of *Oieda* inhabited *Saint Sebastian* of *Vraba*. This Gulfe stands in 8. degrees, it hath foureteene leagues of longitude into the Lands, and in the entrie it hath six in breadth, and a little forward fiftie,

D d d

Portobello.

Saint James of Nata.

Acla.

A strange case of a Lizard.

Veragua.

The Conception. The Trinitie.

* Holy Faith. Charles.

The Ports.

El Escudo.

a Or Locusts.

b Las Miras.

c Or Little Pilcherd.

d Or Pilchard.

Alonso Oieda

Cartagena

San Sebastian

and

and at the end foure, and five leagues within was the Citie of *Sancta Marie*, the auncient of *Darien*.

In the South Sea stands the Cape of *Sancta Marie*, and point (*de Guerra*) of Warre, and toward *Panama*, the Gulfe of *Parita*, or *Paris* where stands *Nata*, the point of *Chiame*, the Countrie of that *Cazique Chiapes*, the friend of *Basco Nunnez* of *Balboa*, which holpe him in his discouery: and passed the Port of *Panama*, the Riuer of *Chepo*, and the *Balsa*, or of *Congos* in the inner part of the Gulfe of Saint *Michael*, North and South from the Iland of *Pearles*, and the Point or Port of *Pinyas*, at the entrie of the Gulfe on the South side, which is fiftie leagues from *Panama*, and twentie ouerthwart to the Gulfe of *Vraba*, and *Puerto Quemado*, or *Burnt Hauens*, neere to the Cape of *Corrientes*, in 5. degrees of altitude *Septentrionall*.

Chap. 16.
The limits of
the Countsell
of *Sancta Fe* of
Bogota: which
is the new
Kingdome of
Granada.

* Holy Faith.

Lake of *Guatania*.

Saint *Michael*.

Tocayma.

The *Trinitie*.
* Or *Flies*.

The *Palma*.

Tunia.

Pamplona.

* Or *Crying*.

Merida.

The bounds of the Countsell of the *New Kingdome* hath in length East and West, three hundred leagues, and as many North and South, wherein are comprehended the Prouinces of the *New Kingdome*, the governments of *Sancta Martha*, and *Cartagena*, and part of that of *Popayan*; & for borders the Prouinces of the *Dorado*, or new *Stremadura*: the Prouince of *New Kingdome*, which is that which the Countsell gouerneth: it hath in length from East to West foureteen leagues, and eightie in breadth North and South of plaine ground, for the most part with Valleys and hills, and good Pastures for all sort of Cattle, which are in abundance, and in many places, Wheate, Miller, and the fruits of *Castile*, and generally much Gold and very fine, and Mines of Copper & Steele: and the Countrie men for the most part are able men, great traffickers, and doe weare Cotten cloath. And the Townes that be in the Kingdome of *Spaniards*, are the Citie of **Sancta Fe* of *Bogota*, which was built at the foote of *Bogota*, so called by the *Cazique* which was called *Bogota*, which the President *Gonzalo Ximenez* of *Quesada* built, and gaue the name to the Citie and to the Kingdome, because he was of *Granada*, though in the discouery the President *Belalcazar*, and *Nicholas Federman* had part: it stands 72. degrees and a halfe of longitude from the Meridian of *Toledo*, which by a greater circle may be one thousand foure hundred and fortie leagues, and 4. degrees on this side of the Equinoctial, it hath more then six hundred households, in it is resident the Countsell, the Kings Officers and Royall treasure, and Melting house, the Cathedrall Metropolitane, whose suffragans are, *Popayan*, *Cartagena* and *Sancta Marta*, with a Monasterie of *Dominicke* and another of *Franciscane* Friers, and in her borders more then fiftie thousand tributarie *Indians* and the Lake of *Guatania*, which was a worshipping place of the *Indians*, where it is reported that they did cast great summes of Gold in offering to the Idols.

The Village of Saint *Michael* in the bounds of *Sancta Fe*, twelue leagues from it to the North, was built for trafficke with the *Panche Indians*, because being of a hot Countrie it did them hurt to goe to *Sancta Fe*, which is cold. The Citie of *Tocayma* fiftene leagues from *Sancta Fe*, to the West, somewhat inclined to the North, with a Monasterie of *Dominicke* Friers, was inhabited the yeare 1545. by the Captaine *Hernando Vanegas*, in the border of the maine Riuer *Pati*, which runneth into the Riuer *Magdalene*. It hath no gold, and is most hot, and by night there falleth no Dew in it. In all the Kingdome there is no generall tongue, that which is most vnderstood, is that of the *Panches*. In the Prouince of the *Musor*, and *Colimas*, which by another name are called *Canupeis*, five and twentie leagues in length, to the North-west of *Bogota*, a rough Countrie, sound, plentifull of Pastures, Gold, and Emeralds: there are two Townes; the Citie of the *Trinitie* twentie leagues from *Sancta Fe*, to the North-west, which the Captaine *Lanchero* inhabited the yeere 1582. when hee went to warre with the *Indians* * *Moscas*, a quicke and fearefull Nation: and in these bounds stands the rich Mine of the Emeralds, with many *Indians* which yet are peaceable, and in the Prouince of *Chiagnachi*, which signifieth *Snailles*, for there be many.

The Village of *Palma* in the *Colimas*, of a temper hotter then cold, fiftene leagues from *Sancta Fe* to the North-west, the Captaine *Don Gutierre* of *Onalle* built it 1572. in the Prouince of *Tunia*, which tooke the name of the *Cazique*, almost to the North, direct to that of *Bogota*, and in all like vnto it: The Citie of *Tunia* stands two and twentie leagues from *Sancta Fe*, to the North-east, on a high hill, a strong scituation, for the warre with the *Indians*. There goe out of this Citie aboue two hundred Horse-men, and it is the most abundant of Victuals of all the Borders, and there is the greatest Market in all the Realme: it hath one Monasterie of *Dominicke*, another of *Franciscane* Friers. The Captaine *Gonzalo Xarez Rondon* built it, for the President *Gonzalo Ximenez* of *Pulsada*. The Citie of *Pamplona* seuentie leagues from *Sancta Fe* to the North-east, hath one Monasterie of *Dominick* Friers; much Gold is gotten in it, it hath abundance of Cattle: the Bachiller *Michael Diaz* of *Armendariz* peopled it. The Village of Saint *Christopher* is thirteene leagues from *Pamplona* to the North, the Captaine *Franciscus* of *Caceres* built it neere the Prouince of * *Grita*, so called because the *Indians* came out of the high wayes to shoute and crie after the *Spaniards*, and to kill them: little Gold is gotten in it, and it hath commoditie for to breede Cattle.

The Citie of *Merida*, in the bounds of the government of *Venezuela*, and the *New Kingdome*, fortie leagues from *Pamplona* to the North-east: it is a plentifull Countrie of Mines of Gold,

Gould, and of Wheate. The Citie of *Belez* thirtie leagues from *Sancta Fe* to the North, and fiftene from *Tunia*, hath one Monasterie of *Franciscane* Fryers: the Captaine *Goncalo Ximenez Roudon* inhabited it. It is a Countrie where many thunderboults fell, and there fall not so many since the holy Sacrament of the Altar is there abiding: it hath one *ferie mouth* that casteth many stones. The Citie of *Mariquita* of *Ybague*, by another name *Saint Sebastian of the Gould*, is fortie leagues from *Sancta Fe* to the North-west, the Captaine *Pedroso* peopled it 1551. in certaine Meadows, leaning to the hill, the temper is very hot. The Citie of *Ybague* is three hundred leagues from *Sancta Fe*, almost to the West: it is the first Towne of the *New Realme*, that doth confine with *Popayan*, the Captaine *Andrew Lopez* of *Galarza* peopled it 1551. by commission of the Counsell, for to eschew the harmes these *Indians* did with those of *Tocayma*, and *Cartago*, and for to open the way to the government of *Popayan*, it hath a Monasterie of *Dominicke* Friers.

Belez.
Thunderbolts.
Mariquita.
Ybague.

The Citie of the *Victorie of the Remedies*, fiftie leagues from *Sancta Fe*, to the North-west, is very rich of Mines. The Citie of *Saint Iohn* of the *Plaines*, fiftie leagues from *Sancta Fe* to the South, is a Countrie of much Gould. The Citie of *Tudela* which the Capraine *Peter* of *Vrsua* built, by order of the Bachiller *Don Michael Dinz* of *Armendariz* was disinhabited, because the *Indians* * *Moxcas* received hurt by it. And there are of the limits of the Countsell of the new Realme, seuen Townes of the government of *Popayan*, *Sancta Fe* of *Antiochia*, *Caramanta*, *Arma*, *Anzerma*, *Cartago*, *Saint Sebastian of the Silver*, and *Saint Vincent de las Pazas*.

Victorie de los Remedios.
Saint Iohn of the Plains.
* Or *Flyes.*

The Merchandize enters this Kingdome, by the great Riuer of *Magdalene*, from the * *Baranca* of *Malamba*, of the iurisdiction of *Cartagena*, and the first that sent to discouer this Riuer, was *Garcia* of *Lerma*, Gouvernour of *Sancta Martha* 1531. It entreteth into the Sea so broad and strong, that at the passing, the Ships are wont to be in danger, if they goe not somewhat distant, for the combat of the current, and working of the Sea. It hath an Iland in the mouth, it is nauigated more then one hundred and fiftie leagues, and in more then three hundred it is not waded: it cometh from about *Popayan* from two Fountaines that are fortie leagues distant, by which ioyning the Riuer is made: it was called of *Magdalene*, because on that day was the mouth discovered, in 12. degrees of height, and six and twenty leagues from *Cartagena*.

* Or *Water-course.*
Rio Grande of Magdalen Riuer.

The Prouince and Government of *Sancta Martha* in the coast of *Terra firme* is seuentie leagues in breadth and length, betweene *Cartagena* and the Riuer of *Hache*: it is a plentiful Countrie of Millet, and Potatoes, much Gould, and Copper, and some Emeralds, and other Stones: in it are five *Spanish* Townes; and though there be many of the Countrie-men, the most are in warre. The President *Bastidas* peopled the Citie of *Sancta Martha* 1525. neere to the Sea, in 10. degrees of latitude, and 74. of longitude, one thousand foure hundred and twentie leagues from *Toledo*, where is resident the Gouvernour, and Officers Royall, and the Cathedrall suffragan to the *New Kingdome*. The Port is reasonable. This Gouvernement hath foure Prouinces, *Pozignay*, *Betona*, *Chimica*, and *Tayrona*, which signifieth a *Forge*, and with great reason, because in that Countrie are an infinite quantitie of diuersitie of Mettals, and Stones of great esteeme and value.

Sancta Martha.

Tenerife stands by the border of *Rio Grande* or the great Riuer (which is that of *Magdalene*) fortie leagues from *Sancta Martha* to the South-west, part by the Sea, and part by Land: *Franciscus Euriques* did people it, by order of *Goncalo Perez* which gouerned in *Sancta Martha*, by Commission of the President *Lugo*. *Tamalameque*, or Village of the *Palmes* is sixtie five leagues from *Sancta Martha* to the South, and twentie from *Tenerife*, two leagues from the *Great Riuer*: the Captaine *Bartholomew Dalua* peopled it 1561. The Citie of *los Reyes* in the Valley of *Vpari*, is plentiful of Millet, Prouision, and Cattle, and of much Copper, to the South-east of *Sancta Martha*, fiftie leagues from it, and thirtie from the Riuer of *Hache*: the Captaine *Saint Anne* peopled it, by commandement of the Bachellor *Michael Dinz*, * *La Ramada* was built before, called first new *Salamanca*, fortie leagues from *Sancta Martha* to the East, and eight from the Riuer of *Plate*, at the overflowings of the *Snowie Mountaine*. It stands in the Valley of *Vpari*, where there is as much Copper as Stone. The Merchandize of this Gouvernement goeth vp to the *New Kingdome* by the marsh of this Citie, which is eight leagues from it by the Sea, and afterward twelue vnto the *Barranca* of *Malambo*, in the great Riuer. *Ocanna* is also in this Gouvernement, which the Captaine *Franciscus Hernandez* inhabited 1572. and was first called *Sancte Anne*. There is in the Coast of this Gouvernement the Riuer of *Buhia*, neere *Ramada*, and the Riuer of *Piras*, and that of *Palomino*, where a Captaine of this name was drowned, and the Riuer of *Don Iames*, the *c* *Ancones* of *Buritaca*, and the Cape of *d* *Aguia* neere *Sancta Martha*, right against the hill of *Bonda*, and the Riuer of *Gajra*, to the West.

Tenerife.
Tamalameque.
The Kings.
* *Sancta Ramada*

The Prouince and Government of *Cartagena*, in the Coast of *Terra firme*, and the North Sea, hath in length East and West, from the Riuer of the *Magdalene*, vnto the Riuer of *Darien*, eightie leagues North and South, and as many vnto the confines of the *New Kingdome*, though mett say it is more in Voyage. The Countrie is Mountainous of Hills and Valleys, of high Trees, rainie and moist: the feedes of *Castile* beare no feede, there is no Wheate, nor Gould, but in some places.

Ocanna.
b Or *Yong Pigeon.*
c Or *Noakes.*
d Or the *Needle.*
Cartagena.

There is much rozen made in some Mountaines of this Gouernment, and Gums aromaticke, and other liquors which they get out of the Trees, and great quantitie of *Sanguis Draconis*, and a very fragrant balme of great vertues.

Citie of Cartagena.

The Citie of *Cartagena* stands neare the Sea, two leagues from the Point of *Canon*, to the West, in tenne degrees of latitude, and seuentie six of longitude, one thousand foure hundred and sixtie leagues from *Toledo*, of more then five hundred houtholds, among them about two thousand women. In it is resident the Gouernour, the Kings Officers, & treasure Royall, and the Cathedrall suffragan to the *New Realme*, with Monasteries of *Dominick* and *Franciscan* Friers. The situation is plain, and almost like an Iland, the Sea compasseth it on the North side, & it is a rough coast, and very shallow; and on the land side it hath an arme of the Sea which reacheth to a Marsh, which is the Lake of *Canapote*, which ebbeth & floweth after the order of the Sea, & at the same houre, and they passe from the Citie to *Terra firme*, by a Bridge and a manner of a Cause, which hath about two hundred and fiftie paces. The Citie is built on Sand, & within two fathoms they finde fresh water, though sometimes it is vnwholesome, not so much as the coast of *Nombre de Dios*; for the ayres in respect of the Marsh are wont to cause diseases, but for the most part it is wholesome. The Hauens is one of the least of the *Indies*, though the great Ships doe ride farre from the Citie. It hath at the entrie an Iland like that of *Escombrera* in *Cartagena* of *Castile*, whereby they called it *Cartagena*, and the Iland was called *Codego*, now they call it *Caxes*, it hath two leagues in length, & little more then halfe a league in bredth: it was wont to be inhabited with *Indian* Fishers, & it hath no water. The first that saw *Cartagena*, in the year 1502. was *Roderick Bastidas*, & the year 1504. *Iuan de la Cosa* or *Iohn of the Thing* went a shore, and found *Lewes Guerra*, and they were the first that began the warre with the *Indians*, which were proud and bould, and both men and women fought, with venomd arrows. Afterward returned *Alonso of Oieda* with *Iohn of the Thing* for Pilot Maior, & *Americo Vesputio* for Mariner, & some years after *Gregorie of Obiedo* took vpon him to inhabit *Cartagena*, & performed it not. The year 1532. went *Don Pedro* of *Eredia* born in *Madrid*, and inhabited it, and pacified a great part of the Countrie, though with labour and cunning, because the people were very warlike, and there was a woman that before they could take her, being about eightene yeeres old, slew with her Bow eight *Spaniards*.

Amazonian women.

Valiant Virago.

Saint Iames of Tolu.

The Village of Marie.

* Holy Crosse.

Saint Sebastian.

The Barranca.

* Or Water course.

El Dorado.

Guiana.

The Village of *Saint Iames* of *Tolu*, is six leagues from the Sea to the South-west of *Cartagena* two leagues from it, part by Sea (for by Land it cannot be gone) and part by the Marshes and Mountaines. It is a sound Countrie, of great breedings, and tillage, and fruits of *Castile*: the President *Don Peter* of *Heredia* peopled it. The Village of *Marie* thirtie two leagues from *Cartagena*, to the South, is also the inhabiting of *Don Peter* of *Heredia*, in the year 1534. The Village of * *Sancta Cruz* of *Mopox* is seuentie leagues from *Cartagena* by the Sea and Riuer of *Magdalene*, neere whose border it stands, & whereby they goe about more then halfe the way, it is not found being among *Quagmires*. A Captaine of *Don Peter* of *Heredia* peopled it, 1535. The year of 1509. the *Bachiller Enfisco* (as hath been said) inhabited *Sancta Marie*, the auuncient of the *Darien*, which is in this Gouernment, forsaking the Village of *Saint Sebastian* of *Bona vista*, which the same Captaine *Alonso de Oieda* had inhabited, in the furthest place of *Vraba*: & afterward the Captain *Alonso* of *Heredia* inhabited *Saint Sebastian* againe, for the President his Brother, in certaine little hills, almost halfe a league from the Sea. And in the year 1537. the *Bachiller Iohn* of *Vadillo* went out of *Saint Sebastian* with a good number of Souldiours, and passing many troubles, & most rough Mountains, & thick woods, came to the Citie of *Antioquia*, of the gouernment of *Popayan*, & there was a Souldior that from thence came to the Citie of the *Plate*, in the *Charcas*, which is 1200. leag. The * *Barranca* of *Malambo*, which is a Custome house of the iurisdiction of *Cartagena*, thirtie leagues from it, on the border of the great Riuer, and twenty from *Sancta Martha*, & six from the Sea, where the Merchandize that are carried by Land to the *New Realme* are vnloaden, & from the *Barranca* are carried vp by the Riuer in *Canoes*. Lower then *Nepox* entreth the Riuer of *Canoa* into the Riuer of *Magdalene*, which also springeth about *Popayan*: & more toward *Cartagena* and to the West, standeth the *Knobbe*, and the point of *Zamba*, and *Burrio del gato* or *Arbolera*, and the seuen Cottages, and the point of the *Canowe*, two leagues from *Cartagena*, and the point of *Yacosa* at the entrie of the port, right against the Iland of *Carax*, and the point of the Ship in *Terra firme*; at the other lesser entrie of the port, and almost to the North, is a little Iland which is called *Sardina*, and in the coast of *Tolu* the Ilands of *Baru*, which are six, and at the entrie of the Gulfe of *Vraba* the six, which are called of *Saint Bernard*, right against the Riuer *Zenu*: and more within the Gulfe, the strong Iland, and the *Tortoyse*. The port of *Zenu* stands five and twenty leagues from *Cartagena*, it is a great Bay that hath his entrance by the East, it is secure: here they make store of Salt, and it tooke the name of the Towne *Zenu*, which standeth on the Riuer.

In the Prouinces of the *Darade*, or new *Estremadura* (which circuit pertaines to the bounds of the Counsell of the *New Realme*) many Captains haue entred by Sea, and by sundry parts of the Land, and haue neuer found the riches which the same promifeth. They fall on the other side of the Riuer of *Saint Iohn* of *Amazones*, by another name *Orellana* (which some erroneously wil haue to be the *Meranyon*) and here is the *Orinico*, and other great Riuers, and the Gulfe of *Paria* which maketh the firme land, with the Land of the *Trinitie*, & the mouthes of the *Serpent*, & the *Dragon*, which

which the first Admirall named, where he saw himselfe in great danger, for the conflict which the fresh waters make there with the salt, whereof he had yet no notice, and here beginneth the flowing of the Sea to be very great, vnto the streight of *Magellan*, and goeth continuing through all the coast of *Piru*, and *New Spaine*.

Great Tydes.

The Prouinces of *Piru* (whole name hath extended it selfe more then it was at the beginning) *Piru*, or *Pern*, include all the Empire of the *Ingas*, or more; for when it was won it was diuided in two gouernments, that of *Don Francisus Pizarro*, called the *New Castile*, from the *Quito* vnto the *Cuzco*, sixtie leagues below the *Chincha*; and that of *Don Iames of Almagro*, called the *New Toledo*, two hundred leagues toward the Streight from *Chincha*; which gouernments were distinct vntil the Councell de los Reyes was established, and a Vice-roy prouided for the Kingdomes of *Piru*, in whose gouernment are included, the Councell of Saint Francis of the *Quito*, that of *Lima* (or de los Reyes of the Kings) that of the *Charcas*, the gouernment of *Chile*, & countries of the Streights, the Ilands of *Salomon* to the West, and for borders the Prouinces of the Riuer of *Plate*, and that which determinately is comprehended vnder the gouernment of the Vice-roy. It hath in length North and South from two thousand leagues vpward, and East and West, that which is discovered from the South Sea to the North Sea. The two Rowes that haue beene spoken of, doe passe through all the Prouinces of *Piru* North and South, that of the *Andes* from *Popayan*, and yet many will haue, that from *Terra firme* and *New Spaine*, till it ends in the Streight, and the other lesse, from the *Quito* vnto *Chile*, along the coast, twelue leagues distant, little more or lesse.

The two Rowes of the Indies of the South. * Of *Magellan*.

The two wayes passed betweene these two Mountaines, the one which they called of the *Ingas*, by the *Andes* from *Pasto* vnto *Chile*, which hath nine hundred leagues in length, and five and twentie foote of Cawse, and euery foure leagues very sumptuous houses, which they call *Tambos*, where was prouision of victuals and apparell, and euery halfe league men that were in postes for to carry messages, and orders from hand to hand. The other way went through the midst of the Playnes, along the coast of five and twentie foote broad, betweene two walls of a mans height, from *Pirra* vnto *Chile*, where both the wayes met. And it is to be noted, that all the Indies of the South are not to be vnderstood by *Piru*, for as hath beene said, it is not but that which beginneth from Saint Francis of *Quito*, which is vnder the Equinoctiall Line, and runneth along vnto *Chile*, going out of the Tropicks, which may bee fixe hundred leagues, and fiftie in breadth, though toward the *Chachapoyas* there is more, and it is diuided in three parts: The Playnes, which haue ten leagues in breadth, and in parts lesse, they are the coast of the Sea: The Hills, which haue about twentie, and is all Hills and some Valleys: and the *Andes* other twentie, which are most thicke Groues and Woods, and in so little space as fiftie leagues equally distant from the Line and Pole: there is so great diuersitie, that in the one place almost it rayneth alwayes, and in the other almost neuer, which is the Coast, and in the third which is the Mountaines that fall in the midst of these extreames, sometime it rayneth, and sometime not, for it hath his Summer and Winter as in *Castile*: and the causes of not rayning in the Coast, and rayne in the *Andes*, are spoken of in the beginning of the Historie.

The two great wayes of *Piru*.

Postes.

Piru is not all the Indies of the South.

Los Llanos. Las Sierras.

Diuerstie of nature.

The bounds of the Councell resident in *Quito*, and confining Northward with that of *Panama*, in the Port of *Bonauentura*, and on the North-east with the *New Realme*, and on the South with that of *Lima*; hath in length by the South coast, which is the place where it lengthens most, about two hundred leagues from the Port of *Bonauentura*, which is in the Gulfe of *Panama*, or of Saint Michael, the Port of *Payta* in the coast of *Piru*, and from thence crosse to the vttermost of *Popayan*, more then other two hundred and fiftie, the limits remaying open on the East side: in it is included three Gouernments, besides those of the Councell, which are *Popayan*, *Quixos*, la *Cancla*, and that of *Iuan de Salinas*, of the *Pacamoros*, and *Gualfango*, diuided in two Bishopricks.

Chap. 17.

Of the Councell of Saint Francis of the *Quito*.

* Of Cynamon.

El *Quito*.

Aire and seasons.

Athauvalpa or *Atahualpa*.

Athauvalpa or *Atahualpa*.

Athauvalpa or *Atahualpa*.

Athauvalpa or *Atahualpa*.

Athauvalpa or *Atahualpa*.

Athauvalpa or *Atahualpa*.

Athauvalpa or *Atahualpa*.

Athauvalpa or *Atahualpa*.

Athauvalpa or *Atahualpa*.

Athauvalpa or *Atahualpa*.

Athauvalpa or *Atahualpa*.

Athauvalpa or *Atahualpa*.

Athauvalpa or *Atahualpa*.

The Prouince and Gouernment of *Quito*, which the Councell gouerneth, hath in length eightie leagues, from neere the Equinoctiall to the other side, and in it these Townes of Spaniards following. The heauen and earth thereof, although it stands vnder the Equinoctiall, is like to that of *Castile*, cleere and faire, rather cold then hot, and in parts where the snow continueth all the yeere, it rayneth from October to March, which they call the winter; and in the other months they cut their Grasse, which though it be not long it is fit for the Cattrell of *Castile*, whereof there is great store; and of Wheat and Barley, and gold in some places: and in this Region they liue pleasantly, for there is nothing more pleasant for humane life, then to enioy a wholesome and cleere skie, for they haue no Winter to trouble them with cold, nor Summer to molest with heat. The Townes are, the Citie of Saint Francis of *Quito*, where *Athauvalpa* Emperour of *Piru* was borne, it stands in halfe a degree of height from the Equinoctiall, and eightie two from the Meridian of *Toledo*, by a greater circle one thousand fixe hundred eightie six leagues from it, and sixtie from the South Sea; it is of five hundred households: In it is resident the Councell for matters of Iustice, for those of the Gouernment are at the Vice-roy his charge. There are also in this Citie the Officers of the Kings Rents and treasure Royall, and the Cathedrall of this Bishopricke,

shopricke, Suffragane to the Archbishop of *The Kings* (*los Reyes*) there are three Monasteries of *Dominicke, Franciscan, and Mercenarie* Friars; and in her iurisdiction eightie seven Townes, or parcialities of *Indians*. In the situation where this Citie was built, were certaine great lodgings which the King *Topaynga* built, and his sonne *Guaynacapa* beautified, and were called *Quito*, from whence the Citie tooke the name; the President *Sebastian* of *Belalcazar*, a souldier of *Don Francisco Pizarro* built it, a loyall man to the King, by order of the President *Don James* of *Almagro*, which left him for Gouvernour of the Prouince when hee went vnto it, hauing ended the agreement with the President *Don Peter* of *Aluárado*.

Riuer Bamba. The Riuer *Bamba* in the Prouince of the *Puruaes*, is a Countrie to *Castile* in the temperature, of herbes, flowres, and other things: it is a towne of shepheards, it stands fise and twentie leagues to the South-west of *Saint Francis* of *Quito*, the way to the *Kings*, wherein are fortie thousand head of cattell, the greatest part sheepe. Here the *Yugas* had certaine Royall houses, and here the President *Belalcazar* had a tedious battaile with the *Indians*, and ouercame them, and in this place was the agreement rehearsed of *Don James* of *Almagro* and *Don Peter* of *Aluárado*, and in it was the Citie of *Quito* first built.

Chuenca. The citie of *Chuenca* (which the Marques of *Canyete* commanded to be built, being Vice-roy of *Piru*, which by another name is called *Bamba*, one and fiftie leagues from *Quito* to the South) is a Corregidorship provided of the Vice-roy, with one Monasterie of *Dominicke*, another of *Franciscan* Friars. In her iurisdiction are rich mynes of gold, some of siluer, and rich mynes of quick-siluer, copper, Iron, and Brimstone. The citie of *Loxa*, otherwise called *la Zarca*, eightie leagues from the citie of *Quito* toward the South, and thirtie from *Chuenca*, is a Gouvernourship provided by the Vice-roy; it hath Monasteries of *Saint Dominicke* and of *Saint Francis*, it stands in the way from *Cuzco* to *Quito*, from whence it is eightie leagues, in the faire Valley of *Cuxibamba*, betweene two Riuers. Captaine *Antonie* of *Mercadillo* built it in the yeere 1546. for to pacifie the countrimen which were somewhat disordered. The citie of *Zamora*, which is called of the *Alcaydes*, is ninetie leagues from *Quito* South-eastward, hauing passed the *Rome* of the *Andez*: it is a Gouvernment provided by the Vice-roy: it hath a Monasterie of *Franciscans*; they reape no Wheat because the countrie is very raynie: it hath rich Mynes of gold, wherein they find graines of foure pound waight and more: the Captaine *Mercadillo* peopled it the yeere 1549. by a covenant with Captaine *Benaute*: It stands twentie leagues from *Loxa*, hauing past the *Rome* which diuideth the bankes of the South Sea from the North, the *Indians* did call it *Zamara*: that part of the countrie is called *Poroanca*, which signifieth *Indians of warre*: much gold is gotten there, and there hath beene graines brought to his Maiestie of twelue pound waight, and there are Salt-pits of salt-water.

Laen. The citie of *Laen* is fise and fiftie leagues from *Loxa*, and thirtie from the *Chachapoyas*; Captaine *James Palomino* built it 1549. in the Prouinces of *Chuquimayo*, in that of *Chacaynga*. The citie of *Saint Michael* of *Piura* is in the Prouince of *Chila*, six hundred and twentie leagues from *Quito* South-eastward, and fise and twentie from the Port of *Payta*, where the bounds of this Councell doth end. It is a Gouvernment at the providing of the Vice-roy: it hath one Monasterie of *Mercenaries*. Though in this countrie rayne is holden for a wonder, there are good watered grounds, that beare good Wheat and Miller, and the seedes and fruits of *Castile*. The port of *Payta* stands in the iurisdiction of this Citie, in fise Southerne degrees, which is good, great, and secure, where the ships that goe from *Guatemala* to *Piru* doe touch. The Marques *Don Francisco Pizarro* built it in the yeere 1531. the first of these Kingdomes, and where the first Temple was erected in the honour of God, and the holy Mother Church of *Rome*. All the Prouince and borders of the Valleys of *Tumbez* are drie, and the high-way of the *Ingas* passeth through these Valleys of *Piura*, betweene trees and pleasant shadowes, and betweene the principall Valley are ioyned two or three Riuers: the Citie was built at the first in *Tangazala*, from whence it was remooued because it was a sickly situation, and now it stands betweene two Valleys, and yet is somewhat sickly, especially for the eyes, for the great windes and dusts of the Summer, and great moistures of the Winter.

San Iago de Guayaquil. The Citie of *Saint James* of *Guayaquil*, by another name *las Culata*, sixtie leagues from *Quito*, and fiteene from the Sea to the South-west, it is a Gouvernment provided by the Vice-roy: the President *Belalcazar* peopled it, and many of the *Indians* hauing rebelled, and slaine many *Spaniards*, the Captaine *Franciscus* of *Orellana* peopled it againe 1537. it is a most plentifull and pleasant Countrie, and hath great store of hony in the hollow places of trees: The waters of this Riuer which runne almost vnder the Equinoctiall, are thought healthfull for the *French* disease, and other such like. Many people went to the Riuer to recouer health, for the multitude of the rootes of *Zarzaparrilla* that are in the Riuer: it is not very great, nor those that run to the South Sea are so bigge as those that runne into the North Sea, because they runne but a little way; but notwithstanding they are strong and with sudden floods, because they fall from the Mountaine. The *Indians* doe vse many shifts for to passe them; they haue in some places a rope ouer it, and a basket on it, and the passenger being put into it, they pull him from the other side. In other Riuers the *Indian* goeth riding on a trusse of straw, and carrieth the passenger behinde him: in other

The Riuers that goe to the North Sea are greater then those that goe to the South Sea. How the riuers are passed in *Piru*.

ther places they haue a great Net of gourds, vpon the which they lay the cloathes and the persons, and the *Indians* fastened with certaine coardes goe swimming and pulling as coach-hories; and a thousand other artes they vse for to passe the Riuer. The Port of this Citie stands neere vnto it, for the Riuer is very broad, whereby they bring vp the merchandise from the Sea, and they goe by land to *Quito*. The yeere 1568. Captaine *Contero* planted the citie of *Castro*, in the Valley of *Vili*, the Licentiate *Lope Garcia* of *Castro* being Gouvernour. *Vili* is in the Prouinces of *Bunigando*, *Imdiuono*, and *Gualapa*, which they call the Prouince of the Emeralds, and he went about it from *Guayaquil*, and discovered all these Prouinces from *Passao* vnto the Riuer of Saint *John*, which entreteth into the South Sea.

- 10 The Citie of *Puerto Viejo* is about eightie leagues from Saint *Francis* of *Quito* to the West, though not of open way, and other fiftie from Saint *James* of *Guayaquil*, whereby yee goe from *Quito*: in her borders stands the *Passao*, which is the first Port of the countrie of *Piru*, and from it, and from the Riuer of Saint *James*, began the gouernment of the Marques *Don Franciscus Pizarro*: and because this countrie is so neighbour to the Equinoctiall line, that it stands in one degree; some beleue it is vnwholsome, but in other parts as neere the Line men liue with much health, plentie and abundance of all things for the sustenance of man, against the opinion of the ancient: and so it is that the *Indians* of this countrie doe not liue long, and in many of them there breede certaine red warts in the foreheads and noses, and other parts, which beside the disease being grieuous, it disfigureth them very much, and it is beleued that it proceedeth of eating some fish.
- 20 In these bounds stands the towne of *Manta*, whither great riches haue beene brought from within the Land; and it is held for certaine, that here is a Myne of Emeralds, which are the best of the *Indies*, and they grow in a stone like Cristall, and they making like a veine, and by little and little congealing and refining themselves, and of halfe white and halfe greene, they goe ripening and recovering their perfection. The Captaine *Franciscus Pacheco* peopled this citie 1535. by order of *Don James de Almagro*: it hath many *Indians* in warre: there is in it a Monasterie of *Mercenarie* Friars, they gather no Wheat, for it rayneth the eight moneths in the yeere from October forward, and there are many good shoues of gold.

- In the coast of this Gouvernment are the Ports, Ilands, and Points following. The *Ancon* of *Sar dinas*, before the Bay of Saint *James*, which is fiftene leagues from the Point of *Manglares* to the South, and then the Bay of Saint *Matthew*, and after the Cape of Saint *Francis*; and past it *Quiximies*, foure Riuer before *Portete*, where the blacke *Moor*es that saued themselves of a ship that was cast away, ioyned with the *Indians*, and haue made a towne; the *Passao*, a Point or Port of *Indians*, where they say the Equinoctiall line passeth, neere the Mountaine of *Queaque*, and the Bay of *Carta* which is before old Port, one degree from the Equinoctiall to the South, and fife leagues from thence the Cape of Saint *Lawrence*, and neere from thence the Iland of *Plate*, and forward the Ports of *Cylo*, and *Calango*, before the Point of Saint *Helen*, in two degrees hight; the Riuer of *Tumbez* in foure degrees, and the Iland of the *Pana* neere vnto it, and the Iland of *Santa Clara* somewhat more to the Sea, and *Cabo blanco* fiftene leagues from *Tumbez* to the South, and then the Point of *Parina*, and to the South the Iland of *Lobos*, foure leagues from the Port of *Payta* abouesaid, and *la Silla*, before the Point *del Aguia*, and the Port of *Tangora*.
- 40 The men of this countrie say, that in old time there came by Sea in Balsas (which are many pieces of timber fastened one vpon another) men so bigge that had as much from the knee downward, as an ordinarie man in all his body, and that they made certaine Wells most deepe in a quicke Rocke, which at this day are seene very fresh and cold in the Point of Saint *Helen*, and that because that they vsed most abominable finnes, fire fell from heauen and consumed them all, and now are found in that situation exceeding great bones of men, and pieces of teeth of foureene ounces weight, and in *New Spaine* in the bounds of *Tlascala*, are bones found of the like bignesse. There are in this Point of Saint *Helen*, eyes and veine of Tarre, so perfect that they might calke
- 50 with it, and it commeth out very hot.

The gouernment of *Popayan* one hundred and twentie leagues North and South, from the confines of the Prouince of *Quito*, vnder the Equinoctiall vnto the confines of *Cartagena* by the North, and another one hundred from the confines of new *Realme* by the East vnto the South Sea, wherein are some *Spanish* townes, part of the Councell of *Quito*; and part of the new *Realme*. The countrie is commonly rough and very raynie, and therefore they haue little Miller, and lesse Wheat, and no store of Cattell; but it is rich of Mynes of gold, and the Townes are these following.

- The citie of *Popayan* stands in two degrees and a halfe to the Septentrionall part of the Equinoctiall, and 78. and a halfe of longitude, one thousand fife hundred and eightie leagues from *Tolado*: in it is resident a Lieftenant Gouvernour, the Cathedrall, and one Monasterie of *Mercenarie* Friars. The President *Sebastian* of *Belalcazar* peopled this citie 1537. the people of these Prouinces are farre different from that of *Piru*, for these are of greater vnderstanding, and liued in more policie: the men of this gouernment liued as in liberties. It was called *Popayan*, of the name of the

Castro.

Vili.

Or old Port.

Manta.

How the Emeralds do grow.

Ports & Points of the coast of this gouernment.

Or Nooke.
Or Pilcher's.
A towne of blacke Moor.Or white Cape.
Or woolues.

The Giants of the Point of Santa Helena.

Chap. 18.

Of Popayan, Quixos, Canelas, Pacamoros, and Gualfango, which are the rest of the bounds of the Councell of Quito. The Citie of Popayan.

the *Cazique* Lord of it: it hath part in the coast of the South Sea, and high Mountaines that goe Eastward: and on another side the *Rov* of the *Andes*, and on both sides spring many Riuer, and the Riuer of the *Magdalene* is one, which runneth into the North Sea: in this gouernment are many coole and wholesome townes, and others hot and sickly.

- Cali.* The Citie of *Cali* stands in foure degrees; and two and twentie leagues from *Popayan*, and eight and twentie from the South Sea, it was inhabited 1537. by the Captaine *Michael Munoz*; and *Sebastian* of *Belalcazar* made it first in the townes which are called the * *Gorrones*; it hath the seate in a plaine Valley, leaning to the foot of a Hill, the temper is hot, the Gouernour, the Officers, and the Kings treasure are resident in it; a melting house, a Monasterie of *Mercenaries*, another of *Augustine* Friars. The Port of *Bonauenture* falleth in his iurisdiction in three degrees 10 and a halfe of altitude: in it are some households resident for to receive the merchandize. The *Indians* of *Cali* are of a good condition, and good Christians, their old Lord was called *Lisupete*.
- Antiochia.* The village of *Santa Fe* of *Antiochia*, is more then an hundred leagues from *Popayan* to the north-east, in the borders of the Riuer *Cauca*, of the bounds of the Councell of the *New Realme*, and Bishopricke of *Popayan*, rich in Mynes of gold, neere to the Hill of *Buritaca* famous for the much gold that was in it; it is seated in certaine Plaines. The countrey people are good folkes, well made and white, and the temperature is such that they goe to sleepe on the houses, without any offence of the deaw: they breede much Cattell, many fruits, and fish in the Riuer and Plashes: the Captaine *Gaspar* of *Rhodes* inhabited it by commission of the President *Belalcazar*, the yeere 1541.
- Caramanta.* The Village of *Caramanta* is sixtie or seuentie leagues from *Popayan* to the North-east, neere to the great Riuer *Cauca*, of the bounds of the *New Realme*, gouernment and Bishopricke of *Popayan*, plentifull of Milles and other feedes, without Wheat, and with little Cattell, though they haue many Swine, they goe by the Riuer in five or sixe houres to *Antiochia*, though it bee fiftie leagues; for it runneth very swift: it is the plantation of the President *Belalcazar*. The village of *Santa Lames* of *Arma*, which hath many Mynes of gold, is fiftie leagues from *Popayan* to the North-east, declining to the East, it is of the Councell of the *New Realme*, the gouernment and Diocesse of *Popayan*; without Wheat or feedes of *Castile*, but plentifull of the countrey feedes. The President *Belalcazar* inhabited this village, and here hee beheaded the Marshall *George Robledo*. It stands sixteene leagues from *Ancerna*: the people of the countrey are so butcherly that 30 the quicke are the sepulchre of the dead, for it hath beene seene the husband to eate the wife, the brother the brother or sister, the sonne the father, and hauing fatned any captiue, the day that they are to eate him, they bring him forth with many songs, and the Lord commandeth that an *Indian* doe goe cutting off euery member, and so aliue they goe eating him, and after the inhabiting of *Arma* they haue eaten more then eight thousand *Indians*; and some *Spaniards* haue also suffered this martyrdome.
- Ancerna.* The village of *Santa Fe* of *Ancerna* is fiftie leagues from *Popayan* to the North-east, in the border of *Cauca*, of the Councell of the *New Kingdom*, gouernment and Bishopricke of *Popayan*, without Cattell or Wheat, very much annoyed with thunder bolts: the Captaine *George Robledo* built it by order of *Laurence* of *Aldana*. Likewise the men of this countrey are eaters of 40 humane flesh; they goe naked, they haue no Idols, nor any thing to worship: there are in this iurisdiction good Mynes of gold; the climate is hot, and many thunder-bolts doe fall. The citie of *Cartago*, five and twentie leagues from *Popayan* about the North-east, is of the Councell of the *New Realme*, Gouernment and Bishopricke of *Popayan*, without Wheat or any feedes of *Castile*: it is a temperate and wholesome countrey, of little gold, it rayneth much, they breede no other cattell but Kine, and Mares: they haue many Mountaines, in the which breede many Lions, Tigres, Beares, and * *Dantas*, and wilde Boates: they haue a Monasterie of *Franciscan* Friars: the Captaine *George Robledo* inhabited it, and it was called *Cartaga*, because all the inhabitants were of *Cartagena*. The village of *Timana* is fortie leagues from *Popayan* to the South-east, and sixtie from *Santa Fe* of *Bogota*, and thirtie from the Prouinces of *Dorado*; here is a Lieftenant of 50 the Gouernour, which also hath at his charge *Santa Sebastian de la Plata*: the *Indians* of their borders doe decay, for they are so inhumane that in many places they haue publike shambles of men which they take captiue. They haue their seate in the beginning of the Valley of *Neyua*, the temper is most hot: in their bounds is a Mountaine where they digge the Load-stone, and the *Indian Paeces* are neere, and the *Pixaos*, which also are * *Caribes*.
- Inhumanitie of these Indians.* Where the Load-stone is found. * Or eaters of humane flesh. *Buga.* The Citie of *Guadalajara* of *Buga*, is fiftene leagues from *Popayan* to the North-east, is of the bounds of the Councell of *Quito*, and Diocesse of *Popayan*. The Citie of *Santa Sebastian* of the Plate, in the confines of this Gouernment is thirtie five leagues from *Popayan*, and thirtie to the South-west from *Santa Fe*, Diocesse of *Popayan*, where are many Mynes of siluer, and in her borders twentie foure repartitions: it is three leagues from the Port of *Onda*, in the great Riuer of 60 *Magdalen*, where those that come vp from *Cartagena* doe land: it is built in a Plaine, neere to the Riuer *Guala*: there are many Earthquakes, and in Winter it is more hot then cold. The Countrey-men goe to decay, because the * *Caribes* which they call *del Rincon* doe eate them and haue publike shambles of them, without any remedie for it: and the President *Belalcazar* built this Citie. The

The Citie of *Almaguer* is twentie leagues from *Popayan* to the South-east; it is plentifull of Wheate and Millet, and other feeds, and cattle, and it hath Gold: the Captaine *Alonso* of *Enemayor*, by order of the Licentiate *Brizeno* Gouvernour, and *Judge of Accounts*, of *Popayan* peopled it, being seated in a Hill of *Zabana*, and the climate is fresh, and the people doe weare Cotton-cloth.

S. Iohn of Truxillo, and by another name *Yscauce* is thirtie leagues from *Popayan* to the South-east. The Citie of *Madrigall*, or *Chapanchica*, thirtie five from *Popayan* about the South, a rough Countrey, where they neither reape Wheate, nor bread cattell, though they gather Millet twice a yeere in their jurisdiction: and for the roughness of the Countrey, the men are euill to pacifie, and in this Citie, and in the Citie of *Agreda*, and *Almaguer*, are Mynes of Gold. *Agreda*, and by another name *Malga*, stands fortie five leagues from *Popayan* to the South-west. The Citie of *Saint Iohn of the Pasture*, so called because it is a Countrey of many Pastures, it stands fiftie leagues from *Popayan*, about the South-west, and as many from *Quito* about the North-east, and in one degree from the Equinoctiall Diocesse of *Quito*, in a good soyle, of a good climate, and plentifull of Millet, and other prouisions, with Mynes of Gold; In her borders are 24000. *Indians* of fee, which are not *Canibals*, but of euill visages, filthy, and simple: they had no Idols in the time of their Paganisme, they beleued that after death they should goe to liue in more ioyfull places. The Riuer which they call *Whoate*, is betweene *Pasta*, and *Popayan*, it is of a very delicate water, and passed this Riuer is the Mountayne whither *Gonzalo Pizarro* did follow the Vice-roy *Blasco Nunyez Vela*, and vnto the Riuer *Angasmayo*, which is in this Prouince came the King *Guaynacapa*.

Beyond the Riuer *Caliente* or *hor* Riuer in a Mountayne, is a *fire mouth*, that casteth store of smoake, and it brake forth in ancient times, as the Countrey men doe say. The Philosophers being willing to declare what these *fire mouthes* or *Aetnaes* are, doe say, that as in the Earth are places that haue vertue to attract a vaporie substance, and to conuert it into water, whereof the continuall springs are made: there are also places that doe attract to themselues dry and hote exhalations, which are conuerted into fire and smoake, and with the force of them they cast also another grosse substance which is dissolved into ashes, or into stones, and these are the *fire mouthes*. *Saint Iohn de Pasto* hath Monasteries of *Dominicke*, *Franciscan*, and *Mercenarie* Friers: it is a cold Countrey, with abundance of victuals, it hath Sugar Mills, and many Fruites of the Countrey and of *Castile*: when the Captaine *Lawrence* of *Aldona* built it, hee called it *Villa viciosa de Pasto*, it stands fortie leagues from the South Sea, towards the Iland *Gorgona*.

There hath bene disinhabited, or diminished in this Prouince, the Citie of *Antiochia*, the Village of *Neyna* in the Valley of *Neyna*, twentie leagues from *Tumana*, and it was through the rigour of the *Indian* *Paezes*, and *Pixas*, and for the *Manipos*, in the Valley of *Saldanya*, and the Citie of *Saint Vincent* of the *Paeza*, sixtie leagues from *Saint Iohn of the Plaines*, in the confines of *Popayan*, which *Domingos Lozano* built, and the Citie of *los Angeles*, twentie two leagues from *Tocayma*, and nine from *Neyna*. There is in the Coast which this government extendeth on the South Sea, from the *Cape of Corrientes*, that stands in five degrees Septentrionall from the Line, the Riuer of *Solinas*, betweene the *Cape of Corrientes* and the Iland of the *Palmes* in foure degrees one third part, and in the Coast that lyeth vnto *Gorgona*, the Riuer of *Saint Iohn* among many other which make the Countrey boggie, and right against the mouth, the Iland of *Gorgona*, two leagues compass, where *Don Francisco Pizarro* was forsaken of all his men, with his thirteene companions. The Riuer of *Saint Lucar*, and the Riuer of *Nicardo*, before the Riuer of *Zedros*, in two degrees from the Line, in which stands the *Ile del Gallo*, and after the Port of the *Crosse*, and the point of *Manglares*, where beginneth the Coast of *Quito*.

Of the government of the *Quixos*, and *Canela*, there is no more notice, but that it falls to the East of the Prouince of *Quito*, and part of the South, toward the government of *Iohn of Salinas*; there are in it three *Spanish* Townes, with a Gouvernour which the Vice-roy of *Piru* prouideth, and in spirituall respect it is of the Bishopricke of *Quito*: the Countrey is rough and Mountaynous, without Wheate, and little Millet, with certayne Trees which seeme of *Cinnamon*. The first Towne is *Basca*, eightene leagues from *Saint Francis of Iuito*, toward the South-east, where the Gouvernour is Resident: the Citie of *Archidona* is twentie leagues beyond *Basca*: the Citie of *Anila* stands to the North of *Archidona*.

The government and Prouince of *Pacamoros* and *Gualfango*, or of *Iohn of Salinas* whose bounds and limits are one hundred leagues, which were assigned him to the East, from twentie leagues before the Citie of *Zamora*, in the *Rowe* of the *Andes*, and as many more North and South. It is a good Countrey in temper and disposition for Wheate, seeds, and cattle, of rich Mynes of Gold where they haue pieces of great bignesse: there are in it foure Townes of the Bishopricke of *Quito*, for the Captaine *Iohn of Salinas* did build them. The Citie of *Valladolid* is in seven degrees height, twentie leagues from *Loxa* to the South-east, hauing past the *Rowe* of *Piru*, the Citie of *Loyola*, or *Cumbrania* is sixteene leagues to the East from *Valladolid*: the Citie of *Saint James* of the Mountaynes, fiftie leagues from *Loyola*, toward the East, and in her borders much gold, and very high in touch, and as touching the gold we need not intreat of his excellencies, being

In how many
sorts the gold
is gotten out
in *Piru*, and o-
ther places.

being holden for the Supream power in the World. It is gotten in these *Mynes* in three man-
ners: The first is in *Pippens*, which are whole pieces without mixture of any other Metall, that
need not to be purified by fire, and these graines commonly are like a Pompeon Seed, and some-
times bigger: of this gold is found but litle, in respect of the rest. The second sort is in *stone*, which
is a vaine that groweth in the stone it selfe, and these stones are found in the gouernment of *Iohn*
of *Salinas* very great, all passed through with gold, and some which are halfe Gold, the which is
found in Pits and *Mynes*, and it is hard to worke. The third, is gotten in *powder*, and is the grea-
test quantitie, and this is found in *Riuers*, or in places where some streame of water hath passed,
and the *Riuers* of these *Indies* haue many, especially in the Kingdoms of *Chile*, *Quito*, *New Realme* 10
of *Granada*, and in the beginning of the Discoueries, there were many in the *Weather I-*
lands. The highest in touch is that of *Carabaya* in the *Piru*, and that of *Valdunia* in *Chile*, for it
reacheth to twentie three Charraets and an halfe, and yet it passeth.

Barleuento.

Chap. 19.
Of the bounds
of the Councel
or Audience of
The Kings, or
los Reyes.

Mountaines
cause that it
rayneth not in
the Playnes of
Piru.

h Some are of
epinion that
all plants and
trees are nou-
rished by va-
pours: yea that
the vapours of
the blood nour-
ish living
Creatures. So
Genesis in
Paradise, &c.
The Sunne as
Head of the
World, the
Heart as Sunne
in the Body,
causeth nour-
ishment by
vapours.

The Citie of
The Kings, or
los Reyes.

Such holinesse
of faith, such
meanes to e-
stablish it, force
gluing lips and
Lettice toge-
ther, as *Acofia*
complayneth.
Vniuersitie and
Iesuites.
Sea cooleth.

That which is called *Piru*, is proper and particularly the bounds of the Councell of *los Reyes*,
and is comprehended North and South, from sixe vnto seuen Southerne degrees of altitude,
which are two hundred and twentie leagues, though in Voyage they put three hundred from the
point del *Aguia*, beyond *Payta*, whereby it ioyneth with the Councell of *Quito*, till passing the
Citie and Port of *Arequipa*, where beginneth the Councell of the *Charcas*, East and West. The
inhabited part of this Councell hath about one hundred leagues from the Coast of the South Sea
toward the East, whereby her bounds remayne open vnto the Prouinces of the *Riuier of Plate*, and 20
of *Brasill*, that which is from the *Rowe*, where, as hath beene said, it rayneth continually, vnto
the Sea, they call the *Plaines of Piru*, in the which it neither rayneth nor thundreth, because
the great height of the Mountain doth shelter the *Plaines* in such sort, that it permitteth no wind
from the Earth to blow, whereby the Sea wind reigneth, which hauing no contrary doth not re-
presse the vapours that doe arise to make raine, in sort that the shelter of the Hill hindereth the
thickning of the vapours: and this want of matter causeth that in that Coast the vapours are so
thinne, that they make no more then a moy st or dankish mist, which is profitable for their sow-
ings, which haue not without the mist so much vertue, be they neuer so much watered. The
Countrey is all sandie grounds, except the Valleys which are made by courses of the *Riuers*,
that descend from the Mountayne, where much Corne is gathered by the waterings, Wine, 30
Oyle, Sugar, and the other Seeds, and Fruits, of *Castile*, and of the Countrey. In the skirts and
hills sides of the Mountayne, are great Pastures and breedings of cattell, and the temper variable,
and as would be desired; for the height is cold, and the low hot, and the middlemost partakers of
the extreames, as they are more or lesse neere them. The gouernment of this Councell, and of
Quito, and of the *Charcas*, is in the charge of the Vice-roy, and there are the Townes following
in the circuit of this Councell.

The Citie of the Kings (or of *Lima*, because the Valley is so called, which was the name of
the *Cazique*, and it is the greatest and broadest Valley, of all those that are from *Tumbez* vnto
it) stands neere the South Sea, in twelue degrees of Southerne altitude, and eightie two from the
Meridian of *Toledo*, distant from it about one thousand eight hundred and twentie leagues by a 40
greater circle: it hath about three thousand households: the Marques *Don Franciscus Pizarro*
built it, in the beginning of the yeere 1533. because suspecting that the President *Don Peter* of
Aluarado would come downe to the Sea coast, when hee went with an Host from *Guatemala*
to intercept him the passages of the Sea. Neere this citie, on the East side, passeth a *Riuier* from
whence all the houses doe take water, and their gardens, wherein are excellent fruits of *Castile*
and of the Countrey, and it is one of the best Climates of the World, seeing there is neither fa-
mine nor pestilence; nor doth it rayne or thunder, nor fall there any thunder-bolts or light-
nings, but the Heauen is alwayes cleere and very faire.

In this Citie is resident the Vice-roy, the Royall Councell, an assembly of chiefe Iustices, the 50
Officers of the Kings Rents, and treasure Royall, the Tribunall of the holy and generall Inqui-
sition, which was founded when the Inquisition of *New Spaine* was. The Inquisitor generall in
these Kingdomes was then the Cardinall *Don Iames* of *Espinosa* Bishop of *Siguença*, it hauing
proceeded with mature deliberation, for the augmenting of our holy Catholike Faith, and Chri-
stian Religion. There is also in this Citie an Vniuersitie, where very learnedly the Sciences are
read, and Schooles of diuers languages of the *Indians*, in the which the Fathers of the Companie
of Iesus are very diligent, to reape fruit in the preaching of the Gospell. In this Citie is the Arch-
episcopall resident, whose Suffraganes are the Bishops of *Chile*, *Charcas*, *Cuzco*, *Quito*, *Panama*,
Nicaragua, and the *Riuier of Plate*. There are three Parishes, and five Monasteries of the foure
leagues from it, great, capable, and very good, where are store of houses, one of Iustice, a custome 60
House, one Church, and one Monasterie of *Dominicke* Friars: here hath beene seene the Wine
and the Water set to coole in the Sea in flaggons, whence it is inferred that the Ocean hath the
vertue to temper and refresh the ouer-much heate. Many doe affirme that in this Citie are
twelue

twelve thousand Women of all Nations, and twentie thousand blacke-Moors.

Women and
Negros.
Arnedo.

The Village of *Arnedo* in the Valley of *Chanca*, is ten leagues from *The Kings*, and halfe a league from the Sea, with a Monasterie of *Dominicke* Friars, rich of Vines: the Earle of *Niua* built it. The Village of the * *Parrilla*, or *Santa*, is by the Valley where it stands, fiftie fve leagues from *The Kings*, and fteene from *Truxillo* neere the Sea, neere to a great and faire Riuer, with a good Haven, in nine degrees, where the ships that saile by the coast of *Piru* doe touch. The Citie of *Truxillo* is in the Valley of *Chimo*, which *Don James* of *Almagro* plotted first, and after-

* Or *Gridiron*

Truxillo.

ward the Marques *Don Francisco Pizarro* built it in the yeere 1533. It hath many Vines and fruits of *Castile*, and Wheat: it is all watered ground, and a wholefome Countrey, and there bee great Orchards of Oranges, and breeding of Poultry. It stands in seven degrees and a halfe, eightie leagues from *Lima* neere the Sea, with Monasteries of *Saint Dominicke*, *Saint Francis*, and *Saint Augustine*, and another of the *Mercenaries*, and Officers Royall, provided by the Vice-roy: and in her bounds about fiftie thousand tributarie *Indians*, in two and fortie repartitions. The Port is two leagues off in an open Bay, euill, and of little securitie. The Village of *Miraflores* is in the Valley of *Zana*, ninetie fve leagues from the Citie of *The Kings* to the North side, and neere to the Sea. The Citie of *Chachapoyas*, or *Saint John* of the Frontier, is about one hundred and twentie leagues from the Citie of *The Kings* to the North-east, it hath one Monasterie of the *Mercenaries*, and another of the *Franciscans*: in her bounds are Wheat, Millet, and Flaxe, many Mynes of gold, and more then twentie thousand tributarie *Indians*, which held out valorously

Miraflores.
Chachapoyas.

a long time against the *Ingas*, but in the end they were ouer-come, and for greater quietnesse of the Countrey they carried many of them vnto *Cuzco*, and they inhabited in a Hill which is called *Carmenga*. These are the whitest and best fauoured *Indians* of all the *Indies*, and the Women very faire. The Marshall *Alfonso* of *Aluara*, entred in this Prouince the yeere 1536. by order of the Marques *Don Francisco Pizarro*, and pacified it, and built the said Citie in a strong situation called *Leuanto*, and afterward he passed to the Prouince of the *Guancas*.

Faire *Indians*.

The Citie of *Saint James* of the Valleys, or *Moyobamba*, more then one hundred leagues from *The Kings* North-eastward, and fve and twentie from *Saint John* of the Frontier, stands in a very raynie soile, and plentifull of Cattell. The Citie of *Lion* of the *Guano*, fiftie leagues from the Citie of *The Kings* to the North, neere the high-way of the *Ingas*, fom what distant towards the East, hath Monasteries of *Dominicans*, *Franciscans*, and *Mercenaries*, and in her bounds thirtie thousand tributarie *Indians*, Anno 1539. for the warre that the Tyrant *Yllotopa* made to this Prouince, the Marques *Don Francisco Pizarro* sent Captaine *Oomez* of *Aluara* which built it, and

Saint James of
the Valleys.

Lion of *Guano*.

afterward it was disinhabited, and *Peter Barroso* reedified it, and after the battell of *Chupas* the Licentiate *Vaca de Castro*, sent Captaine *Pedro de Puellas* to make an end of the plantation. It stands in a good and wholefome situation, abundant of victuals and Cattell: it hath Mynes of filuer, and the people is of good capacite. They reape much Wheat, for the *Indians* haue learned to be good husbandmen: for as before in these *Indies* there was no Wheat, nor Barley, nor Millet, nor Panick, nor any seede of the bread of *Castile* of *Europe*, and they knew other kindes of Graine and Rootes, only of the which Mayz or Millet was the principall, being found in all the *Indies*; the Countreymen haue since delighted much in it, and haue receiued it well in those places where it is gathered, because the Mayz is not so strong nor of so much substance as the Wheat: it is fatter, and hot, and engendreth bloud, it groweth in Canes, and beareth one or two bunches, and some *Spaniards* doe eate it where they haue no other shif.

Qualities of
the Millet.

The Citie of *Guamanga*, or *Saint Iuan* of the Victorie, sixtie leagues from *Lima* to the South-east, in the way of the *Ingas*, Bishoprick of *Cuzco*, hath Monasteries of *Dominicans*, *Franciscans*, and *Mercenaries*, and one of Nunnes, and in her bounds more then thirtie thousand tributarie *Indians*: it is plentifull of Wheate and Wine, and rich of filber Mynes. The Marques *Don Francisco Pizarro* built this Citie 1539. and placed it the first time in a towne of *Indians* called *Guamanga*, neere to the great Row of the *Andes*, and left for his Lieutenant the Captaine *Francisco de Cardenas*. Afterward it was remoued to the Playne where now it is, neere to certaine small Hills on the South side, and nigh to a Brooke of good water. In this Citie are the best houses in *Piru*, of stone and bricke; the seate is healthfull, without offence of the Sunne, the Aire, the Dew, or the Moisture, or the Heate. There are found in her borders certaine great building

Guamanga.

Great build-
ings.

(which the *Indians* say certaine white men with beards, which came thither before the *Ingas*, did build) much differing from the building of the *Ingas*: the most of the Countreymen of this Countrey are *Mitimaes*, which is to say, *Transplanted*, for the *Ingas* did vse for the greater securitie of the Empire, to take from one Prouince the people they did not trust, and send them to liue in another.

Transplanting
as of *Egyptians*
Gen. 42. 21. the
Isachites, 2. Reg.
17. lewes to
Bab. &c.

Guamanga is sixtie leagues from *Cuzco*; and in the way are the Hills and Playne of *Chupas*, where *Vaca de Castro*, and *Don James* of *Almagro* the yonger did fight; and forward are the buildings of *Vilca*, in the high way to *Andabaylas*, eleuen leagues from *Guamanga*, which was the centre of the *Ingas*; and here was the great Temple of the Sunne. The Prouince of the *Andabaylas* is long and hath much tame Cattell, and victuals; from thence they come to the Riuer of *Abancay*, nine leagues neerer *Cuzco*, where the President *Don James* of *Almagro* the elder ouer-

Temple of the
Sunne.

threw

threw and apprehended *Alonso* of *Alvarado*, Generall of the Marques *Don Francisco Pizarro*. There followeth the River of *Apurima*, eight leagues from *Passado*, or the *Passage*, which is very great; and then the Hill of *Vilcaconga*, where the said President *Almagro* over-came a great battell of the *Indians*, before he won *Cuzco*, and the Valley of *Xaquixaguana* is neere betweene two rowes of Hills, not broad nor long, where the President *Pedro la Gasca*, by the vertue of those valiant and faithfull Captaines *Inojosa*, *Peter* of *Valdibia*, *Gabriel* of *Rojas*, *Alfonso* of *Alvarado*, and others (of the which in their place shall be made mention particularly) did over-throw *Gonzalo Pizarro*, and tooke him: and from this Valley to the Citie of *Cuzco* are five leagues: and in this Valley they gather great store of Wheat, and haue great store of Cattell.

Chap. 20.
Of that which
remayneth of
the Councell
of the Kings.

Eight or ten leagues from the Citie of *Guamanga*, somewhat North-westward, are the Mynes of *Guancabelica*, which they call *El Asiento de Oropeza*, where ordinarily are resident more then three hundred Spaniards. The *Indians* did worke in them to take out the red Oaker, to paint themselves when in the time of their Paganisme they went to warre, which is the Vermillion: and the Licenciado *Lope Garcia* of *Castro*, gouerning in *Piru* in the yeere 1566. a Portu- gall called *Henrie Garces*, considering that of the Vermillion the quick-silver is gotten, went to make a triall, and found it to be so. This metall the *Romanes* carried from *Castile* in stone, and out of it they got quick-silver, and held it for great riches. The *Indians* knew it not, nor minded any more then the vermilion. The greatest profit it yeeldeth, is to purifie the silver from the earth, Lead, and Copper, wherewith it groweth: it eateth all the other metals, and pierceth them as the Tin, Iron, and Lead, and therefore they carry it in leather, or vessels of earth. Quick-silver serueth also for other effects, and medicinall matters.

Profit of quick
silver.

Spring turning
into stone, and
killing.

Hot and cold
Bathes.

Salt spring.
Cordilleras or
rowes diuided,
Collao.

In this seat of *Guania Velica* is a spring, that as it springeth it congealeth in a soft stone, of the which they make their houses, and the Men or Beasts that doe drinke it, die: for within the body it conuerteth into a stone. In the Bathes that are called of *Inga* neere the *Cuzco*, are two spouts of water the one neere the other, the first is hot, and the second cold, that it seemeth God did place them there for to temper themselves. In the same bounds is a Spring, that as it springeth it becomes good and white salt: in this place the two great *Rowes* doe begin to separate themselves, and make in the middest a great Champaine ground, which is called the Province of *Collao*, where are very many Rivers, and there is the great Lake of *Titicaca*, and great pasture grounds. Though it be a plaine Countrie, it hath the same height and distemperature of the Hills; it hath no Trees, nor Wood; the bread that is eaten are rootes that are called *Papas*, which grow also in all *Piru*; it is a healthfull Countrie, and much inhabited, and multiplieth every day; it hath store of Cattell of all sorts.

The Lake Titi-
caca.

The Lake of *Titicaca* compasseth eightie leagues, and in some places it hath eightie fathom deepe, and in this, and in the waues are rayed when there is any winde, so that it seemeth as a Bay of the Sea, from which it stands about sixtie leagues, twelue or thirteene Rivers enter into it, and many Brookes, and from it goeth a River into another Lake, which they call the *Aulagas*, which hath no voyding place, though because some Eyes of water have bene seene that vnder ground goe into the Sea, it is iudged that it might bee the water of these Lakes did goe, opening a way through the entrails of the Earth vnto the Sea. Round about the great Lake are many Townes, and in it great Ilands, with great Tillage in them, and there were the *Indians* wont to keepe their most precious things for greater securitie.

Cuzco.

The great Citie of *Cuzco*, Seate Royall of the *Ingas*, and Head of their Empire (and now of the Kingdomes of *Piru*, by a Title which it hath of it from the Kings of *Castile* and *Lion*) stands in thirteene degrees and a halfe height, seuentie eight of longitude, one hundred and five and twentie leagues from the Citie of *The Kings* to the South-east, of more then one thousand Spanish households; the Marques *Don Francisco Pizarro* founded it. It hath eight Parishes, and foure Monasteries of the foure Orders, of *Saint Dominicke*, *Saint Francis*, *Saint Augustine*, the *Mercenaries*, and the Companie of *Iesus*, and one of Nunnes. Heere is resident the Cathedral, Suffragane to the Archbishopricke of *The Kings*. There goe from this Citie since the time of the *Ingas* from the Market place foure high ways towards the foure parts of the world; one called *Chinchasuyo* to the North, toward the Playnes and Province of *Quito*; another *Condesuyo*, to the West toward the Sea; the third called *Collasuyo*, to the South and *Chile*; and the fourth to the East, which they call *Andesuyo*, which goeth to the *Andes* and skirts of the Mountaine. It stands in a soile of a good temper, moderately fresh and healthfull, free from all venemous wormes, and plentifull of all things, with a thousand kindes of fruits of *Castile*, and smelling herbes and flowres at all times which are of great delight. In her iurisdiction is the Valley of *Toyma*; there is great trafficke of *Coca*, and shoues of Gold, Silver, and Quick-silver, and there may bee in her borders about an hundred thousand tributarie *Indians*. In all the parts of these *Indies* the *Indians* haue a great delight in carrying ordinarily in the mouth Rootes, Boughes, or Herbes, and that which they most vse in all *Piru*, is the *Coca*, for as they say, they feele little hunger, and finde themselves with great vigour

Foure high
ways most
admirable.

No venemous
wormes.

Coca a tree.

chewing

chewing it alwaies, though it rather seemeth a custome inherited, or a vice. This is planted, and groweth to small trees, which are cultivated and cherished, and yeeld a leafe like myrtle, and dried they carry it in baskets to sell, and much mony is gotten by it.

In the Valley of *Vulcambamba*, stands *Saint Francis of the victorie* in *Andesuyo*, between the *Rom* of the *Andes*, about twentie leagues from *Cuzco* to the East side, with a Gouvernour provided by the Vice-Roy: it is of the Bishopricke of *Cuzco*, in a rough ground, and of great Mountaines.

The village of *Saint John del Oro*, is in the Province of *Curabaya* eightie leagues from *Cuzco* to the East South-east, and thirtie to the East from the Lake of *Collao*, and it is called *del Oro*, of the Gold, for the great store that is in her borders. The Citie of *Arequipa* is in sixteen degrees somewhat more, one hundred and thirtie leagues from the Citie of *The Kings*, almost to the South-east as the Coast runneth, and sixtie from the Citie of *Cuzco*, of the Bishopricke of *Cuzco*: it hath Monasteries of *Dominicks*, *Franciscans*, and *Mercenaries*; it hath fiftie thousand tributarie *Indians*, and is of most pleasant temperature to live in of all places in *Piru*. They gather in her borders great store of Wine, and Wheat. The Port is at the entrie of the River *Chilo*, which passeth neere the Citie where the merchandize is unladed.

Arequipa stands in the Valley of *Quilca*, fourteene leagues from the Sea. In her iurisdiction is the Province of *Condesuyo*, the Townies of the *Hubinas*, *Gollaguas*, *Chiquiguanita*, and *Quimsaca*; the Marques *Don Francisco Pizarro* built it 1534. it is very subiect to earth-quakes as all these *Indies*, especially the Sea coasts. In the yeere 1582. there was an earth-quake that almost

ruinated this Citie; and since there hath bene another, and a breaking out of a *ferie month*, whereof they tell strange things, in the yeere 1586. There was another in the Citie of *The Kings* the ninth of Iuly, which ran one hundred and seuentie leagues in length by the Sea side, and fiftie within the Land; it spoyle the Citie, indangered few people, because they went out into the fields, and a little after the earth-quake was past, the Sea went out of her bounds, and entred a great way within the Land fourteene fathom deepe. Such another earth-quake was in *Quito* the next yeere, in the Citie of *la Paz* in the yeere 1581. a great high Rocke fell which tooke vnder it a great many *Indian* witch trees, and the earth which fell did run one league and a halfe. In *Chile* was another great earth-quake that ouer-threw Mountaines and Valleys, stopped the Current of the Rivers, brought the Sea out of her limits the space of some leagues, cast downe whole Townes, and slue many men. The Philosophers say that the earth-quake proceedeth from the heate of the Sunne, and of other celestiaall Bodies, which not onely doe draw the exhalation to themselves, and the vapour of the superficies of the earth, but that also which is in the bowels of it, which comming out engendreth windes and raynes; and if it happen that the earth is so close that the exhalation cannot come out any way, then it mooueth from one part to another through the pores of the earth, with great violence breaking forth, as the powder in a Myne, tearing with such a furious rage, that it renteth the earth where it is, and openeth it selfe a way with great furie, and so much more furious it is, how much more the exhalation inclosed is greater.

The Village of *Saint Michael de la Ribera* is fixe leagues from the Sea, in the Valley of *Camana*, one hundred and thirteene leagues from *The Kings*, two and twentie from *Arequipa* to the part of the Equinoctiall, of the Bishopricke of *Cuzco*. The Village of *Valverde* in the Valley of *Yca*, five and thirtie leagues from the Citie of *The Kings*, ten from the Port of *Saugalla*, is of the iurisdiction of *The Kings*, and of the Archbishopricke; her borders are plentifull of Wheat, Millet, and Fruits, and of much Wine.

The Village of *Canyete*, or of *Guarco*, by the Valley where it stands, is distant from *The Kings* five and twentie leagues to the South, one league and a halfe from the Sea: her bounds are plentifull of bread the best of this Kingdome, whence is carried great quantitie of meale to *Terra firme*. Before the comming to this Valley, are the Valleys of *Chilca*, and *Mala*; in the first it neuer rayneth, neither passeth any Fountaine nor Brooke through it, and they drinke of the Wells, and it is full of arable grounds, and fruits, which grow onely by the dew of the Heauen. They catch many Pilcherds in the Sea, and with euery graine of Millet they put into the hole where it is sowne one or two of the heads, and with that moysture it groweth well. In the Valley of *Mala*, *Don James* of *Almagro*, and *Don Francisco Pizarro* being in quarrell, the father *Bonadilla* of the *Merced* or *Mercenarie* Order, as an Arbitrator resolved their differences; through this Valley passeth a great River, which doth them great pleasure. Fiue leagues forward is the River of *Guarco* in a Valley most plentifull in all things, where the Countymen maintayned the warre foure yeeres against the *Incas*, and to preferue it they caused to build a Citie, and called it *Cuzco*, and erected for the triumph of the victorie a great Fortresse on a Hill, that the waues of the Sea doe beate vpon the stayres. Sixe leagues from *Guarco* is the Valley of *Chincha*, famous, pleasant, and very plentifull, where a Monasterie of *Dominicke* Friars was built in stead of the Temple of the Sunne which the *Indians* had, with the Monasterie of the *Virgins*. Then followeth the Valley of *Yca*, which is no lesse, nor lesse plentifull, going out of the Valleys, and Rivers of the *Nasca*, and the principall is called *Caxamalca*, where excellent Wines are made. They goe from these Valleys to that of *Huari*, where stands *Ocanna*, *Camana*, and *Quilca*, which is the Port of the Citie of *Arequipa*, and forward are the Valleys of *Chuli*, and

Eccc

Tambo

Saint Francis
of the victorie.Saint John of
the Gold.

Arequipa.

Earth-quakes
in the Indies
very terrible
and strange.From whence
the earth-
quakes doe
proceede.Saint Michael
of the Riber.

Valverde.

Guarco.

Fertility with
out raine.
Pilcherds.

Ports, Capes,
and Points of
these Bounds
of the Counsell
of The Kings.

Tambopalla, and the Deylo, and them of Tarapaca, Rivers and plentifull, with good Mynes of silver, and neere the Sea; the Indians of the Lands of The Seales doe carry great store of Fowles dung for their grounds, wherewith of a barren, they make a plentifull ground.

There are in the coast of this Counsell from the Point del Agua, of the Needle, wherethe ioyneeth with that of Quito, in sixe degrees of Southerne altitude, the Lands and Ports following; two Lands which they call de Lobos in seven degrees, the one foure leagues from the Coast, and the other more to the Sea; and forward another called of Saint Roque to the South-east, neere to Pazcamayo, and forward Puerto de Mal Abrigo, ten leagues before the Port of Traxilla, in seven degrees and a halfe, and seven leagues from the Port of Guanaque, and of Santa in nine degrees, and five leagues from this to the South, Porta Ferrol, and six from it that of Cuzco; and after ward eight leagues the Port of Guarmey at the mouth of a River, and the Barranca twentie leagues to the South; and the Port of Gaura where is a very great Salt pit; and after this the Island of Lima, at the entrie of the Port of Collao; and twentie leagues to the South the Point of Guarco, and one Island de Lobos Marinos, or Seale fishes neere to it, and the Point of Chica in fittene degrees, and neere to the Nasca; and forward the Point of Saint Laurence, in the Valley of Quilca, and neere the River of Arequipa, and the Creeke of Chulien; and after ward the River of Nombre de Dios, where the limits doe ioyne by the Coast of the Counsell of The Kings, and of Charcas.

Chap. 21.
Of the Bounds
of the Counsell
or Audience of
the Plate, or of
Charcas.

The bounds of the Counsell of Charcas (which parteth limits with that of The Kings, stands in twentie degrees and a halfe of Southerne altitude, by the River of Nombre de Dios, and the beginning of the Lake of Collao) hath in length three hundred leagues vnto the Valley of Coptapo, beginning of the Prouince of Chile in eight and twentie degrees of height, though in voyage they are reckoned neere foure hundred leagues East and West, that which is betweene of the South Sea vnto the North Sea, or South which answereth to the Prouinces of the River of Plate, which though it is not altogether discouered, it is vnderstood that by placing all the Countrie of this Counsell in much altitude, it is more cold then hot.

The Government of this Counsell, is at the charge of the Vice-roy of Piru, as that of the Counsell of Quito, and of The Kings: there are two Gouvernours, and two Bishopricks, that of Charcas and Tucuman. The Prouince of the Charcas (which commonly is named that which is from the bounds of the Counsell of The Kings, till they passe Potosi) hath in length North and South about one hundred and fiftie leagues, and as many East and West; a Countrie not very plentifull, though abundant of Cattell, especially in Collao, that is from the Lake of Titicaca vnto Charcas, where the Winter and Summer are contrarie to Europe: it is a plentifull Countrie of all Cattell, especially of sheepe, which are many, and of a very fine wooll.

In this Prouince are foure Townes of Spaniards of one Bishopricke, which are the Citie of the Plate, which the Captaine Peranzures inhabited, in the yeere 1583. by order of the Marques Don Francisco Pizarro. It stands in seuentie two degrees of longitude from the Meridian of Toledo, from whence it may be distant by a greater circle one thousand seven hundred and eightie leagues, and in nineteene degrees of latitude, one hundred seuentie five leagues from Cuzco to the South, or Antartick Pole within the Tropicks, in the vttermost of the Torrid Zone. There are in the borders of this Citie in Chacaras (which are manured grounds) eight hundred Spanish households. It is a Countrie extreme cold, whereas it should be temperate or hot, according to the height of the Pole it stands in: the Counsell and the Cathedrall is resident in this Citie, and there are Monasteries of Dominicks, Franciscans, Augustines, and Mercenarie Friars, and in her iurisdiction sixtie thousand tributarie Indians, diuided in nine and twentie repartitions, and the feedes of Castile doe grow well, and there are many rich mynes of silver.

The Citie of our Lady of the Peace, by another name the New Towne, and Chuquiabo, in the midst of the Collao, one hundred leagues from Cuzco, and eightie from the Plate, hath Monasteries of Franciscans, Augustines, and Mercenaries, with store of Wines and Cattell. Captaine Alfonso of Mendoza built it 1549. when was President the Gouvernour of Piru, the Licenciado Pedro de la Gasca, after ward Bishop of Siguença. The Prouince of Chichuito in Collao, somewhat North-east from the Prouince of Plata, more then an hundred leagues from it, inhabited by Indians, with a Spanish Gouvernour, of the Bishopricke of Charcas, and one Monasterie of Dominicks, hath much Cattell, and it stands at the border of Titicaca. Oropesa, is a plantation of the Vice-roy Don Francisco de Toledo, in the Valley of Cochabamba, twentie leagues from the Citie of la Plata; their husbandrie is crops of Wheat, Millet, and Cattell.

The Imperiall Towne of Potosi is in nineteene degrees of altitude, eightene leagues from the Citie of the Plate, and about eight from the Lake of the Amagas to the East, in the skirt of the Hill of Potosi, that looketh to the North-east; it hath five hundred households of Spaniards which doe attend the mynes, and of Merchants, and about 50000. Indians of ordinarie goers and commers to the trafficke of the silver. And though it be a Towne of it selfe, it hath no Ruler, but that of the citie de la Plata. There reside the Officers, and Royall treasure of this Prouince, for the mynes of the Hill of Potosi, which a Castillane discovered 1545. called Villareal, by meanes of certain

Heredades de
grangetias.

Our Lady of
the Peace.

Chichuito.

Oropesa.

Potosi.

taine Indians; and it is called *Potosi*, because the Indians doe so call Hills and high places; and the siluer was so much that they got at the beginning in the yeere 1549. euery Saturday; that when they cast it, there came to the Kings fifts from fise and twentie to thirtie thousand Pesos. The Hill is flat and bare, their habitation drie and cold, vnpleasent, and altogether barren. It bringeth forth no fruit, graine or herbe, and because of the siluer it is the greatest inhabiting of the *Indies*, which hath about two leagues in circuit, and where all kinde of dainties are found, and plentie, though brought thither by carriages. The colour of the ground of the Hill draweth towards red, darke. The forme is like a Sugar loafe, that ouer-peareth all the other Hills that are neere it: the going vp is rough, and yet they goe vp on horse-backe; it extendeth a league, and from his top to the foote is about a quarter of a league. It hath on all sides rich veines of siluer, from the top to the foote, and the Port of *Arica* whereby the merchan-

dize come, and the siluer of this Hill is carried; is from it about ninetie leagues, almost West. Sixe leagues from the aforesaid Hill in the way of the Port of *Arica*, is the Hill of *Porco*, an ancient seat of Mynes of siluer: whence it is affirmed the *Incas* got the greatest part of the siluer that was in the Temple of the Sunne of *Curianche*, whence yet is and will much siluer be gotten.

Santa Cruz de la Sierra stands one hundred leagues from the *Charcas* to the East, in the way whereby they goe from the *Charcas* to the *Assumption*, in the Prouinces of the Riuer of *Plate*, whitherto they make three hundred leagues iourney, with a Gouvernour provided by the Vice-roy, of the Diocesse of the *Charcas*, and one Monasterie of *Mercenaries*, in a Countrie scarce

of water, though plentiful of Wheat, Wine, and Millet. This Prouince hath neighbour- hood with many Nations of Infidell Indians, and many of them are already baptized, and the first that strooke a deuotion in the Countymen, was a *Spanish* Souldier, * that was among them, fled for faults; which for a great anguish they were in for water made them a great Crosse, and perswaded them to worship with great deuotion that same Crosse, and to aske water; and God for his mercy heard them, and sent them much raine in the yeere 1560. The Cap- taine *Nuslo* of *Chanes* went out of the Citie of the *Assumption* in the Riuer of *Plate*, to disco- uer, and comming to *Santa Cruz* of the Hill, hauing made great discoueries, the people came vnto him, and seeming to him that hee was neere to *Piru*, went to the Citie of *The Kings*, where the Marques of *Canyete* was Vice-roy, and with his order, and for Lieutenant of his sonne *Don Garcia* of *Mendoza*, the Captaine *Nuslo* of *Chanes* went againe to inhabit this Citie, though he came out of the Riuer of *Plate*, with purpose to discouer the Prouinces of the *Dorado*.

In the Coast of this Countie, which beginneth in seuenteene degrees and a halfe in the Ri- uer of *Nombre de Dios*, or *Tambopalla*, is the Port of *Hilo* neere to a Riuer, in eightene de- grees and a halfe, and more to the South, *El Morro de los Diablos*, and the Port of *Arica* in nineteene degrees one third part, and that of *Tacama* in one and twentie, and the Point of *Ta- rapaca* to the South, and more forward the Riuer of *Pica*, and that of *de la Hoia*, or of the *Leafe*, and of *Montelo*, the Port of *Mexillanes*, and more to the South the Point of the *Beacones*, or *Morro Moreno*, before the Bay and Riuer of *Santa Clara*, and more to the South the *Breach*, and the *White point*, and the *Deepe breach*, and the Riuer of *Santa Clara*, about thirtie leagues from the Riuer of *Copapo*, where the Coast of *Chile* beginneth, and the Coast of the *Charcas* endeth. The Prouince and Government of *Tucuman*, is all Mediterrane; her bound begins from the Countrie of the *Chichas*, which are of the iurisdiction of the Imperiall village of *Potosi*: it stands in the same Line of the Citie of the *Assumption* of the Riuer of *Plate*, about an hundred leagues from the South Sea coast; it doth confine with the Prouince of *Chile*, it is a Countrie of a good temper, reasonably plentiful, and vntill now without Mynes of siluer, or gold. There is in it some *Spanish* Townes in one Bishopricke, which are of the Citie of *Saint Jago del Estero*, which at the beginning they named *del Varco*, or of the *Boate*, in eight and twentie degrees of altitude, one hundred eightie fise leagues from *Potosi* to the South, declining somewhat to the East: the Gouvernour and the Officers of the goods, and treasure Royall, and the Bishop, and the Cathedrall are resident here.

The Citie of *Saint Marie* of *Talauera*, is fise and fortie leagues from *Saint James* to the North, and fortie from *Potosi* in fise and twentie degrees. The Citie of *Saint Michael* of *Tucuman* eight and twentie leagues from *Saint James* to the West, in the way of the *Charcas* in seven and twentie degrees. There were inhabited in this Government in the time of *Don Garcia* of *Men- doza*, his father the Marques of *Canyete* being Vice-roy, the *New London*, and *Calchaque*, which they called *New wisdom*, in the Prouince of the *Iurias*, and *Draguira*, which after- ward were dishabited within a few yeeres. The people of this Countrie goeth clothed in wool- len, and in wrought leather, made by arte like the guilt or wrought leather of *Spaine*: they breed much Cattell of the Countrie, by reason of the profit of their wooll: they haue the Townes ve- ry neere the one to the other, and the Townes are small, because there is but one kindred in eue- ry one, they are compassed round about with *Cardones*, and thornie trees for the warres that they had among themselves. They are great husbandmen, and it is a people that is not drunke, for they are not giuen to drinke, as other Nations of the *Indies*. There are in the Prouince seven mayne Riuers, and more then eightie Brookes of good waters, and great pastures: the Winter

Arica

Porco

The holycrosse of the Hill.

* This Apostle after his mira- cles, many was for wickednes hanged at Po- tosi. See Act. 7. c. 27.

Ports & Points of this Coun- sell.

Los Farallones.

Punta Blanca.
Quebrada Honda.
Prouince of *Tucuman*.

Saint James of the Marsh.

Talauera.
Saint Michael.
New London.
Hisp. Nueva Cordura.

1 A kinde of Thistle that groweth euery stemme foure inches square, and as high as a man on horse backe, and taketh much ground, for there grow many out of one roote,

and the Summer are at such times as in *Spaine*: it is a healthfull Countrie and of a good temper, and the first that entred in it, were the Captaines *Diego de Rojas*, *Philip Gutierrez*, and *Nicolas de Heredia*; they discovered on this side the *Riuer of Plate* vnto the Fortresse of *Gabota*.

Chap. 22.
Of the bounds
of the King-
dome of *Chile*.

Rio de la Sal.

On *Diego de Almagro* was provided the yeere 1534. in *Toledo* for Gouvernour of two hundred leagues of ground beyond the Gouvernment of the Marques *Don Francisco Pizarro*, toward the Streight of *Magellan*, intituling this part, *The new gouernment of Toledo*. Hee went to pacifie this Countrie, and because he forsooke it, it was giuen in charge to the Marques *Don Francisco Pizarro* 1537. and he commended it 1540. to the Captaine *Peter of Valdinia*; who went thither with one hundred and fiftie *Spaniards*. All the Countries of this Kingdome lye to the South of the Equinoctiall, in a more Southerne altitude then the Kingdome of *Piru*, and her Prouinces within the Torride, from the Equinoctiall vnto the Tropicke of *Capricorne*, which passeth a Desart, which they call of *Atacama*, which is from twentie three to twentie fixe degrees, and then beginneth the Kingdome of *Chile*, which the *Indians* call *Chille*, and before the inhabited Countrie is the *Riuer of The Salt*, in three and twentie degrees and three quarters; which from the East side of the *Row* of Mountaines, runneth to the West into the Sea, through a very deepe Valley, and though it hath the water very cleere; all that the Horses are wet with it when they drinke, is congealed with the heate of the Sunne; and it is so meere salt that it cannot bee drunke, and in the borders it is congealed: the *Riuer* is before the entring in the first Prouince of *Chile* two and twentie leagues where the *Xagneyes* are, which are Wells of water, for there is no other in the two and twentie leagues, and all the Kingdome stands within the Zone; which the ancient men called *Deserte*, which is inhabited with white *Indians*, and it is situated on the borders of the South Sea, which is *Mare Magnum*, which is included betweene her Coast and the Coast of *China*.

This Gouvernment taken largely vnto the Streight, hath in length North and South, from the Valley of *Copisapo* where it beginneth in seuen and twentie degrees, five hundred leagues, and in breadth East and West, from the South Sea to the North Sea, from foure hundred to five hundred of ground to be pacified, which doth straighten it selfe, till it remayneth by the Streight in ninetie or in an hundred leagues. That which is inhabited of this Gouvernment, may bee three hundred along the North Sea coast, and the breadth of it twentie leagues and lesse, vnto the *Rowe* of the *Andes*, which doe end neere the Streight, and it passeth through this Kingdome very high, and almost couered at all times with snow. All the Countrie is plaine, at the least there is no great roughnesse, except where the *Rowe* of *Piru* doth reach, and doth end within two or three leagues of the Coast.

The temper and qualitie of it (though it bee not without some difference for the varieties of the heights it standeth in altogether) is of the best, and most inhabitable that is in the *Indies*, in temperature like vnto *Castile*, in whose opposite altitude it falleth almost all, and in abundance and goodnesse of victuals, and plentie of all things, riches of Mynes and Metals, and force and vigour of the Countymen, which for being so great warriors haue alwayes bene euill to pacifie, and there bee many out in the Mountaines, and Breaches of the end of the *Rowe*, the Prouinces of *Arauco*, *Tucapel*, and the Valley of *Puren*, the bounds and borders betweene the Citie of the *Conception*, and *los Confines*, and *la Imperial*.

Saint Iames.

In this Gouvernment are eleuen Spanish Townes, with a Gouvernour placed in the matters of the Gouvernment to the Vice-roy, and Councill of *Piru*, after the Councill that was in the Countrie was taken away; and there is in it two Bishopricks Suffraganes to the Archbishoprick of the Kings. In the Bishopricke of *Saint Iames* are foure Townes. The Citie of *Saint Iames*, in the time of the first inhabiting of *Chile*, founded by Captaine *Peter of Valdinia*, it stands in thirtie foure degrees and a quarter of altitude, seuentie seuen of longitude, one thousand nine hundred and eightie leagues from *Toledo* by a direct Line, fiftene from the Sea, and ten beyond the Valley of *Chile*, which they named at the first *New Extreame*. In it is the Cathedrall resident with Monasteries of *Dominicke*, *Franciscan*, and *Mercenarie* Friars, in a plentifull soile of wheat, Wine, and other things, and of very rich Mynes of gold, and in her iurisdiction more then eightie thousand *Indians* in fixe and twentie repartitions. This Citie is serued of the Port of *Valparaiso* at the mouth of the *Riuer Topocalma*, which passeth neere vnto it.

The Serena.

Raines seldome
and neuer
Coquimbo.

Mendoza.

Saint Iohn of

the Frontier.

Captaine *Valdinia* peopled also *la Serena* in the yeere 1544. neere to a good Hauens; it is the first Towne of *Spaniards*, at the entrie of *Chile* sixtie leagues from the Citie of *Saint Iames*, somewhat North-west neere to the Sea in the Valley of *Coquimbo*, with Monasteries of *Franciscan*, and *Mercenarie* Friars. It rayneth in it but three or foure times a yeere, and in the Countries before it, it neuer rayneth. The Port which they call of *Coquimbo*, stands in two and thirtie degrees, it is a good Nooke where the ships of *Piru* doe make a stay. In the Prouince of *Chuchito*, which is on the other side of the *Rowe* of the *Andes*, in a cold and barren Countrie, doe stand the Citie of *Mendoza*, and of *Saint Iohn* of the Frontier; for *Don Garcia* of *Mendoza* peopled them both. The Citie of *Mendoza* is of the same height with *Saint Iames*, about thortie leagues from it, of a difficult way, for the snow that is in the *Andes*. The Citie of *Saint Iohn* of the Frontier stands to the South of the Citie of *Mendoza*.

In

In the Bishopricke of the Imperiall are seuen Spanish Townes, which are the Citie of the *Conception* in seuen and thirtie degrees of height, seuentie leagues to the South of the Citie of *Saint Iames*, neere to the Sea, *Peter Valdinia* inhabited it in the yeere 1550. The Gouvernours are resident in it, since the Councell (that was there from the yeere 1567. vnto 1574.) was taken away. There are Monasteries of *Dominicans*, *Franciscans*, and *Mercenarie* Friars. The Port of this Citie stands in a nooke at the shelter of an Island. The Citie of the new village of *los Infantes*, or *los Confines*; *Don Garcia* of *Mendoza* peopled it, and the Gouverneur *Villagran* commanded it to be called *de los Confines*. It stands sixteene leagues from the *Conception* to the side of the Streight, eight leagues from the *Row* of the *Andes*, and foure from that which goeth along the Coast. It hath one Monasterie of *Dominicans*, another of *Franciscan* Friars. The warlike *Indian* come to the bounds of this Citie, and the mayne River *Biobio* by them, and others which doe enter into it, and the River *Ninequeten*.

Now village of the Infants.

Peter of *Valdinia* peopled the Citie of the Imperiall 1551, which is in nine and thirtie degrees of height, nine and thirtie leagues from the *Conception* toward the Streights side, three leagues from the Sea, where the Cathedrall is resident with one Monasterie of *Franciscans*, another of *Mercenarie* Friars; and in her bounds are more then eightie thousand *Indians*, with many other that in her bounds are in armes. The River *Cauten* passeth neere it, which is nauigable to the Sea, though the Hauen bee not good nor secure. Captaine *Valdinia* peopled also the Rich Village, sixteene leagues from *Imperiall*, about the South-eastward, and about foure and fortie from the *Conception*, neere to the *Snowy Row*, with one Monasterie of *Franciscans*, another of *Mercenaries*, in a Countrey cold and barren of Bread and Wine.

The Imperiall.

Hisp. Villavica. d Cordillera Nevada.

The Citie of *Valdinia* is two leagues off the Sea, and fiftie from the *Conception* to the Streight ward: peopled also by Captaine *Valdinia*, with Monasteries of *Dominicans*, *Franciscans*, and *Mercenaries*, in a plentifull Countrey of Wheat, and Seedes, and in places of good pastures for Cattell, and without Vines. The merchandize comes vp by the River of *Valdinia*, which passeth neere it, and the Port stands in the mouth of it in fortie degrees of height. The Citie of *Oorno*, *Don Garcia* of *Mendoza* peopled, sixtie leagues or more from the *Conception* to the port of the Streight, seuen leagues from the Sea. It hath one Monasterie of *Dominicans*, another of *Franciscans*, with another of Nunnes, in a cold Countrey, scarce of victuals, but of much gold, and in her bounds two hundred thousand *Indians* of repartition. The Citie of *Castro*, which was inhabited by the Licentiate *Lope Garcia de Castro*, being Gouverneur of the Kingdomes of *Piru*, the which is called in the *Indian* tongue *Chilue*, which is the last of the inhabited in *Chile*, in an Island of those that are in the Lake of *Ancud*, or *Chilue*, and the *Archipelagus* stands in three and fortie degrees of altitude, one and fortie leagues to the South of *Oorno*, with a Monasterie of *Franciscans*, with twelue thousand *Indians* of repartition in her bounds, for it is an Island of fiftie leagues in length, and from two vntill nine in breadth, which the Sea made with other great ones, tearing the Land vnto the *Row* of the *Andes*. It is a mountaynous Countrey, and close, plentifull of Wheate, and of Millet, and Mynes of flying & Gold, on the Strand a thing fewe times, or seldom seene.

Valdinia.

Oorno.

Castro.

Orobolador.

The Gouverneur *Villagran* tooke away the name of the Citie which was *Canyete*, that *Don Garcia* of *Mendoza* inhabited, and commanded to call it *Tucapel*, and afterward disinhabited it. There are in this Gouvernement which beginneth in two and twentie degrees, the Port and River of *Copeapo*, and to the South of it, the Port of *Guafoin* another River, and the River of *Coquimbo* in two and thirtie degrees: and past this the Port of the *Cigua* in the River, and the Port of *Quintero* at the mouth of the River of *Concagua*, before the Port of *Saint Iames*, or *Valparayso*, and the Port of *Topocalma* in the River of *Maypa*: and past the River of *Mauls* the Port of the *Herradura*, at the mouth of the River *Itata*, before the Port of the *Conception* in the great River of *Biobio* to the North, the Island of *Saint Marie* right against the State of *Aranco*, and the Port of *Canyete*, and the Island of *Mocha* more to the South, and the Port of *Cauten*, which is that of the Imperiall, and to the South the landing place and the River of *Tolten* before the Port of *Valdinia*, and past this the Point of the Galley, and more to the South the great Bay or Port of *Oorno* in the River *de las Canoas*, and to the South of it about thirtie leagues to the Lake of *los Coronados* the broadest River of this Realme, and at the end of this Realme the Lake of *Ancud*.

Ports and Rivers of this government.

e. Or Horse-shoe.

Men doe call the Streight of *Magellanes*, that which is past the River of *Plate* by the South Sea; from the last of *Chile*, vnto the Streight two hundred leagues before it, from two and fortie or three and fortie degrees of altitude, vnto two and fiftie and more, for although men haue sayled through both the Seas diuers times, and seene people in them vnto the Streight it selfe, it hath not bene pacified, nor made inhabiting, but that which the fleete that *Diego Flores de Valdes* carried to the Streight left in the mouth of the Streight on the North side, in the yeere 1582. which was called the Citie of *Saint Philip*, which for being in so much altitude could

Chap. 24. Of the Prouinces of the Streight.

HONDIUS his Map of the MAGELLAN Streight.



not be preferred for the great cold, and therefore that navigation is difficult and dangerous for the continuall tempests, and great stormes of windes that are at all times.

Ports, Capes,
and Points of
these two
Coasts.

g Hisp. Alcar-
chafado, of the
colour of an
Artichoke.
Or Ferdinando
of Galicia.

Sir Richard
Hawkins.

Streight of
Magellan.

The Ports, Capes, and Points of the Coast of the one and the other Sea vnto the Streight, although they be many, and some are not pointed in the Cardes of Navigation, it appeareth not wholly, neither is there any certaine relation of all. And the most knowne of the Coast from Chile vnto the Streight, which runneth from *Valdivia* about an hundred leagues to the West South-west are, the Cape of Saint Andrew in seven and fortie degrees, from whence the Coast turneth directly to the South vnto the Streight, by the Cape of Saint Roman in eight and fortie degrees, and neere vnto it the Island of Saint Catalina, neere to the great Bay which they call *Hartichoked*, and within it the Bay of our Lady, and the Island of Santa Barbara, and more forward the Ports of *Hernan Gallego* in eight and fortie degrees two third parts, and the Bay of *The Kings* eightene leagues from the Port of *Hernan Gallego*, and the Bay of Saint John in fiftie degrees one third part, the Cape of Saint Francisco in one and fiftie, whereby some Channels doe enter into the Land, and the Island de la Campana, or of the Bell, eleven leagues from Saint Francisco: also with some Channels which haue not beene navigated within the Land, and the Bay of Saint Lazarus in two and fiftie degrees, with Channels on the sides, which enter very broad and long to the one and the other parts, which haue not beene navigated, and a great Sea of Islands which alwayes was said to bee at the South side neere to the mouth of the Streight, the which Sir Richard Hawkins denyeth; for hee saith, That at this mouth of the Streight on the South side, he found no more then foure small Islands, and one in the middest like a Sugar loofe, and that at the least they are distant from the mouth of the Streight fixe leagues, and the great Sea is on the one side, and he holdeth for certaine it is that which they say is the firme Land of the South side of the Streight, and that there is no firme land. The Streight though they haue past it from the South to the North side, by order of the Vice-roy Don Francisco of Toledo, Peter Sarmiento, and Antonio Pablo Corso, and it is knowne it stands from 52. to 53. degrees of altitude, where it draweth most to the South, and that in length it hath one hundred and ten leagues,

leagues, or one hundred and fiftene, little more or lesse, and in breadth from one to tenne: it hath neuer bene navigated to an end from the South Sea to the North Sea, nor the Pyrats that haue past it from the North to the South, are vnderstood to haue returned by it. The aboue said Sir *Richard Hawkins* saith, that he sailed many dayes by the Straight, and affirmeth that all the Countrie on the South side is no firme Land, but many Ilands which reach to 36. degrees; the which he might know, because he sayled to the same 36. degrees through the middelt of those Ilands, and seeing he found nothing but Sea, hee followed his course againe through by the Straight, and that this cannot be so farre, the differences of Seas, which the many entrings doe cause that are among those Ilands, and that the habiting of them is of people on the North side, which doe passe to those Ilands to sustaine themselves of fishings, and in their seasons returne to their Countreies; and that he comprehended this of many things especially of not hauing seene any seated Inhabitating, but some Cabbins which the *Indians* doe make for a time. The same said Sir *Francis Drake*, that it hapned him when he passed the Straight, the yeare 1579. who after his comming out into the South Sea, he ran along with tempests compassing this Sea, vnto the mouth of the North Sea, and by the same way he had runne, he made sure his navigation to the South Sea.

This is not true: for Cap-
taine Winter &
others haue
done it; which
howeuer he
calls Pirats, yet
they haue bet-
ter descouered
these Straights
then the *Spani-
ards*.

The parts most famous of the Straight at the entring of the South are the Cape *Deseado*, or *Desired*, in 53. degrees, and the Channell of all *Saints*, two and twentie leagues from the mouth, very broad, and large, and past it the port of the *Treason*, and afterward another great large Chan-
nell which runneth to the North-west, and *Rowlands Bell*, a great Rocke in the middelt at the be-
ginning of a Channell. They gaue it this name of one of *Magellanes* fellowes called *Rowland*,
who went to reacknowledge it, which was a Gunner: the point of possession which is foure
leagues from the Cape of *Virgenes*, at the entring of the North Sea in 52. degrees and a halfe of
altitude, when *Peter Sarmiento*, and *Antonie Pablo Corso* by order which they had to reknow-
ledge the Straight, for it had bene commanded long before for to see if it were a more ea-
sie navigation to the South Sea, then that of *Panama*: they viewed the two narrow places, that
at the entrie of the North, and it seemed to *Peter Sarmiento* that the one was so narrow, that
with Artillerie it might be kept, and so much he perswaded it, that although the Duke of *Alua*
affirmed it was impossible, the Armie which *James Flower* carried vnfruitfully was sent about it,
and in the end was knowne that that navigation is dangerous, and the flowing of two Seas which
come to meete in the middelt of the Straight, doe withdraw themselves with such furie, ebbing
in some places more then sixtie fathoms, that when the *Shippes* did carry nothing but Ca-
bles to preserue themselves from loosing that which they had sayled, they would goe full
froaghted.

*Or Vine Twig;
Or Ordinance,

In foure hundred leagues, there is of Coast from the mouth of the Straight, vnto the Riuer of
Plate, which runneth altogether North-east and South-west, there is the Riuer of *Saint Ilesofus*
twelue leagues from the Cape of the *Virgenes*, the *Gallaxian* Riuer, and the Bay of *Saint James*,
foureteene leagues from the Riuer of *Santa Cruz*, in 50. degrees, and at the mouth an Iland called
of the *Lyons*, and the Port of *Saint Iulian* in 49. degrees, and the Riuer of *Iohn Serrana* to the South
of the Ilands of *Duckes*, in 47. degrees, the Riuer of *Cananor* in 45. degrees, the Cape of *Saint*
Dominicke, before the Cape of three Points, and the Land of *los Hamos* or of the *Smoakes*, in
38. degrees, the Point of *Santa Hellene*, and of *Saint Apollonia*, in 37. degrees before the White
Cape, at the entrie of the Riuer of *Plate* on the South side.

*His Rio Galie-
go:

Iohn Dias de Solis discovered the Riuer of *Plate* 1515. and *Sebastian Gaboe* an *English-man*, going
with an Armie by order of the Emperour, in pursuit of the Fleete which *Frier Garcia de Lo-
aysa* Commander, had carried to the Ilands of the *Malucos*, and conceiuing hee could not ouer-
take them, he thought good to busie himselfe in something that might be profitable; and entred
the yeare 29. discovering the Riuer of *Plate*, where he was almost three yeares; and being not
seconded, with relation of that which he had found, returned to *Castile*, hauing gone many
leagues vp the Riuer, he found *Plate* or *Siluer* among the *Indians* of those Countreies, for in the
warres which these *Indians* had with those of the Kingdomes of *Piru* they tooke it, and from
hence it is called the Riuer of *Plate*, for before it was called the Riuer of *Solis*. These Prouinces
are ioyned with those of *Brasil*: by the line of the markes they haue no determined bounds, but
by the Coast of the Sea that falleth to the North, and entrance of the Riuer of *Plate*, of the which
the Countrie hath taken the name; and the mouth of this Riuer may stand sixteene hundred
leagues from the Bay of *Saint Lucar* of *Barrameda*.

Chap. 24.
Of the Prouin-
ces of the Ri-
uer of Plate, &
of *Brasil*.
Sebastian Gaboe-
te remaineth in
the Riuer of
Solis, which is
called of the
Plate. He was
an *English-man*
by breeding,
borne a *Vene-
tian*, but spen-
ding most part
of his life in
England and
English employ-
ments.
See the former
Booke.
Plentifulnesse
of the Prouin-
ces of the Ri-
uer of *Plate*.

All these Prouinces are very plentifull of Wheate, Wine, and Sugar, and all other seedes and
fruites of *Castile* doe grow well: they haue great Pastures for all sorts of Cattle, which haue
multiplied infinitely, especially the Horses, and though they haue bene many yeares without
thinking there were any Mines of Gold, or of *Siluer*, they haue already found a shoue of them,
and of Copper, and Iron, and one of very perfect Amathists. All these Prouinces are of one Go-
uernment, with title Royall, subordained for nearenesse to the Vice-roy of *Piru*, with one Bi-
shopricke wherein are three *Spanish* Townes, and a great multitude of the Countrie men, of big
bodies,

The Assump-
tion.

Note.

Ciudad real.

Fall or Cata-
ract very terri-
ble.

* Or Good ayres

Ports and
Points of this
Coast.

Hisp. Puerto cer-
rado. Riopoblado.
Bahia onda.

Riuer of Plate.

The chance of
the Captaine
Salazar with
a Tigre.

Tigre killeth
and is killed.

bodies, and well conditioned. And the Townes are; the Citie of our *Lady of the Assumption*, the first inhabiting, and the head of this Prouince, it stands in 25. degrees and a halfe of altitude: the Captaine *Iohn of Salazar* built it by order of the Gouvernour *Don Peter Mendoca*. The territory thereof was first called *Gurambare*: it hath *Brasil* at the right hand two hundred and eightie leagues, and in this compasse it hath the Citie Royall at eightie leagues, which the *Indians* call *Guayra*. And on the side of *Piru*, which is East and West, it hath at foure hundred and eightie leagues, the Citie of *la Plata*, and at two hundred and eightie, the Citie of *Santa Cruz de la Sierra* or of the Hill, which *Nuslo of Chanes* built. To the South side which is toward the Straight of *Magelane*, it hath very great and rich Countries, and this Citie stands three hundred leagues from the mouth of the Riuer of *Plate*, built neere to the Riuer *Paraguay*, on the East side, with foure hundred *Spanish* Households, and more then three thousand children of those that were borne to them in the Countrie (which they call *Mestizos*) in it are resident the Gouvernour, and Officers Royall, and the Cathedrall which is called the *Bishopricke of the Plate*, suffragan to the Archbishopricke of the *Kings*, and in her iurisdiction more then 400000 *Indians*, which doe increase daily.

Citie Royall was called by another name *Ontineros*, built by *Ruidias de Melgareio*; it stands eightie leagues from the *Assumption* North-east, toward the Land of *Brasil*, neere to the Riuer *Parana*; it stands in a good soyle of *Viſuals*, and *Vines*, and much good *Copper*, and great number of *Indians*, which also doe much increase. In this Riuer *Parana*, neere the Citie Royall, there is a great fall, that no man dare come neere it by Land within two hundred paces, for the great noyse, and mist of the water, and by the Riuer no Canoe, nor Boate dare come neere by a league; for the furie of the water doth carry it to the fall, which is aboue two hundred fadomes off a steep Rock, and it is so narrow, and the water goeth so close, that it seemes ye may throw ouer it with a dart.

* *Buenos ayres* is a Towne which in old time was disinhabited neere the place where now it is built againe, in the Prouince of the *Morocotes*, in the borders of the Riuer of *Plate*, in a plentifull soyle, where all things of *Castile* doe grow very well; the Gouvernour *Don Peter of Mendoca* built it 1535. which caused all that which *Gabote* forsooke to be discovered. All this Countrie is commonly plaine: for except the *Cordilleras* or *Romes* (which are on the Sea coast, and may be twentie leagues toward *Brasil*, afterwards compassing all the Countrie toward the Riuer *Maranyon*) and the *Romes* of the Kingdomes of *Piru*, all is plaine, except some small hills.

There are knowne in the Coast of these Prouinces from the Land of *Brasil*, vnto the Riuer of *Plate* five or six reasonable Ports, the Port of *Saint Vincent*, in 33. degrees height, right against *Buenabriga*, an Iland where the line of the repartition passeth; and six leagues to the South the Riuer *Vbay*, and the Port, and the Iland of *la Cananea* in 35. degrees; and forward the Riuer *de la Barca*, before the Port of *Bahia* or Riuer of *Saint Francis*, and the Iland of *Santa Catalina*, by another name the Port of *Vera*, or Port of the *Dukes (de Peros)* and the Port of *Don Roderigo*, twentie leagues to the South from *Santa Catalina*, an Iland 29. degrees and more to the South, five leagues a *Close Haven*, and fiftene the *Inhabited Riuer*, and as much the *Deepe-Bay* from this, and the Riuer *Tiraqueri*, in 32. degrees and a halfe, before the Cape of *Saint Marie*, which is in 35. 40 degrees at the entrie of the Riuer of *Plate*.

This Riuer is called in the *Indian* language *Paranaguazu*, and commonly *Parana*; hath his entrie and mouth in the South Sea, from thirtie five vnto thirtie six degrees of altitude, between the Capes of *Saint Marie*, and Cape *Blanke*, which is from the one to the other about thirtie leagues of mouth, and from thence inward other tenne leagues in breadth, with many Ilands in the middest, and many very great maine Riuers, which enter into it by the East and West side, vnto the Port of the *Kings*, which is a great Lake called of the *Xarajes*, little lesse then three hundred leagues from the Riuer of *Plate*, where enter many Riuers that come from the skirts of the *Andes* and they may be of those Riuers that proceede in the Prouinces of the *Charcas* and *Cuzco*, which runne toward the North, whereby entreteth another maine arme into the said Lake, which hath giuen occasion to thinke that this Riuer doth communicate with the Riuer of *Saint Iohn* of the *Amazones*; others say that it commeth from the Lake of the *Dorado*, which is fiftene iournies from the Lake of the *Xarajes*, though there be opinions that there is no *Dorado*.

The Captaine *Salazar* gouerning in these Prouinces by the death of *Don Peter Mendoca*, in the yeare 1545. a *Spaniard* being in his bed and his wife by him on the out side, in the night there came a Tigre and gaue the man a blow that he killed him, and carried him away, and betweene certaine Caues he did deuoure him: in the morning the Captaine *Salazar* went forth with fittie Souldiours to seeke the Tigre, and going through a wood, hee went alone by a path, and as soone as hee discovered the Tigre, hee being fleshed set vpon him, and at the time hee lifted vp the pawe for to strike him, the Captaine let flee the Shaft out of his *Crosse-bowe*, and strooke him to the heart, and he fell downe dead; an exploit of great courage, heede and dexteritie.

The

THe Prouinces and Countrie of *Brasil* in the Coast of the North Sea, and *Terra firme*, is called all that which falleth to the East from the line of the repartition, from twentie nine degrees of longitude from the Meridian of *Toledo*, vnto thirtie nine, which are two hundred leagues from East to West, and foure hundred and fiftie North and South, from two degrees of Southerne altitude, by the Cape de *Humos* or of *Smoakes*, vnto five and twenty, by the Iland of *Buenabrigo* or *Good-harbour*. And from the first inhabiting, vnto the last of *Brasil*, there are three hundred and fiftie leagues. *Vincent Yanes Pinzon* discovered first this Countrie by commandement of the Kings Catholike, and presently after him *James of Lepe*, in the yeare 1500. and six moneths after *Poraluarez Cabral*, going with a *Portugall* armie to *India*, which to auoide the Coast of *Guinea* did put so much to the Sea that he found this Countrie, and called it *Santa Cruz*, because on that day he discovered it. All of it is very hot in Winter and Summer, and very rainie, and compassed with Woods and Mists, vnhealthfull, and full of venemous Wormes, plentiful in Pastures for Cattle, and not for Wheate, nor Millet; there are in it great shewes of Silver and Gold, but as the *Portugals*, haue no stocke to make any profit of the Mines, they leaue them as they are.

The principall foode of this Countrie is the *Cazabi* which they make of the *Tuca*, and the greatest trafficke is Sugar, and Cotten Bumbast, and *Brasil* Wood, which was it that gaue it the name. There are in all the Prouince nine Gouvernements, which are called Captainships, and in them seuentene *Portugal* Townes: in it may be about three and thirtie hundred households, and great multitude of warlike *Indians*, which haue not suffered the *Portugals* to build but on the Coast, in which are many Riuer, Landings, and many Ports, and very safe, where any Ships may come in, be they neuer so bigge.

The Colonie of the first Captainship, and the most auncient is *Tamaraca*, the second *Pernambuco*, five leagues from *Tamaraca* to the South, in eight degrees of altitude, and there is a house of the Fathers of the Companie of *Iesus*: the other is, that of all *Saints*, one hundred leagues from *Pernambuco* in thirteene degrees, and there the Gouverneur, the Bishop, and the Auditour generall of all the Coasts are resident, and it hath a Colledge of the Company: the fourth Captainship of the Ilands is thirtie leagues from the Bay of *All Saints*, in foureteen degrees & two third parts, it hath a House of the Fathers of the Companie. In this Captainship is found a Tree where out they take a precious Balme. The Captainship of the *Sure-hauen* is thirtie leagues from the Ilands in sixteene degrees and a halfe: it hath three Inhabicings, and a House of the Fathers of the Companie. The Captainship of the *Holy-Ghost* fiftie leagues from *Puerto seguro*, in twentie degrees, where they gather much *Brasil*, and there is one house of the Company. The Captainship of the Riuer of *Genero* is sixtie leagues from the *Holy-Ghost*, in twentie three degrees and one third part, with a house of the Fathers of the Company, and they cut in their iurisdiction much *Brasil* Wood; the Riuer is very faire, with fine and profitable borders. The last Captainship is *Saint Vincent*, sixtie leagues from the Riuer of *Genero*, in foure and twentie degrees, it hath a fortresse in an Iland for a defence against the *Indians* and Pirates, and a house of the said Fathers, which haue done great profit in the inhabiting of this Countrie, and conuersion of the *Indians*, and their libertie. The Cattle that are in these Prouinces are many, and great breeding of Swine, and Hens, they gather much Amber which the Sea casteth vp with stormes at the spring tides, and many persons haue enriched themselves with it. Their Summer is from September to February, and the Winter from March vnto August; the dayes are almost as long as the nights, they increase and diminish onely an houre, in the winter the winde is alwaies at South and South-east, in Summer North-east and East North-east.

There are in this Coast eight or tenne Ports more principall then the rest, which are the Riuer of *Saint Dominicke* and *de las Virtudes* to the North-east of *Pernambuco*, and *Tamaraca*, which is an Iland, and as it is said, the first Plantation, and before the Cape of *Saint Austine*, which stands in nine degrees, the Riuer of *Saint Francis* in ten degrees and a halfe, which is great and mightie: the Bay of *All Saints* three leagues broad, and thirteene into the Land vnto *Saint Saniour*, the Riuer and Port *Trenado*, where the Ships doe touch that goe this Voyage, and the Riuer of *Canamum* in thirteene degrees and a halfe, the Riuer of the *Beades* or of *Saint Austine* is foureteen degrees and a halfe; and the Riuer of the *Virgenes* in sixteene. *Portesecure* in seuenteen degrees: the Riuer of *Parayua* in twentie degrees, neere to *Saints spiritus*: the Riuer of *Genero* neere to *Saint Sebastian*, and *Cold Cape* in three and twentie degrees beyond *Saint Vincent*.

Indies of the West, are all the Ilands and firme Land comprehended within the markes of the Crowne of *Castile*, and of *Lyón*, at the Occidentall end of the said bounds; whose line as is said passeth on the other side the world, through the Citie of *Malaca* from whence toward the East, and *New Spaine*, is a great Gulfe of infinite Ilands great and small, and many pieces of Coasts, and firme Land, which are diuided into the Ilands of the *Spicerie*, or of the *Malucos*, I. Ilands *Philippinas*, the Coast of *China*, Ilands of the *Lequios* and *Iapones*, Coast of the new *Guinea*, Ilands

Chap. 25.
Of the Prouinces and Countrie of Brasil.

Vincent Yanes Pinzon, borne in the Village of *Palos* discovered the *Brasil*, and then *Diego de Lepe*.

Inhabicings of the Coast of Brasil.

Many Iesuites Colledges.

Puerto seguro.

Ambaro.

The principall left Ports of this Coast.

Cabo Frio.

Chap. 26.
Of those which men call the Indies of the West, which are the Ilands *Philippinas*, coast of *China*, *Iapan*, and the *Lequios*.

Ilands of *Salomon*, and of *Ladrones* or the *Theenes*: the temper of all these Ilands and Lands in generall is moitt, and temperately hot, plentifull of Victuals, and Beasts, with some Gold, but bale, no Siluer, store of Wax, and the people of sundry colours, and the ordinary colour like *Indians*, and some white among them, and some cole-blacke.

The Ilands of the *Spicerie* (which properly are called so, because all the Pepper, Cloues, *Sinamon*, *Ginger*, *Nutmegs*, and *Masticke* that is spent in *Europe*, is brought from them) are many, though the most famous of that Gulfe are five small Ilands vnder the Equinoctiall in one hundred nintie foure degrees from the Meridian of *Toledo*, included in the morgage which the Emperor *Charles* the fit made of them to the King of *Portugall* for three hundred and fiftie thousand Duckets, which are *Terrenate* of eight or nine leagues compasse, with a Port called *Talan- game*, and in it reigned *Corala*, which yeelded himselfe for subiect to the King of *Castile*, when the Shippes that remained of *Magelanes* fleete found these Ilands. The Iland of *Tidore* stands one league from *Terrenate* to the South, it hath tenne leagues compasse. The Iland of *Mail*, or *Mutier* is of foure leagues compasse, and is vnder the Equinoctiall; and *Maquin* three leagues to the South, of seven in compasse, and tenne leagues to the South. *Batan* or *Baquian* is twentie leagues in compasse. In the Iland of *Tidore* reigned *Almanzor*, which also gaue himselfe for subiect of the King of *Castile*, the which, and *Carala* did write and *Iohn Sebastian* of the *Cano*, borne in the Village of *Guitarca*, in the Prouince of *Guipuzcoa* brought their Letters; the which departing from *Tidore* in the year 1522. touched in the Iland of *Zamatia*, and going vp to almost fortie two degrees toward the Antarctic Pole, he arriued at the Iland of *Saint James* of the *Greene Cape* or *Cabo Verde*, and from thence to *Sinill* with the Shippe called the *Victorie*, hauing spent seuen moneths time little lesse in comming from the Iland of *Tidore*. *Patian* is the fift Iland like the other; Moores inhabited in it, and Gentiles also, which knew not the immortallitie of the soule. And when the Shippe of the fleete of *Fryer Garcia* of *Loaysa* came, *Rodrigue* reigned in *Tidore* of thirteene yeares of age, and againe acknowledged the King of *Castile*, and also the King of *Gilolo* called *Sultan Abderta meniani*, and confirmed it with an oath. *Gilolo* is an Iland vnder the line foure leagues distant from those rehearsed; it is of two hundred leagues compasse, without *Spicerie*: the Iland of *Ambon* in three degrees and a halfe to the South, from the Iland of *Gilolo* without *Spicerie*. The Ilands of *Bandan* are in foure degrees of Southerne altitude, where the *Nutmegge* is gathered, and *Mace*; and the *Burro*, which is to the West of *Ambon*, and *Timor*, another Iland to the South-west from *Bandan*, almost one hundred leagues, without *Spicerie*, but rich of *Sandal*, *Zeinda*, fiftie leagues from *Timor*, to the North-west of forty leagues compasse, plentiful of Pepper, and the Iland of *Celebes*, which is very great, & *Borney* greater, neere the straight of *Malaca*, which is made in the firme Land; & *Zamatia*, which in old time they called *Taprobana*. There be other manie great Ilands, and small, which remaine to the South side, neere *Iana Maior* & *Minor*, and to the North toward the Coast of *Chyna*: the *Portugals* haue a fortresse in *Terrenate*, and other in the Citie of *Malaca* at the entrie of the *Archipelagus*.

The Ilands *Philippinas* are a Sea of thirtie or fortie great Ilands, besides many other small ones which are together in lesse then two hundred leagues in length North and South, and one hundred in breadth betweene *New Spaine*, and the Gulfe of *Bengala*, and they are about seuentene hundred leagues from the Port of the *Natiuitie* in *New Spaine*, from six to fiftene or sixteene degrees of Septentrional altitude, of a reasonable temperature, and plentifull of victuals, specially of *Rice*, and some base Gold in some places, and in some Ilands are *Cinamon trees*, and long *Pepper*. The Countriemen are of a good shape, and in some Ilands they are blacke, and those which liue in the center of the Countie are whiter then those that liue in the Sea coasts. There are good Ports, and Timber for Shipping, the names of the principallest Ilands are *Mindano*, which is the greatest, and most Southward, of a hundred leagues in length, and three hundred in compasse, a rough Countie, but plentifull of *Miller*, *Waxe*, *Rice*, *Ginger*, and some *Cinamon*, and Mines of Gold, with good Hauens, and Rodes: the Iland of *Good-tokens*, and *Saint Iohn* leading to *Mindanao*, on the East side, of twenty leagues in length North and South; *Behol*, ten leagues more to *Mindanao* on the North side, ninetene leagues in length.

The Iland of *Buglas* or of *Negros*, by reason of those that are in it, is in the midst of that Sea to the West, of fortie leagues in length North and South, and foureteen in breadth, and in her coast are some *Pearles*: the Iland of *Zubu* in the midst of all, of thirtie leagues in length North and South, and in it a *Spanish Towne*, called the Village of *Iesus*, on the East side, with one good Hauen, besides other that are in the Iland, the Captaine *Ferdinando Magellanes* discovered this Iland, in the year 1520. the King yeelded then himselfe for subiect to the Crowne of *Castile*, and before he discovered the Ilands, which he called *de las Velas Latinas*, because they sailed in their Shippes with sayles of Mats made of Palme tree leaues after the *Latine* fashion; and from *Zubu* *Magellanes* went with the King, to warre against the King of *Matan*, in a little Iland close to that of *Zubu* on the South side, where being too valiant and confident he was slaine; and the *Spaniards* following their Voyage in demand of the Ilands of the *Spicerie*, they discovered *Quelpindo*, *Puluan*, and *Borney*, which is a great, rich, and plentifull Iland of *Rice*, *Sugar*, *Goates*, *Swine*, *Cammels*: it wants *Wheate*, *Asses*, and *Sheepe*; it hath *Ginger*, *Camphire*, *Mirabolans*, and

Of these see l.
4. c. 1. and other
English voiaiges
in the first
Tome.
See *Magelanes*
Voyage. Tom.
1. l. 2.
Certaine Tree
bearing a kind
of Date.

Cinamon and
long Pepper.

In *Matan* it was
where *Ferdinan-*
do Magelanes
was slaine.

and other Drugges. *Aluaro of Saavedra* discovered also the *Philippines*, and tooke possession of them in the year 1527. for the Crowne of *Castile*, which by order of the Marquess of the *Valley* went from the Port of *Ciuitlancio* in *New Spaine*, in demand of the *Ilands of the Spicerie*, and particularly he was in *Mindanao*: and this digression hath not bin out of purpose.

Aluaro of Saavedra tooke possession of the *Philippine* for the Crowne of *Castile*, in the year 1527.

Returning to the order of the *Philippines*, there followeth the above said *Abuyo*, or *Babay* thirtie leagues in length North and South, and tenne in breadth, in which are good Mines, and Pearles, in her coast: *Tandayala* most famous of all, which for being first discovered, is called *Philippine*, of which all take the name, in memory of the invincible King *Don Philip* the second, the *Prudent*. It hath fortie leagues on the North side, and of the East North North-east, and South South-west, and twelue leagues in breadth where most, with good Hauens and Roades: *Masbat* a meane land to the West of *Tandayala*, of seuentene leagues in length, and fiftene in breadth, with one Hauens: *Mindoro* of five and twentie leagues in length North and South, and halfe in breadth; there is Pepper in it, and Mines of Gold: the land of *Luzan*, called the *New Castile*, as great or greater then *Mindanao*, the most Septentrionall of the *Philippines*, in the which is built *Manila*, a Citie of *Spaniards*, with title of *Famous*, where the Gouverneur, Officers of the goods, and chest Royall, and the Cathedrall are resident: it is a plentifull soyle of Victuals, with many Mines of Gold: the Hauens of this Citie is bad, and for all that there is great trafficke with the *Chynas*, which bring Porcelane Vessell, Tinsels, coloured silkes, and other Merchandize: *Lugon* hath in length two hundred leagues, and it is very narrow.

The Citie of *Manilla*

In all these Ilands are many *Mahometanes*, wether they came by the *East India*, and could easily plant their fallhood amongst those blinde *Gentiles*. Captaine *Magellanes* as above said discovered these Ilands, the year 1520. going with an Armie of the Crowne of *Castile*, in search of the Ilands of the *Malucoes*, and tooke possession of them, and afterward *Michael Lopez* of *Legazpi* made an end of discovering them, the year 1564. with an Armie which hee tooke from *New Spaine*, by order of the Vice-roy, *Don Lewis* of *Velasco*: it is iudged that those Ilands doe amount to eleauen thousand great and small. There are pacified about fortie of them, and conuerted more then a Million of men vnto the Catholike Faith, with so many expences of the Crowne Royall, not hauing had vntill now any profit from those Countreies; for euery Religious man of those that are sent thither, doth cost to set there one thousand Duckets. Those which hitherto haue laboured in that Vineyard, with most great fruite of the soules, are the Religious *Dominicans*, *Franciscans*, *Barefooted*, and *Austine* Fryers, and the Company of *Iesus*; and from these Ilands hath bene begun to bridle the *Mahometanes*, which from the Coast of *Asia* went by little and little extending through these, and other Ilands, and also to the *Chin* and *Iapones*, and the *Portugals* had already lost the Ilands of the *Malucoes*, if the *Spaniards* of the Prouinces of the *Philippines* had not holpen and succoured them diuers times and many wayes.

His volage yett haue before. 11000. Ilands.

Since, the *Hollanders* haue expelled the *Portugals*.

China: see our former Relation.

There is already a plainer notice had of the *Chynas*, by the commerce of the *Philippines*, and their riches and plenty is knowne: it is of the richest and mightiest Kingdomes of the World, and from *Manila* may be to the coast of *China* three hundred leagues, of eight dayes sayling, and the coast of that Countreie goeth running as to the North-east, more then seuen hundred leagues, from twentie one to twenty two degrees of Septentrional latitude, and vpward, and it is known that crosse ouer the Countreie in ward is a Voyage of five or fixe moneths, to the confines of *Tartaria*; being a Countreie of great Cities, with many Townes, and the people politicke, and prepared for their defence, but not warlike, and the Coast much inhabited with maine Rivers, and good Hauens: it extends from seuentene vnto fiftie degrees North and South, and East and West it occupieth two and twentie: the Citie of *Paguan*, where the King hath his Court, stands in fortie eight degrees of our Pole, it is diuided in fiftene Prouinces, fixe *Maritime*, and nine *Mediterrane*, and the one are deuied from the other with certaine Mountaines like the *Pirineus*, and there are but two passages whereby they doe communicate.

Thomas Perez Ambassadour of the King of *Portugall*, was from *Canton* to *Nanqui* foure Moneths, traouelling alwayes to the North: and to the largenesse of this Kingdome is ioyned the plentie of the Countreie, which is great, for the which the multitude of the nauigable Rivers that do water it, are a help, wherewith it seemes a pleasant Forrest or Garden, and the abundance is doubled by many wayes, for the Kings spare no cost to make the Countreie watered in euery place, cutting great hils, and making great Valleys plaine; and the heate not wanting in any place, for all the Countreie almost is contained in the bounds of the temperate Zone, nor the moisture by the clemencie of nature, and by the industrie of men it is incredibly all multiplied, and all being compelled to busie themselves in something, there is not one foote of ground left vnprofitable. In *Canton* among other notable things they say there are a great number of blinde men that doe labour in something, euery one as he is able, and being forbidden the going out of the Kingdome without licence, the which is neuer granted, but for a limited time it is necessary that the propagation increasing continually, the number of the people be without end, especially that they hold for a certaine, that for five persons that doe dye, there are seuen borne, and the purenesse of the ayre is so much, that they doe not remember, there hath bene any vn-

The Prouinces and Kingdome of *China*.

China: see our former Relation.

uerfall plague, and with all these good things they haue their troubles also, for there are earthquakes that destroy whole Cities, disinhabit the Countrey, and suppress the auncient Riuer, and raise others, and doe make great Mountaines plaine, with a miserable misfortune of that people.

The yeare 1555. there burst out of the intrailles of the earth such abundance of water, that it ouer-flowed the space of sixtie leagues, and destroyed seuen Cities with their iurisdictiones. And this as touching the continent of *China*. There is through all the Coast a multitude of Ilands, the greater part are vnto vs vnkowne. Not farre from *Nanqui*, is the Cape of *Lampo*, the Iland of *Aueniga*, *Abarda*, *Sumbar*, *Lanqui*, and the Iland of *Horses*, of the which no particular notice is had. Passing the Citie of *Chincheo*, stands *Lamao*, and a great number of Ilands are seene about *Cantan*, and these are the most celebrated, *Lantao*, *Macao*, *Veniaga*, where is the Port of *Tamo*, *Lampacao*, *Sancoan*, in all the which the King of *China* hath Garrisons on Sea and Land, except in *Lampacao* which is not inhabited.

Macao

In *Macao*, by another name *Macan*, the *Portugals* haue a Towne, and the *Chinas* knowing the valour of the *Portugals*, and the fauour they haue of the *Castillans* of the *Phillippines*, suffer it with an euill will, but the *Portugals* seeke to preferue themselves, for their profitable commerce in *China*. *Sancon* is thirtie leagues from *Cantan*, where sometimes the *Portugals* haue touched, and no Iland of *China* is of greater importance then *Anian* in the mouth of the Gulfe of *Canchinchina*, fve leagues from the *Firme Land*, and one hundred and eightie from the *Phillippines*, and it is so bigge, that they affirme it to haue thirtie Fortresses; in it is a fishing for small Pearles. It is abundant of Victuals, and of many Fruits: vnder the Government of *Cantan*, the principall Port of *China*, and the Countrey men are grosse and rude people.

Anian.

*Or Terra firme

Japan.

Japan is many Ilands diuided with small armes of the Sea, in three and thirtie Kingdomes, whose head is the Citie of *Meaco*, distant variable from *China*, and they count from the Iland of *Goto* in *Iapon* to *Lampo* in *China* sixtie leagues, which is the necest. The *Iapones* doe greatly molest the *Chinas*, more with piracies, and thefts, then with iust war, because *Iapan* being diuided in sundry Ilands, and diuers Princes, they can make no warre against the *Chinas*, but with weake forces. They are more warlike and valiant then the *Chinas*: it is a temperate Countrey, plentifull of Seedes, Cattle and Fowle of Europe, it hath Mines of Iron and Steele: the Countrey men are strong, valiant, and for much labour: those Ilands stand in thirtie fve degrees of the Pole, little more or lesse, according to the distance of euery Iland. The *Iapones* doe not vnderstand the *Chinas* but by writing, because of the Characters, or Letters being one for them all, and though they signifie the same, they haue not the same name, for they are to declare things, and not words, as the figures of Arithmetike, that if a 9. be set, the *French*, the *Castillan*, and the *English* man doe vnderstand it, that it signifieth 9. but euery one doe name it after their owne fashion.

Characters as
Ciphers.

By another side the *Iapones* doe confine with the *Phillippines*, from whence there is commerce with them, and a great encouragement is giuen to the Fathers of the Company, for to labour in the conuersion of the people of those Kingdomes, where notable fruite hath beene gotten, for the which these Ilands are much celebrated in the world; and by the comming of the Ambassadors of the new Christendome to the Pope, and to the King *Phillip* the second, the *Prudent*: and so as nature placed them in a scituation separated from the rest of the Land, the men of that Region are differing in customes from other people. In the yeare 1592. *Nobunaga* which caused himselfe to be called Emperour of *Iapan*, interprised with eightie Vessels, and 20000. men, certaine Prouinces tributarie vnto *China*, and wan it.

Lequios.

From the Iland of *Simo*, which is among them of *Iapan* the greatest, is extended a row of small Ilands, called the *Lequios*, and doe prolong themselves toward the Coast of *China*; the two greater, which is euery one of fiftene or twentie leagues, neere the Coast of *Iapan*, are called the greater *Lequio*, and other two also great, though not so much, which are at the end of the Rowe, they call *Lequio* the lesser: some are inhabited of well shapen people, white, politicke, well apparelled, warlike, and of good reason, they abound in Gold more then others of that Sea, and not lesse in Victuals, Fruits, and good Waters. Neere vnto the lesser *Lequio* stands *Hermosa*, or the beautifull Iland, which hath the same qualitie, and say it is as big as *Sicilie*.

Chap. 27.

Of the new
Guinea, Ilands
of *Salomon*, and
the *Theeues*,
wherewith en-
deth that
which they cal
West Indies.
The *Lequios*.
Sir R. *Hawkins*.

The Coast of new *Guinea* beginneth one hundred leagues to the East of the Iland of *Gilolo*, in a little more then one degree altitude, on the other side of the Equinoctiall, from whence it is prolonged toward the East three hundred leagues, till it come to fve or six degrees. It hath beene doubted vntill now, whether it be an Iland or firme Land, because it doth enlarge it selfe in so great a Voyage from being able to ioine with the Countreies of the Ilands of *Salomon*, or Prouinces of the Straight of *Magellanes* by the South side; but this doubt is resolued with that which those do affirme that sailed on the South side of the Straight of *Magellanes*, that that is not a continent, but Ilands, and that presently followeth a spacious Sea, and among those that doe affirme it is Sir *Richard Hawkins*, an *English* Knight, which was fve and fortie dayes among the same Ilands.

From

From the Sea the Land of this coast of Guinea seemeth good, and the men that have been seene are cole black, and in the coast are many Ilands with good roads, and ports whereof is no particular notice: for having sailed it few times, those which are found in some cards are *Agnada* or the watering to the East thirty five leagues from the first Land, is in one degree of Southern altitude; and eightene forward the port of Saint James, and the Iland of the *Crespos* of sixteene leagues long neere the coast, right against the Port of Saint Andrew, and neere to it the River of Saint Peter, and Saint Paul, before the Port of Saint Ierom, and a small Iland neere the *thrust out Point*, 40. leagues from S. Austin, which they call of *Good-peace*, and more forward from it, the *Shelter*, and *Euill people*, two little Ilands, and the Bay of Saint Nicholas, fiftie leagues from *Punta Salida*, and among other Ilands one of white men, and the *Mother of God* before *Good Baye*, and of the *Nativity of our Lady*, the last of that which is discovered; and as to the North from it the *Cay-*

Ilands and Ports of the coast of Guinea.

a Or Curled.
b Hisp. *Puntasfida*.
c *Abrigo*.
d *Buena paz*.

Ilands of Salomon.

I. de *Arrozifis*.

d Or *Good fight*.
e Or *Boughes*.
f Or *Franticke*.

Hisp. *Nombre de Dios*.

g Or *Candle-masse*.

La *Inglefa*.
Ilands of the *Ladrones*.

La *Inglefa*.
The *Kings*.
Ilands of *Corral*.
The *Gardens*.
g Or *Athnaes*.
h Or *Euill haire*.

* A Tree so called.
Two sisters.
S. Bartholomew.

Ffff

toward

10 *mana*, an Iland without in the Sea among others which have no name.
The Meridionall coast is not yet known, the first that discovered the new Guine was *Aluaro* of *Saavedra*, being lost with many stormes from his course, returning to new Spain, when in the year 1527, the Marques of the *Valley* sent him that on that side he should seek the Ilands of the *Spicerie*.
The Ilands of *Salomon* are eight hundred leagues from *Piru*, & the opinion that is held of their riches, gaue them this name, the which properly are called of the *West*, because they fal to the West from the Prouinces of *Piru*, from the place that *Aluaro* of *Mendoça* made discovery of them by order of the Licentiate *Lope Garcia de Castro*, his Vnckle, Gouvernor of the Kingdomes of *Piru*, in the year 1567, the first that saw the Land of these Ilands was a yong man, called *Treio*, in the top of a Ship: they are from seven degrees of altitude on the other side of the Equinoctiall about 1500. leagues from the Citie of the Kings, they are many in quantity & greatnes, and eighteen the most famous, some of 300. leagues in compasse, and two of 200. and of 100. and of 50. and thence downward, besides many which are not yet made an end of coasting, and they say that they might beaward, besides the coast of the new Guiney, and the Countries to be discovered toward the West of the straight: the Countrie of these Ilands seemeth of a good temper, and habitable, plentifull of victuals, and Cattell: there were found in them some fruits like those of *Castile*, Swine & Hens in great number: the Countrie men some of a brown colour like *Indians*, others white & ruddie, and some cole blacke, which is an argument of continuance with the Countries of the new Guine, whereby there may so many differences of people be mingled of those which resort to the Ilands of the *Spicerie*.

30 The greatest and most renowned are *Santa Isabel*, from eight to nine degrees of altitude, of more then 150. leagues in length, and eightene in breadth, and one good port called of the *Star*: *Saint George* or *Borbi* to the South of *S. Isabel* one league and a halfe, of thirty leagues compasse. *Saint Marcos*, or *Saint Nicholas* of one hundred leagues compasse to the South-east of *Saint Isabel*; the Iland of the *Shelues* as great as the former to the South of *Saint Isabel*, and *Saint Ierome* to the West of 100. leagues compasse; and *Gudalcanaall* to the South-west greater then all: and to the East of *Saint Isabel*, the Iland of *Buenanista*, and *Saint Dimas*, and the Iland of *Florida* of twenty leagues circuit euery one; and to the East of it, the Iland of *Ramos* of 200. leagues compasse, and neere to it *Malayta*, and *Atreguada* of thirty, and the three *Maries*, certaine little Ilands, & the Iland of *Saint Iohn* of twelue leagues compasse betweene the *Atreguada* and the Iland of *S. Iames* to the South. *Malata* of 100. leagues circuit, and to the South-east of it, the Iland of *Saint Christopher* as bigge as it: and *Saint Anne*, and *Saint Catherine*, two small Ilands fast by it: the *Name of God*, a small Iland distant from the other fiftie leagues, in seven degrees of altitude, and in the same *Rumbe* to the North of *Saint Isabel*, the *Shelues*, which they call of *Candelaria*.

40 There is in the voiage that is made from *Piru* to the Ilands of *Salomon*, an Iland called of *S. Paul*, in fifteen degrees of altitude, 700. leagues from *Piru*, nineteen degrees; 300. leagues of Land, others which may be those that they called of *Salomon*, and they say also that they might be others which this little while haue beene discovered in the same *Rombe* of *Chile*.

50 The Ilands of the *Theenes* are a row of 16. smal Ilands together which runne North and South, with the middest of the coast of Guiney, from twelue degrees of altitude vnto seenteene Septentrionall or more, not farre from the *Phillippinas* to the East. They are all barren ground, and miserable, without Cattle, or Mettals, scarce of Victuals, inhabited with poore people, well shapen, naked, and much inclined to steale, euen to the nayles of the Shippes that came there, whereby *Magelane* named them of the *Theenes*, in the year 1520. when he came to them going in demand of the *Spicerie*. Their names are, the *English*, the most North, and after it *Ota Mao*, *Chemechoa*, *Gregua*, *Agan*, or *Pagan*, *Oramagan*, *Gugnan*, *Chareguan*, *Natan*, *Saejan*, *Botata*, *Volia*. There are among these Ilands *Phillippines*, other eightene or twenty, called of the *Kings*, *Archipelagus*, or Ilands of the *Corral*, and the *Gardens*, another quantity of little Ilands, and *Pialogo*, *Saint Vilan*, another little Iland, the *Gardens*, and the Iland of the *Matalotes*, and that of the *Shelues*, and of *Saint Iohn*, or of *Palmes*, neere the *Malucos*, and on the North side of the *Theenes*, five or six little Ilands together, called the *Volcanes*, where is store of *Cochinilla*; and *Malpelo* another small Iland, where are *Cualoes* very fine, and on the East side of the *Theenes*, the two Sisters, two little Ilands in ten degrees, and *Saint Bartholomew* in foureteene and more

La *Inglefa*.
Ilands of the *Ladrones*.
La *Inglefa*.
The *Kings*.
Ilands of *Corral*.
The *Gardens*.
g Or *Athnaes*.
h Or *Euill haire*.
* A Tree so called.
Two sisters.
S. Bartholomew.

Martin, Saint Peter, and Saint Paul.

toward new Spaine, the *Shelues*, Look how thou goest, Take away sleep, or See thou sleep not; & neere to them the Island of *Martine*, and Saint *Paul*, another small Island with *shelues*, and the inhabited the most Eastward toward new Spaine, *Aluaro* of *Saavedra* was also in the Island of the *Theenes*, in the yeare 1527. returning from the Island of *Spicerie* to new Spaine.

Chap. 28.
Of the suprem
Counsel of the
Indies, and of
the spirituall
government,
and Ecclesiasti-
call Royall Pa-
tronage.
Counsell of
the Indies.

The Catholike King of *Castile*, and of *Lyon* continuing in their auncient, and Christian pietie, presently after these new Countries were discovered, and ioyned with this faire Monarchie, procured to plant, and settle the Catholike Religion in them, and temporall pollicie, with so much care and aduice of the wisest men of these Kingdomes. For as the discoveries did increase the buisnesses, they formed a particular Counsell with President and Councillours, that busying themselves in no other thing, with more diligence they might resort to that which so much pertained to the seruice of our Lord God, and government of that Orbe. And because hereafter mention shall be made of the persons which from the beginning haue laboured, and serued in the supream Counsell of the *Indies*, which hath carried so great a waight vnto this present houre, first shall be spoken of the spirituall and temporall government, and the rest worth the knowing, that the order of that Monarchie may be vnderstood, with all breuitie.

How many
Archbishop-
ricks, Bishop-
ricks, Mona-
steries, and
Schooles of
Doctrines are
in the Indies.
So Humillade-
ros is said to
signifie the
translator had,
Shrines: the la-
tine hath Pe-
nitentiary.

The first thing that these godly Kings did charge and command the first Discoverer, and from man to man commanded the other Discoverers and Gouvernours of that new World with very straight orders, was, that they should procure that the people which they carried, with the Christian life, and with their good customes, should giue such example to the *Indians*, that they might be glad to imitate them, and should binde them vnto it; entring first according to the Euangelicall Law, the religious men preaching it, that so rather with the sweetnesse of it, then with the force and noyse of Armes it should be admitted, and that iustice should be administred with such equalitie to all men, that it might be much respected & esteemed. All went forward, the townes went augmenting in such manner, that with the zeale of the seruice of God, and good of the men it hath come to such a point, that at this day there are found built and established in all that Orbe of this Crowne possessed, as before hath beene seene, *five Archbishopsricks, twentie senen Bishopricks, two famous Vniuersities*, where with great learning and doctrine all the Sciences are read, more then *four hundred Monasteries* of religious *Dominicks, Franciscans, Augustines, Mercenaries*, and the Companie of Iesus, with some *Monasteries of Nunnes, and Colledges, infinite Hospitals, and Fraternities*, innumerable store of *beneficed Cures*, which are called *Doctrines*, for to teach those new Conuerts, and *Heremites*, and *Chappels* in the high-way erected on pillars, hauing *Crucifixes* in them, without number. All the which was begun at the charge of the Crowne, and at this day it goeth forward where there is no maintenance for it. In effect, this Catholike pietie by the clemency of God goeth from good to better, augmenting with so much reuerence and honour of God, that in no place of Christendome it is done with more order or care, by the care of the supreme Counsell of the *Indies*. Of the which is inferred, that the Concession of the Apostolike *Roman Sea* made to the *Crowne of Castile*, and of *Lion*, of the Patronage Ecclesiasticall of that new World was a very great remedie, in the which our Lord God (as Hee which onely is Hee that seeth, and preuenteth all things to come) did a thing worthy of His greatnesse, seeing Hee hath shewed the experience that if this had beene gouerned otherwise, it had beene impossible to haue proceeded with the harmonie, and euen concent as it hath, of Religion, Iustice, and Government, with so much obedience and quietnesse.

How the Ec-
clesiasticall
Patronage is
gouerned.

The Ecclesiasticall Patronage is gouerned in the same manner that in the Kingdome of *Granda*, the Kings Catholike presenting to the chiefe Bishop onely the Archbishops, and Bishops, that from his holy hand they may receiue these Prelacies, and may dispatch their Bulls, procuring alway that they be persons of a religious life, and great learning. All the other Dignities and Benefices are provided by the King, and consultation of the *supreme Councell of the Indies*, and they go not to *Rome* for Bulls: and their rents consist in tithes and first fruits which arise of the *Spanish* inhabitants. For in the most places of these *Indies* the Countre men paie not, and where the tithes are wanting, it is supplied out of the goods royall: and touching the tithes and first fruits that are to be paid, many ordinances and rates are made according to the stile of these Kingdomes, that the men of each Colony, it is iust it should follow her customes. And though the Kings of *Castile*, and of *Lyon*, are Lords of the tithes by Apostolike concession, & might take them to himselfe, supplying where it wanteth with that which in other places doth excede, he leaueth them to the Prelates & Churches, providing of his own goods Royall with the liberality of so Catholik Princes, to all the necessities of the poore Churches, giuing to euery one that is built anew the greatest part of that which is spent in the building, with a Chaliz, a Bell, and a painted Table.

* Of Images
or Pictures.

That the distribution of that which proceedeth of the tithes, and of that which is bestowed out of the goods Royall in maintenance of the Prelates, Dignities, and Canons of the Cathedral Churches, and Benefices, Cures, and persons that are occupied in the diuine Seruice, and instructing of the *Indians*, may be fruitfully imployed according to the holy intention of the Kings, the supreme Counsell hath made good ordinances. First, that all the said persons be of an approued life and customes, & especially those that doe meddle in the *Doctrines*, being first examined touching learning,

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Orders for the
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come so wholly as they might, nor so soone to the hands of the heyres, by will of the said deceased, for many causes, whereby the heires receiued great damage, and the testaments were not performed: for a remedy, it was provided, that whatsoeuer *Spaniard* shall come to any Village, or Towne of those parts, he shall present himselfe before the Clarke of the Countell, where he shall Register the name, and surname of such a one, with the place of his aboad or birth, that his death happening, it may be knowne where those that are to be his heires may be found. That the ordinary Iustice, with the most auncient Ruler, and the Clark of the Counsell shall take charge of the goods of the persons that shall dye, and shal set them in an Inuentorie, before a Scriuener and Witnesses: and the debts that he did owe, and were owing him, and that which is in Gold & Siluer, small Pearle, and other things shall be sold, and put in a Chest of three Locks, whose Keyes the three persons abovesaid shall keepe. That the goods be sold in a publike out-cry, with the Testimony of a Scriuener: that if neede be, an Attorney shall be constituted. That the said Iustices doe take accompt of all those that haue charge of dead mens goods, and recouer all that they are behinde hand without any appeale, and doe put it in the Chest of the three Keyes. That hauing any Will of the deceased where he dyeth, and the Heires or Executors, the Iustice shall not meddle in any thing, neither take the goods, taking only notice who be the Heires of the said deceased. That the said Iustices, Rulers, and Scriueners doe send also to the *Contratacion-honse* of *Seuill*, all that which they shall recouer of the goods of the deceased, declaring the name, surname, and aboad of of euery one deceased, with the Copy of the Inuentory of his goods, that they may be giuen to his Heires, by the order that touching the same is giuen. That when they take accompt of those that haue had goods of men deceased, it shall be sent to the supreme Counsell of the *Indies*, with a very particular relation, and reason of all. That the Iustices doe with care enforme themselves carefully of those which haue in possession the goods of men deceased, whether they haue done any fraude, and preiudice to the goods they haue had in possession, & send to the Counsell notice thereof, that they may giue accompt with paiment to the Iustices aboue said. That accompt be giuen euery yeere, and the memoriall of the dead that haue bene that yeere shall be shewed to the Gouvernor of the Country, & of the goods they had, that they may be sent to *Seuill*, & be giuen to his heires, and the Testaments be fulfilled, with good accompt and reason that is behoouefull. For in euery Counsell, one of the Iustices is Iudge of the goods of the deceased, the one succeeding another, from the yongest to the eldest, by their turne, which doth send his Commissaries through the bounds to take accompt of the houlders, and there be any carelesse, the Iustices are charged therewith in the visitations which are made of them, and before when there are any Plaintifes.

Touching married men.

Those Catholike Kings being informed that in the *Indies* were many married *Spaniards*, which liued separated from their wiues, of the which, besides the offence that was done to our Lord God, there followed a great inconuenience to the Plantation of those Countries, for that such not liuing seated in them, were not continued, neither did they attend to build, plant, breed, nor sowing, nor doing other things, which the good inhabitants are wont to doe, whereby the Townes doe not increase, as is behoofefull, and as they would do if there came inhabitants with their wiues & children, as true Townsmen: being willing to remedy the abovesaid, commanded that all and euery person or persons that should be found to be married, or betrothed in these Kingdomes, should come vnto them for their wiues, and not returne to the *Indies* without them, or with sufficient proof that they are dead. And the same order was giuen for all the Kingdomes, of that new world, and sundry times hath bene reiterated, and commanded to be executed vpon grievous penalties.

The holy Office of the Inquisition.

Proceeding from the yeare 1492. when the discouery of this Orbe was begun, in directing and setting the spirituall gouernment, as hath bene seene, for greater perfection, and enduring of it: The Catholike King *Don Phillip* the second, called the *Prudent*, considering that among the great benefites that the *Indians* haue receiued, their illumination to receiue the Euangelicall Doctrin was the greatest, which hath extended it selfe, and considering also the singular grace which God for his mercy hath vsed with them, in giuing them knowledge of our holy Catholike Faith; that it was necessary to haue a speciall vigilancy in the conseruing of the deuotion, and reputation of the inhabitants, and *Castillane* pacifiers, which with so many labours procured the augmenting of the Religion, and exalting of the Catholike Faith (as in those parts like faithful & Catholik Christians, and good naturall and true *Castillans* they haue done) & seeing that those which are out of the holy Catholike & Apostolike *Roman* Church, obstinate, and stubborne in their errors, and heresies, do alwayes procure to peruert the faithful Christians, labouring to draw them to their false opinions, scattering certain damned Books, wherof hath followed great hurt to our sacred Religion; and hauing so certain experience that the best meanes to preuent these euils, consisteth in the separating the communication of heretical persons, punishing their errors, according to the disposition of the sacred Canons & laws of these Kingdomes (which by this holy means, by the diuine clemency haue bene preserued from this wicked contagion, and is hoped they will be preserued hereafter) to the end that the Orbe doe not receiue so much hurt, where the inhabitants of these Kingdomes haue giuen so good example of Christianity, & the Country-born haue not peruered themselves with erroneous doctrines of the hereticks: It seemed good to his Maestie, with the aduice of the Cardinal *D. James of Espinosa*, Bishop of *Signenca*, Inquisitor generall in these Kingdomes, a man of great

prudence,

prudence; and of many rare parts and vertues, for the which he made election of his person, to help him to beare the burden of so many Kingdomes, and Lordships, and of the Counsels of the holy, and general Inquisition, and of the supreme Counsell of the *Indies* (for it behoued to place one Counsell of the holy Office in *Mexico*; for the Kingdomes of *New Spaine*; and the rest of the *Indies* of the North, and another in the Citie of the Kings, for the Kingdomes of *Piru*, and the adherents, which are called the *Indies* of the South) which the authority that the Counsels of these Kingdomes haue, so that as yet they should not meddle with the cases of the *Indians*, but onely of the *Castillanes*, & other Nations that should be found in the *Indies*, and so that the appeals should come to the supreme Counsell that is resident in this Court, as it is done in *Spaine*, and in the accomplishing thereof, in the yeare 1570. the King *Don Phillip* the second, called the *Prudent*, gaue a

10 general power to the Towne of *Madrid*, the 16. of August, that the Apostolike Inquisitors that should be named for the present, and for hereafter against the hereticall perversnesse, & Apostacie; and the Officers and Ministers necessary for this holy Office, which was commanded to be seated in the Cities of *Mexico*, and of the Kings, should exercise & vse their Offices, and royall warrants; that *Don Martin Enriquez*, and *Don Francisco* of *Toledo*, Viceroyes, and Captains general in the Kingdomes of *New Spaine*, and *Piru*, and the Counsels, and Iudices, Gouvernours, and other persons should giue all aide, and fauour to the holy Office, and the Inquisitors, and Officers were nominated, as in their owne place shall be spoken more at large.

20 These Catholike Kings, most wisely constituted the *Supreme Counsell of the Indies*, that they might helpe them to beare so great a burden, as is already the government of that Orbe, and the Counsell consisteth in one President, and eight or more Counsellors, as necessitie requireth, with one Attourney, Secretaries, Clerkes of the Chamber, Relators, and other Officers, and an Office of Accounts, where a notice is had of all the goods Royall of those parts. And that proceeding might be according to rule and order, they declared first that the Counsell should meet three houres euery day in the morning, and two in the afternoone; three dayes in the weeke that bee no holy dayes, and that they should firme the Warrants that should be deliuered for these Kingdomes; but that those that were for the *Indies*, should haue the seale Royall: and that in those parts it should haue supreme iurisdiction, and might make Lawes, and Decrees, to see and examine whatsoeuer

30 Statutes, Constitutions of Prelates, Senates, Chapters, and Conuents of the Religious, and of the Vice-royes, Courts, and Counsels; and that in the *Indies*, and in these Kingdomes, in matter dependant of them it should bee obeyed: that the government of the *Indies* should bee like this of these Kingdomes, and that more in particular the Counsell doe occupie it selfe in the matters of government. That in Suites remitted those of the Counsell Royall shall come to giue their voyces to that of the *Indies*, and that two voyces shall make a Sentence in suites of 500. Pesos, or vnder. That there be a second Supplication in a case of 10000. Pesos: that they deale not in the repartitions of the *Indians* in those parts, but the Processe well perused in the Courts according to a Law, called of *Malinas* (for there it was made) they shall come to the *Supreme Counsell*: touching order to be held in matters of seruices, that the Counsell doe see them all; and in matters of

40 rewards, that which the greatest part doth determine, shall be done, and that in these there be a Supplication, and that no expedient suite be seene the third time: and that in the matters they doe resoluue with breuitie, that the charges be giuen to the best deseruing, and that they be not giuen to the allied and kinsmen of them of the Counsell; neither may such bee Solicitors, nor Attorneys; in the prouidings of the Offices no price shall be admitted: nor that they of the Counsell haue any *Indians* of repartition, and they shall assist in their houses, that the Suiters may find them there, when they goe not to Counsell: and that due secrecy be kept in all things, and aboue all that the Counsell haue a particular care of the Conuersion and good Instruction of the *Indians*, and of the spirituall government; and that of 600000. Marmediz vpward the appeale shall come to the Counsell; that they may appeale from the Sentences in the five Cases of naturall death, or

50 mayming of a member, or other bodily punishment, publike shame, or racking, and the appeales shall come to the Counsell, with many other laudable orders, which are omitted for breuities sake.

That the President being a learned man, shall haue a voice in matters of Government, gratuities, and fauours, visitations, and accompts, and not in suites, because he may be the more free for the government of the Counsell; and being vnlearned he shall haue no voice, but in matters of grace, government, and fauour, and that he may assemble the Counsell in his owne house, and haue a noate of the businesse, and that the Counsellors doe not accompany with the Suitors. And because it seemed a necessary thing that one *Fiscad* or Attourney should assist in Counsell, it was commanded he should haue the same stipend that the Counsellors, and that they deliuer him the dis-

60 patches of the Office, that he haue a care to know how that is accomplished which is provided for the *Indies*; that necessary Papers be giuen him for his Office, that he doe see the visitations before Counsell: that he haue a book to register all the capitulations that are taken with the King, another wherein he may set down the Attorneys Pleas: that he delay not the suites: that his demands, or those that are against him be admitted, if the Counsell think it good: that he keep a book of that which is concluded for the cases; that he haue a care to know the Officers that doe omit to send a relation euery yeere to the Counsell.

F f f 3

Hauiing

Chap. 30.

Of the forme of the government of the supreme Counsell of the *Indies*, and of the Institution of the Counsels, and Chanceries royall of those parts.

Appeales. Which is 100. pound English, taking two Ryals for one shilling.

Which as we accompt 441. pound 3. shillings and one third part of a pennie.

He continueth the orders of the supreme Counsell.

Institution of
the Courts
royall of the
Indies.

Having ordained all that which appertaineth to the Counsell, which is the head of this Government, with many other orders which are not rehearsed for breuitie; they proceeded in ordering all the Prouinces of the *Indies*, in the matters of iustice, as neede required: and these Catholike Kings desiring the common good of that new world, that their subiects that should possesse it, hauing a zeale to the seruice of our Lord God, good, profit, & ease of the said Subiects, & to the Peace, and quietnesse of the Towns, as the King is bound vnto God, and to them, for to accomplish with the Office that he hath in earth, hee thought good to command to place the Courts and Royall Chanceries, that (as hath bene said) are in the *Indies*, with the Statutes, and orders that hath bene giuen them, that the Ministers may doe their office, and iustice be well administred, and the Townes obtained the benefit pretended.

The Court of
the Hispaniola.
* Or Ordinary
Iustice, &c.

The first Court that was established, was in the Citie of Saint *Dominicke*, in the Iland *Hispaniola*, with one President a learned man, though now because of the warre he is a Souldiour, with title of Captaine Generall, and foure Iustices that beare rods, like an *Alcalde*, and deale in ciuill and criminall matters, in a degree of apeale, and in the instance in matter of Court, and the Government is onely commended to the President (which now is in *Don Antonio Ossorio*) and the limits thereof. The second Court was established in the Citie of *Mexico*, in *New Spaine*: the first President which was *Nunyo of Guzman*, had no authoritie, for he was placed but for a season: with the second Court, the Bishop *D. Sebastian Ramirez* (for he was so in the Court of *Hispaniola*) he had the Government of the Kingdome, and the supream authoritie, and hee left that, established that which belonged vnto it, and vnto iustice, as at this present it is. The President of this Court is the Vice-roy (which now is the Earle of *Monterrey*) there are eight Iustices, which doe iudge in ciuill matters, and in the appeale of the cases of government which the Vice-roy establisheth. There are three Iustices of criminall cases, which beare rods, and deale in criminall cases, and two Attornies, one of ciuill, another of criminall causes, and hee prouiderh the Rulers charges that are not referred to the King, and the other Officers, and helpe of cost in releases, and vacations in the limits of this Court of *Mexico*, and in that Counsell of new *Galicia*.

The Court of
Mexico.

The Court of
Panama.

Wherefore it
was called *Terra firme*.

The third Court was that of *Panama* in *Terra firme* (for this name was giuen to it, because it was the first place where from the Ilands the *Castillanes* went to inhabit, and as their common speech was to say that they went and came from the *Firme Land*, though other Prouinces were found in the firme land of that Orbe) this Prouince continued this name, loosing that of *Castilla del Oro*, wherewith the Kings commanded it should be called: and when the affaires of *Peru* grew greater, in the year 1542. It was thought good that this Court should be removed to the Citie of *The Kings*, where the Vice-roy (which now is *Don Lewis of Velasco*) hath at his charge the government of these limits, and that of the Courts of the *Charcas* and *Quito*. There is in this Court of the Kings eight Iustices, three Iustices of Court, and two Attornies, in the same order as in *Mexico*: and the Vice-roy is resident in the Citie of the Kings, and is the President of this Court, and shall be in the other two, when he is present in them, and doth diuide all the repartitions of *Indians* that are voide in the bounds of them.

Court of the
Citie of the
Kings.

The Court of
Guatemala.

The fourth Court was established in the Prouince of the *Confines*, and seeming it was needlesse it was dissolved, and the year 1570. it was established againe in the Citie of Saint *James*, of the Kingdome of *Guatemala*: in it is one President which is the Doctor *Criado of Castile*: foure Iustices with rods, and one Attorney. They sit on ciuill and criminall cases, in appeales, and in the first instance: in matters of Court the President onely hath the Government, and assigneth the *Indians*, prouideth the Rulerships, and other Offices temporall. The fift Court was established in the Citie of *Santa Fe de Bogata*, in the new Kingdome of *Granada*, with one President (which now is the Doctor *Francisco de Sande*) foure Iustices with rods, and one Attorney, with the same authority that the former. The sixt was established in the Citie of *Guadalajara*, of the new Kingdome of *Galicia*, with one Regent, three chiefe Iustices, which dispatched a great while without Seale, and the matters increasing, the Seale was giuen, and a Register, and a President was placed, which now is Doctor *Sanctiago de Vera*: and three Iustices with rods, one Attorney, and the Viceroy of *New Spain* hath the Government. The seuenth Court, was placed in the Citie of Saint *James*, of the Prouince of *Piru*, where there was also a Regent, chiefe Iustices without Seale, and afterward the Court was established with a President (which now is the Licentiat *Miguel de Vnarrar*) with three Iustices with rods, & one Attorny with the same faculty of *Guadalajara*, the government, & the rest remaining to the Vice-roy of *Piru*, as abouesaid. The eight Court was in the Citie of the *Plate*, in the Prouince of the *Charcas*, with a Regent and chiefe Iustices: after there was placed a President, foure Iustices with rods, Attorney, Seale, and Register, and now is President the Licentiat *Cepeda*, with reueruation of the prouiding the charges, and the rest to the Vice-roy of *Piru*. The ninth Court, is that which was established againe in the Citie of *Panama*, with a President of Sword and Cloake, because of the matters of warre, which is now *Don Alonso de Sotomayor*, with the title of Captaine Generall of *Terra firme*: there are three Iustices with rods, which doe deale in Appeales of ciuill and criminall cases, and at first instance in mat-
tine of *Chile*, was placed the tenth Court, and because it seemed needelesse, it was dissolved,

The Court of
the new King-
dome.

The Court of
the new King-
dome of *Galicia*.

The Court of
Quito.

The Court of
the *Charcas*.

Counsell of
Panama.

* See a Souldiour.
The Court of
the *Phillippines*.

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ued, and a Gouvernour was provided, which dependeth on the Viceroy of *Piru*. In the Citie of the *Philippinas*, called *Manila*, was a Court; and it was dissolved, because it seemed needeleffe: a few yeares since it was established againe, with a Captaine Generall which is *Don Peter* of *Acuña* which is President, and foure Iustices, and one Atturney, with the same authoritie that the other Courts. For the Catholike Kings of *Castile*, with the aduise of the supreme Councell of the *Indies*, doe alwayes provide with a sincere and iust minde, that which is conuenient for the preservation, and augmenting of the spirituall and temporall things of those parts, without any spare of expences, or labor: and euery Court hath according to the vse of these Kingdomes, Secretaries, Relators, Sergeants, Porters, and the Officers which are necessarie.

10 **T**he harmonie and agreement of this great Monarchie, is such, that to euery Minister hath beene given the authoritie that as well by reason of estate, as for the reputation of iustice hath seemed to be conuenient, referuing to the supreme Maiestie that which hath beene iudged to be necessarie to his authoritie. For to the Vice-royes and Presidents, that they may haue to reward the well-deseruing, and they be more respected, there are Offices assigned which they may provide, and matters wherein they may gratifie, and to the providing of the Person Royall haue remayned, with consultation of the supreme Councell of the *Indies* the offices following.

20 For the Kingdome of *Chile* a Gouvernour and a learned Iustice, with facultie to incommend or authorise the *Indians*: another for *Tucuman*, with the same facultie: another for the Prouinces of the Riuer of *Plate*, for *Popayan*, *Sancta Martha*, *Cartagena*, and *Veragua*, with their Gouvernour in euery one with the same power. In the Prouinces of *Nicaragua*, and the *Rich Coast*, one: in the Island of *Cuba*, one Gouvernour, and Captaine which is resident in the Citie of *Saint Christo-pher* of the *Auana*: there are besides the Gouvernours of the Island of *Saint Iohn* of *Porte-rico*, *Venezuela*, *Socomsco*, *Yucatan*, *Cozumel*, and *Tabasco*, which is all one government with authoritie to commend the *Indians*. His Maiestie prouideth also the governments of *Honduras*, the *Margarite*, *Florida*, new *Bisque*, *Dorado*, those of the new Realme of *Lion*, and that of *Pacamoros*, *Tgual-sango*, which are for terme of life, and the same in the Prouinces of *Choco*, *Quixos*, the *Cynamom*, Islands of *Salomon*, *Sancta Cruz of the Hill*, and the last is that of the new *Andalusia*.

30 Likewise there are provided by his Maiestie the Rulerships following. The *Cuzco*, the Citie of the *Plate*, and the seate of the mynes of *Potosi*, and the prouince of *Chicuito*, the *Andes* of *Cuzco*, the citie of *Truxillo*, *Arrequipa*, *Saint Iames* of *Guayaquil*, *Guamanga*, the citie of the *Peace*, *Chiquiabo*, *Saint Iohn* of the Frontier, *Lion* of *Guanuco*, *Old Hauen*, *Zamora*, the inhabiting of the mynes of the *Zacatecas* in new *Galicia*, *Cuenca*, *Loxa*, *Tunja*, the citie of *Mexico*, the citie of the *Kings*, the prouince of *Nicoya*. Chiefe Iusticeships, are those of the village of *Saint Sauour* of the prouince of *Guatemala*, the inward part of *Hispaniola*, * *Nombre de Dios*, the village of *Chuluteca*, prouince of the *Chiapa*, *Zapotitan*, the village of *Nata*, *Sancta Marie* of the victorie in *Tabasco*. And the chiefe Bayliwickes are, in the citie of *Saint Dominicke* in *Mexico*, in *Guadalajara*, *Saint Iames* of *Guatemala*, *Panama*, holy *Faith* of *Bogota*, *Saint Francis* of *Quito*, the citie of the *Kings*, the *Plata*. In the Cities recited in euery one is a chiefe Bayliefe, which hath a voice in Councell as a Ruler, and Deputies named, for the vse of his Office, and in euery Court is another chiefe Bayliefe with facultie to name other two Deputies.

40 For the government of the goods Royall are provided by his Maiestie, with the opinion of the supreme Councell of the *Indies*, many Officers, Factors, Treasurers, Tellers, and Ouer-seers, which all doe giue assurance in *Castile* and in the *Indies*, of good and faithfull administration: and because this new Commonwealth doth augment so much, it seemed behoofefull to the seruice of God, and of the King, to ennoble and authorize it more, with placing two Vice-royes, one in *New Spaine*, another in the Kingdomes of *Piru*, that in the Kings name they should gouerne and provide the things belonging to the seruice of God, and of the King, and to the conuersion and instruction of the *Indians*, sustayning, continuing, inhabiting, and ennobling of the said Kingdomes, which experience hath shewed, that it hath beene conuenient: to the which Vice-royes instructions are given very particular of that which is recited, and that they may haue in protection the holy office of the Inquisition, and with their strong arme to defend and protect it, that this conformitie as a fast knot, may be the pure and true preservation of the spirituall and temporall Estate, which is the best and truest estate, and most according to the Euangelicall estate.

50 The Vice-royes are commanded also, and likewise the Iudges, not to haue houses proper, nor to trafficke, nor contract, nor be serued of the *Indians*, neither haue any * Grangeries, nor meddle in Armies, nor Discoueries; that they receiue no gifts nor presents of any person; nor borrow money, nor any thing to eate; nor pleade, nor receiue arbitrements. That no Lawyer may plead where his father, father in law, brother in law, cousin, or sonne is Iudge. That no Vice-roy, President, Iustice, Iudge of the criminall Cases, Solicitor, nor their children may marry in the *Indies*. That no Gouvernours, Rulers, nor their Deputies, may buy Lands, nor build Houses, nor trafficke in their iurisdiction. That they may not farme the Bayliwickes, nor laylorships, nor other offices. That no Gouvernour, Ruler, nor chiefe Bayliefe, during the time of his office, may marry in the bounds of his iurisdiction. That no Iudge be provided for a Ruler, neither shall the said

Chap. 31.
Of the things that are provided in the supreme Councell of the *Indies* with consultation of the Kings.

The governments which the King prouideth in the *Indies*.

The Rulerships that his Maiestie doth prouide,

* Or the name of God.

That which is forbidden the Vice-royes, and Iudges.
* Where herds of Cattell are bred.

saide Iudges, or Bayliefs, haue any charge in which they are to make any abience from their offices: neither shall any office of iustice be giuen to the sonnes, sonne in law, brothers in law, nor fathers in law of Presidents, Iustices, nor Solicitors, nor to the Officers of the Courts, and of the goods Royal, neither to seruants nor allied of theirs: and the same is commanded the Vice-royes. And that none of the abovesaid Ministers, doe accept warrant for recoueries nor other things, nor serue themselves of the *Indians* without paying them. That no Aduocate, Scriuener, nor Relator, doe dwell in the house of Iudge, nor Bayliefe, nor the Suiters serue the Iudges. That the Iudges of *Panama*, doe not accompanie themselves with the Dealers, nor giue leaue to their wiues to accompanie them. And that no Iustices of all the Courts, shall haue much communication with the Suiters, Aduocates, nor Attorneys: neither in body of a Court to goe to Marriages, Funerals, nor Spousals, except it be a very weighty matter: neither visite any Neighbour for any cause. That they doe not meddle in matters of the Commonwealth, nor any Iustice, nor other minister of the Court, may haue two offices in it. And besides these many other Ordinances, and good Lawes, which are all concerning administration of iustice.

Chap. 32.
Wherein bee
continued
the matter of
the good go-
uernment of
the *Indies*.

Interpreters.

Schooles for
Indians to
learne the *Span-
ish* tongue.
* Sc. of the *Ca-
stilians*, and the
Countriwo-
men.

* Or accompts
of the Iudges,
or Iustices.

That they be
no slaues.

And because these Catholike Kings haue left nothing which most wisely they haue not pro-
vided for according to their dutie, the first thing they command the Vice-royes, and all the
Ministers in generall and particular is, the good vse of the *Indians*, and their preservation, and
the accomplishing of the Orders which are made as touching this, for to punish the Offenders
with great rigour: and as the *Indians* doe learne the *Castilian* policie, and can complaine, and
know in what things they receiue wrong, for their greater ease it is provided, that they giue no
place that the ordinarie writings be made in the suites betweene, or with the *Indians*, neither
make any delayes, as it is wont to happen, by the malice of some Aduocates, and Attorneys, but
that summarily they be determined, keeping their vses and customes, not being manifestly in-
iust, and that by all meanes possible, they doe provide the good and short dispatch of them. And
hauing notice that in the interpretation of the *Indians* languages, there were some fraudes; for to
preuent all, it was ordayned, that euery interpretation be made by two Interpreters, which shall
not confer both together about that which is controuerted by the *Indian*: and that before they
be receiued to the vse of the office, they shall take their oath to administer it faithfully, and that
they receiue no gifts of the *Indians* suiters, nor of others. That they doe assist at the Agree-
ments, Courts, and visitations of the Prisons. That in their houses they heare not the *Indians*,
but to carry them to the Court. That the Interpreters be not Solicitors, nor Attorneys of the
Indians. That they aske them nothing. And for their greater good, it is provided, that the At-
turney of the supreme Councell of the *Indies*, bee Protector of the *Indians*, and defend them in
their suites, and aske in the Councell all the necessarie things for his instruction, preservation,
and politike life: and now there are appointed Protectors in the Kingdomes of *Pern*, and *New
Spaine*, with new orders for their better vse.

It is also commanded, to set vp Schooles of the *Castilian* tongue, that the *Indians* may learne
it, and may doe it from their childhood; and that no vagabond *Spaniard* doe dwell or remayne
in the Townes of the *Indians*, nor among them, but that the Vice-royes and the Courts, doe put
all diligence in driuing such out of the Land, shipping them for *Castile*: and the Countrie borne
be compelled to serue and to learne Trades. And as well to the Prelates, as to the Vice-royes,
Courts, Gouvernours, and Rulers, and other whatsoever Iustices, is ordayned, and particular care
is had they doe accomplish it, that they doe provide how the offences that were done to God
may cease, in the *Indians* marrying whiles they are children, without hauing respect of age:
the *Caziques* marrying with more then one woman, though he be an Infidell: in hindering that
when some *Cazique* did die they should kill another to bee buried with him, and other like abo-
minable vses. That it be permitted to the *Indians* that they may dispose of themselves what they
list, as free men, and exempted from all manner labour, though it shall bee procured that they
doe labour and not be idle, and may haue libertie to dispose of their goods, the Lands being set to
sale by out-cry thirty dayes, and the moueable nine, the Iustice being present. That the Lands
remayning of any *Indian* deceasing without a Will, shall remayne in the Townes where they
dwelt. That they make the Markets freely, and sell in them their merchandize. That their good
vses and ancient customes be approued. That they may send to these Kingdomes *Indian* Attur-
neys for three yeeres. That the * Residencies be published in the *Indian* Townes, to see if any will
demand iustice. That in euery Towne of the *Indians* there bee an Hospitall with the things
necessarie.

In this matter of the *Indian* slaues, there were in the beginning of the Discoveries diuers opi-
nions, and orders, governing themselves as the time required and the state of the things: but af-
ter the Bishop *Don Sebastian Ramirez* came for President of *New Spaine*, this vse was absolutely
abolished, notwithstanding the ancient one which the *Indians* had to make themselves slaues one
to another: neither might they buy of them, nor receiue them, neither that any person may
bring to these Kingdomes any *Indian* in title of a slaue, though he be taken in lawfull warre: and
for this are so straight orders giuen that they are effectually kept, and so in no place of the *Indies*
are

are Indian slaues, though they be out of the bounds of *Castile* and *Lion*. And to eschew this inconuenience the more, the bringing *Indians* to these parts for whatsoever title it bee, is forbidden.

And the quietnesse for the Commonwealth being about all very necessarie, facultie is giuen to the Vice-royes, Presidents, Gouvernours, and other Iustices, that they may driue away, and banish from the *Indies* all vnquiet persons, and send them to these Kingdomes, iudging it so to bee conuenient for the quietnesse of those, but that it bee not for hatred or passion, nor for any such reason.

And that it may be some bridle to the Superiors, they are commanded, that they hinder no man the writing to the King, to his Councell, and to other persons, what they will: neither open, nor take any papers, or letters, vnder great penalties, and that they permit to passe and repasse through the Countrey them that will, prouiding wayes and bridges in the places where they are wanting.

As touching the matters of Warre, it is also prouided with great deliberation, for the Vice-royes greater authoritie, facultie is giuen them to haue a Guard on foot, and on Horse-backe: to make a casting place for Ordnance and Bullets, and a building for munitions, to leuy men, arme ships, and make fortifications, and prouide all the rest conuenient for the defence of those Kingdomes, and how the excesses of the Souldiers may be eschewed, as well by Land as by Sea, and to them that goe in the fleetes, committing the punishing of them to whom it belongeth, for to excuse competencies of iurisdiction.

It hath already beene said how all the Gouvernement of this Orbe, depends of the supreme and Royall Councell of the *Indies*, that are neere the Person Royall. But as it is necessarie that the executions of those parts haue correspondence in these; and here also there be they that may prouide in effecting that is behoofefull for the matters there: it was necessarie to place in *Siuil*, where all the trafficke of the *Indies* doth come, a house Royall of contratacion of it, that medleth not but in the dispatching of those businesses, and dependants of them, without any person nor Iustice doe intermeddle in any thing belonging to the *Indian* affaires: and it is in substance, a Tribunall of great authoritie, in the which is a President, which now is *Don Bernardino Delgadillo* of *Auelaneda*, a Teller, a Treasurer, one Factor, three learned Iudges, one Solicitor, one Relator, one Sergeant, Scriueners, Porter, Taylor, and other Officers. In the Ilands of *Tenerife* and *Palma*, are placed two learned Iudges, called Officers Royall, or Iudges of the Registers, to cause Orders to be kept that are giuen for the lading and Registers of those Ilands, and Nauigation of that voyage. The house of the Contratacion hath her instruction and ordinances, how her iurisdiction is to be gohened and exercised; and the learned Iudges haue it also for their vse and exercise, keeping in the seeing of the plea, betweene parties, the order that is held in the Courts of *Valladolid*, and *Granada*: and because the particular care of the officers of this house, is the dispatch of the Fleetes and Armies, that they may depart in due times, they employ themselves in it with great diligence, and in receiuing them that come, and setting in safeguard the Gold, Siluer, Iewels, and other things that doe come, with a distinction of the waight and carraets, charging themselves with all, that there may be more account and reason, and for to make the prouisions of the Fleetes and Armies. There are so good orders giuen, that neither the Ministers doe exceed, nor the Subjects receiue wrong, for all passeth very conformable to the intencion of these Godly and Catholike Kings, by meanes of the great diligence of the supreme Councell of the *Indies*.

And because the businesses of the *Indies* haue increased so much, that the supreme Councell could not dispatch them with the breuitie conuenient to the good gouernment of that Orbe, and the benefit of the Suiters, with the aduice of the President and supreme Councell; the King *Don Philip* the third our Lord, in imitation of his Catholike and Godly Predecessors, for the greater good of his subiects, hath instituted a *Prinse Councell*, where all the businesses of spirituall and temporall warrants, fauours and rewards may bee conferred and dispatched: and besides this, there are two Halls instituted, where on dayes appointed they may intreat of matters of warre, with the President and three Counsellors of the *Indies*, and two or three of the Counsell of warre, and other dayes, of the matters of the goods, by the President and Counsellors of *Indies*, and two of the Counsell of the goods, Atturney, and Secretarie of the Counsell of the *Indies*, the President naming those that he shall thinke best for it.

And as these Catholike Kings doe alwayes looke to the benefit of the people of that Orbe, considering that the propagation of the holy Gospell in no part of it could goe more prosperously by any other hands then his, nor bee attended for his preservation, and to haue the Conquerours and Inhabiters of those parts more satisfied, seeing all were his Subiects, and borne in these Kingdomes, declared by their Royall warrants, dated the yeere 1520. in *Valladolid*, and in the yeere 1523. in *Pamplona*, that their Maiesties, nor any of their Heires, in no time shall alienate from the Crowne Royall of *Castile* and *Lion*, the Ilands and Prouinces of the *Indies*, Towne, or any part of them, and so they promised it and gaue their Royall word.

About vnquiet persons.

Matters of warre.

The house of contratacion of Siuil.

Instruction of the Councell of Camara, or of Houshold.

That the *Indies* shall not bee alienated.

The Presidents, Counsellors, Secretaries, and Attorneys, which unto this present day haue serued, and doe serue in the Supreme Councill of the Indies, from their first Discoverie.

PRESIDENTS.

Iohn Rodriguez of Fonseca, brother to the Lord of Coca and Alaejos, Archbishop of Rosano, and Bishop of Burgos, being Deane of Simil, governed that which appertained to the dispatching of the Fleets and Armies of the Indies, till the Catholike King Don Fernando V. called him, to the end that in his Court hee might take charge of the Indian affaires, and he did it till the Emperor came to reigne, which commanded that the Doctor Mercurino Gatinares his great Chancellor, should be Superintendent of all the Councils, and all the dispatches passed through his hands, and intermealed in all the Assemblies that were made.

Friar Garcia of Loaysa General of the Order of Saint Dominicke, the Emperours Confessor, Bishop of Osma, which was Archbishop of Simil, and Cardinall.

Don Garcia Maurique, Earle of Osorno, which being Assistant of Simil, did gouerne till the Cardinall came from Rome.

Don Lewis Hurtado of Mendoza, Marques of Mondejar, which after was President of the Royall and supreme Councill of Castile.

The Licenciado Don Francisco Tello of Sandoval, which hauing bene of the Councill of the Indies, went for President of the Royall Chancerie of Granada, and from thence came to gouerne in the Councill of Indies.

The Licenciado Don Iohn Sarmiento was also of the Councill of the Indies, and after went to gouerne in the Royal Chancerie of Granada, from whence he returned to be President of the Royall and supreme Councill of the Indies.

Lewis Quixada, Lord of Villagarcia, and of the Councill of Warre.

The Licenciado Iohn of Obando, of the supreme Councill of the holy Inquisition, did preside in the Councill of the Indies, and of the goods Royall.

The Licenciado Don Antonio de Padilla, of the Royal and supreme Councill of Castile, passed to be President of the Councill of the Orders, and after to the supreme Councill of the Indies.

The Licenciado Hernando of Vega and Fonseca, of the supreme Councill of the holy and generall Inquisition, passed to the Councill of the goods Royall, and from it to the Royall and supreme Councill of the Indies.

The Licenciado Don Pedro de Moya of Contreras, the first Inquisitor that went to Mexico for to seate the holy Office in that Citie. Hee was Archbishop of that Citie, and President of the supreme Councill of the Indies.

The Licenciado Paul of Laguna, of the Royall and supreme Councill of Castile, and of the holy and generall Inquisition, passed to gouerne

in the Councill of the goods Royall and Tribunals of it, and was after President of the supreme Councill of the Indies: and in his time began the Royall Councill of the House-hold.

COUNSELLORS.

Hernando of Vega, Lord of Grajal, which was chiefe Knight of Lion, and President of the Councill of Orders. Licenciado Lewis Zapata. Licenciado Moxica. Doctor S. James. Doctor Palacios Penbros. Doctor Gonçalo Maldonado, which was Bishop of the citie Rodrigo. Master Lewis Vaca, Bishop of Canarie. Doctor Aguirre. Doctor Mota, Bishop of Badajoz. Doctor Sosa. Doctor Peter Martyr of Angleria, Abbot of Iamayca. Mosir of Lassao, of the Emperours Chamber, and of the Councill of Estate. Licenciado Garcia of Padilla, of the habit of Calatrana. Doctor Beltran. Doctor Galindez of Carnajal. Doctor Bernal. Licenciado Peter Manuel. Licenciado Rodrick of the Court. Licenciado Montoya. Licenciado Mercado. Licenciado Antonio of Aguilera. Licenciado Don Hernando of Salas. Licenciado Iohn Thomas. Doctor Villafanye. Licenciado Bonelbo Maldonado. Licenciado Ojalora. Licenciado James Gasca of Salazar. Licenciado Gamboa. Doctor Gomez of Santillana. Licenciado Espadero. Licenciado Don James of Zunnigo. Licenciado Lopez of Sarria. Licenciado Enao. Doctor Lope of Baylo. Licenciado Gedeon of Xnojosa, of the habit of Saint James. Licenciado Villafanne. Doctor Antonio Gonçalez. Licenciado Francisco Balazar. Licenciado Medina of Sarauz. Licenciado Don Lewis of Mercado. Doctor Peter Gutierrez Flores. Licenciado Peter Dages of Tudanca. Licenciado Benito Rodriguez Valtodano. Licenciado Ausine Alvarez of Toledo, and of the Chamber. Doctor Don Roderick Zapata. Licenciado Peter Brano of Sotomayor. Licenciado Molina of Medrano, of the habit of Saint James, & of the Chamber, Commissioner of this Historie. Licenciado James of Armenteros. Licenciado Alonso Perez of Salazar. Licenciado Gonçalo of Aponte, and of the Chamber. Licenciado Don Iohn of Ocon, of the habit of Calatrana. Licenciado Hernando of Saavedra. Licenciado Don Thomas Ximenez Ortiz. Licenciado Eugenio of Salazar. Licenciado Don Francisco Arias Maldonado. Licenciado Andrew of Ayala. Licenciado Benavente of Benavides. Licenciado Rooke of Villagutierre Chumazero.

SECRETARIES.

Iohan Colona. Michael Perez of Almazan. Gaspar of Gricia. The Knight Lope of Conchillos. Francisco of the Cobos, chiefe Commander of Leon. Iohn of Samano. The Commander

mander *Franciscus* of *Eraso*. *Antonie* of *Eraso*. The Commander *Iohn* of *Ybarra*.

ATTORNEYS or SOLLICITORS.

The Licenciante *Franciscus* of *Vargas*. Licenciante *Prado*. Licenciante *Martin Ruyz* of *Agreda*. Doctor *Franciscus Hernandez* of

Liebana. Licenciante *Ierome* of *Vlloa*. Licenciante *Gamboa*. Licenciante *Lopez* of *Sarria*. Licenciante *Scipion Antolinez*. Licenciante *Negron*. Doctor *Valencuela*. Doctor *Marcus Caro*. Licenciante *Bennet Rodriguez* of *Valsodano*. Licenciante *Alonso Perez* of *Salazar*. Licenciante *Roscke* of *Vallaguierre Chumazero*.

10 The Gouvernours, and Vice-royes, which haue governed untill this time, the Kingdomes of New Spaine, and of Piru.

In New Spaine.

Don *Fernando Cortes* Marques of the *Valley*, Gouvernour, chiefe Iustice, and Capitaine generall.

The Licenciante *Lewis Pance*, of the House of the Duke of *Arcos*, Iudge of * Residencia, with facultie to take the government, and by his death the Licenciante *Marcus* of *Agnilar*, natural of the Citie of *Exija*, was subrogated his Deputie; and because of his death succeeded within two moneths; hee substituted his authorities in the Treasurer *Alonso* of *Estrada*, borne in Citie Royall: and the death of *Lewis Pance* being knowne in *Castile*, it was provided that *Marcus* of *Agnilar* should gouerne, and in defect of him, *Alonso* of *Estrada*, till the first Court came, with order that *Nunno* of *Guzman*, Knight of *Guadalajara*, Gouvernour of *Pannco*, a President did come: and because it was conuenient to take away those Iudges, others were sent in their places, and for President in the government vniuersall of *New Spaine*, Don *Sebastian Ramirez* of *Fuenteal*, Bishop of *Saint Dominicke*, and of the *Conception*, late President of the Court of *Saint Dominicke*, a man of great learning; and that after many dignities died in *Castile* Bishop of *Cuenca*, and then the charge of Capitaine generall was given anew to the Marques *Don Fernando Cortes*, that he might gouerne the matters of warre, with the aduise of *Don Sebastian Ramirez*.

The first that had title of Vice-roy and Capitaine generall of *New Spaine*, was *Don Antonie* of *Mendoza*, brother of the Marques of *Mendoza*.

Don *Lewis* of *Velasco*, a Gentleman of the House of the high Constable of *Castile*.

Don *Gaston* of *Peralta*, Marques of *Falces*.

50 Don *Martine Enriquez* of *Almansa*, brother of the Marques of *Alcannizes*, the Kings Steward.

Don *Laurence Xuares* of *Mendoza*, Earle of *Corunya*, which deceased being provided for *Piru*, and by his death *Don Peter Moya* of *Contreras*, Archbishop of *Mexico*, gouerned in the meane while.

Don *Aluaro Manrique* of *Zuniga*, Marques of *Villamamague*, brother of the Duke of *Bojar*.

60 Don *Lewis* of *Velasco*, sonne to the abouetaid Don *Lewis* of *Velasco*, which passed to gouerne

the Kingdomes of *Piru*, where at this present hee is.

Don *Gaspard* of *Zuniga* and *Fonseca*, Earle of *Monterrey*, which gouerneth at this day.

In the Kingdomes of Piru.

Don *Franciscus Picarro*, Marques of the *Charcas*, Gouvernour, chiefe Iustice, and Capitaine generall.

The Licenciante *Vaca* of *Castro*, of the habit of *Saint James*, of the supreme Councell of *Castile*, carried Title of Gouvernour generall.

Blasco Nunnez Vela, a Gentleman of *Anila*, was the first that carried the Title of Vice-roy and Capitaine generall of the Kingdomes of *Piru*.

The Licenciante *James de la Gasca*, of the Councell of the holy and generall Inquisition, carried the Title of President of the new Court that was sent to the Citie of *The Kings*, and of Gouvernour generall, with facultie to giue the government of Armes to whom hee thought best. He died Bishop of *Siguenga*, and his Funerall and Trophees are seene in *Magdalene Church* in *Valladolid*, and in his absence the government remayned to the Court of the Citie of *The Kings*.

The second that carried Title of Vice-roy and Capitaine generall, was *Don Antonie* of *Mendoza*, that gouerned the Kingdomes of *New Spaine*.

Don *Andrew Hurtado* of *Mendoza*, Marques of *Canyete*.

Don *James* of *Zuniga* and *Velasco*, Earle of *Niema*.

The Licenciante *Lope Garcia* of *Castro*, of the Royall and supreme Councell of the *Indies*, carried title of President and Gouvernour general.

Don *Franciscus* of *Toledo*, brother to the Earle of *Oropesa*, Steward to the King.

Don *Martin Enriquez*, from the charge of *New Spaine*, passed to gouerne the Kingdomes of *Piru*.

Don *Garcia* of *Mendoza*, Marques of *Canyete*.

Don *Lewis* of *Velasco*, from the charge of *New Spaine*, passed to the Kingdomes of *Piru*, where now he is, and at the instant of the impression of this Worke, is provided for Vice-roy and Capitaine generall of those Kingdomes, Don *Iohn Pacheco*, Duke of *Escalona*.

* Or of the examination of a Iudge or Iustice, or other Officer after their time is expired, to see if any will complaine of any wrong done to him in that time, and to pay the damage so sustained by his default.

CHAP. II.

Observations gathered out of the First, Second, Third, and Fourth bookes of
 IOSEPHVS ACOSTA a learned Iesuite, touching the naturall hi-
 storie of the Heauens, Ayre, Water, and Earth at the west Indies.
 Also of their Beasts, Fishes, Fowles, Plants, and other
 remarkable rarities of Nature.

§. I.

Of the fashion and forme of Heauen, at the new-found World, and
 of the Ayre and Windes.

Lib. I. cap. 5.

Plin. lib. 6. c. 22.

See Magellans
 Voyage.

Height taken
 by the Sunne.

Via lactea.

Shewing the
 reason why the
 Sunne without
 the Tropicks,
 causeth great
 quantitie
 of waters when
 it is farthest
 off; and con-
 trariwise, with
 in them it breed-
 eth most,
 when it is nee-
 rest. l. 2. chap. 7.



Any in Europe demand, of what forme and fashion Heauen is in the Southerne parts, for that there is no certaintie found in ancient Books, who although they grant there is a Heauen on this other part of the World, yet come they not to any knowledge of the forme thereof, although in truth they make mention of a goodly great Starre seene in those parts; which they call *Canopus*. Those which of late dayes haue sayled into these parts, haue accustomed to write strange things of this Heauen; that it is very bright, hauing many goodly Starres: and in effect, things which come farre, are commonly described with encrease. But it seemes contrarie vnto me, holding it for certaine, that in our Region of the North, there is a greater number and bigger starres; finding no starres in these parts, which exceede the *Fisher* or the *Chariot* in bignesse. It is true, that the *Crosse* in these parts is very faire and pleasing to behold: we call the *Crosse*, foure notable and apparant starres, which make the forme of a crosse, set equally and with proportion. The ignorant suppose this crosse to be the Southerne Pole, for that they see the Navigators take their height thereby, as wee are accustomed to doe by the North starre. But they are deceived, and the reason, why Saylers doe it in this sort, is for that in the South parts there is no fixed starre that markes the Pole, as the North starre doth to our Pole. And therefore they take their height by the starre at the foote of the *Crosse*, distant from the true and fixed Pole Antarticke thirtie degrees, as the North starre is distant from the Pole Articke three degrees or little more. And so it is more difficult to take the height in those parts, for that the said starre at the foote of the *Crosse* must be right, the which chanceeth but in one houre of the night; which is in diuers seasons of the yeere in diuers houres, and oftentimes it appeareth not in the whole night, so as it is very difficult to take the height. And therefore the most expert Pilots regard not the *Crosse*, taking the height of the Sunne by the Astrolabe, by which they know in what height they are: wherein commonly the *Portugals* are more expert, as a Nation that hath more discourse in the Arte of Nauigation then any other. There are also other starres in these Southerne parts, which in some sort resemble those of the North. That which they call the *Milken way*, is larger and more resplendent in the South parts, appearing therein those admirable blacke spots, whereof we haue made mention.

Considering with my selfe oftentimes, what should cause the Equinoctiall to bee so moist, as I haue said; to refute the opinion of the Ancients, I finde no other reason, but the great force of the Sunne in those parts, whereby it drawes vnto it a great abundance of vapours from out of the Ocean, which in those parts is very great and spacious: and hauing drawne vnto it this great abundance of vapours, doth suddenly dissolue them into raine, and it is approued by many tried experiences, that the raine and great stormes from Heauen proceed from the violent heate of the Sunne: first (as we haue said before) it raines in those Countries, when as the Sunne casts his beames directly vpon the earth, at which time he hath most force: but when the Sunne retires, the heate is moderate, and then there falls no raine: whereby wee may conclude, that the force and heate of the Sunne is the cause of raine in those Countries. Moreouer we obserue, both in *Pern*, new *Spaine*, and in all the burning Zone, that the raine doth vsually fall in the afternoone, when as the Sunne beames are in their greatest force, being strange to see it raine in the morning. And therefore Trauellers foreseeing it, begin their iourneys early, that they may end and rest before noone, for they hold that commonly it raines after noone. Such as haue frequented and trauelled those Countries, can sufficiently speake thereof. And there are, that (hauing made some abode there) say, that the greatest abundance of raine is, when the Moone is at the full; but to say the truth, I could neuer make sufficient prooffe thereof, although I haue obserued it. Moreouer, the dayes, the yeere, and the moneths, shew the truth hereof, that the violent heate of the Sunne causeth the raine in the burning Zone: experience teacheth vs the like in artificiall things, as in a Limbecke, wherein they draw waters from herbs and flowers; for the vehemency

mency of the fire forceth and driueth vp an abundance of vapours, which being pressed, and finding no issue, are conuerted into liquor and water. The like wee see in gold and siluer, which we refine with quick-siluer, the fire being small and slow, we draw out almost nothing of the quick-siluer, but if it be quick and violent, it doth greatly euaporate the quick-siluer, which encountering the head aboue, doth presently turne into liquor, and begins to drop downe: Euen so the violent heate of the Sunne produceth these two effects, when it findes matter disposed, that is, to draw vp the vapours on high, and to dissolue them presently, and turne them into raine, when there is any obstacle to consume them. And although these things seeme contrarie, that one Sunne within the burning Zone, being neere, should cause raine, and without the Zone as farre off should breed the like effect; so it is, that all well considered, there is no contrarietie. A thousand effects in naturall causes proceed of contrarie things by diuers meanes: we drie linnen by the fire, and in the aire, and yet the one heats and the other cooles; Pastures are dried and hardened by the Sunne and with the Frost; moderate exercise prouokes sleepe, being too violent, it hindereth: if you lay no wood on the fire, it dyeth; if you lay on too much, it likewise quencth: for the onely proportion entertaines and makes it to continue. To well discerne a thing, it must not be too neere the eye, nor too farre off, but in a reasonable distance proportionable; being too farre off from any thing we lose the sight, and too neere likewise we cannot see it. If the Sunne beams be weake, they draw vp no fogge from the Riuer, if they be violent, hauing drawne vp the vapours, they presently dissolue and consume them; but if the heat be moderate, it drawes vp and preserves it: for this reason the vapours rise not commonly in the night, nor at noone, but in the morning, when as the Sunne begins to enter into his force. There are a thousand examples of naturall causes vpon this subiect, which wee see doe often grow from contrarie things: where-by we must not wonder, if the Sunne being neere, engenders raine, and being farre off, works the like effect: but being of a moderate and proportionable distance, causeth none at all. Yet there remains one doubt, why the neernesse of the Sunne causeth the raine vnder the burning Zone, and without when it is farthest off. In my opinion the reason is, that in Winter without the Tropicks, the Sunne hath not force sufficient to consume the vapours which rise from the Land and Sea; for these vapours grow in great abundance in the cold Region of the aire, where they are congealed and thickned by the extremitie of the cold; and after being pressed, they dissolue and turne into water. Therefore in Winter when the Sunne is farthest off, the dayes short, and the nights long, his heat hath small force: but when the Sunne approacheth, which is in the Summer time, his force is such as it drawes vp the vapours, and suddenly consumes and disperseth them; for the heat and the length of the dayes grow through the neernesse of the Sunne. But within the Tropicks vnder the burning Zone, the farre distance of the Sunne workes the same effects that the neernesse doth without the Tropicks; by reason whereof, it raines no more vnder the burning Zone when the Sunne is farre off, then without the Tropicks when it is neere, for that in this approaching and retiring, the Sunne remaines alwayes in one distance whence proceedes this effect of cleernesse. But when the Sunne is in the period of his force in the burning Zone, and that he cast his beames directly vpon the Inhabitants heads, there is neither cleernesse nor drynesse, as it seemes there should be, but rather great and strange showers: for that by this violent heat, he drawes vp suddenly a great abundance of vapours from the Earth and Ocean, which are so thicke, as the winde, not able easily to disperse them, they melt into water, which breedeth the cold raine in so great abundance: for the excessiue heat may soone draw vp many vapours, the which are not so soone dissolued: and being gathered together through their great abundance, they melt and dissolue into water. The which wee may easily discerne by this familiar example: roast a piece of Porke, Mutton, or Veale, if the fire be violent, and the meate neere, wee see the fat melts suddenly and drops away, the reason is, that the violent heat drawes forth the humour and fat from the meat, and being in great abundance cannot dissolue it, and so it distills more away: But when the fire is moderate, and the meat in an equall distance, wee see that it roasts handsomly, and the fat drops not too suddenly, for that the moderate heat drawes out the moistnesse which it consumes suddenly. And therefore Cookes make a moderate fire, and lay not their meate too neere nor too farre off, lest it melt away. The like may bee seene in another experience in candles of tallow or waxe, if the wike bee great, it melts the tallow or the waxe, for that the heat cannot consume the moistnesse which riseth, but if the flame bee proportionable, the wax melts nor drops not, for that the flame doth waste it by little and little as it riseth.

But this is not to hinder the exceptions which Nature hath giuen to this Rule, making some Regions of the burning Zone extremely drie. The which is reported of *Ethiopia*, and wee haue seene it in a great part of *Pern*, where all that Land or Coast, which they call *Playnes*, wants raine, yea, land waters, except some Vallies where Riuer fall from the Mountaines; the rest is a sandie and barren soile, where you shall hardly finde any Springs, but some deepe Wells. But with the helpe of God, we will shew the reason why it rayneth not in these Playnes (the which many demand;) for now I onely pretend to shew, that there are many exceptions to naturall Rules, whereby it may happen, that in some part of the burning Zone it raines not when the

Gggg

Exceptions to
generall rules.

Sunne

Sunne is neereſt, but being fartheſt off, although vnto this day I haue neither ſeene nor heard of it: but if it be ſo, we muſt attribute it to the particular qualitie of the Earth: and alſo, if ſometimes the contrarie doth chance, we muſt haue regard that in naturall things there happens many contrarieties and lets, whereby they change and diſſolue one another. For example, it may be the Sunne will cauſe raine, and that the windes will hinder it; or elſe cauſe more abundance, then hath beene vſually.

The Authors
experience.

When I paſſed to the *Indies*, I will tell what chanced vnto mee: hauing read what Poets and Philoſophers write of the burning Zone, I perſwaded my ſelfe, that coming to the Equinoctiall, I ſhould not indure the violent heate, but it fell out otherwiſe; for when I paſſed, which was when the Sunne was there for Zenith, being entred into *Aries*, in the moneth of March, I felt ſo great cold, as I was forced to goe into the Sunne to warme me; what could I elſe doe then, but laugh at *Ariſtoteles* Meteors and his philoſophie, ſeing that in that place, and at that ſeaſon, when as all ſhould be ſcorched with heat, according to his rules, I, and all my companions were a cold. In truth there is no Region in the world more pleaſant and temperate then vnder the Equinoctiall, although it be not in all parts of an equall temperature, but haue great diuerſities. The burning Zone in ſome parts is very temperate, as in *Quito*, and on the playnes of *Peru*; in ſome parts very cold, as at *Potozi*, and in ſome very hot, as in *Ethiopia*, *Breſil*, and the *Molucques*. This diuerſitie being knowne and certaine vnto vs, wee muſt of force ſeek out another cauſe of cold and heat then the Sunne beames, ſeing that in one ſeaſon of the yeere, and in places of one height and diſtance from the Pole and Equinoctiall we finde ſo great diuerſitie, that ſome are in-
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Various and
diuerſified
temper of the
Torrid Zone.

Causes of tem-
peratenesse
vnder the Line
and within the
Tropicks.

Conſidering this matter generally, I finde two generall cauſes, which maketh this Region temperate: the one is that before mentioned, for that this Region is very moiſt and ſubiect to raine, and there is no doubt but the raine doth reſreſh it, for that the water is by nature cold; and although by the force of the fire it be made hot, yet doth it temper this heat proceeding onely from the Sunne beames. The which wee ſee by experience in the inner *Arabia*, the which is burnt with the Sunne, hauing no ſhowres to temper the violence thereof. The cloudes and miſts are the cauſe that the Sunne offends not ſo much, and the ſhowres that fall from them, reſreſh both the Aire and the Earth, and moiſten likewise how hot ſo euer it be. They drinke raine water, and it quencheth the thirſt, as our men haue well tried, hauing no other to drinke. So as reason and experience doth teach vs, that raine of it ſelfe doth temper the heat; and hauing by this meanes ſhewed, that the burning Zone is much ſubiect vnto raine, it appeares that there is matter in it, to temper the violence of the heat. To this I will adde another reaſon, which deſerues to be knowne, not onely for this matter, but for many others; for although the Sunne be very hot and burning vnder the Equinoctiall, yet is it not long, ſo as the heat of the day being there ſhorter and of leſſe continuance, it cauſeth not ſo violent a heate; the which it behooues to ſpecifie more particularly. Such as are practiſed in the knowledge of the Spheare teach very well, that the more the Zodiacke is oblique and traueſing our Hemisphere, the more vnequall are the dayes and nights; and contrariwiſe, where the Spheare is ſtraight, and the ſignes mount directly, there the dayes and nights are equall. And therefore in all that Region which is betweene the two Tropicks, there is leſſe inequality then without them, and the more wee approach the Line the leſſe inequality we finde, the which wee haue tried in thoſe parts. Thoſe of *Quito*, for that they are vnder the Line, haue not throughout the whole yeere the dayes and nights more ſhort at one ſeaſon then at another, but are continually equall. Thoſe of *Lima* being diſtant almoſt twelue degrees, finde ſome difference betwixt the dayes and the nights, but very little; for that in December and Ianuarie the dayes increaſe an houre or little leſſe. Thoſe of *Potozi* finde much more difference both in Winter and in Summer, being almoſt vnder the Tropicke. But thoſe that liue without the Tropicks finde the dayes in Winter ſhorter and in Summer longer: the more remote they are from the Equinoctiall and come neere the Pole, as wee ſee in *Germanie* and in *England*, the dayes are longer in Summer then in *Italie* and in *Spaine*. It is a thing which the Spheare doth teach, and experience doth plainly ſhew vs. Wee muſt adde another Propoſition, which is likewise true and very conſiderable for all the effects of Nature to vnderſtand the perſeuerance and continuation of the efficient cauſe to worke and moue. This preſuppoſed, if any one demand of me, why vnder the Equinoctiall Line the heat is not ſo violent in Summer, as in ſome other Regions (as in *Andelouſia* in the moneths of Iuly and Auguſt) I will anſwere, that in *Andelouſia* the dayes are longer and the nights ſhorter; and as the day being hot, inflames and cauſeth heat; ſo the nights being cold and moiſt, giue a reſreſhing. According to the which, at *Peru*, there is no ſuch great heat, for that the dayes in Summer are not long, nor the nights ſhort; ſo as the heat of the day is much tempered by the freſhneſſe of the night.

That there bee
other reaſons
beſides the former
mentioned, which
ſhew, that the
burning Zone
is temperate,
eſpecially alongſt the Ocean. Chap. II.

Being a thing concluded, that the two fore-named properties are common and vniuerſall to all the Region of the burning Zone: and yet in the ſame there are found ſome places very hot, and other exceeding cold: Alſo, that the temperature is not there equall in all places, but vnder one climate, one part is hot, another cold, and the third temperate, all at one ſeaſon; wee are
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forced

forced to seeke out other reasons, whence this great diuersitie should proceede in the burning Zone. Discourfing therefore vpon this question, I doe finde three apparant and certaine causes, and a fourth more obscure and darke. The apparant and certaine causes bee: The first, is the Ocean: the second, the situation of the Land: and the third, the nature and propertie of many and sundrie windes. Besides these three which I hold for manifest, I beleue there is a fourth hidden and lesse apparant, which is the propertie of the same Land inhabited, and the particular influence of the Heauens. Among the speciall causes and reasons, I haue first placed the Sea, for without doubt, the neernesse thereof doth helpe to temper and coole the heat: for although the Water be salt, yet is it alwayes water, whose nature is cold.

10 But if wee shall yet search more particularly, wee shall not finde in all this Land an equall temperature of heate, although it bee in equall distance from the Sea, and in the same degree, seeing that in some parts there is great heate, and in some very little. Doubtlesse, the cause thereof is, that the one is lower, and the other higher; which causeth that the one is hot, and the other cold. It is most certaine, that the tops of the Mountaines are colder then in the bottom of the Vallies, the which procedes; not onely for that the Sunne beames haue greater repercussions vpon lower places, although it be a great reason; yet there is another, which is, that the Region of the aire is colder when it is farthest from the ground. The cause why the middle Region of the aire is more cold, hath beene shewed before: for that the Region of the aire next to the fierie exhalation, the which (according to Aristotle) is vpon the Spheare of the aire, repells and thrusts backe all the cold, the which retires it selfe into the middle Region of the aire, by *Antiparistasis*, as the Philosophers speake. Now, if any one should question with me in this manner; If it be so that the aire is hot and moist, as Aristotle holds, and as we commonly say; whence then procedes the cold which is congealed in the middle Region of the aire, seeing it cannot come from the fierie Spheare? For if it come from the Water, or the Earth, by

Arist. Me.

20 To answer truly what I thinke, I will confesse, that this Argument and Obiection is so difficult, as I am almost readie to follow the opinion of such as reprove the qualities, agreements and disagreements which Aristotle giues vnto the Elements, saying, they are but imaginations, who for this occasion hold the aire to bee cold by nature. And to this end they vse many arguments and reasons, whereof we will propound one very familiar and well knowne, leauing the rest apart. In the Canicular dayes we are accustomed to beat the aire with a fan, and wee finde that it doth refresh vs; so as these Authors affirme, that heate is no priuate propertie of any other Element, but of fire onely, which is dispersed and mingled with all things (as the great De-

Dionys. c. 15. de cal. hietat.

30 *nis* doth teach vs.) But whether it be so, or otherwise (for I will not contradict Aristotle, but in that which is most certaine) in the end they agree all, that the middle Region of the aire is colder then the lowest next to the Earth, as experience doth shew vs; seeing that in this middle Region are congealed, Snow, Haile, Frosts, and other signes of extreme cold. The middle Region then which they call the burning Zone, hauing on the one side the Sea, and on the other the Mountaines, we must hold them for sufficient causes to temper and coole the heate.

40 The temperature of this Region ought chiefly to be attributed to the propertie of the winde that blowes in that Country, the which is pleasant and fresh. The prouidence of the great God Creator of all things hath beene such, as he hath ordayned fresh and coole windes in that Region where the Sunne makes his course (which seemes should be burnt vp) that by their coolenesse the excessiue heate of the Sunne might be qualified. Wee see in one climate, some Regions and Cities hotter then others, onely for that they feele lesse winde to refresh them. The like is in other Countries where no winde blowes, the which are all on fire like vnto a furnace. If we shall neerly looke into the consideration of the winde, whereof we haue spoken, we may resolute many doubts which some obiekt, and which seeme strange and wonderfull: wherefore the Sunne casting his beames vpon the burning Zone, and particularly at *Perna*, and that more violently then in *Spaine* in the Canicular dayes, yet they defend the heat with a light couering, so as with

50 a slender couering of mats or straw, they are better preserved from the heate, then in *Spaine* vnder a roofof wood, or a vault of stone. Moreover, why are not the nights in Summer at *Perna* as hot and troublesome as in *Spaine*? Wherefore on the highest tops of Mountaines, euen amongst the heapes of snowe, you shall sometimes feele great and insupportable heat? Wherefore in all the Prouince of *Colao*, when yee come into the shade, how little soeuer, you feele cold: But the comming into the Sunne beames, you presently finde the heate excessiue. Euery morning the winde from the Sea doth cease, and the Sunne begins to cast his beames; and for this reason they feele the greatest heat in the morning, vntill the returne of the same windes, which otherwise they call the tyde or winde of the Sea, which makes them first to feele cold. Wee haue tried all this, whilest wee were at the Ilands of *Barlonante*, where in the mornings wee did sweat for heat, and at noone we felt a fresh aire; for that then, a North Easterly winde which is fresh and coole, doth commonly blow.

That the cold windes bee the principal cause to make the burning Zone temperate. Chap. 13. It is noted by traouellers that there is a hot winde sometimes neere to *Balsara* and *Ormus* which swalloweth mens breath and suddenly kills them. *Libschoten* obserues at *Goa* the wind to blow twelue houres from the Sea, and other twelue constantly from the land.

60 Considering with my selfe, the pleasing temperature of many Countries at the *Indies*, where they know not what Winter is, which by his cold doth freeze them, nor Summer which doth trouble

trouble them with heat, but that with a Mat they preserve themselves from the injuries of all weather, and where they scarce have any neede to change their garments throughout the yeere. I say, that often considering of this, I find that if men at this day would vanquish their passions, and free themselves from the snares of covetousnesse, leaving many fruitlesse and pernicious designs, without doubt they might live at the *Indies* very pleasant and happily: for that which other Poets sing of the *Elisean* fields & of the famous *Tempe*, or that which *Plato* reports or feignes of his *Atlantike* Iland; men should finde in these Lands, if with a generous spirit they would chosse rather to command their silver and their desires, then to remayne to it slaves as they are.

Of the windes,
their differences,
properties,
and causes in
generall lib. 3.
cap. 2.

* We have abbreviated and to prevent tediousnesse cut off a great part of *Acosius* observations in the two former bookes, as having handled the same in our *Pilgrimage* 18. where we have shewed whence men and beasts might come thither, and that the opinion of the worlds uninhabitednesse betwixt the Tropicks is false: for the daily raine when the Sunne is neere, the long nights & therein great dewes, the breezes and constant course of the windes, the great Lakes & Rivers, height of Hills, &c. make those parts not onely habitable, but more temperate then others and fitter for mans life: there being more heat at, and on this side the Tropicks then under the Line. We here doe but call out choise things for better understanding of the naturall historie of those parts; for other things referring the Reader to the Author himselfe. Occasionally our notes shall elucidate those things also, which are in the Text omitted. * *Vulcans*, as *Atina*, *Hecia*, &c. sulphurous earth whence fire issueth. Generall windes, Monsoons, Windes receive their qualities from the places by which they passe.

Having discoursed in the two former Bookes of that which concerns the Heavens, and the habitation of the *Indies* in generall, it behooves vs now to treat of the three elements, Aire, Water, and Land, and their compounds, which be metals, plants and beasts; for, as for the fire, I see no speciall matter at the *Indies* which is not in other Regions; vnlesse some will say, that the manner to strike fire in rubbing two stones one against another, as some *Indians* doe, or to boile any thing in gourds, casting a burning stone into it, & other such like things, are remarkable, whereof I have written what might bee spoken. But of those which are in the *Vulcans* and Mouthes of fire at the *Indies*, worthy doubtlesse to be obserued, I will speake in their order, treating of the diuersitie of grounds, whereas they finde these fires or *Vulcans*. Therefore to begin with the windes, I say, that with good reason, *Salomon* in the great iudgement which God had giuen him, esteemes much the knowledge of the windes; and their properties being very admirable; for that some are moist, others drie; some vnhollsome, others sound; some hot, others cold; some calme and pleasant, others rough and tempestuous; some barren, and others fertile, with infinite other differences. There are some windes which blow in certaine Regions, and are, as it were, Lords thereof, not admitting any entrie or communication of their contraries. In some parts they blow in that sort, as sometimes they are Conquerors, sometimes conquered; often there are diuers and contrarie windes, which doe runne together at one instant, diuiding the way betwixt them, sometimes one blowing aboue of one sort, and another below of another sort, sometimes they incounter violently one with another, which puts them at Sea in great danger: there are some windes which helpe to the generation of Creatures, and others that hinder and are opposite. There is a certaine winde, of such a qualitie, as when it blowes in some Countrey, it causeth it to raine Fleas, and in so great abundance, as they trouble and darken the aire, and couer all the Sea-shore: and in other places it raine Frogs. These diuersities and others which are sufficiently knowne, are commonly attributed to the place by the which these windes passe. For they say, that from these places they take their qualities to be cold, hot, drie, or moist, sickly or sound, and so of the rest, the which is partly true, and cannot be denyed; for that in a small distance you shall see in one winde many diuersities. For example, the *Solanus* or Easterne winde is commonly hot and troublesome in *Spaine*; and in *Marrie* it is the coolest and healthfullest that is, for that it passeth by the Orchards; and that large champaigne which wee see very fresh. In *Carthage* which is not farre from thence, the same winde is troublesome and vnhollsome. The Meridionall (which they of the Ocean call South, and those of the Mediterranean Sea, *Mero giorno*) commonly is raynie and boysterous, and in the same Citie whereof I speake, it is whole- some and pleasant. *Plinie* reports that in *Africke* it raine with a Northerne winde, and that the Southerne winde is cleere. He then that shall well consider what I haue spoken of these windes, he may conceiue, that in a small distance of Land or Sea, one winde hath many and diuers qualities, yea sometimes quite contrarie; whereby wee may inferre, that hee draweth his propertie from the place where it passeth, the which is in such sort true (although we may not say infallibly) as it is the onely and principall cause of the diuersitie of the windes. It is a thing we easily find, that in a Riuer contayning fiftie leagues in circuit (I put it thus for an example) that the winde which blowes of the one part, is hot and moist; and that which blowes on the other, is cold and drie. Notwithstanding this diuersitie is not found in places by which it passeth, the which makes me rather to say, that the windes bring these qualities with them, whereby they giue vnto them the names of these qualities. For example, we attribute to the Northerne winde, otherwise called *Cierco*, the propertie to be cold and drie, and to dissolve mists; to the Southerne winde his contrarie, called *Leuesche*, we attribute the contrarie qualitie, which is moist and hot, and ingenders mists. But it is needfull to seeke further, to know the true and originall cause of these so strange differences which we see in the windes. I cannot conceiue any other, but that the same efficient cause which bringeth forth and maketh the winds to grow, doth withall giue them this originall qualitie: for in truth, the matter whereon the winds are made, which is no other thing (according to *Aristotle*) but the exhalation of the interior Elements, may well cause in effect a great part of this diuersitie, being more grosse, more subtil, more drie, and more moist. But yet this is no pertinent reason, seeing that we see in one Region, where the vapours and exhalations are of one sort and qualitie, that there rise windes and effects quite contrarie. We must therefore

referre the cause to the higher and celestially Efficient, which must be the Sunne, and to the motion and influence of the Heavens, the which by their contrarie motions, giue and cause diuers influences. But the beginnings of these motions and influences are so obscure and hidden from men, and on the other part, so mightie and of so great force, as the holy Prophet *David* in his propheticall Spirit, and the Prophet *Jeremie* admiring the greatnesse of the Lord, speake thus, *Qui profert ventos de thesauris suis*. Hee that drawes the windes out of his Treasures. In truth these principles and beginnings are rich and hidden treasures: for the Author of all things holds them in his hand, and in his power; and when it pleaseth him, sendeth them forth for the good or chastisement of men, and sends forth such windes as he pleaseth: not as that *Eolus* whom the Poets doe foolishly feigne to haue charge of the windes, keeping them in a Caeue like vnto wilde beasts. We see not the beginning of these windes, neither doe we know how long they shall continue, or whither they shall goe. But wee see and know well the diuerse effects and operations they haue, euen as the supreme Truth, the Author of all things hath taught vs, saying, *Spiritus ubi vult spirat, & vocem eius audis, & nescis unde venit, aut quò vadit*.

*Psalmè 134.
Jeremie 10.*

It is true, that the Northerne winde is not vsually cold and cleere there as here. In some parts of *Peru*, as at *Lima*, and on the Playnes, they finde the Northerne windes troublesome and vnwholsome, and all along the Coast which runnes aboute fiae hundred leagues, they hold the Southerne windes for healthfull and coole, and (which is more) most cleere and pleasant; yea it neuer raines, contrarie to that wee see in *Europe*, and of this side the Line. Yet that which chan-
 20 ceth vpon the coast of *Peru* is no generall rule, but rather an exception, and a wonder of Nature, neuer to raine vpon that coast, and euer to haue one winde, without giuing place to his contrarie, whereof we will hereafter speake our minde. It is no generall rule there, that the Northerne winde is neither hot nor raynie there, as the South winde blows there, as wee see in all the *Sierre* or mountaine of *Peru*, raines when as the South winde blowes there, as wee see in all the *Sierre* or mountaine of *Peru*, in *Chile*, and in the Countrie of *Congo*, which is on the other side of the Line, and farre aduanced into the Sea. And in *Potozi* likewise, the winde which they call *Tomahani* (which is our North) if my memorie faile me not, is extremely cold, drie, and vnpleasant, as it is here with vs. Yet doth not the Northerne winde disperse the cloudes vsually there, as it doth here: but contrariwise, if I be not deceiued, it doth often cause raine. There is no doubt, but the windes doe borrow this great diuersitie of contrarie effects, from the places by which they passe, and the neere Regions where they are bred, as wee see by daily experience in a thousand places. But speaking in generall of the qualitie of the windes, we must rather looke to the coasts or parts of the World from whence they proceede, then to obserue, whether they be on this side or beyond the Line, as it seemes the Philosopher held opinion. These capitall windes, which be the East and West, haue no such vniuersall qualities, nor so common in this Continent, nor in the other, as the two former. The *Solanus* or Easterne winde, is commonly here troublesome and vnwholsome, and the Westerne or *Zephirus*, is more milde and healthfull. At the *Indies*, and in all the burning Zone, the Easterne winde which they call *Brise*, is contrariwise very healthfull and pleasant. Of the West, I cannot speake any thing certaine or generall, for that it blowes not at all, or very seldom
 30 in the burning Zone, for in all the nauigation betwixt the two Tropicks, the Easterne winde is ordinarie. And for that it is one of the admirable workes of Nature, it shall bee good to vnderstand the cause and the beginning thereof.

*Here hath
shewed the
height of the
Hills to bee the
cause of the
windes con-
stancy and
raines rarities*

The wayes at Sea are not as at Land, to returne the same way they passe. It is all one way (saith the Philosopher) from *Athens* to *Thebes*, and from *Thebes* to *Athens*; but it is not so at Sea, for wee goe one way and returne by another. The first which discovered the East and West *Indies*, laboured much with great difficultie to finde out their course, vntill that Experience (the Mistresse of these secrets) had taught them, that to saile through the Ocean, is not like the passage in *Italie*, through the Mediterranean Sea, where in their returne, they obserue the same Ports and Capes they had sight of in their passage, attending still the benefit of the winde, which chan-
 50 geth instantly, and when that failes, they haue recourie to their Oares; and so the Gallies goe and come daily, coasting along the shoare. In some parts of the Ocean, they may not looke for any other winde then that which blowes, for that commonly it continues long. To conclude, that which is good to goe by, is not fit to returne with: for in the Sea beyond the Tropicke, and within the burning Zone, the Easterly windes raine continually, not suffering their contraries. In the which Region there are two strange things, the one is, that in that Zone (being the greatest of the fiae, into the which the World is diuided) the Easterly windes (which they call *Brises*) doe reigne, not suffering the Westerne or Southerne (which they call lower winds) to haue their course at any season of the yeere: The other wonder is, that these Easterly windes neuer cease to blow, and most commonly in places neere to the Line (where it seemes that Calmes should be more frequent, being a part of the World, most subiect to the heat of the Sunne, but it is contrarie, for you shall hardly finde any Calmes there, and the winde is cold and continues longer, which hath beene found true in all the Nauigations of the *Indies*. This is the reason, why the voyage they make from *Spaine* to the West *Indies* is shorter, more easie, and more assured, then the returne to *Spaine*.

*Eastern winde
raineth be-
twixt the Tro-
picks.
That the burn-
ing Zone, the
Brises, or Ea-
sterly windes,
doe continual-
ly blow, and
without the
Zone the We-
sterne, and that
the Easterly
are ordinarie
alwayes there.
Chap. 4.
Iuan de Gages
in Decade 1.
lib. 4. cap. 6.
They goe one
way to the In-
dies and returne
another, why?*

The Fleetes parting from *Sinil*, haue more difficultie to passe the *Canaries*, for that the gulfe of *Tegues* or of *Mares*, is variable, being beaten with diuers windes, but hauing passed the *Canaries*, they saile with a Westerne winde vntill they come to the burning Zone, where presently they finde an Easterly winde, and so they saile on with full windes, so as they haue scant any need to touch their sailes in the whole voyage: for this reason they called this great gulfe, the gulfe of *Dames*, for the calmnesse and pleasantnesse thereof. Then following their course, they come to the Ilands of *Guadalupe*, *Dominique*, *Desired*, *Marigualante*, and the rest, which in that place, be as it were, the Suburbs of the *Indies*. There the Fleetes separate and diuide themselves, whereof some (which goe to new *Spaine*) take to the right hand towards *Hispaniola*; and hauing discovered Cape Saint *Anthony*, they passe vnto Saint *Iohn Delua*, alwayes vsing the same Easterly windes. Those for the mayne Land, take the left hand, discovering the high mountaine of *Tayrone*, then hauing touched at *Carthagene*, they passe vnto *Nombre de Dios*, from whence they goe by Land to *Panama*, and from thence, by the South Sea to *Peru*. But when the fleetes returne to *Spaine*, they make their voyage in this sort: The fleete of *Peru* discovers Cape Saint *Anthony*, then they enter into the *Hauana*, which is a goodly Port in the Iland of *Cuba*. The fleet of new *Spaine* doth likewise touch at the *Hauana*, being parted from *Vera Cruz*, or from the Iland of Saint *Iohn Delua*, the which is not without difficultie, for that commonly Easterly windes blow there, which is a contrarie winde to goe to the *Hauana*. These fleetes being ioyned together for *Spaine*, they seeke their height without the Tropicks, where presently they finde Westerly windes, which serue them vntill they come in view of the *Acores*, or *Terceres*, and from thence to *Sinil*. So as their voyage in going, is of a small height, not aboue twentie degrees from the Line, which is within the Tropicks. But the returne is without the Tropicks, in eight and twentie or thirtie degrees of height at the least, for that within the Tropicks, the Easterne windes continually blow, the which are fittest to goe from *Spaine* to the West *Indies*, for that their course is from East to West; and without the Tropicks (which is in three and twentie degrees of height) they finde Westerly windes, the which are the more certaine and ordinarie, the farther you are from the Line, and more fit to returne from the *Indies*; for that they are windes blowing from the South and West, which serue to runne into the East and North.

Sayling 2700. leagues without sight of Land in two moneths. See *Candisbes* voyage.

The like discourse is of the Navigation made into the South Sea, going from new *Spaine* or *Peru*, to the *Philippines* or *China*, and returning from the *Philippines* or *China* to new *Spaine*, the which is easie, for that they saile alwayes from East to West, neere the Line, where they finde the Easterly windes to blow in their Poopes. In the yeere 1584. there went a ship from *Calloa* in *Lima* to the *Philippines*, which sayled two thousand and seuen hundred leagues without sight of Land, and the first it discovered, was the Iland of *Lusson*, where they tooke Port, hauing performed their voyage in two moneths, without want of winde or any torment, and their course was almost continually vnder the Line; for that from *Lima* (which is twelue degrees to the South) he came to *Manilla*, which is as much to the North. The like good fortune had *Aluaro de Mandana*, when as he went to discover the Ilands of *Solomon*, for that he had alwayes a full gale, vntill he came within view of these Ilands, the which must bee distant from that place of *Peru*, from whence hee parted, about a thousand leagues; hauing runne their course alwayes in one height to the South. The returne is like vnto the voyage from the *Indies* vnto *Spaine*: for those which returne from the *Philippines* or *China* to *Mexico*, to the end they may recouer the western windes, they mount a great height, vntill they come right against the Ilands of *Iapon*, and discovering the *Caliphornes*, they returne by the coast of new *Spaine* to the Port of *Acapulco*, from whence they parted. So as it is proued likewise by this Navigation, that they saile easily from East to West, within the Tropicks, for that their Easterly windes doe raine: but returning from West to East, they must seeke the Westerly windes without the Tropicks, in the height of seuen and twentie degrees. The *Portugals* proue the like in their Navigations to the East *Indies*, although it be in a contrarie course.

Cause of the Brises.

Motion of the *Primum Mobile* carrieth the inferiour aire with it.

Let vs now speake of that which toucheth the Question propounded, what should be the reason why vnder the burning Zone we saile easily from East to West, and not contrarie: wherein we must presuppose two certaine grounds. The one is, that the motion of the first Moouer, which they call *Diurnall*, not onely drawes and mooues with him the celestiall Spheares, which are inferiour vnto him, as wee see daily in the Sunne, the Moone, and the Starres; but also the Elements doe participate of this motion, insomuch as they are not hindered. The Earth is not mooued, by reason of her heauinesse, which makes it immouable, being farre from this first motor. The Element of water mooues not likewise with this *Diurnall* motion, for that it is vnited to the Earth and make one spheare, so as the Earth keeps it from all circular motion. But the other two Elements of Fire and Aire, are more subtil and neerer the heauenly Regions, so as they participate of their motion, and are driuen about circularly, as the same celestiall bodies. As for the Fire, without doubt it hath his spheare (as *Aristotle* and other Philosophers haue held) but for the Aire (which is no point of our subiect) it is most certaine that it mooues with a motion *Diurnall*, which is from East to West, which wee see plainly in Comets that mooue from the East vnto the West, mounting, descending, and finally turning in the hemisphære in the

same

same sort as the Starres moue in the firmament; for otherwise these Comets being in the region and sphere of the ayre, whereas they ingender, appeares consum'd. It should be impossible for them to moue circularly, as they doe, if the element of the aire doth not moue with the same motion that the first motor doth. For these elements being of a burning substance, by reason they should be fixt, without mouing circularly, if the sphere where they are did not moue; if it be not as we saie, that some Angell or intellectuall Spirit doth walke with the Comet, guiding it circularly. In the yeare 1577. appeared that wonderfull Comet (in forme like vnto a feather) from the horizon almost to the middest of heauen, and continued from the first of Nouember, vntill the eight of December: I say from the first of Nouember, for although in *Spaine* it was noated but the ninth of Nouember (according to the testimonie of Writers of that time) yet at *Peru*, where I was then, I remember well, we did see it, and obserue it eight dayes before, and all the time after. Touching the cause of this diuersitie, some may delate vpon it particularly: I will onely shew, that during those fortie dayes which it continued, wee all obserued (both such as were in *Spaine*, and we that liued then at the *Indies*) that it moued daily with an vniuersall motion, from East to West, as the Moone and other Planets, whereby it appeares that the sphere of the aire, being its Region, the element it selfe must of necessitie moue after the same sort. We noted also, that besides this vniuersall motion, it had another particular, by which it moued with the planets from West to East, for euery night it turned more Eastward, like vnto the Moone, Sunne, and Planets of *Venus*. We did also obserue a third particular motion, whereby it moued from the Zodiacke towards the North; for after some nights it was found neerer vnto the Septentrionall signes. And it may be this was the reason why the great Comet was sooner seene by those that were Southerly, as at *Peru*, and later discovered by them of *Europe*: for by this third motion (as I haue said) it approached neerer the Northerne Regions. Yet euery one may well obserue the differences of this motion, so as we may well perceiue, that many and sundry celestiaall bodies, giue their impressiions to the sphere of the ayre. In like sort it is most certaine, that the ayre moues with the circular motion of the heauen, from East to West, which is the first ground before mentioned. The second is no lesse certaine, which is, that the motion of the ayre in those parts that are vnder the Line, or neere vnto it, is very swift and light, the more it approacheth to the Equinoctiall; but the farther off it is from the Line, approaching neere the Poles, the more slow and heauie this motion is. The reason hereof is manifest, for that the mouing of the celestiaall bodies, being the efficient cause of the mouing of the ayre, it must of necessitie be more quicke and light, where the celestiaall bodies haue their swiftest motion.

The Comet
1577. seene
eight dayes
sooner in *Peru*
then in *Spaine*.

Alonso Sanchez was of opinion that this motion of the ayre was not a winde, but the ayre moued by the Sunne. This is learnedly spoken, yet can wee not deny it to be a winde, seeing there are vapours and exhalations of the Sea; and that we sometimes see the *Brise*, or Easterly windes stronger, sometimes more weake, and placed in that sort, as sometimes they can hardly carry all their sayles. We must then know (and it is true) that the ayre moued, draweth vnto it the vapours it findes, for that the force is great, and findes no resistance, by reason whereof the Easterne and Westerne windes are continual, and in a manner alwayes alike, in those parts which are neere the Line, and almost vnder all the burning Zone, which is the course the Sun followes betwixt the two circles of *Cancer* and *Capricorne*.

The Brise (or
motion of the
aire with the
heauens) is a
winde.

Who so would neerely looke into what hath bin spoken, may likewise vnderstand, that going from the West to the East, in altitude beyond the Tropikes, we shall finde Westerly windes, for that the motion of the Equinoctiall being so swift, it is a cause that the ayre moueth vnder it according to this motion, which is from the East to West, drawing after it the vapours and exhalations that rise of either side the Equinoctiall or burning Zone, in countring the course and motion of the Zone, are forced by the repercussion to returne almost to the contrary, whence grow the South-west windes so ordinary in those parts. Euen as we see in the course of waters, the which (if they be incountred by others of more force) returne in a manner backe: So it seemes to be like in vapours and exhalations, whereby it growes that the windes doe turne and separate themselves from one part to another. These Westerly windes doe commonly raine in a meane altitude, which is from twenty and seuen to thirty and seuen degrees, though they be not so certaine nor so regular as the *Brises* that are in a lesse altitude. The reason is, for that the South-west winds are no causes of this proper and equall motion of the heauen, as the *Brises* are, being neere to the Line. But (as I haue said) they are more ordinary, and often more furious and tempestuous. But passing into a greater altitude, as of fortie degrees, there is as small assurance of windes at Sea as at Land; for sometimes the East or North winde blowes, and sometimes the South, or West: whereby it happeneth their nauigations are more vncertaine, and more dangerous.

Why without
the Zone, in a
greater alti-
tude, we finde
alwayes We-
sterly windes.
Chap. 7.

That which we haue spoken of windes, which blow ordinarily within and without the Zone, must be vnderstood of the maine Sea, and in the great gulphes; for at land it is otherwise, where we finde all sorts of windes, by reason of the inequality which is betwixt the Mountaines and the vallies; the great number of Riuers and Lakes, and the diuers scituations of Countries, whence the grosse and thick vapours arise, which are moued from the one part or the other, according

Of the excep-
tions to the
foresaid Rules,
& of the winds
and calmes
both at Land
and at Sea.
Chap. 8.
Cause of the
variety of
windes.

Simile.

Note.

according to the diuersitie of their beginnings, which cause these diuers windes the motion of the ayre, caused by the heauen, hauing not power enough to draw and moue them with it. And this varietie of windes is not onely found at land, but also vpon the Sea coast, which is vnder the burning Zone, for that there be forraine or land windes which come from the land, and many which blow from the Sea; the which windes from the Sea, are commonly more wholesome and more pleasant then those of the land, which are contrariwise troublesome and vnwholesome, although it be the difference of the coast that causeth this diuersitie: commonly the land windes blow from mid-night to the Sunne rising, and the Sea windes vntill Sunne setting. The reason perhaps may be, that the earth, as a grosse substance, fumes more when as the Sunne shines not vpon it, euen as greene wood, or scarfe dry, smoakes most when the flame is quenched. But the Sea, which is compounded of more subtile parts, engenders no fumes, but when it is hot, euen as straw or hare, being moist and in small quantitie, breeds smoake when it is burnt, and when the flame failes, the fume suddenly ceaseth. Whatsoeuer it be, it is certaine that the Land winde blowes by night, and that of the Sea by day. So that euen as there are often contrary, violent, and tempestuous windes vpon the Sea coast, so doe we see very great calmes. Some men of great experience report, that hauing sailed many great passages at Sea vnder the Line, yet did they neuer see any calmes, but that they alwayes make way little or much, the ayre being moued by the celestially motion, which is sufficient to guide a Shippe, blowing in poepe, as it doth. I haue already said, that a Shippe of *Lima* going to *Manilla*, sailed two thousand seuen hundred leagues, alwayes vnder the Line, or not aboue twelue degrees from it, and that in the moneths of February and March, when as the Sunne is there for Zenith, and in all this space they found no calmes, but alwayes a fresh gale, so as in two moneths they performed this great voyage. But in the burning Zone and without it, you shall vsually see great calmes vpon the coasts, where the vapours come from the Ilands, or maine land. And therefore stormes and tempests, and the sudden motions of the ayre, are more certaine and ordinary vpon the coasts, whereas the vapours come from the Land, then in full Sea, I meane vnder the burning Zone, for without it and at Sea, there are both calmes and whirlwindes. Notwithstanding, sometimes betwixt the two Tropickes, yea, vnder the Line, you shall haue great raine and sudden showers, yea farre into the Sea; for the working whereof, the vapours and exhalations of the Sea, are sufficient, which mouing sometimes hastily in the ayre, cause thunder and whirlwindes, but this is more ordinary neere to the Land and vpon the Land. When I sailed from *Pern* to new *Spaine*, I obserued, that all the time we were vpon the coast of *Pern*, our voyage was (as it was ordinary) very calme and easie, by reason of the Southerne winde that blowes, hauing alwayes a fore winde, returning from *Spaine* and new *Spaine*. As we passed the gulph, lanching farther into the Sea, almost vnder the Line, wee found the season coole, quiet, and pleasant, with a full winde, but comming neere to *Nicaragua*, and to all that coast, wee had contrary windes, with great store of raine and fogges. All this Nauigation was vnder the burning Zone: for from twelue degrees to the South, which is *Lima*, we sailed to the seuenteenth, which is *Gan-tulco*, a port of new *Spaine*: and I beleue, that such as haue obserued their nauigations, made vnder the burning Zone, shall finde what I haue said, which may suffice for the windes which raigne at Sea, vnder the burning Zone.

Of some marvellous effects of the windes, which are in some parts of the Indies.

Chap. 9.

Silkwormes killed with South-west windes.

Exo. c. 10. & 14.

Job 17.

Iona 4.

Osee 13.

Dan. 3.

The like Linf-choten obserueth in the Terceras.

Sea sickness whence.

Agitation and Sea ayre.

It were a very difficult matter, to report particularly the admirable effects which some windes cause in diuers regions of the world, and to giue a reason thereof. There are windes, which naturally trouble the water of the Sea, and makes it greene and blacke, others cleere as Christall, some comfort and make glad, others trouble and breede heatinesse. Such as nourish Silke-wormes, haue great care to shut their windowes, when as the South-west windes doe blow, and to open them to the contrary: hauing found by certaine experience, that their wormes diminish and dye with the one, and fatten and become better with the other: and who so will neereley obserue it, shall finde in himselfe, that the diuersities of windes, cause notable impressions and changes in the body, principally in sicke parts and ill disposed, when they are most tender and weake. The holy Scripture calleth one a burning winde, another, a winde full of dewe and sweetnesse. And it is no wonder if we see such notable effects of the winde, in Plants, Beasts, and Men, seeing that we see it visibly in Iron, which is the hardest of all mettals. I haue seene Grates of Iron in some parts of the Indies, so rusted and consumed, that pressing it betwixt your fingers, it dissolued into powder, as if it had beene hay or parched straw, the which proceeds onely from the winde which doth corrupt it, hauing no meanes to withstand it. But leauing apart many other great and notable effects, I will onely make mention of two. The one, although it causeth pangs greater then death it selfe, yet doth it not breede any further inconuenience. The other takes away life without feeling of it. The sickness of the Sea, wherewith such are troubled as first begin to goe to Sea, is a matter very ordinary; and yet if the nature thereof were vnknowne to men, we should take it for the pangs of death, seeing how it afflicts and torments while it doth last, by the casting of the stomacke, paine of the head, and other troublesome accidents. But in truth this sickness so common and ordinary happens vnto men by the change of the ayre and Sea. For although it be true that the motion of the Ship helps much,

in that it moues more or lesse: and likewise the infections and ill fauours of things in the Ship: yet the proper and naturall cause, is the ayre and the vapours of the Sea, the which doth so weaken and trouble the body and the stomacke, which are not accustomed thereunto, that they are wonderfully moued and changed: for the ayre is the Element, by which we liue and breath, drawing it into our entrailles, the which we bathe therewithall. And therefore there is nothing that so suddenly, and with so great force doth alter vs, as the change of the ayre we breathe, as we see in those which dye of the plague. It is approued by many experiences, that the ayre of the Sea, is the chiefe cause of this strange indisposition; the one is, that when there blowes from the Sea a strong breath, we see them at the Land as it were Sea-sicke, as I my selfe haue often found. Another is, the farther wee goe into the Sea, and retyre from Land, the more wee are touched and dazeled with this sickness. Another is, that coasting along any Island, and after lanching into the maine, we shall there finde the ayre more strong. Yet will I not deny, but the motion and agitation may cause this sickness, seeing that we see some are taken therewith passing Riueres in Barkes: others in like sort going in Coaches and Carriages, according to the diuers complexions of the Stomacke: as contrariwise, there are some how boisterous and troublesome soeuer the Sea be; doe neuer feele it. Wherefore it is a matter certaine, and tried, that the ayre of the Sea, doth commonly cause this effect in such as newly goe to Sea. I thought good to speake this, to shew a strange effect, which happens in some parts of the *Indies*, where the ayre and the winde that rains makes men dazele, not lesse, but more then at Sea. Some hold it for a fable, others say it is an addition: for my part I will speake what I haue tried.

There is in *Peru*, a high mountaine which they call *Pariacaca*, and hauing heard speake of the alteration it bred, I went as well prepared as I could, according to the instructions which was giuen me, by such as they call *Vaguianos*, or expert men: but notwithstanding all my prouision, when I came to mount the *degrees*, as they called them, which is the top of this mountaine, I was suddenly surprized with so mortall and so strange a pang, that I was ready to fall from the top to the ground: and although we were many in company, yet euery one made haste (without any tarrying for his companion,) to free himselfe speedily from this ill passage. Being then alone with one *Indian*, whom I intreated to helpe to stay me, I was surprized with such pangs of straining and casting, as I thought to cast vp my heart too; for hauing cast vp meate, flegme, and coler, both yellow and Greene; in the end I cast vp blood, with the straining of my stomacke. To conclude, if this had continued, I should undoubtedly haue dyed; but this lasted not aboue three or foure houres, that wee were come into a more conuenient and naturall temperature, where all our companions (being foureteene or fifteene) were much wearied. Some in the passage demanded confession, thinking verily to dye: others left the Ladders and went to the ground, being daerome with casting, and going to the stools: and it was told me, that some haue lost their liues there with this accident. I beheld one that did beate himselfe against the earth, crying out for the rage and griefe which this passage of *Pariacaca* had caused. But commonly it doth no important harme, onely this, paine and troublesome distaste while it endures: and not onely the passage of *Pariacaca* hath this propertie, but also all this ridge of the Mountaine, which runnes aboue five hundred leagues long, and in what place soeuer you passe, you shall finde strange intemperatures, yet more in some parts then in other, and rather to those which mount from the Sea, then from the Plaines. Besides *Pariacaca*, I haue passed it by *Lucanas* and *Soras*: in another place, by *Colleguas*, and by *Cananas*. Finally, by foure different places, going and coming, and alwayes in this passage I haue felt this alteration, although in no place so strongly, as at the first in *Pariacaca*, which hath beene tried by all such as haue passed it. And no doubt but the winde is the cause of this intemperature and strange alteration, or the ayre that raines there. For the best remedy (and all they finde) is to stoppe their noses, their eares, and their mouthes, as much as may be, and to couer themselves with cloathes, especially the stomacke, for that the ayre is subtile and piercing, going into the entrailles, and not onely men feele this alteration, but also beasts that sometimes stay there, so as there is no spurre can make them goe forward. For my part I hold this place to be one of the highest parts of land in the world; for we mount a wonderfull space. And in my opinion, the Mountaine *Nenade* of *Spaine*, the *Pirenees*, and the *Alpes* of *Italie*, are as ordinary houles, in regard of his Towers. I therefore perswade my selfe, that the element of the ayre is there so subtile and delicate, as it is not proportionable with the breadth of man, which requires a more grosse and temperate ayre, and I beleue it is the cause that doth so much alter the stomacke, and trouble all the disposition. The passages of the mountaines *Nenade*, and other of *Europe*, which I haue seene, although the ayre be cold there, and doth force men to weare more cloathes, yet this colde doth not take away the appetite from meate, but contrariwise it prouokes; neither doth it cause any casting of the stomacke, but onely some paine in the feete and hands. Finally, their operation is outward. But that of the *Indies*, whereof I speake (without molesting of foote or hand, or any outward part) troubles all the entrailles within: and that which is more admirable, when the Sunne is hot, which maketh me imagine, that the griefe wee feele comes from the qualitie of the ayre which wee breathe: Therefore that is most subtile and delicate, whose cold is not so sensible, as piercing. All this ridge

Strange passage on at *Pariacaca* by the ayre there.

Height of *Pariacaca*.

Aire is so subtile for mens bodies. So we see Horses to beate the water with their feete to make it more grosse and thereby more agreeable to their bodies.

Vicinos.

Great Defart.

Punas ayre
killing.

Strange Story.

The same con-
firmed by a Ie-
suites report,
and a Domin-
icans.Such effects of
cold we haue
obserued in
Russia, and o-
ther Northern
parts: and the
like Master
Kniuet will tell
vs at the Mag-
gelan Straits.

ridge of mountaines is, for the most part, defart, without any Villages or habitations for men, so as you shall scarce finde any small Cortages to lodge such as doe passe by night: there are no Beasts, good or bad, but some *Vicinos*, which are their Countrie Muttons, and haue a strange and wonderfull property, as I shall shew in his place. The Grasse is often burnt, and all blacke with the ayre, and this Defart runs fve and twenty or thirty leagues ouerthwart, and in length aboue fve hundred leagues.

There are other Defarts or places inhabited, which at *Peru* they call *Punas* (speaking of the second point we promised) where the qualitie of the ayre cutteth off mans life without feeling. In former time the *Spaniards* went from *Peru*, to the Realme of *Chille* by this Mountaine, but at this day they doe passe commonly by Sea, and sometimes alongst the side of it. And though that way be laborious and troublesome, yet is there not so great danger as by the Mountaine, where there are Plaines, on the which many men haue perished and dyed, and sometimes haue scaped by great hap, whereof some haue remained lame. There runs a small breath, which is not very strong nor violent, but proceeds in such sort, that men fall downe dead, in a manner without feeling, or at the least, they loose their feete and hands: the which may seeme fabulous, yet is it most true. I haue knowne and frequented long the Generall *Ierome Costilla*, the auncient peopler of *Cusco*, who had lost three or foure toes, which fell off in passing the Defart of *Chille*, being perished with this ayre, and when he came to looke on them, they were dead, and fell off without any paine, euen as a rotten Apple falleth from the tree. This Captaine reported, that of a good armie which he had conducted by that place, in the former yeares, since the discouery of this Kingdome by *Almagro*, a great part of the men remained dead there, whose bodies he found lying in the Defart, without any stinke or corruption; adding thereunto one thing very strange, that they found a yong Boye alieue, and being examined how hee had liued in that place, hee said, that he lay hidden in a litle Caue, whence hee came to cut the flesh of a dead Horse with a litle Knife, and thus had he nourished himselfe a long time, with I know not how many companions that liued in that sort, but now they were all dead, one dying this day, & another to morrow, saying that he desired nothing more then to dye there with the rest, seeing that hee found not in himselfe any disposition to goe to any other place, nor to take any taste in any thing. I haue vnderstood the like of others, and particularly of one that was of our company, who being then a secular man, had passed by these Defarts: and it is a strange thing, the quality of this cold ayre, which kills, and also preserves the dead bodies without corruption. I haue also vnderstood it of a reuerend religious man, of the Order of Saint *Dominike*, and Prelate thereof, who had seene it passing by the Defarts: and which is strange, he reported, that traouelling that way by night, was forced to defend himselfe against that deadly winde, which blowes there (hauing no other meanes) but to gather together a great number of those dead bodies that lay there, and made thereof, as it were, a rampire and a bolster for his head: in this manner did hee sleepe, the dead bodies giuing him life. Without doubt this is a kinde of colde so piercing, that it quencheth the vital heate, cutting off his influence; and being so exceeding colde, yet doth not corrupt nor giue any putrifaction to the dead bodies, for that putrifaction groweth from heate and moistnesse. As for the other kinde of ayre which thunders vnder the earth, and causeth earthquakes, more at the *Indies*, then in any other Regions, I will speake thereof in treating the qualities of the Land at the *Indies*. We will content our selues now with what we haue spoken of the winde and ayre, and passe to that which is to be spoken of the water.

§. II.

Of the Ocean that inuirones the Indies, and of the North and South Seas, their ebbing, flowing, Fishes, fishing, Lakes, Rivers, and Springs.

No Mediterra-
nean Sea of
great note in
America.

AMong all waters the Ocean is the principall, by which the *Indies* haue beene discouered, and are inuironed therewith; for either they be Ilands of the Ocean Sea, or maine Land, the which wheresoeuer it ends, is bounded with this Ocean. To this day they haue not discouered at the *Indies* any Mediterranean Sea, as in *Europe*, *Asia*, and *Africa*, into the which there enters some arme of this great Sea, and makes distinct Seas, taking their names from the Prouinces they wash: and almost all the Mediterranean Seas continue and ioine together, and with the Ocean it selfe, by the straight of *Gibraltar*, which the Ancients called the Pillers of *Hercules*, although the *Red Sea* being separated from the Mediterranean Seas, enters alone into the *Indian Ocean*; and the *Caspian Sea* ioynes not with any other: so that at the *Indies* we finde not any other Sea then this Ocean, which they diuide into two, the one they call the North Sea, and the other the South; for that the *Indies* which were first discouered by the Ocean, and reacheth vnto *Spaine*, lies all to the North, and by that Land thereafter discouered a Sea on the other side, the which they called the South Sea, for that they decline vntill they haue passed the Line: and hauing lost the North, or Pole-articke, they called it South.

For

For this cause they haue called all that Ocean the South Sea, which lyeth on the other side of the East Indies, although a great part of it be seated to the North, as all the coast of new Spain, *Nicaragua, Guatimala* and *Panama*. They say, that he that first discovered this Sea, was called *Blascomunes* of *Bilbo*, the which he did by that part which we now call *Maine Land*, where it growes narrow, and the two Seas approach so neere the one to the other, that there is but seven leagues of distance: for although they make the way eightene from *Nombredios* to *Panama*, yet is it with turning to seek the commoditie of the way, but drawing a direct line, the one Sea shall not be found more distant from the other. Some haue discoursed and propounded to cut through this passage of seven leagues, and to ioyne one Sea to the other, to make the passage from *Peru* more commodious and easie, for that these eightene leagues of Land betwixt *Nombredios* and *Panama*, is more painefull and chargeable then 2300 by Sea, whereupon some would say, it were a meanes to drowne the Land, one Sea being lower then another. As in times past we finde it written, that for the same consideration, they gaue ouer the enterprize to winne the red Sea into Nile, in the time of King *Sesostris*, and since, in the Empire of the *Othomans*. But for my part, I hold such discourses and propositions for vaine, although this inconvenience should not happen, the which I will not hold for assured. I beleene there is no humaine power able to beate and breake downe those strong and impenetrable Mountaines, which God hath placed betwixt the two Seas, and hath made them most hard Rockes, to withstand the furie of two Seas. And although it were possible to men, yet in my opinion they should feare punishment from heauen, in seeking to correct the workes, which the Creator by his great prouidence hath ordained and disposed in the framing of this vniuersall world.

Leauing this discourse of opening the Land, and ioyning both Seas together, there is yet another leffe rash, but very difficult and dangerous to search out. Whether these two great gulfes doe ioyne in any other part of the world, which was the enterprize of *Fernando Magellan* a *Portugall* Gentleman, whose great courage and constancie in the research of this subiect, and happy successe in the finding thereof, gaue the name of eternall memory to this straight, which iustly they call by the name of the discoverer *Magellan*, of which straight we will intreate a little, as of one of the greatest wonders of the world. Some haue beleued, that this Straight which *Magellan* had discovered in the South Sea, was none, or that it was straightned, as *Don Alonso de Arile* writes in his *Auracano*: and at this day there are some that say, there is no such Straight, but that they are Ilands betwixt the Sea and Land, for that the maine Land ends there, at the end whereof are all Ilands, beyond the which the one Sea ioynes fully with the other, or to speake better, it is all one Sea. But in truth it is most certaine, there is a straight and a long and stretched out Land on either side, although it hath not yet bene knowne how farre it stretcheth of the one side of the straight towards the South. After *Magellan*, a Shippe of the Bishop of *Plaisance* passed the straight, *Don Guiteres Caruaial* (whose Maile they say is yet at *Lima*, at the entrie of the Pallace) they went afterwards coasting along the South, to discover the straight, by the commandement of *Don Garcia of Mendoza*, then Governour of *Chille*, according to that which Captaine *Ladrillero* found it and passed it. I haue read the discourse and report he made, where he saith, that he did not hazard himselfe to land in the straight, but hauing discovered the North Sea, he returned backe, for the roughnesse of the time, winter being now come, which caused the waues comming from the North, to grow great and swelling, and the Sea continually foming with rage. In our time, *Francis Drake* an *Englishman*, passed this straight. After him, Captaine *Sarmiento* passed it on the South side. And lastly, in the yeere 1587. other *Englishmen* passed it, by the instruction of *Drake*, which at this time run along all the coast of *Peru*.

Euen as *Magellan* found out this straight vpon the South, so some haue pretended to discover another straight, which they say is in the North, and suppose it to be in *Florida*, whose coast runnes in such sort, as they know no end thereof. *Peter Melendez* the *Adelantado*, a man very expert at Sea, affirmeth for certaine, that there is a straight, and that the King had commanded him to discover it, where in he shewed a great desire: he propounded his reasons to proue his opinion, saying, that they haue seene some remainders of Ships in the North Sea, like vnto those the which the *Chinois* vse, which had bene impossible, if there were no passage from one Sea vnto another. Moreouer, hee reported, that in a certaine great Bay in *Florida* (the which runs 300. leagues within the Land) they see Whales in some season of the yeere, which come from the other Sea.

One of the most admirable secrets of Nature is the ebbing and flowing of the Sea, not onely for this strange property of rising and falling, but much more for the difference there is thereof in diuers Seas, yea in diuers coasts of one and the same Sea. There are some Seas that haue no daily flowing nor ebbing, as we see in the inner Mediterranean, which is the *Thyrene* Sea, and yet it flowes and ebbes every day in the vpper Mediterranean Sea, which is that of *Venice*, and iustly giueth cause of admiration, that these two Seas being Mediterranean, and that of *Venice* being no greater then the other, yet hath it his ebbing and flowing as the Ocean, and that other Sea of *Italie* none at all. There are some Mediterranean Seas, that apparantly rise and fall every moneth;

Terra firme.

Straight of land but eight leagues betwixt North & South Seas.

Herodotus.

Louins.

Experience in *Drakes* and *Mayes* voyage haue found them no straights but broken Ilands to the South, contrary to our Author here.

See of this Sir *Francis Drake's* Voyage, to. 1. l. 2. I haue omitted *Sarmientos* voyage, &c. The supposed straight in *Florida*.

Of the ebbing and flowing of the Indian Ocean, Chap. 14. The Philosophers in searching the cause of ebbing and flowing haue easily erred, following the *Greekes* and *Latines* which knew not the Ocean, and could not therefore know the cause.

moneth, and others that neither rise in the day, nor in the moneth. There are other Seas, as the *Spanish Ocean*, that haue their flux and reflux euery day; and besides that, they haue it monethly, which commeth twice, that is to say, at the change, and at the full of euery Moone, which they call *Spring-tides*. To say that any Sea hath this daily ebbing and flowing, and not monethly, I know not any. It is strange, the difference we finde of this subiect at the *Indies*, for there are some places whereas the Sea doth daily rise and fall two leagues, as at *Panama*, and at a high water it riseth much more. There are other places where it doth rise and fall so little, that hardly can you finde the difference. It is ordinary in the Ocean Sea to haue a daily flowing and ebbing, and that was twice in a naturall day, and euer it falls three quarters of an houre sooner one day then another, according to the course of the Moone: so as the tide falls not alwaies in one houre of the day. Some would say, that this flux and reflux proceeded from the locall motion of the water of the Sea; so as the water that riseth on the one side, falls on the other that is opposite vnto it: so that it is full Sea on the one side when it is a low water on the opposite, as we see in a Kettle full of water, when we moue it, when it leanes to the one side the water increaseth, and on the other it diminisheth. Others affirme, that the Sea riseth in all parts at one time, and decreaseth at one instant: as the boyling of a Pot, comming out of the centre it extendeth it selfe on all parts, and when it ceaeth, it falls likewise on all parts.

This second opinion is true, and in my iudgement, certaine and tried, not so much for the reasons which the Philosophers giue in their Metecors, as for the certaint experience wee may make. For to satisfie my selfe vpon this point and question, I demanded particularly of the said * Pilot, how he found the tides in the straight, and if the tides of the South Sea did fall when as those of the North did rise. And contrariwise (this question being true) why the increase of the Sea in one place, is the decrease thereof in another, as the first opinion holdeth. He answered that it was not so, but they might see plainly, that the tides of the North and South Seas rise at one instant, so as the waues of one Sea incountried with the other, and at one instant likewise they began to retire, euery one into his Sea, saying, that the rising and falling was daily seene, and that the incountr of the tides (as I haue said) was at threescore and tenne leagues to the North Sea, and thirtie to the South. Whereby we may plainly gather, that the ebbing and flowing of the Ocean is no pure locall motion, but rather an alteration: whereby all waters really rise and inerease at one instant, and in others, they diminish, as the boyling of a Pot, whereof I haue spoken. It were impossible to comprehend this point by experience, if it were not in the Straight, where all the Ocean, both on th'one side, and on th'other ioynes together: for none but Angels can see it, and iudge of the opposite parts: for that man hath not so long a sight, nor so nimble and swift footing as were needefull, to transport his eyes from one part to another, in so short a time, as a tide will giue him respice, which are onely six houres.

There are in the *Indian Ocean*, an infinite number of fishes, the Kindes and properties whereof the Creator onely can declare. There are many such as we haue in the Sea of *Europe*, as Shads, and Aloes which come from the Sea into the Riuer; Dorads, Pilchards, and many other. There are others, the like I doe not thinke to haue seene in these parts, as those which they doe call *Cabrillas*, which doe somewhat resemble the Trowt, and in new *Spaine* they call them *Bobos*, they mount from the Sea into the Riuer. I haue not seene any *Besugues* there, nor Trowts, although some say there are in *Chille*. There are *Tonins* in some parts vpon the coast of *Pernu*, but they are rare, and some are of opinion, that at a certaine time they doe cast their spawne in the Straight of *Magellan*, as they doe in *Spaine* at the Straight of *Gibraltar*, and for this reason they finde more vpon the coast of *Chille*, although those I haue seene there, are not like to them in *Spaine*. At the lands (which they call *Barlonente*) which are *Cuba*, *Saint Dominicke*, *Port rique*, and *Iamaique*, they finde a fish which they call *Manati*, a strange kinde of fish, if we may call it fish, a creature which ingenders her yong ones aliue, and hath teates, and doth nourish them with milke, feeding of grasse in the fields, but in effect it liues continually in the water, and therefore they eate it as fish; yet when I did eate of it at *Saint Dominique* on a friday, I had some scruple, not for that which is spoken, but for that in colour and taste it was like vnto morsels of Veale, so is it Greene, and like vnto a Cowe on the hinder parts. I did wonder at the incredible rauening of the *Tiburons*, or sharkes, when as I did see drawne from one (that was taken in the Port) out of his gullet, a Butchers great Knife, a great Iron hooke, and a piece of a Cowes head with one whole horne, neither doe I know if both were there, or no. I did see in a creeke made with that Sea, a quarter of a horse for pleasure hanging vpon a stake, whither presently came a company of these *Tiburons*, at the smell thereof: and for the more pleasure, this Horse flesh was hung in the ayre, I know not how many hand breadth from the water, this company of fish flocked about it, leaping vp, and with a strange nimblenesse cut off both flesh and bone off the Horse legge, as if it had bene the stalke of a lettuce; their teeth being as sharpe as a rasour. There are certaine small fishes they call *Rambos*, which cleaue to these *Tiburons*, neither can they drie them away, and they are fed with that which falles from the

Tiburons.

the South Sea
the North Sea
the South Sea

the South Sea

the South Sea

* Hernando A.
Lonso which
with Sarmiento
had gone to
the Straights
to seeke Cap-
taine Drake.

At the Downes
on our coast
two tides meet
one from the
Western Sea
or flewe, the
other from the
North, which
there cause
much varietie.

Of sundry
Fishers, and
their manner
of fishing at the
Indies.

The Manati a
strange fish.
The Whales
also bring
forth their
yong aliue, and
nourish them
with their
breasts, being in
that huge crea-
ture scarce
twice so big as
the breasts of a
woman, and
farre lesse then
those of many
women. Their
foode is also
Sea weedes.
Sharking
sharkes,

Tiburons. There are other small fishes, which they call flying fishes, the which are found within the tropickes, and in no other place, as I thinke: they are pursued by the *Ducades*; and to escape them they leape out of the Sea, and goe a good way in the ayre, and for this reason they are called *flying Fishes*: they haue wings as it were of linnen cloath, or of parchment, which doe support them some space in the ayre. There did one flye or leape into the Ship wherein I went, the which I did see, and obserue the fashion of his wings.

In the *Indian* Histories there is often mention made of *Lezards* or *Caymans* (as they call them) and they are the very same which *Plinie* and the Auncients call *Crocodiles*, they finde them on the Sea side, and in hot Riuer, for in cold Riuer there are none to be found. And therefore they finde none vpon all the coasts of *Peru* vnto *Payra*, but forward they are commonly seene in the Riuer. It is a most fierce and cruell beast, although it be slow and heauie. Hee goes hunting and seekes his prey on the Land, and what he takes aliue, he drownes it in the water, yet doth he not eate it, but out of the water, for that his throate is of such a fashion, as if there entred any water, he should easily be drowned. It is a wonderfull thing to see a combat betwixt a *Caymant* and a *Tigre*, whereof there are most cruell at the *Indies*. A religious man of our company told me that he had seene these beasts fight most cruellly one against the other; vpon the Sea shoare the *Caymant* with his taile gaue great blowes vnto the *Tigre*, struing with his great force to carry him into the water: and the *Tigre* with his pawes resisted the *Caymant*, drawing him to Land. In the end the *Tigre* vanquished, and opened the *Lezard*, it seemes by the belly, the which is most tender and penetrable, for in euery other part he is so hard, that no Lance, and scarce a harquebuzer can pierce it. The victory which an *Indian* had of a *Caymant* was yet more rare: the *Caymant* had carried away his yong childe, and sodainely plunged into the Sea, the *Indian* moued with choller, cast himselfe after him, with a knife in his hand, and as they are excellent swimmers and diuers, and the *Caymant* swimmeth alwayes on the toppe of the water, hee hurt him in the belly, and in such fort, that the *Caymant* feeling himselfe wounded, went to the shoare, leauing the little infant dead.

But the combat which the *Indians* haue with *Whales* is yet more admirable, wherein appeares the power and greatnesse of the Creator, to giue so base a Nation (as be the *Indians*) the industrie and courage to incounter the most fierce and deformed beast in the world, and not onely to fight with him, but also to vanquish him, and not to triumph ouer him. Considering this, I haue often remembred that place of the *Psalmes*, speaking of the *Whale*, *Draco iste quem formasti ad illudendum eum*: What greater mockerie can there be, then to see an *Indian* leade a *Whale* as bigge as a Mountaine, vanquished with a cord? The manner the *Indians* of *Florida* vse (as some expert men haue told me) to take these *Whales* (whereof there is great store) is, they put themselves into a Canoe, which is like a barke of a tree, and in swimming approach neere the *Whales* side, then with great dexteritie they leape to his necke, and there they ride as on horse-back expecting his time, then he thrusts a sharpe and strong stake (which he carries with him) into the *Whales* nostrill, for so they call the hole or vent by which they breathe, presently he beates it in with another stake as forcibly as he can; in the meane space the *Whale* doth furiously beate the Sea, and raiseth Mountaines of water, running into the deepe with great violence, and presently riseth againe, not knowing what to doe for paine: the *Indian* still sits firme, and to giue him full payment for this trouble, hee beates another stake into the other vent or nostrill, so as he stopperh him quite, and takes away his breathing, then he betakes him to his Canoe, which he holds tied with a cord to the *Whales* side, and goes to Land, hauing first tied his cord to the *Whale*, the which he lets run with the *Whale*, who leapes from place to place, whilest he finds water enough: being troubled with paine, in the end he comes neere the Land, and remains on ground by the hugenesse of his body, vnable any more to moue; then a great number of *Indians* come vnto the Conquerour, to gather his spoiles, they kill him, and cut his flesh in peeces, the which is bad enough: this doe they dry and beate into powder, vsing it for meate, it doth last them long: wherein is fulfilled, that which is spoken in another *Psalme* of the *Whale*, *Dedisti eum escampopulis Ethiopum*. *Peter Mendez* the *Adelantado* did often speake of this kinde of fishing. Whereof *Monardes* makes mention in his Booke.

There is another fishing which the *Indians* doe commonly vse in the Sea, the which, although it be lesse, yet is it worthy the report. They make as it were faggots of bul-rushes or dry sedges well bound together, which they call *Balsas*: hauing carried them vpon their shoulders to the Sea, they cast them in, and presently leape vpon them: being so set, they lanch out into the deepe, rowing vp and downe with small reedes of either tide: they goe a league or two into the Sea to fish, carrying with them their cords and nets vpon these faggots, and beare themselves thereon. They cast out their nets, and doe there remaine fishing the greatest part of the day and night, vntill they haue filled vp their measure, with the which they returne well satisfied. Truly it was delightfull to see them fish at *Callao* of *Lima*, for that they were many in number, and euery one set on horse-backe, cutting the waues of the Sea, which in their place of fishing are great and furious, resembling the *Tritons* or *Neptunes*, which they paint vpon the water, and being come to Land, they draw their barke out of the water vpon their backes, the which they

H h h h

presently

They haue rough heads whereby they cleaue and sticke fast to the Sharke, which thus are forced to carry them with their swift motion, of whose offall also they liue. *Crocodiles.* * Yet so as euery and anon hee dips in the water his tongue being so short, that otherwise he could not swallow it. *Tigre kills a Crocodile.*

Indians exploit on a Crocodile

Whale killed by the Sauages

presently vndoe, and lay abroad on the shoare to drie. There were other *Indians* of the Vallies of *Yca*, which were accustomed to goe to fish in leather, or skins of Sea-wolues, blowne vp with winde, and from time to time they did blow them like bals of winde, lest they should sinke. In the vale of *Caneto*, which in old time they called *Guaroo*, there were a great number of *Indian* fishers; but because they resisted the *Inga*, when he came to conquer that Land, hee made shew of peace with them, and therefore to feast him, they appointed a solemne fishing of many thousand *Indians*, which went to Sea in their vessels of reeds: at whose returne, the *Inga* (who had laid many Souldiers in ambush) made a cruell butcherie of them, so as afterward this Land remained vnpeopled, although it be abundant and fertile. I did see another manner of fishing, whereunto *Don Francis* of *Toledo* the Viceroy did leade me, yet was it not in the Sea, but in a River which they call great in the Prouince of *Charcas*, where the *Indians Chiriquanas* plunged into the water, and swimming with an admirable swiftnesse, followed the fish, where with darts and hookes (which they vse to carry in their right hand, onely swimming with the left) they wound the fish, and so hurt they brought them forth, seeming in this more like vnto fishes then men of the Land. But now that we haue left the Sea, let vs come to other kinde of waters that remaine to be spoken of.

Of Lakes and
Pooles that be
at the Indies.
Chap. 16.

Thicke water.

Fishes and
fishing.

Originall of
Lakes.

Greatest riuers
flow from
Lakes.

Hot Lake, and
many wonders
thereof.

Lakes of Mex-
ico salt and
fresh.

In place of the Mediterranean Sea, which is in the old world, the Creator hath furnished this new with many Lakes, whereof there are some so great, as they may be properly called Seas, seeing the Scripture calleth that of *Palestina* so, which is not so great as some of these. The most famous is that of *Titicaca*, which is at *Peru*, in the Prouince of *Callao*, the which as I haue said in the former booke, containes neere fourescore leagues in compasse, into the which there runs ten or twelue great Rivers. A while since, they began to saile in it with Barkes and Ships, wherein they proceeded so ill, that the first Ship was split with a tempest that did rise in the Lake. The water is not altogether sower nor salt, as that of the Sea, but it is so thicke, as it cannot be drunke. There are two kinde of fishes breede in this Lake in great abundance, the one they call *Suches*, which is great and saurous, but phlegmaticke and vnwholesome: and the other *Bogos*, which is more healthfull, although it be lesse and fuller of bones: there are great numbers of wilde-ducks and Wogens. When as the *Indians* will feast it, or shew delight to any one that passeth along the two bankes, which they call *Chucuyto* and *Omasugo*, they assemble a great number of *Canoes*, making a circle and inuironing the fowle, vntill they take with their hands what they please: and they call this manner of fishing *Chaco*. On the one and the other banke of this Lake, are the best habitations of *Peru*. From the issue thereof there growes a lesser Lake, although it be great, which they call *Paria*, vpon the bankes whereof, there are great numbers of cattell, especially Swine, which grow exceeding fat with the grasse vpon those bankes. There are many other Lakes in the high Mountaines, whence proceede Brookes and Rivers, which after become great floods. Vpon the way from *Arequippa* to *Callao*, there are two Lakes, vpon the Mountaines of the one and other side the way, from the one flowes a brooke, which growes to a flood, and falls into the South Sea; from the other, they say the famous Riuer of *Aporima* takes her beginning; from the which some hold that the renowned Riuer of *Amazons*, otherwise called *Maragnon* proceedes, with so great an assembly and abundance of waters, which ioyned in these Mountaines. It is a question may be often asked, why there is so many Lakes in the tops of these Mountaines, into the which no riuer enters, but contrariwise, many great streames issue forth, and yet doe we scarce see these Lakes to diminish any thing at any season of the year. To imagine that these Lakes grow by the Snow that melts, or raine from heauen, that doth not wholly satisfie me: for there are many that haue not this abundance of Snow, nor raine, and yet wee see no decrease in them, which makes me to beleue they are Springs which rise there naturally, although it be not against reason, to thinke that the Snow and raine helpe somewhat in some seasons. These Lakes are so common in the highest tops of the Mountaines, that you shall hardly finde any famous riuer that takes not his beginning from one of them. Their water is very cleere and breedes little store of fish, and that little is very small, by reason of the cold which is there continually.

● Notwithstanding, some of these Lakes be very hot, which is another wonder. At the end of the Vallie of *Tarapaya* neere to *Potozi*, there is a Lake in forme round, which seemes to haue beene made by compasse, whose water is extreemely hot, and yet the Land is very cold: they are accustomed to bathe themselves neere the banke, for else they cannot endure the heate being farther in. In the midst of this Lake, there is a boiling of aboue twentie foote square, which is the very Spring, and yet (notwithstanding the greatnesse of this Spring) it is neuer seene to increase in any sort: it seemes that it exhals of it selfe, or that it hath some hidden and vnknowne issue, neither doe they see it decrease; which is another wonder, although they haue drawne from it a great streame, to make certaine engines grinde for mettall, considering the great quantitie of water that issueth forth, by reason whereof, it should decrease.

But leauing *Peru*, and passing to new *Spaine*, the Lakes there, are no lesse to be obserued; especially that most famous of *Mexico*, where we finde two sorts of waters, one salt Lake like to that of the Sea, and the other cleere and sweete, by reason of the Rivers that enter into it.

In the midst of this Lake, is a rocke very delightfull and pleasant, where there are bathes of hot water that issue forth, the which they greatly esteeme for their health. There are Gardens in the midst of this Lake, framed and fleeting vpon the water, where you may see plots full of a thousand sorts of hearbes and flowers, & they are in such sort as a man cannot well conceiue them without sight. The Citie of *Mexico* is seated in the same Lake, although the *Spaniards* haue filled vp the place of the scituation with earth, leauing onely some currents of water, great and small, which enter into the Citie, to carrie such things as they haue neede of, as wood, hearbs, stone, fruites of the Countrey, and all other things. When *Cortez* conquered *Mexico*, hee caused *Brigandins* to be made, yet afterwards he thought it more safe not to vse them: therefore they vie *Canoes*, whereof there is great store. There is great store of fish in this Lake, yet haue I not seene any of price: notwithstanding, they say the reuenue of this Lake, is worth three hundred thousand Duckets a yeere. There are many other Lakes, not farre from this, whence they bring much fish to *Mexico*. The Prouince of *Azechouacan* is so called, for that it aboundeth greatly with fish. There are goodly and great Lakes, in the which there is much fish, and this Prouince is coole and healthfull. There are many other Lakes, whereof it is not possible to make mention, nor to know them in particular, onely wee may note by that which hath bene discouered in the former Booke, that vnder the burning Zone there is greater abundance of Lakes, then in any other part of the world.

Rich Lakes

Of many and diuers Springs and Fountains Chap. 17.

Hot Spring turning into Stone.

Fountain of Pitch.

Cold and hot Springs together.

Salt Spring which yeeldes Salt without boiling.

Pocke Springs

Smoak Springs

Inke, &c.

Of Rivers. Chap. 18. Maragnon or Amazons.

There is at the *Indies* as in other parts of the world, great diuersitie of Springs, Fountains, and Rivers, and some haue strange properties. In *Guancaulica* of *Peru* (where the Mines of Quick-silver be,) there is a Fontaine that casts forth hot water, and in running, the water turnes to rocke, of which rocke or stone, they build in a manner all the houses of the Village. This stone is soft, and easie to cut, for they cut it as easily with Iron as if it were wood; it is light and lasting. If men or beasts drinke thereof, they dye, for that it congeales in the very entrailles, and turnes into stone, and for that cause some Horses haue died. As this water turnes into stone, the which flowes, stoppes the passage to the rest; so as of necessity it changeth the course, and for this reason it runnes in diuers places, as the rocke increaseth. At the point of Cape Saint *Helaine*, there is a Spring or Fontaine of Pitch, which at *Peru*, they call *Coppey*. This should be like to that which the Scripture speakes of the sauage Valley, where they did finde pits of Pitch. The Marriners vse these Fountains of Pitch or *Coppey*, to pitch their ropes and tackling, for that it serues them as Pitch and Tarre in *Spaine*. When I sailed into new *Spaine* by the coast of *Peru*, the Pilot shewed me an Island, which they call the *Ile of Wolnes*, where there is another Fontaine or Pit of *Coppey* or Pitch, with the which they anoint their tackling. There are other Fountains and Springs of *Goultranrozen*, which the Pilot (an excellent man in his charge) told me he had seene, and that sometimes sailing that waies, being so farre into the Sea, as he had lost the sight of Land, yet did he know by the smell of the *Coppey*, where he was, as well as if he had knowne the Land, such is the saueur that issues continually from that Fontaine.

At the Bathes, which they call the Bathes of *Ingua*, there is a course of water, which comes forth all hot and boiling; and ioyning vnto it, there is another whose water is as cold as Ice. The *Ingua* was accustomed to temper the one with the other; and it is a wonderfull thing to see Springs of so contrarie qualities, so neere one to the other. There are an infinite number of other hot Springs, specially in the Prouince of *Charcas*, in the water whereof, you cannot indure to hold your hand the space of an *Aue Maria*, as I haue seene tried by wager. In a Farme neere to *Cusco*, springs a Fontaine of Salt, which as it runnes turnes into Salt, very white and exceeding good, the which (if it were in another Countrey) were no small riches, yet they make very small account thereof, for the store they haue there. The waters which runne in *Guayaquel*, which is in *Peru*, almost vnder the Equinoctiall Line, are held to be healthfull for the *French* disease, and other such like, so as they come from many places farre off to be cured. And they say the cause thereof is, for that in that Countrey there is great abundance of rootes, which they call *Salepareille*, the vertue and operation whereof is so knowne, that it communicates her propertie to the waters wherein it is put to cure this disease. *Bilcanota* is a Mountaine the which (according to common opinion) is in the highest part of *Peru*, the top whereof is all couered with Snow, and in some places is blacke like coale. There issueth forth of it, two Springs in contrary places, which presently grow to be very great brooks, and so by little and little become great flouds, the one goes to *Calloa*, into the great Lake *Titicaca*; the other goes to the Lands, and is that which they call *Tucay*, which ioyning with another runnes into the North Sea, with a violent and furious course. This Spring, when it comes out of the rocke *Bilcanota*, as I haue said, is of the colour of lie, hauing an ashie colour, and casts a fume as a thing burnt, the which runs far in this sort, vntil the multitude of waters that run into it, quench this smoak and fire which it drawes from the Spring. In new *Spain* I haue seene a Spring as it were Ink, somewhat blew, in *Peru* another, of color red like blood, where vpon they call it the red River.

Amongst all Rivers, not onely at the *Indies*, but generally through the world, the River *Maragnon*, or of *Amazons*, is the chiefe, whereof we haue spoken in the former Booke. The *Spaniards*,

Water-fall.

niards haue often failed it, pretending to discouer the Lands, which by report are very rich, especially those they call *Dorado* and *Payiti*, *Jean de Saluies*, the *Adelantade*, made a memorable entrie, though of small effect. There is a passage which they call *Pongo*, one of the most dangerous in all the world; for the Riuer being there straightned, and forced betwixt two high steepe Rocks: the water fals directly downe with so great a violence, that comming steepe downe, it causeth such a boyling, as it seemeth impossible to passe it without drowning: yet the courage of men durst attempt to passe it, for the desire of this renowned *Dorado*: they slip downe from the top to the bottome, thrust on with the violence and currant of the floud, holding themselves fast in their Canoes or barks: and although in falling they were turned topsie turvie, and both they and their Canoes plunged into the deepe, yet by their care and industrie they recouered themselves againe; and in this sort the whole armie escaped, except some few that were drowned. And that which is more admirable, they carried themselves so cunningly, that they neither lost their Powder nor Munition. In their returne (hauing suffered many troubles and dangers) they were forced, in the end, to passe backe that same way mounting by one of those high Rocks, sticking their Ponyards in the Rocks,

Golden thirst.

Captaine *Peter d'Orfua* made another entrie by the same Riuer, who being dead in the same Voyage, and the Souldiers mutinied; other Captaines followed the enterprise, by an arme that comes into the North Sea. A religious man of our company told vs, that being then a secular man, he was present in a manner at all that enterprise, and that the tides did flow almost a hundred leagues vp the Riuer, and whereas it enters into the Sea (the which is vnder the Line, or very neere) it hath seuentie leagues breadth at the mouth of it, a matter incredible; and which exceeds the breadth of the Mediterranean Sea, though there be some others, who in their descriptions giue it but twenty five or thirty leagues breadth at the mouth.

Riuer of Plata, increasing as Nilus.

Next to this Riuer that of *Plata*, or of Siluer holds the second place, which is otherwise called *Paraguay*, which runs from the Mountains of *Pern*, into the Sea, in thirty five degrees of altitude to the South: it riseth (as they say) like to the Riuer of *Nile*, but much more without comparison, and makes the fields it ouerflows like vnto a Sea, for the space of three moneths, and after returneth againe to his course, in the which Shippes doe saile many leagues against the streame. There are many other Riuers that are not of that greatnesse, and yet are equall: yea they surpasse the greatest of *Europe*, as that of *Magdalaine*, neere to Saint *Marthe*, called the great Riuer, and that of *Aluarado* in new *Spaine*, and an infinite number of others. Of the South side, on the Mountaines of *Pern*, the Riuers are not vially so great, for that their current is not long, and that many waters cannot ioine together, but they are very swift, descending from the Mountaines, and haue sodaine fals, by reason whereof they are very dangerous, and many men haue perished there. They increase and overflow most in the time of heate. I haue gone ouer twenty and seuen Riuers vpon that coast, yet did I neuer passe any one by a foord.

How they passe their Riuers.

The *Indians* vse a thousand deuises to passe their Riuers. In some places they haue a long cord that runnes from one side to th'other, and thereon hangs a basket, into the which he puts him selfe that meanes to passe; and then they draw it from the banke with another cord, so as he passeth in this basket. In other places the *Indian* passeth, as it were on Horse-backe, vpon a bottle of straw, and behinde him he that desireth to passe; and so rowing with a peece of a boord, carries him ouer. In other places they make a floate of gourds or pompions, vpon which they set men with their stufte to carry ouer, and the *Indians* hauing cords fastned to them, goe swimming before, and draw this floate of pompions after them, as Horses doe a Coach: others goe behinde thrusting it forward. Hauing passed, they take their barke of pompions vpon their backe, and returne swimming: this they doe in the Riuer of *Saint* at *Pern*. We passed that of *Aluarado* in new *Spain* vpon a table, which the *Indians* carried vpon their shoulders, and when they lost their footing, they swamme. These deuises, with a thousand other wherewith they vse to passe their Riuers, breede a terrour in the beholders, helping themselves with such weake and vsure meanes; and yet they are very confident. They doe vse no other bridges but of haire or of straw. There are now vpon some Riuers bridges of Stone, built by the diligence of some *Gouernours*, but many fewer then were needefull in such a Countrie, where so many men are drowned by default thereof, and the which yeeldes so much Siluer, as not onely *Spaine*, but also other strange Countreies make sumptuous buildings therewith. The *Indians* doe draw from these flouds that runne from the Mountaines to the Vallies and Plaines, many and great Brookes to water their Land, which they vially doe with such industrie, as there are no better in *Murcia*, nor at *Mil-lan* it selfe, the which is also the greatest and onely wealt of the Plaines of *Pern*, and of many other parts of the *Indies*.

Haire and Straw Bridges.

§. III.

Of the qualitie of the Land at the Indies in generall. Properties of Peru,
and of new Spaine, and other parts : Of Vulcanes
and Earthquakes.

WE may know the qualitie of the Land at the *Indies*, for the greatest part (seeing it is the last of the three Elements, whereof we haue propounded to treat in this Booke) by the discourse we haue made in the former Booke of the burning Zone, seeing that the greatest part of the *Indies* doth lye vnder it. But to make it knowne the more particularly, I haue obserued three kindes of Lands, as I haue passed through those Regions: whereof there is one very low, another very high, and the third which holds the middle of these two extreames. The lower is that which lyeth by the Sea coasts, whereof there is in all parts of the *Indies*, and it is commonly very hot and moist, so as it is not so healthfull; and at this day we see it lesse peopled, although in former times it hath bene greatly inhabited with *Indians*, as it appeareth by the histories of new *Spaine* and *Peru*, and where they kept and liued, for that the soile was naturall vnto them being bred there. They liued of fishing at Sea, and of seeds, drawing brooks from the Riuers, which they vsed for want of raine, for that it raines little there, and in some places not at all. This low Countrie hath many places vnhabitable, as well by reason of the Sands which are dangerous (for there are whole Mountaines of these Sands) as also for the Marishes which grow by reason of the waters that fall from the Mountaines, which finding no issue in these flat and low Lands, drowne them, and make them vnprofitable.

And in truth the greatest part of all the *Indian* Sea coast is of this sort, chiefly vpon the South Sea: the habitation of which coasts is at this present so wasted and contemned, that of thirty parts of the people that inhabited it, there wants twenty nine; and it is likely the rest of the *Indians* will in short time decay. Many, according to the varietie of their opinions, attribute this to diuers causes: some to the great labour which hath bene imposed vpon these *Indians*; others, vnto the change and varietie of meates and drinks they vse, since their commerce with the *Spaniards*: others, to their great excesse and drinking, and to other vices they haue: for my part, I hold this disorder to be the greatest cause of their decay, whereof it is not now time to discourse any more. In this low Countrie (which I say generally is vnhealthfull, and vnfit for mans habitation) there is exception in some places which are temperate and fertile, as the greatest part of the Plaines of *Peru*, where there are coole vallies and very fertile. The greatest part of the habitation of the coast entertains all the traffike of *Spain* by Sea: whereon all the estate of the *Indies* dependeth. Vpon this coast there are some Towns well peopled, as *Lima* and *Truxillo* in *Peru*, *Panama* and *Carthagena* vpon the maine Land, and in the Ilands *Saint Dominique*, *Port Ricco*, and *Hauana*, with many other Towns which are lesse then these, as the *True Crosse* in new *Spain*, *Tca*, *Arigua* and others in *Peru*: the Ports are commonly inhabited, although but slenderly. The second sort of Land is contrary, very high, and by consequent, cold and dry, as all the Mountaines are commonly. This Land is neither fertile nor pleasant, but very healthfull, which makes it to be peopled and inhabited. There are Pastures and great store of Cattle, the which, for the most part, entertaines life, and by their Cattell, they supply the want they haue of Corne and Graine, by trucking and exchange. But that which makes these Lands more inhabited and peopled, is the riches of the Mines that are found there, for that all obeys to Gold and Siluer. By reason of the Mines there are some dwellings of *Spaniards* and *Indians*, which are increased and multiplied, as *Potozi* and *Gancanelicqua* in *Peru*, and *Cacatecas* in new *Spaine*. There are also through all these Mountaines great dwellings of the *Indians*, which to this day are maintained; yea some will say they increase, but that the labour of the Mines doth consume many, and some generall diseases haue destroyed a great part, as the *Cocoliste* in new *Spaine*: yet they finde no great diminution. In this extremitie of high ground they finde two commodities, as I haue said, of Pastures and Mines, which doe well counteruaile the two other that are in the lower grounds alongst the Sea coast, that is, the commerce of the Sea, and the abundance of Wine which groweth not but in the hot Lands. Betwixt these two extreames there is ground of a meane height, the which, although it be in some parts higher or lower one then other, yet doth it not approach neither to the heate of the Sea coast, nor the intemperature of the Mountaines. In this sort of soyle there groweth many kindes of Graine, as Wheate, Barley, and Mays, which growes not at all in the high Countries, but well in the lower; there is likewise store of Pasture, Cattell, Fruits, and greene Forrests. This part is the best habitation of the three, for health and recreation; and therefore it is best peopled of any part of the *Indies*, the which I haue curiously obserued in many Voyages that I haue vndertaken, and haue alwayes found it true, that the Prouince best peopled at the *Indies* be in this scituation. Let vs looke neerely into new *Spaine* (the which without doubt is the best Prouince the Sunne doth circle) by what part soeuer you doe enter, you mount vp; and when you haue mounted a good height, you begin to descend.

descend, yet very little : and that Land is alwayes much higher then that along the Sea coast.

All the Land about *Mexico* is of this nature and situation; and that which is about the *Vulcan*, which is the best soile of the *Indies*, as also in *Peru*, *Arequipa*, *Guamangua* and *Cusco*, although more in one then in the other. But in the end, all is high ground, although they descend into deepe Vallies, and clime vp to high Mountaines: the like is spoken of *Quitto*, *Saint Foy*, and of the best of the *New Kingdome*. To conclude, I doe beleene that the wisdome and prouidence of the Creator would haue it so, that the greatest part of this Countrie of the *Indies* should be hillie, that it might be of a better temperature: for being low, it had bene very hot vnder the burning Zone, especially being farre from the Sea. Also all the Land I haue seene at the *Indies*, is neere to the Mountaines on the one side or the other, and sometimes of all parts: So as I haue oftentimes said there, that I would gladly see any place, from whence the horizon did fashion it selfe and end by the heauen, and a Countrie stretched out and euen, as we see in *Spaine* in a thousand champaigne fields; yet doe I not remember that I haue euer seene such sights at the *Indies*, were it in the Ilands, or vpon the maine Land, although I haue trauelled aboue seven hundred leagues in length. But as I haue said, the neerenesse of the Mountaines is very commodious in this region, to temper the heate of the Sunne. To conclude, the best inhabited parts of the *Indies* are as I haue said: and generally, all that Countrie abounds in Grasse, Pastures, and Forrests, contrary vnto that which *Aristotle* and the ancients did hold. Soas when we go out of *Europe* to the *Indies* we wonder to see the Land so pleasant, Greene and fresh. Yet this rule hath some exceptions, and chiefly in the Land of *Peru*, which is of a strange nature amongst all others, whereof we will now proceede to speake.

The *Indies* mountainous, and thereby temperate.

Of the properties of the land of *Peru*. Chap. 20

One winde onely.

The Plaines, the hills, and the *Andes*. See sup. in *Herera*.

Raine almost euer, and almost neuer.

Diuers Beasts.

We meane by *Peru*, not that great part of the world which they call *America*, seeing that therein is contained *Bresil*, the Kingdome of *Chille*, and that of *Grenade*, and yet none of these Kingdomes is *Peru*, but onely that part which lies to the South, beginning at the Kingdome of *Quitto*, which is vnder the Line, and runs in length to the Realme of *Chille*, the which is without the Tropickes, which were six hundred leagues in length, and in breadth it contains no more then the Mountaines, which is fiftie common leagues, although in some places, as at *Chachapayas*, it be broader. This part of the world which wee call *Peru*, is very remarkable; and contains in it strange properties, which serueth as an exception to the generall rule of the *Indies*. The first is, that vpon all the coast it blowes continually with one onely winde, which is South and South-west, contrary to that which doth usually blow vnder the burning Zone. The second is, that this winde being by nature the most violent, tempestuous, and vnhealthfull of all others, yet in this Region it is marvellous pleasing, healthfull, and agreeable: so as we may attribute the habitation of that part thereunto, without the which it would be troublesome and inhabitable, by reason of the heate, if it were not refreshed with the winde. The third propertie is, that it neuer raines, thunders, snowes, nor hailes in all this coast, which is a matter worthy of admiration. Fourthly, that a little distance from the coast it raines & snowes terribly. Fiftly, that there are two ridges of Mountaines which runne the one as the other, and in one altitude, notwithstanding on the one there are great Forrests, and it raines the greatest part of the yeare, being very hot; and the other is all naked and bare, and very cold: so as winter and summer are diuided on those two Mountaines, and raine and cleerenesse it selfe. For the better vnderstanding hereof, we must consider that *Peru* is diuided as it were into three parts, long and narrow, which they call *Lanos*, *Sierres*, and *Andes*; the *Lanos* runs alongst the Sea coast; the *Sierres* be all hills, with some vallies; and the *Andes* be steepe and craggie Mountaines. The *Lanos* or Sea coast, haue some ten leagues in breadth, in some parts lesse, and in some parts a little more. The *Sierra* contains some twenty leagues in breadth: and the *Andes* as much, sometimes more, sometimes lesse. They run in length from North to South, and in breadth from East to West. It is a strange thing, that in so small a distance as fiftie leagues, equally distant from the Line and Pole, there should be so great a contrarietie, as to raine almost continually in one place, and neuer in the other. It neuer raines vpon the coast or *Lanos*, although there falls sometimes a small dew, which they call *Guarna*, and in *Castill Molina*, the which sometimes thickens, and falls in certaine drops of water, yet is it not troublesome, nor such as they neede any couering. Their couerings are of mats with a little earth vpon them which is sufficient. Vpon the *Andes* it raines in a manner continually, although it be sometimes more cleere then other. In the *Sierra* which lies betwixt both the extreames, it raineth in the same season as it doth in *Spaine*, which is from September vnto Aprill, but in the other season, the time is more cleere, which is when the Sunne is farthest off, and the contrary when it is neere. That which they call *Andes*, and *Sierra*, are two ridges of most high Mountaines, which runne aboue a thousand leagues, the one in view of the other, and almost equally. There are an infinite number of *Vicagues*, which breede in the *Sierres*, and are properly like vnto wilde Goates, very nimble and swift. There are also of those beasts which they call *Guanacos* and *Pacos*, which are sheepe, which we may well tearme the Asses of that Countrie; whereof we shall speake in their place. And vpon the *Andes* they finde Apes, very gentle and delightfull, and Parrots in great numbers.

numbers. There also they finde the herbe or tree which they call *Coca*, that is so greatly esteemed by the *Indians*, and the trafficke they make of it, is worth much mony.

That which they call *Sierre*, causeth Vallies, where as it opens, which are the best dwellings of *Peru*, as is the Valley of *Xauxa* of *Andaguaylas*, and *Tucay*. In these Vallies there growes Wheat, Mays, and other sorts of fruits, but lesse in one then in the other. Beyond the Citie of *Cusco* (the ancient Court of the Lords of those Realmes) the two ridges of Mountaines separate themselves one from the other, and in the midst leaue a Playne and large Champaigne, which they call the Prouince of *Callao*, where there are many Riueres and great store of fertile Pastures: there is also that great Lake of *Titicaca*. And although it bee a full soile, and in the same height and intemperature; that the *Sierre*; hauing no more Trees nor Forrests, yet the want they haue of bread is counteruailed with the rootes they sow, the which they call *Papas*, and they grow in the earth. This roote is the *Indians* foode; for drying it and making it cleane, they make that which they call *Chugno*, which is the bread and nourishment of those Prouinces. There are other rootes and small herbes which they eate. It is a healthfull soile, best peopled, and the richest of all the *Indies*, for the abundance of Cattell they feede, as well of those that are in *Europe*, as Sheepe, Neat, and Goates, as of those of the Country, which they call *Guanacos* and *Pacos*, and there are store of Partridges. Next to the Prouince of *Callao*, is that of *Charcas*, where there are hot Vallies very fertile, and very high Rocks, the which are very rich in mynes, so as in no part of the World shall you finde better nor fairer.

Their bread:

20 For that it is rare and extraordinarie to see a Country where it neuer raines nor thunders; men desire naturally to know the cause of this strangenesse. The reason which some giue that haue neerly looked into it, is, that vpon that Coast there rise no vapours, sufficient to engender raine for want of matter; but onely that there bee small and light vapours, which cannot breede any other then mists and deawes, as wee see in *Europe*, oftentimes vapours doe rise in the morning, which are not turned into raine, but into mists onely: the which growes from the substance, which is not grosse and sufficient enough to turne to raine. They say, the reason why that which happens but some times in *Europe*, falls out continually vpon the Coast of *Peru*, is, for that this Region is very drie, and yeelds no grosse vapours. The driness is knowne by the great abundance of Sands, hauing neither Wells nor Fountaines, but of fifteene Stades 30 deepe (which is the height of a man or more) and that is neere vnto Riueres, the water whereof, piercing into the Land, giues them meanes to make Wells. So as it hath beene found by experience, that the course of Riueres being turned, the Wells haue beene dried vp, vntill they returned to their ordinarie course: and they giue this reason for a materiall cause of this effect, but they haue another efficient, which is no lesse considerable, and that is the great height of the *Sierre*, which comming along the Coast, shadowes the *Lanos*; so as it suffers no winde to blow from the Land, but about the tops of these Mountaines. By meanes whereof, there reignes no winde, but that from the Sea, which finding no opposite, doth not presse nor straine forth the vapours which rise to engender raine; so as the shadow of the Mountaines keepes the vapours from thickning, and conuerts them all into mists. There are some experiences agree 40 with this discourse; for that it raines vpon some small Hills along the Coast, which are least shadowed, as the Rocks of *Atico* and *Arequipa*. It hath rained in some yeeres when as the Northerne or Easterly windes haue blowne: yea, all the time they haue continued, as it happened in seuentie eight, vpon the *Lanos* of *Trugillo*, where it rained abundantly, the which they had not seene in many ages before. Moreouer, it raines vpon the same Coast in places, where as the Easterly or Northerne windes be ordinarie, as in *Guayaquil*, and in places where as the Land riseth much, and turnes from the shadow of the Mountaines, as in those that are beyond *Ariqua*. Some discourse in this manner, but let every one thinke as he please. It is most certaine, that comming from the Mountaines to the Vallies, they doe vsually see as it were two Heauens, one cleere and bright aboue, and the other obscure, and as it were a gray vaile spread 50 vnderneath, which couers all the Coast: and although it raine not, yet this mist is wonderfull profitable to bring forth grasse, and to raise vp and nourish the seed: for although they haue plenty of water, which they draw from the Pooles and Lakes, yet this moisture from Heauen hath such a vertue, that ceasing to fall vpon the Earth, it breeds a great discommoditie and defect of graine and seedes. And that which is more worthy of admiration, the drie and barren Sands are by this deaw so beautified with grasse and flowers, as it is a pleasing and agreeable sight, and very profitable for the feeding of Cattell, as we see in the Mountaine called *Sandie*, neere to the Citie of *Kings*.

The reason why it raines on the *Lanos*, along the Sea coast. Chap. 21.

Of the reason why it raines on the *Lanos*, along the Sea coast. Chap. 21.

Of the properties of new Spaine, of the Islands, and of other Lands. Chap. 22. Peru wine.

New Spaine passeth all other Prouinces in pastures, which breeds infinite troopes of Horse, Kine, Sheepe, and other Cattell. It abounds in fruit and all kinde of graine. To conclude, it is a 60 Country the best furnished and most accomplished at the *Indies*. Yet *Peru* doth surpass it in one thing, which is Wine, for that there growes store and good; and they daily multiply and increase, the which doth grow in very hot Vallies, where there are waterings. And although there be Vines in new Spaine, yet the grape comes not to his maturitie, fit to make Wine. The reason is, for that it raines there in Iuly and August, when as the grape ripens: and therefore it comes

nos

Sugar workes
and Hides.

Indians wasted.

Of the vn-
knowne Land,
and the diuer-
sities of a whole
day, betwixt
them of the
East and the
West. Chap. 23.

not to his perfection. And if any one through curiositie would take the paines to make wine, it should be like to that of *Genna* and *Lombardie*, which is very small and sharpe, hauing a taste like vnto Verjuice. The Ilands which they call *Barlouente*, which bee *Hispaniola*, *Cuba*, *Port Ricco*, and others thereabouts, are beautified with many greene pastures, and abound in Cattell, as Near, and Swine, which are become wilde. The wealth of these Ilands, bee their Sugar-workes and Hides. There is much *Cassia fistula* and Ginger. It is a thing incredible, to see the multitude of these merchandizes brought in one fleete, being in a manner impossible that all *Europe* should waste so much. They likewise bring wood of an excellent qualitie and colour, as *Ebone*, and others, which serue for buildings and Ioyners. There is much of that wood which they call *Lignum sanctum* or *Guage*, fit to cure the pox. All these Ilands and others thereabouts, which are many, haue a goodly and pleasant aspect, for that throughout the yeere, they are beautified with grasse and greene trees, so as they cannot discern when it is Autumne or Summer, by reason of continuall moisture ioyned to the heat of the burning Zone. And although this Land bee of a great circuit, yet are there few dwellings, for that of it selfe it engenders great *Arcabutos*, as they call them, which be Groues or very thicke Coppises: and on the Playnes there are many marishes and bogs. They giue yet another notable reason, why they are so smallly peopled, for that there haue remayned few naturall *Indians*, through the inconsideratnesse and disorder of the first Conquerors that peopled it: and therefore, for the most part, they vse *Negros*, but they cost deare, being very fit to till the Land. There growes neither bread nor wine in these Ilands, for that the too great fertilitie and the vice of the soile, suffers them not to seede, but casts all forth in grasse, very vnequally. There are no Oliue trees, at the least, they beare no Oliues, but many greene leaues pleasant to the view, which beare no fruit. The bread they vse is of *Cacane*, whereof we shall hereafter speake. There is gold in the Riuer of these Ilands, which some draw forth, but in small quantitie. I was little lesse then a yeere in these Ilands, and as it hath beene told me of the mayne Land of the *Indies*, where I haue not beene, as in *Florida*, *Nicaragua*, *Guatimala*, and others, it is in a manner of this temper, as I haue described: yet haue I not set downe every particular of Nature in these Prouinces of the firme Land, hauing no perfect knowledge thereof. The Country which doth most resemble *Spaine* and the Regions of *Europe*, in all the West *Indies*, is the Realme of *Chille*, which is without the generall rule of these other Prouinces, being seated without the burning Zone, and the Tropicke of *Capricorne*. This Land of it selfe is coole and fertile, and brings forth all kindes of fruits that bee in *Spaine*; it yeelds great abundance of bread and wine, and abounds in Pastures and Cattell. The aire is wholsome and cleere, temperate betwixt heat and cold, Winter and Summer are very distinct, and there they finde great store of very fine gold. Yet this Land is poore and smallly peopled, by reason of their continuall warre with the *Auricanos*, and their Associates, being a rough people and friends to libertie.

There are great coniectures, that in the temperate Zone at the *Antartike* Pole, there are great and fertile Lands: but to this day they are not discovered, neither doe they know any other Land in this Zone, but that of *Chille*, and some part of that Land which runnes from *Ethiopia* to the Cape of *Good Hope*, as hath beene said in the first Booke; neither is it knowne if there bee any habitations in the other two Zones of the Poles, and whether the Land continues and stretcheth to that which is towards the *Antartike* or South Pole. Neither doe we know the Land that lyes beyond the Straight of *Magellan*, for that the greatest height yet discovered, is in fiftie sixe degrees, as hath beene formerly said; and toward the Arctike or Northerne Pole, it is not known how farre the Land extends, which runnes beyond the Cape of *Mendozin* and the *Caliphornes*, nor the bounds and end of *Florida*, neither yet how farre it extends to the West. Of late they haue discovered a new Land, which they call *New Mexico*, where they say is much people that speake the *Mexican* tongue. The *Philippines* and the following Ilands, as some report that know it by experience, ranne about nine hundred leagues. But to intreat of *China*, *Cochinchina*, *Siam*, and other Regions which are of the East *Indies*, were contrarie to my purpose, which is onely to discourse of the West: nay, they are ignorant of the greatest part of *America*, which lyes betwixt *Peru* and *Bresil*, although the bounds be knowne of all sides, wherein there is diuersitie of opinions; some say it is a drowned Land, full of Lakes and waterie places; others affirme there are great and flourishing Kingdomes, imagining there be the *Paysiti*, the *Dorado*, and the *Casars*, where they say are wonderfull things. I haue heard one of our companie say, a man worthy of credit, that he had seene great dwellings there, and the wayes as much beaten as those betwixt *Salamanca* and *Villadillia*, the which he did see, when as *Peter d'Orsua*, and after, those that succeeded him, made their entrie and discoverie by the great Riuer of *Amazons*, who beleueing that the *Dorado* which they sought, was farther off, cared not to inhabit there, and after went both without the *Dorado*, which they could not finde, and this great Prouince which they left. To speake the truth, the habitations of *America* are to this day vnkowne, except the extremities, which are *Peru*, *Bresil*, and that part where the Land begins to straighten, which is the Riuer of *Siluer*, then *Tucuman*, which makes the round to *Chille* and *Charcas*. Of late we haue vnderstood by Letters from some of ours which goe to *Saint Croix* in the *Sierre*, that they goe discover-
couering

couering of great Prouinces and dwellings, betwixt *Bresil* and *Peru*. Time will reueile them, for as at this day the care and courage of men is great, to compasse the World from one part to another; so we may beleue, that as they haue discovered that which is now knowne, they may likewise lay open that which remaines, to the end the Gospell may bee preached to the whole World, seeing the two Crownes of *Portugal* and *Castile* haue met by the East and West, ioyning their discoveries together, which in truth is a matter to be obserued, that the one is come to *China* and *Japan* by the East, and the other to the *Philippines*, which are neighbours, and almost ioyning vnto *China*, by the West: for from the Ilands of *Lusson*, which is the chiefe of the *Philippines*, in the which is the Citie of *Manille*, vnto *Macao*, which is in the Ile of *Canton*, are but foure score or a hundred leagues, and yet we finde it strange, that notwithstanding this small distance from the one to the other, yet according to their account, there is a dayes difference betwixt them; so as it is Sunday at *Macao*, when as it is but Saturday at *Manille*, and so of the rest. Those of *Macao* and of *China* haue one day aduanced before the *Philippines*. It happened to father *Alonse Sanchez*, of whom mention is made before, that parting from the *Philippines*, hee arriued at *Macao* the second day of May, according to their computation, and going to say the Masse of Saint *Athanasius*, he found they did celebrate the feast of the Inuention of the holy Crosse, for that they did then reckon the third of May. The like happened vnto him in another voyage beyond it.

Some haue found this alteration and diuersitie strange, supposing that the fault proceedes from the one or the other, the which is not so: but it is a true and well obserued computation, for according to the difference of wayes where they haue beene, we must necessarily say, that when they meet, there must be difference of a day; the reason is, for that sayling from West to East, they alwayes gaine of the day, finding the Sunne rising sooner: and contrariwise, those that saile from East to West, doe alwayes lose of the day, for that the Sunne riseth later vnto them; and as they approach neerer the East or the West, they haue the day longer or shorter. In *Peru*, which is Westward in respect of *Spaine*, they are aboue fixe houres behinde; so as when it is noone in *Spaine*, it is morning at *Peru*; and when it is morning here, it is mid-night there. I haue made certaine prooffe thereof, by the computation of Eclipses of the Sunne and Moone. Now that the *Portugals* haue made their navigations from West to East, and the *Castillians* from East to West, when they came to ioyne and meet at the *Philippines* and *Macao*, the one haue gayned twelue houres, and the other hath lost as much; so as at one instant, and in one time, they finde the difference of foure and twentie houres, which is a whole day.

Although we finde vents of fire in other places, as Mount *Aena* and *Vesunio*, which now they call Mount *Soma*, yet is that notable which is found at the *Indies*. Ordinarily these *Volcans* be Rocks or Pikes of most high Mountaines, which raise themselues aboue the tops of all other Mountaines; vpon their tops they haue a Playne, and in the midst thereof a pit or great mouth, which descends euen vnto the foote thereof; a thing very terrible to behold. Out of these mouthes there issues smoake, and sometimes fire: some cast little smoake, and haue in a manner no force of *Volcans*, as that of *Arequipa*, which is of an vnmeasurable height, and almost all sand. It cannot be mounted vp in lesse then two dayes, yet they haue not found any shew of fire, but onely the reliques of some sacrifices which the *Indians* made while they were *Gentiles*, and sometimes it doth cause a little smoake. The *Volcan* of *Mexico* which is neere to the Village of *Angels*, is likewise of an admirable height, whereas they mount thirtie leagues in turning: from this *Volcan* issueth not continually, but sometimes, almost euery day, a great exhalation or whirlewinde of smoake, which ascends directly vp like the shot of a Crosse-bow, and growes after like to a great plume of feathers, vntill it ceaseth quite, and is presently conuerted into an obscure and darke cloude. Most commonly it riseth in the morning after the Sunne rising, and at night when it setteth, although I haue seene it breake out at other times. Sometimes it doth cast forth great store of ashes after this smoake. They haue not yet scene any fire come from it; yet they feare it will issue forth and burne all the Land round about, which is the best of all the Kingdomes: And they hold it for certaine, that there is some correspondencie betwixt this *Volcan* and the *Sierre* of *Tlaxcala*, which is neere vnto it, that causeth the great thunders and lightnings they doe commonly heare and see in those parts.

Some *Spaniards* haue mounted vp to this *Volcan*, and giuen notice of the myne of sulphur to make powlder thereof. *Cortez* reports the care he had to discover what was in this *Volcan*. The *Volcans* of *Guatimala* are more renowned, as well for their greatnesse and height: which those that saile in the South Sea discover as farre off, as for the violence and terrour of the fire it casts. The three and twentieth day of December, in the yeere 1586. almost all the Citie of *Guatimala* fell with an Earthquake, and some people slaine. This *Volcan* had then fixe moneths together, day and night cast out from the top, and vomited as it were, a flood of fire, the substance falling vpon the sides of the *Volcan*, was turned into ashes like vnto burnt earth (a thing passing mans iudgement, to conceiue how it could cast so much matter from its centre during fixe moneths, being accustomed to cast smoake alone, and that sometimes with small flashes.) This was written vnto me being at *Mexico*, by a Secretarie of the Audience of *Guatimala*, a man worthy of credit,

Of the Volcans
or Vents of
fire. Chap. 24.

Terrible earth-
quake at Gua-
timala.

Couetous
Priest.

Causes of this
burning.

Basil. Psal. 28. &
in exam.

Of Earth-
quakes. Cap. 26.

Great earth-
quakes.

credit, and at that time it had not ceased to cast out fire. This yeere past, being in *Quito* in the Citie of *Kings*, the *Volcan* which is neere thereunto, cast such abundance of ashes, that in many leagues compassed thereabout it darkened the light of the day: and there fell such store in *Quito*, as they were not able to goe in the streets. There haue bene other *Volcans* seene which cast neither smoake, flame, nor yet ashes, but in the bottome they are seene to burne with a quicke fire without dying: such a one was that which in our time a couetous and greedie Priest seeing, perswaded himselfe that they were heapes of gold he did see burning, imagining it could be no other matter or substance, which had burnt so many yeeres, and not consumed. And in this conceit he made certaine kettles with chaines, and an instrument, to gather and draw vp the gold out of this Pit or *Volcan*: but the fire scorned him, for no sooner did his Iron chaine and Caldron approach neere the fire, but suddenly they were broken in pieces. Yet some told me, that this man was still obstinate, seeking other inuentions for to draw out this gold as he imagined.

Some haue held opinion, that these *Volcans* consume the inner substance they haue of Nature; and for this reason they beleue, that naturally they shall end, when as they haue consumed the fuell (as a man may say) that is within them. According to which opinion wee see at this day, some Mountaines and Rocks, from whence they draw a burnt stone which is light, but very hard, and is excellent to build with, as that which is carried to *Mexico*. And in effect there are some shewes of that which hath bene spoken, that these Mountaines or Rocks had sometimes a naturall fire, which hath died after the matter was consumed; and so these stones haue remained burnt and pierced with the fire as wee see. For my part, I will not contradict it, that in those places there hath not bene fire sometimes, or *Volcans*. But there is some difficultie to beleue it should be so in all *Volcans*, considering the matter they cast out is almost infinite; and that being gathered together, it could not bee containd in the same concauitie from whence it goes. Moreouer, there are some *Volcans*, that in hundreds, yea thousands of yeeres are alwayes of one fashion, casting out continually smoake, fire, and ashes. *Plinie* the historiographer of naturall things (as the other *Plinie* his nephew reports) searching out the secret how this should passe: and approaching too neere the exhalation of fire of one of these *Volcans*, died; and thinking by his diligence to find an end thereof, had an end of his life. For my part, vpon this consideration I thinke, that as there are places in the earth, whose vertue is to draw vaporious matter, and to conuert it into water, which bee the Fountaines that alwayes runne, and haue alwayes matter to make them runne, for that they draw vnto them the substance of water. In like sort there are places that haue the propertie to draw vnto them hot exhalations, and to conuert them into fire and smoake which by their force and violence cast out other thicke matter which dissolues into ashes, into pumice stone, or such like substance: and for a sufficient argument to proue it to be so in these *Volcans*, they sometimes cast smoake, and not alwayes, and sometimes fire, and not alwayes, which is according to that it can draw vnto it, and digest, as the Fountaines which in Winter abound, and in Summer decrease; yea some are quite dried vp, according to the force and vigour they haue, and the matter that is presented: euen so it is of these *Volcans*, which cast fire more or lesse at certaine seasons. Others say, that it is Hell fire, which issueth there, to seme as a warning, thereby to consider what is in the other life: but if Hell (as Diuines hold) bee in the centre of the Earth, the which containes in diameter aboue two thousand leagues, we cannot iudge that this fire is from the centre; for that Hell fire (as Saint *Basil* and others teach) is very different from this which wee see, for that it is without light, and burneth without comparison much more then ours.

Some haue held, that from these *Volcans* which are at the *Indies*, the Earthquakes proceede, being very common there: but for that they ordinarily chance in places farre from those *Volcans*, it cannot be the totall cause. It is true they haue a certaine simpaty one with another, for that the hot exhalations which engender in the inner concauities of the Earth, seme to be the materiall substance of fire in the *Volcans*, whereby there kindleth another more grosse matter, and makes these shewes of flame and smoake that come forth. And these exhalations (finding no easie issue in the Earth) moue it, to issue forth with great violence, whereby wee heare that horrible noise vnder the Earth, and likewise the shaking of the Earth, being stirred with this burning exhalation; Euen as Gun-powder in mynes, hauing fire put to it breaks Rocks and Walls: and as the Chesnut laid into the fire, leapes and breakes with a noise, when as it casts forth the aire (which is containd within the huske) by the force of the fire: Euen so these Earthquakes doe most commonly happen in places neere the water or Sea. As wee see in *Europe*, and at the *Indies*, that Townes and Cities farthest from the Sea and waters are least afflicted therewith; and contrariwise, those that are seated vpon Ports of the Sea, vpon Riuer, the Sea coast, and places neere vnto them, feelee most this calamitie. There hath happened in *Peru* (the which is wonderfull, and worthy to be noted) Earthquakes which haue runne from *Chille* vnto *Quito*, and that is aboue a hundred leagues, I say the greatest that euer I heard speake of, for lesser be more common there. Vpon the coast of *Chille* (I remember not well in what yeere) there was so terrible an Earthquake, as it ouer-turned whole Mountaines, and thereby stopped the course of Riuer which it conuerted into Lakes, it beat downe Townes, and slue a great number of people.

causing

causing the Sea to leaue her place some leagues, so as the ships remayned on drie ground, farre from the ordinarie Roade, with many other heauie and horrible things. And as I well remember, they say this trouble and motion, caused by the Earthquake, ranne three hundred leagues alongst the Coast. Soone after, which was in the yeere eightie two, happened that earthquake of *Arequipa*, which in a manner ouer-threw the whole Citie. Since in the yeere eightie sixe, the ninth of Iuly, fell another earthquake in the Citie of *Kings*, the which as the Vice-roy did write, had runne one hundred threescore and ten leagues alongst the Coast, and ouerthwart in the *Sierre* fiftie leagues. The mercy of the Lord was great in this Earthquake, to forewarne the people by a great noyse which they heard a little before the Earthquake, who taught by former experiences, presently put themselves in safetie, leauing their Houses, Streets, and Gardens, to goe into the fields; so as although it ruined a great part of the Citie, and of the chiefest buildings, yet there died not aboue fiftene or twentie persons of all the Inhabitants. It caused the like trouble and motion at Sea, as it had done at *Chille*, which happened presently after the Earthquake, so as they might see the Sea furiously to flie out of her bounds, and to runne neere two leagues into the Land, rising aboue fourteene fathom: it couered all that Playne, so as the Ditches and pieces of wood that were there, swam in the water. There was yet another earthquake in the Realme and Citie of *Quitto*; and it seemes all these notable Earthquakes vpon that Coast, haue succeeded one another by order, as in truth it is subiect to these inconueniences. And therefore although vpon the coast of *Pern*, there be no torments from Heauen, as thunder and lightning, yet are they not without feare vpon the Land: and so every one hath before his eyes, the Heralds of diuine Iustice, to mooue him to feare God. For as the Scripture saith, *Fecit hec ut timeatur*. Returning then to our purpose, I say the Sea coast is most subiect to these earthquakes, the reason is, in my iudgement, for that the water doth stop the conduits and passages of the earth, by which the hot exhalations should passe, which are engendered there. And also the humidity thickning the superficies of the earth, doth cause the fumes and hot exhalations to goe close together and encounter violently in the bowels of the earth, which doe afterwards breake forth.

Noyse before the earthquake.

Why the Sea coast is subiect to earthquakes.

Some haue obserued, that such Earthquakes haue vsually hapned, when as a raynie season falls after some drie yeeres. Whereupon they say, that the Earthquakes are most rare, where are most Wells, the which is approued by experience. Those of the Citie of *Mexico* hold opinion, that the Lake whereon it is seated, is the cause of the Earthquakes that happen there, although they be not very violent: and it is most certaine, that the Townes and Prouinces, farre within the Land, and farthest from the Sea, receiue sometimes great losses by these Earthquakes, as the Citie of *Chachapoyas* at the *Indies*, and in *Italie* that of *Ferrara*, although vpon this subiect. It seemes this latter, being neere to a Riuer, and not farre from the *Adriaticke* Sea, should rather be numbred among the Sea-townes. In the yeere of our Lord 1581. in *Cugiano*, a Citie of *Pern*, otherwise called *The Peace*, there happened a strange accident touching this subiect. A Village called *Angoango* (where many *Indians* dwelt that were Sorcerers and Idolaters) fell suddenly to ruine, so as a great part thereof was rayled vp and carried away, and many of the *Indians* smothered, and that which seemes incredible (yet testified by men of credit) the earth that was ruined and so beaten downe, did runne and slide vpon the Land for the space of a league and a halfe, as it had bene water or waxe molten, so as it stopt and filled vp a Lake, and remayned so spread ouer the whole Countrey.

Earthquake at Ferrara terrible.

At Angoango.

§. IIII.

Of Metals in the Indies and especially of the Gold and Siluer, and Quick-siluer.

Metals are (as Plants) hidden and buried in the bowels of the Earth, which haue some conformitie in themselves, in the forme and manner of their production; for that we see and discouer euen in them, branches, and as it were a bodie, from whence they grow and proceede, which are the greater veines and the lesse, so as they haue a knitting in themselves: and it seemes properly that these Minerals grow like vnto Plants, not that they haue any inward vegetatiue life, being onely proper to Plants: but they are engendered in the bowels of the earth, by the vertue and force of the Sunne and other Planets; and in long continuance of time, they increas and multiply after the manner of Plants. And euen as metals bee plants hidden in the earth, so wee may say, that plants bee liuing Creatures fixed in one place, whose life is maintayned by the nourishment which Nature furnissheth from their first beginning. But liuing Creatures surpass Plants, in that they haue a more perfect being; and therefore haue neede of a more perfect foode and nourishment; for the search whereof, Nature hath giuen them a moouing and feeling to discouer and discern it. So as the rough and barren earth is as a substance and nutriment for metals; and that which is fertile and better seasoned a nourishment for

Metals grow as plants.

Animals.

for Plants. The same plants serue as a nourishment for liuing creatures, and the plants and liuing creatures together as a nourishment for men, the inferiour nature alwayes seruing for the maintenance and sustentation of the superiour, and the lesse perfect yeelding vnto the more perfect; whereby wee may see how much it wants, that gold and siluer and other things which men so much esteeme by their couetousnesse, should bee the happinesse of man, whereunto hee should tend, seeing they bee so many degrees in qualitie inferior to man, who hath bene created and made onely to be a subiect to serue the vniuersall Creator of all things, as his proper end and perfect rest; and to which man, all other things in this world, were not propounded or left, but to gaine this last end.

The diuersitie of metals, which the Creator hath shut vp in the closetts and concauities of the earth, is such, and so great, that man drawes profit and commoditie from euery one of them. Some serue for curing of diseases, others for armes and for defence against the enemies, some are for ornament and beautifying of our persons and houses, and others are fit to make vessels and Iron-workes, with diuers fashions of instruments, which the industrie of man hath found out and put in practice. But about all the uses of metals, which be simple and naturall, the communication and commerce of men hath found out one, which is the use of money, the which (as the Philosopher saith) is the measure of all things. And although naturally, and of it selfe, it bee but one onely thing, yet in value and estimation we may say, that *it is all things*. Money is vnto vs as it were, meate, clothing, house, horse, and generally whatsoever man hath need of. By this meanes all obeyes to money, and as the Wiseman saith, to finde an inuention that one thing should be all. Men guided or thrust forward by a naturall instinct, choose the thing most durable and most maniable, which is metall, and amongst metals, gaue them the preheminance in this inuention of money, which of their nature were most durable and incorruptible, which is siluer and gold. A Wiseman said, that what a father doth to marry his daughter well, is to giue her a great portion in marriage; the like hath God done for this Land so rough and labourfome, giuing it great riches in mynes, that by this meanes it might be the more sought after. At the west *Indies* then there are great store of mynes of all sorts of metals, as Copper, Iron, Lead, Tinne, Quick-siluer, Siluer, and Gold: and amongst all the Regions and Parts of the *Indies*, the Realmes of *Peru* abound most in these metals, especially with Gold, Siluer, Quick-siluer, or Mercurie, whereof they haue found great store, and daily discouer new mynes. And without doubt, according to the qualitie of the earth, those which are to discouer, are without comparison, farre more in number then those which are yet discovered: yea, it seemes that all the Land is sowed with these metals, more then any other in the world that is yet known vnto vs, or that ancient Writers haue made mention of.

Of the qualitie and nature of the earth where the metals are found, and that all these metals are not imployed at the *Indies*, and how the *Indians* vsed them. 1.4. Chap. 3. Plin. lib. 5. de Genes. mund. Euseb. lib. 8. de prepar. euang. cap. 9.

No money of gold, but of fruits, &c.

Plin. lib. 33. c. 3.

The reason why there is so great abundance of metals at the *Indies* (especially at the west of *Peru*, as I haue said) is the will of the Creator, who hath imparted his gifts as it pleased him. But coming to a naturall and philosophicall reason, it is very true, which *Philon* a wise man writes, saying, that gold, siluer, and metals, grow naturally in land that is most barren and vnfruitfull. And wee see, that in Lands of good temperature, the which are fertile with grasse and fruits, there are seldome found any mynes; for that Nature is contented to giue them vigour to bring forth fruits more necessarie for the preservation and maintenance of the life of beasts and men. And contrariwise to lands that are very rough, drie, and barren (as in the highest Mountaines and inaccessible Rocks of a rough temper) they finde mynes of siluer, of quick-siluer, and of gold, and all those riches (which are come into *Spaine* since the West *Indies* were discovered) haue bene drawne out of such places which are rough and full, bare and fruitlesse: yet the taste of this money, makes these places pleasing and agreeable, yea, well inhabited with numbers of people. And although there be, as I haue said, many mynes of all kindes of metals as at the *Indies*, yet they vse none but those of gold and siluer, and as much quick-siluer as is necessarie to refine their gold and siluer. They carry Iron thither from *Spaine* and *China*. As for Copper, the *Indians* haue drawne of it, and vsed it for their armes, the which were not vsually of Iron, but of Copper. Since the *Spaniards* possessed the *Indies*, they haue drawne very little, neither doe they take the paines to seeke out these mynes, although there bee many busying themselves in the search of richer and more precious metals, wherein they spend their time and labour. They vse no other metals, as Copper, and Iron, but onely that which is sent them from *Spaine*, or that which remaines of the refining of gold and siluer. Wee finde not that the *Indians* in former times vsed gold, siluer, or any other metall for money, and for the price of things, but onely for ornament, as hath bene said, whereof there was great quantitie in their Temples, Palaces, and Tombes, with a thousand kindes of vessels of gold and siluer, which they had. They vsed no gold nor siluer to trafficke or buy withall, but did change and trucke one thing for another, as *Homer* and *Plinie* report of the Ancients. They had some other things of greater esteeme, which went currant amongst them for price, and in stead of coine: and vnto this day this custome continues amongst the *Indians*, as in the Prouinces of *Mexico*, in stead of money they vse *Cacao*, (which is a small fruit) and therewith buy what they will. In *Peru* they vse *Coca*, to the same end (the which is a leafe the *Indians* esteeme much) as in *Paraguay*, they haue stamps of Iron for coine,

coine, and cotton wouen in Saint Croix, of the *Sierre*. Finally, the manner of the *Indians* traf-
ficke, and their buying and selling, was to exchange, and giue things for things: and although
there were great Marts and famous Faires, yet had they no neede of money, nor of Brokers,
for that every one had learned what he was to giue in exchange for euery kinde of merchandise.
Since the *Spaniards* entred, the *Indians* haue vsed gold and siluer to buy withall: and in the be-
ginning there was no coine, but siluer by weight was their price and money, as they report of
the ancient *Romans*. Since, for a greater benefir, they haue forged coine in *Mexico* and *Peru*, yet

Plin. lib. 33. c. 42.

10 such money as they call bullion, nor other kindes of alloy, which they vse in *Italie*, and in other
Prouinces of *Europe*; Although in some Ilands of the *Indies*, as Saint *Dominique*, and *Port Ricco*,
they vse coine of lether, which is square, the which are currant onely in those Ilands, hauing
little siluer or gold. I say little, although there be much, for that no man digges it and refines it.
But for that the riches of the *Indies*, and their manner to labour in the mynes, consists of gold, sil-
uer, and quick-siluer, I will speake something of these three metals, leauing the rest for this time.

Coin of lea-
ther.

Gold amongst other metals hath beene alwayes held the most excellent; and with reason,
being the most durable and incorruptible of all others; for fire which consumes and diminisheth
the rest, amends it, and brings it to perfection. Gold which hath often passed through the fire,
keepe his colour, and is most fine and pure; which properly is called (as *Plinie* saith) *Obriso*,

Of gold which
they digge and
refine at the
Indies. Chap. 4.

20 whereof the Scripture makes so often mention and vie, which consumeth all other metals (as
the same *Plinie* saith) doth not any thing waste gold, nor yet hurt it, neither is it eaten, nor grow-
eth old. And although his substance and body bee firme and solid; yet doth it yeeld and bow
wonderfully; the Beaters and Drawers of gold know well the force it hath to bee drawne out
without breaking. All which things well considered, with other excellent properties, will giue
men of iudgement to vnderstand, wherefore the holy Scripture doth compare Charitie to gold.

Plin. lib. 33. c. 32.

Apoc. 3. & 21.
Cant. 3.
Psal. 67.
3. Reg. 6.

To conclude, there is little neede to relate the excellencies thereof to make it more desirable. For
the greatest excellencie it hath, is to be knowne (as it is) amongst men, for the supreme power
and greatnesse of the World. Comming therefore to our subiect; at the *Indies* there is great a-
bundance of this metall, and it is well knowne by approued Histories, that the *Inguas* of *Peru* did
30 not content themselues with great and small vessels of gold, as Pots, Cups, Goblets, and Fla-
gons; yea with Kowles or great Vessels, but they had Chaires also, and Litters of masse gold;
and in their Temples they had set vp mayne Images of pure gold, whereof they finde some yet at
Mexico, but not such store as when the first Conquerors came into the one and the other King-
dome, who found great treasure, and without doubt there was much more hidden in the earth
by the *Indians*. It would seeme ridiculous to report that they haue made their horse shooes of
siluer for want of Iron; and that they haue paid three hundred crownes for a bottle of wine, and
other strange things; and yet in truth this hath come to passe, yea and greater matters. They
draw gold in those parts after three sorts: or at the least; I haue seene all three vsed. For ei-
ther they finde gold in graines, in powder, or in stone.

See before in
I. dos Santos,
and in *Heueria*.

40 The most famous gold is that of *Caranana* in *Peru*, and of *Valdivia* in *Chille*, for that it riseth
with his alloy and perfection, which is twentie three Carrats and a halfe, and sometimes more.
They make account likewise of the gold of *Veragua* to bee very fine. They bring much gold to
Mexico from the *Philippines*, and *China*, but commonly it is weake and of base alloy. Gold is
commonly found mixt with Siluer or with Copper; but that which is mixed with siluer is
commonly of fewer Carrats then that which is mixed with copper. If there be a fift part of sil-
uer, *Plinie* saith, it is then properly called *Electrum*, which hath the propertie to shine more at
the light of the fire, then fine gold or fine siluer. That which is incorporate with copper, is com-
monly of a higher value. They refine powdred gold in basons, washing it in many waters, vn-
till the Sand falls from it, and the gold as most heauie remayneth in the bottome. They refine it
50 likewise with quick-siluer and strong water, for that the allum whereof they make this water
hath the vertue to separate gold from drosse, or from other metals. After it is purified and mol-
ten, they make Bricks or small Barres to carry it vnto *Spaine*; for being in powder, they cannot
transport it from the *Indies*, for they can neither custome it, marke it, nor take say, vntill it bee
molten. In the fleet where I came, which was in the yeere 1585, the declaration of the firme
Land was of twelue Cassons or Chetts of gold, euery Casson at the least weighed foure *Arobes*,
that is a hundred weight; and a thousand fiftie and sixe Mares from new *Spaine*, which was for
the King onely, besides that which came for Merchants and priuate men being registred; and
much that came vnregistred. This may suffice touching the gold of the *Indies*, and now wee will
speake of Siluer.

Plin. lib. 3. cap. 42.

60 Now we will shew how they discouer the mynes of Siluer, their veines, rootes, and begin-
nings whereof *Ioh* speakes. And first I will say, that the reason why they giue siluer the second
place among all other metals, is, for that it approacheth neerer to gold then any other, being more
durable and lesse indamaged by the fire, and more mallable then any other: yea it passeth gold in
brightnesse, beautie, and sound, the which is cleere, and agreeable, for the colour is more confor-
mable

Of the Siluer
at the *Indies*.
Chap. 5.

mable and resembling the light, and the sound more piercing, more lively, and more delicate. The mynes of siluer are commonly found in Mountaines and high Rocks very desart, although they haue sometimes beene found in Playnes and Champaines. There are two different kindes, the one they call *stragling*, the other *fixed* and settled. The *stragling*, are pieces of metall found in certaine places, the which drawne away, there is no more found. But the *fixed* veines, are those which haue a continuance in depth and length, like to great branches and armes of Trees; and when they finde any one of them, they commonly finde many in the same place. The manner to purge and refine siluer which the *Indians* haue vsed, was by melting, in dissoluing this masse of metall by fire, which casts the earthly drosse apart, and by his force separates Siluer from Lead, Tin from Copper, and other metals mixt. To this end they did build small Furnaces in places where as the winde did commonly blow, and with Wood and Cole made their refining, the which Furnaces in *Peru* they call *Guayras*. Since the *Spaniards* entred, besides this manner of refining which they vse to this day, they likewise refine siluer with quick-siluer, and draw more by this meanes then in refining it by fire. For there is some kind of siluer metall found which can by no meanes be purged and refined by fire, but onely with quick-siluer. But this kinde of metall is commonly poore and weake, the which vsually they finde in greatest abundance. They call that poore which yeelds least siluer, and great quantitie of other metall, and that rich which yeelds most siluer. It is strange to see, not onely the difference betwixt the refining of metall by fire, and without it by quick-siluer, but also that some of these metals, which are refined by the fire, cannot well be molten with any artificiall winde, as with bellowes; but when it is kindled and blowne with the naturall aire, or naturall winde. The metall of the mynes of *Porco* is easily refined with bellowes, and that of the mynes of *Potozi* cannot bee molten with bellowes, but onely by the breath of their *Guayras*, which are small Furnaces vpon the sides of the Mountaines, built expressly where the winde lies, within the which they melt this metall; and though it be hard to yeeld a reason for this difference, yet is it most certaine and approued by long experience: so as the greedie desire of this metall so much valued amongst men, hath made them seek out a thousand gentle inuentions and deuices, whereof we will hereafter make mention. The chiefe places of the *Indies* from whence they draw siluer, are new *Spaine* and *Peru*, but the mynes of *Peru* farre surpass the rest; and amongst all others of the World, those of *Potozi*.

Of the Mountaine or Hill of *Potozi*, and the discouery thereof, Chap. 6.

The Mountaine or Hill of *Potozi* so famous, is situate in the Prouince of *Charcas*, in the Kingdome of *Peru*, distant from the Equinoctiall towards the South, or Pole Antartike, one and twentie degrees and two thirds: so as it falls vnder the Tropicke, bordering vpon the burning Zone, and yet this Region is extremely cold, yea, more then old *Castile* in the Kingdome of *Spaine*, and more then *Flanders* it selfe, although by reason it should be hot or temperate, in regard of the height and eleuation of the Pole where it is seated. The reason of this so cold a temperature, is the height of the Mountaine, whereas cold and intemperate winds continually blow, especially that which they call *Thomahani*, which is boistrous and most cold. It raines most commonly in Iune, Iuly, and August. The ground and soile of this Mountaine is drie, cold, and very vnpleasant, yea altogether barren, which neither engenders nor brings forth any fruit, grasse, nor graine; it is naturally vnhabitable, for the intemperature of the Heauen, and the barrennesse of the Earth. But the force of siluer, which drawes vnto it the desire of all things, hath peopled this Mountaine more then any other place in all these Kingdomes, making it so fruitfull of all kindes of meates, as there wants nothing that can be desired, yea, in great abundance; and although there be nothing but what is brought by carriage, yet euery place abounds so with Fruit, Conserues, exquisite Wines, Silkes, and all other delicacies, as it is not inferiour to any other part. This Mountaine is of colour darke red, and is in forme pleasing at the first sight, resembling perfectly the fashion of a Pavilion, or of a Sugar-loafe. It exceeds all other Hills and Mountaines about it in height. The way whereby they ascend, is very rough and vneuen, and yet they goe vpon horse-back. It is round at the top, and at the foot it hath a league in circuit. It contains from the top to the bottom 1680. common yards, the which reduced to the measure of *Spanish* leagues, makes a quarter of a league. At the foot of this Mountaine there is another small Hill that riseth out of it, in the which there hath beene sometimes mynes of metall dispersed, which were found as it were in purses, and not in fixed or continued veines; yet were they very rich, though few in number. This small Rock was called by the *Indians*, *Guayna Potozi*, which is yong *Potozi*; at the foot wherof begins the dwellings of the *Spaniards* and *Indians*, which are come to the riches and worke of *Potozi*, which dwelling may containe some two leagues in circuit, and the greatest traffick and comerce of all *Peru* is in this place. The mynes of this Mountaine were not digged nor discovered in the time of their *Inguas*, which were the Lords of *Peru*, before the *Spaniards* entred, although they had digged and opened the mynes of *Porco*, neer to *Potozi*, distant only six leagues.

An *Indian* called *Gualpa*, of the Nation of *Chumbivilca*, which is a Prouince of *Cusco*, going one day to hunt for Venison, passing towards the West whither the beast was fled, hee began to runne vp against the Rocke, which at that time was couered and planted with certaine Trees they call *Quinna*, and with thicke bushes, and as he strived to get vp a way which was somewhat rough and vneacie, hee was forced to lay hold vpon a branch, which issued from a veine of a siluer

- silver myne (which since they haue called *Rich*) which hee pulled vp, perceiuing in the hole or roote thereof, metall, the which he knew to be very good, by the experience hee had of the mynes of *Porco*: and after finding vpon the ground certaine pieces of metall, which lay broken and dispersed neere to this veine, being scarce well able to iudge thereof, for that the colour was spoyled and changed by the Sunne and raine; he carried it to *Porco* to trie by the *Gnayras* (which is the triall of metall by fire) and hauing thereby found the great riches and his happy fortune, he secretly digged and drew metall out of this veine, not imparting it to any man, untill that an *Indian* called *Guanca*, of the Valley of *Xaura*, which is vpon the borders of the Cite of *Kings*, who remayning at *Porco* neere vnto *Gualpa* of *Chumbibilca*, perceiued one day that hee made a refining, and that his Wedges and Bricks were greater then such as were usually made in those places: and also increasing in his experience of apparell, hauing till then liued but basely. For this reason, and for that the metall his Neighbour refined was different from that of *Porco*, hee thought to discover this secret, and wrought so, that although the other kept it as secret as hee could, yet through importunitie hee was forced to carry him vnto the Rocke of *Potozi*, hauing enioyed this rich treasure full two moneths. And then *Gualpa* the *Indian* willed *Guanca* for his part to take a veine, which he had discovered neere to the rich veine, which at this day is called the veine of *Diego Centeno*, that was not lesse rich, but more hard to digge and to draw forth; and so by agreement they diuided betweene them the richest Rocke in the world. It chanced after, the *Indian Guanca* finding some difficultie to digge and draw forth his metall, being most hard, and the other *Gualpa* refusing to impart any of his myne vnto him, they fell at debate; so as *Guanca* of *Xaura* grieved therewith, and with some other discontents, discovered this secret vnto his Master called *Villaroel* a *Spaniard*, who then remayned at *Porco*. This *Villaroel* desirous to vnderstand the truth, went to *Potozi*, and finding the riches his *Nacoma* or seruant had discovered vnto him, caused the *Indian Guanca* to be inrolled, vnder-taking with him the said veine, which was called *Centeno*, they call it *Vndertaking*, that is as much as to note and marke the myne, and so much ground in circuit for him, which the Law graunts vnto those that discover any myne, or vnto those that digge them: by meanes whereof, hauing discovered them to the Iustice, they remayned Lords of the myne, to digge and draw forth the silver, as being their owne, paying onely their duties vnto the King, which is a fift part. So as the first discoverie and inregistring of the mynes of *Potozi*, was the one and twentieth of Aprill, in the yeere of our Lord 1545. in the Territorie of *Porco*, by the said *Villaroel* a *Spaniard*, and *Guanca* an *Indian*. Presently after they discovered another veine, which they called the *Veine of Tinne*, the which is very rich, although it be rough and very painfull to worke in, the metall being as hard as flint. Since the thirtie day of August in the same yeere 1545. the veine called *Mendiet*, was inrolled, and these are the foure principall veines of *Potozi*. They say of the rich veine, the first that was discovered, that the metall lay aboue the ground the height of a Lance, like vnto Rocks, rayning the superficies of the Earth, like vnto a crest of three hundred foot long, and thirteene foot broad, and that this remayned bare and vncouered by the deluge, this veine hauing resisted the violence and force of the water, as the hardest part. The metall was so rich as it was halfe silver, and this veine continued in his bountie fiftie or threescore *Stades* (which is the height of a man) and then it fayled. Presently after that the discoverie of *Potozi* was knowne in *Peru*; many *Spaniards*, and the most part of the *Bourgeois* of the *Silver Cite*, which is eightene leagues from *Potozi*, came thither to take mynes: yea, there came many *Indians* from diuers Prouinces, especially the *Guayzadores* of *Porco*, so as within a short space it was the best peopled habitation of all the Kingdomes. When as the Licencieate *Pollo* gouerned that Prouince, the which was many yeeres after the discoverie of this Mountaine, they did euery Saturday enter a hundred and fiftie and two hundred thousand pieces, whereof the Kings fift amounted to thirtie and fortie thousand pieces; and for euery yeere a million and a halfe, or little lesse. So as according to that computation they did draw euery day from this myne thirtie thousand pieces, whereof there came to the King for his fift, fixe thousand pieces a day.
- There is yet another thing to bee spoken of, to shew the riches of *Potozi*, that the account which hath bene made, was onely of silver that was marked and custumed. And it is well knowne in *Peru*, that they haue long vsed silver in these Realmes, which they call *Current*, which was neither marked nor custumed. And they hold it for certaine which know these mynes, that in these dayes, the greatest part of silver drawne at *Potozi*, was not custumed, and this had course amongst the *Indians*, and much amongst the *Spaniards*, as I haue seene continued to my time; so as it may appeare, the third part of the riches of *Potozi*, yea the one halfe came not to light, neither was it custumed. There is yet a more notable consideration, in that which *Plinie* saith, they had digged a fiftene hundred pases in the myne of *Bebello*; and that continually they found water, which is the greatest hinderance they haue to draw forth their metall. But in this of *Potozi*, although they haue digged two hundred *stades* or heights of a man in depth; yet did they neuer finde any water, which is the greatest happinesse of this Mountaine. But the mynes of *Porco*, whose metall is good and very rich, are at this day left for the discom-

Every piece is worth thirtene Rials and a fourth part.

Plin. lib. 33. c. 6.

moditie of water, which they haue found in their worke; for they are two insupportable labours in searching of the metall; first, to digge and breake the Rocks, and then to draw out the water all together. The first of them, that is, to cut through the Rocks, is paine enough; yea very hard and excessive. Finally, at this day the King receiues for his fift yearly, from the mynes of *Potozi*, a million of siluer, besides the wealth that growes by quick-siluer, and other Royall prerogatives, which is a great treasure. Some men of iudgement hauing cast vp the accounts, say, that what hath beene brought into the custome House of *Potozi*, vnto the yeere of our Lord 1585. amounteth vnto a hundred thousand millions of pieces of Essay, whereof euery piece is worth thirteene Rials and a fourth part, not reckoning the siluer which hath beene carried away without custome, or that hath beene entred in other Royall custome houses, or the siluer that hath beene wrought in the Countrey, which is not entred, the which is innumerable, although the first Registers of Entries are not so exactly kept as at this day; for that in the beginning and first discoueries, they made their receipt by *Romans*, so great was their abundance.

Huge summes
of siluer.

But by the instructions and remembrances of *Don Francisco de Toledo* the Vice-roy, in the yeere of our Saniour Christ 1574. they finde seuentie and sixe millions to that yeere: and from that yeere to eightie five inclusive, it appeares by the Royall Registers, there were thirtie five millions more entred. They sent this accompt to the Vice-roy from *Potozi*, in the yeere I haue mentioned, being then in *Peru*; and since the wealth that hath come from *Peru* by ship, hath amounted to much more. In that fleet where I came in the yeere 1587. there were eleuen millions transported in the two fleetes of *Peru* and *Mexico*, whereof two thirds were in that of *Peru*, and almost the one halfe for the King.

Spain.

This Rocke of *Potozi*, containes as I haue said, foure principall veines; that is, the *Rich* veine, that of *Centeno*, that of *Tinne*, and that of *Mendieta*. All these veines are of the East part of the Mountaine, as looking to the Sunne rising, for on the West part there is not any. The foresaid veines runne from North to South, which is from Pole to Pole. In the largest place they haue sixe foot, and in the narrowest a span breadth. There are others of diuers fashions that runne out of the said veines; like as out of the great armes of Trees, there commonly sprout forth lesse. Euery veine hath diuers mynes which are parts and portions of the same, distinct and diuided betwixt diuers Masters, by whose names they are commonly called. The great myne containes fourscore yards, neither may it be more by the Law, and the least containes foure. All these mynes are at this day very deepe. In the *Rich* myne they reckon seuentie eight mynes, which are eightie yards deepe, or a hundred stades or height of a man, and in some places two hundred. In the veine of *Centeno* are foure and twentie mynes, whereof some are seuentie or eightie stades deepe, and so of the other veines of this Mountaine. For a remedie to this great profunditie, they haue inuented mynes, which they call *Soccabones*, which are caues or vents made at the foote of the Mountaine, the which goe crossing till they incounter with the veines: for we must vnderstand, that although the veines runne North to South, as hath beene said, yet is it in declining from the top to the foote of the Mountaine, which may be as they beleue by coniecture, aboue twelue hundred stades. And by this account, although the mynes extend in such a profunditie, yet there remains sixe times as much space vnto the bottom or roote, the which they say, are most rich and abundant, as the body and spring of all veines. Although vnto this day we haue seene the contrarie by experience, for the higher the veine is to the superficies of the earth, the more rich they finde it: and the deeper it goes, the poorer it is, and of the baser aloy. They then inuented the *Soccabons*, by which they enter to worke in the mynes very easily, with lesse charge, paine, and danger. They haue eight foot in breadth, and a stade in height, the which they shut with doores. By them they drawe forth their metall very easily, paying to the proprietarie of the *Soccabon*, the fift part of all the metall they draw forth. There are nine already made, and others are begun. They were nine and twentie yeeres in making of one *Soccabon*, as they call it, of the venome that flowes from the rich veine. It was begun in the yeere 1550. the eleuenth yeere of the discouerie, and was ended in the yeere 1585. the eleuenth of August. This *Soccabon* crossed the rich veine thirtie stades from the roote or spring, and from thence where it met to the mouth of the myne, were a hundred thirtie five stades. So as they must descend all this depth to labour in the myne. This *Soccabon* containes from his mouth vnto the veine of *Crusero* as they call it, two hundred and fiftie yards, in which worke were spent nine and twentie yeeres, whereby wee may see what great paines men take to draw siluer out of the bowels of the earth. They labour in these mynes in continuall darknesse and obscuritie, without knowledge of day or night. And forasmuch as those places are neuer visited with the Sunne, there is not only continuall darknesse, but also an extreme cold, with so grosse an aire contrarie to the disposition of man, so as, such as newly enter, are sicke as they at Sea. The which happened to me in one of these mynes, where I felt a paine at the heart, and beating of the stomacke. Those that labour therein, vse candles to light them, diuiding their worke in such sort, as they that worke in the day, rest by the night, and so they change. The metall is commonly hard, and therefore they breake it with hammers, splitting and hewing it by force, as if they were flints. After they carry vp this metall

Preciosa pericula,
Speciosa
supplicia.

Intolerable
paines and
darknesse in
the Mynes,
and if in the
Mindes farre
more intol-
erable remay-
ning.

vpon

upon their shoulders, by Ladders of three branches, made of Neats leather twisted like pieces of wood, which are crossed with staves of wood; so as by euery one of these Ladders they mount and descend together. They are ten stades long a piece: and at the end of one begins another of the same length, euery Ladder beginning and ending at plat-formes of wood, where there are seates to rest them, like vnto galleries, for that there are many of these Ladders to mount by one at the end of another. A man carries ordinarily the weight of two *Arrobes* of metall vpon his shoulders, tied together in a cloth in manner of a skip, and so mount they three and three. He that goes before carries a candle tied to his thumbe: for (as it is said) they haue no light from Heauen, and so goe they vp the Ladder holding it with both their hands, to mount so great a height, which commonly is aboue a hundred and fiftie stades: a fearfull thing, and which breeds an amazement to thinke vpon it, so great is the desire of Siluer, that for the gaine thereof, men endure any paines. And truly, it is not without reason, that *Plinie* treating of this subiect, exclaimes and sayes thus, *Wee enter euen into the bowels of the Earth, and goe hunting after riches, euen to the place of the damned.* And after in the same Booke hee saith: *Those that seeke for metals, performe workes more then Giants, making holes and caues in the depth of the Earth, piercing Mountaynes so deepe by the light of Candles, whereas the day and the night are alike, and in many moneths they see no day. So as often the walls of their mynes fall, smothering many of them that labour therein.* And afterwards hee addes, *They pierce the hard Rocks with hammers of Iron waighing one hundred and fiftie pounds, and draw out the metall vpon their shoulders, labouring day and night, one deliuering his charge to another, and all in darknesse, onely the last sees the light: with Wedges and Hammers they breake the Flints, how hard and strong soener, for the hunger of gold is yet more sharpe and strong.*

Euery *Arrobe* is 25. pound.

Plin. in proem. lib. 33. cap. 6.

How they refine the metall of siluer. Chap. 9.

The veins as I haue said, where they finde siluer, runne betwixt two Rocks, which they call *The Chase*, whereof the one is commonly as hard as flint, and the other soft and easie to breake. This metall is not alwayes equall, and of the same bountie, for you shall find in one and the same veine, one sort of metall very rich, which they call *Cacilla*, or *Tacana*, from which they draw much siluer; and another is poore, from whence they draw little. The most rich metall of this Mountaine, is of the colour of Amber, and the next is that which inclines to blacke. There is other somewhat red, and other of the colour of ashes: finally, of diuers and sundrie colours, which seeme to such as know them not, to bee stones of no value. But the myners doe presently know his qualitie and perfection, by certaine signes and small vsines they finde in them. They carry all this metall they draw out of these mynes, vpon *Indian* sheepe, which serue them as Asses to carry it to the Mills; the richest metall is refined by melting in those small Furnaces, which they call *Guayras*, for that is most leadie; by reason whereof, it is most subiect to melt, and for the better melting thereof, the *Indians* cast in a matter, they call *Soroche*, which is a metall full of Lead. The metall being in these Furnaces, the filth and earthie drosse, through the force of the fire, remaines in the bottome, and the Siluer and Lead melt; so as the Siluer swimmes vpon the Lead, vntill it bee purified; then after they refine the siluer many times, after this manner of melting. They haue vsually drawne out of one Quintall of metall, thirtie, fortie, and fiftie pieces of siluer, and yet I haue seene some most excellent that haue beene shewne me, where they haue drawne in the melting two hundred, yea two hundred and fiftie pieces of siluer of a Quintall of metall; a rare wealth, and almost incredible, if we had not seene the triall thereof by fire, but such metals are very rare. The poorest metall is that which yeelds two, three, foue, or sixe pieces, or little more. This metall hath commonly little Lead, but is drie, and therefore they cannot refine it with fire. And for this reason in *Potozi*, there was great store of these poore metals, whereof they made no great account, but were reiected like straw, and as the skum of the good metall, vntill they found meanes to refine it by quick-siluer, whereby the skum they called *Oquinache* was of great profit, for the quick-siluer by a strange and wonderfull propertie, purifies the siluer, and is apt for these metals which are drie and poore, wherein they consume lesse quick-siluer, and is apt for these metals which are drie and poore, wherein they consume lesse quick-siluer. At this

uer then in the richer: for the richer they are, the more need of quick-siluer they haue. At this day the most vsuall manner of refining in *Potozi*, is by quick-siluer, as also in the mynes of *Cacatacas*, and others of new *Spaine*. There were in old time vpon the sides and tops of *Potozi*, aboue fixe thousand *Guayras*, which are small Furnaces where they melt their metall, the which were placed like lights (a pleasant sight to behold by night) casting a light as farre off like a flame of fire. But at this day there are not aboue two thousand, for that (as I haue said) they vse little melting, but refine it by quick-siluer, the which is the greatest profit. And for that the properties of quick-siluer are admirable; and that this manner of refining of siluer is remarkable, I will discourse of Quick-siluer, of the Mynes and Worke, and what is requisite for that subiect.

Quick-siluer, so called by the *Latines*, for that it runnes and slides suddenly from place to place;

amongst all other metals hath great and wonderfull vertues. The first is, although it bee a true metall, yet is it not hard, neither hath it any certaine forme nor substance like to other metals, but is liquid, not like vnto gold and siluer molten, but of his owne proper nature; and although it be a liquor, yet is it more heauie then any other metall: and therefore all others swim aboue and sinke not to the bottome, being more light. I haue seene two pounds of Iron put into a

Plin. l. 33. c. 6.

Sympathie
with gold.

Plin. l. 33. c. 6.

Of the place
where they
finde quick-
silver, and how
they discou-
ered these rich
mynes in Gu-
ancavilca.
Chap. 11.

barrell of quick-silver, the which did swimme about like vnto Wood or Corke vpon the Water. *Plinie* giues an exception hereunto, saying, That gold alone doth sinke and not swimme about it. I haue not seene the experience; but it may bee this growes, by reason that quick-silver by nature doth inuiron gold, and couers it, which is one of the most important proper-
ties it hath; for it ioynes with gold in a strange manner, it seekes it where it lyes, and inui-
rons it in such sort, as it doth distinguish and separate it from any other body or metall where-
with it is mixt: for this reason such take gold as will preferue themselves from the dangers and
discommodities of quick-silver. They haue vsed a remedie to those (in whose eares they had
put quick-silver, to cause them to die secretly) to put little plates of gold into their eares (for
that Gold hath the vertue to draw out Mercurie) and after they drew out these plates all white
with the quick-silver, it did stick vnto them. Being one day at *Madrid*, I went to see the
exquisite workes which *Iacomo de Treco* (a rare worke-man of *Millan*) made for Saint Lau-
rence the Royall, it was my hap to be there one day, when as they gilded certaine pieces of a
countertable of brasle, which is done with quick-silver; and for that the fume of Mercurie is
mortall, he told me that the worke-men preferued themselves from this venome, by swallow-
ing a double Duckat of gold rolled vp; the which being in the stomacke, drawes vnto it all
the quick-silver that enters in fume by the Eares, Eyes, Nostrils, and Mouth, and by this
meanes freed themselves from the danger of quick-silver, which the gold gathered in the sto-
macke, and after cast out by the excrements: a thing truly worthy of admiration. After the
quick-silver hath purified and purged gold from all other metals and mixtures, hee is likewise
separated from the gold his friend by the heate of the fire, the which purifies it from all quick-
silver. *Plinie* sayes, that by a certaine arte and inuention they did separate gold from quick-
silver. It seemes to me the Ancients had no knowledge to refine silver by quick-silver, which
at this day is the greatest vse, and chiefe profit of quick-silver; for that he sayes plainly, that
quick-silver ioynes with no other metall but with gold; and when hee makes mention of refi-
ning of silver, hee speakes onely but of the manner of melting; whereby wee may inferre that
the Ancients had no knowledge of this secret. In truth, though there be a league and sympathy
betwixt gold and quick-silver, yet where as the Mercurie findes no gold, it ioynes with sil-
uer, though not in the like manner as with gold; but in the end, it doth cleanse and purge it
from Earth, Copper, and Lead, amongst the which the silver growes, without any neede
of fire to melt it: yet must they vse fire to separate it from the silver, as I will shew hereafter.
Quick-silver holds no account of other metals, but of Gold and Silver; but contrariwise, it
doth corrupt them, force and consume them, and flyeth from them as much as may bee. The
which is likewise admirable, and for this cause they put it in earthen vessels, or in beasts skins.
For if it bee put in vessels of Copper, of Iron, or other metall, it presently pierceth and cor-
rupts them. And therefore *Plinie* calleth it the poyson of all things, for that it consumes and
spoiles all. Wee finde quick-silver in the graues of dead men, which after it hath consumed the
bodies, comes forth pure and whole. There hath beene likewise found in the bones and mar-
row of Men and Beasts, who hauing receiued it in fume by the mouth and nostrils, congeales
within them and pierceth euen vnto the bones. Therefore it is a dangerous thing to frequent so
perillous and mortall a creature. It hath another propertie, which is, to runne and make a hun-
dred thousand small drops, whereof not one is lost, bee they neuer so little, but they returne
euery way to their liquor. It is almost incorruptible, hauing nothing in a manner that may
consume it. And therefore *Plinie* calls it the eternall sweat. It hath yet another propertie, that
although it doth separate Gold from Copper, and all other metals, yet they that will gild Cop-
per, Brasle, or Silver, vse quick-silver as the meanes of this vnion; for with the helpe thereof
they gild metals. Amongst all the wonders of this strange liquor that seemes to mee most wor-
thy obseruation, that although it bee the weightiest thing in the world, yet is it conuerted in-
to the lightest of the world, which is smoake, and suddenly the same smoake which is so light
a thing, turnes againe into so heauie a substance, as is the proper liquor of quick-silver, where-
in comming into a cold Region, suddenly it thickens and is conuerted into quick-silver, and if you
set him once againe to the fire, he doth likewise returne into smoake, to be resolu'd againe in-
to quick-silver. Quick-silver is found in a kinde of stone, which doth likewise yeeld Vermillion, which the
Ancients called *Minium*, and at this day they call the Images of crySTALL *Miniaes*, which are
painted with quick-silver. The Ancients made great account of this *Minium* or Vermillion,
holding it for a sacred colour, as *Plinie* reports, saying, That the Romans were accustomed to
paint the face of *Iupiter*, and the bodies of those that triumphed in *Ethiopia*: yea, their Idols and
their Gouvernours likewise had their faces coloured with this *Minium*. And this Vermillion was
so esteemed at *Rome* (which they brought onely from *Spaine*, where they had many pits and
mynes of quick-silver, which continue there to this day) that the Romans suffered it not to be re-
fined in *Spaine*, lest they should steale some of it, but they carried it to *Rome*, sealed vp in a masse as
they drew it out of the myne, and after refined it. They did yearly bring from *Spaine*, especially
from

from *Andalusie*, about ten thousand pound weight, which the *Romans* valued as an infinite treasure. I have reported all this out of that Author, to the end that those which doe see what passeth at this day in *Peru*, may haue the content to know what chanced in former ages, among the mightiest Lords of the world. I speake for the *Inguas* Kings of *Peru*, and for the naturall *Indians* thereof, which haue laboured and digged long in these Mines of Quick-silver, not knowing what Quick-silver was, seeking onely for *Cinabrium* or Vermillion, which they call *Limpi*, the which they esteeme much, for that same effect that *Plinie* reports of the *Romans* and *Ethiopians*, that is, to paint the face and bodies of themselves and their Idols: the like hath bene much practised by the *Indians*, especially when they went to the warres, and vse it at this day in their feasts and dancing, which they call flubbering, supposing that their faces and visages so flubbered, did much terrifie, and at this day they hold it for an ornament and beautifying: for this cause there were strange workes of Mines in the Mountaines of *Guancauilca*, which are in *Peru*, neere to the Citie of *Guamangua*, out of the which they drew this Mettall: it is of such a manner, that if at this day they enter by the caues or *Socobones*, which the *Indians* made in those dayes, they loofe themselves, finding no passage out: but they regarded not Quick-silver, which naturally is in the same substance or mettall of Vermillion, neither had they knowledge of any such matter.

The *Indians* were not alone for so long a time without the knowledge of this treasure, but likewise the *Spaniards*, who vntill the yeare 1566. and 1567. (at such time as the licentiate *Castro* gouerned in *Peru*) discovered not the Mines of Quick-silver, which happened in this manner. A man of iudgement called *Henrique Guarces*, a *Portugall* borne, hauing a piece of this coloured Mettall, as I haue said, which the *Indians* call *Limpi*, with which they paint their faces, as he beheld it well, found it to be the same which they call Vermillion in *Castile*: and for that hee knew well that Vermillion was drawne out of the same mettall that Quick-silver was, he conjectured these Mines to be of Quick-silver, went to the place whence they drew this Mettall, to make triall thereof. The which he found true, and in this sort the Mines of *Palcas* in the territorie of *Guamangua*, being discovered, great numbers of men went thither to draw out Quick-silver, and so to carry it to *Mexico*, where they refine Silver by the meanes of Quick-silver, wherewith many are enriched. This Countrie of Mines which they call *Guancauilca*, was then peopled with *Spaniards* and *Indians* that came thither, and come still to worke in these Mines of Quick-silver, which are in great numbers, and very plentifull: but of all these Mines, that which they call *Amador de Cabrera*, or of Saints, is goodly and notable. It is a Rocke of most hard Stone, interlaced all with Quick-silver, and of that greatnesse, that it extends aboue fourescore *Vares* or yards in length, and fortie in breadth: in which Mine they haue many pits, and ditches, of threescore and tegne stades deepe, so as three hundred men may well worke together; such is the capacitie thereof. This Mine was discovered by an *Indian* of *Amador* of *Cabrera*, called *Nanincopa* of the Village of *Acoria*, the which *Amador* of *Cabrera* caused to be registred in his name. He was in suite against the Procurer fiscall, but the vsufruite was adiudged to him by sentence as the discoverer. Since he sold his interest to another, for two hundred and fiftie thousand Ducates; and afterwards thinking he had bin deceived in the sale, he commenced an action against the buyer, being worth, as they say, aboue five hundred thousand Ducates; yea, some hold it to be worth a Million of Gold: a rare thing to see a Mine of that wealth.

When as *Don Francisco* of *Toledo* gouerned in *Peru*, there was one which had bin in *Mexico*, and obserued how they refined Silver with Mercury, called *Pero Fernandes de Valesco*, who offred to refine Silver at *Potozi*, with Mercury: and hauing made triall thereof in the yeare 1571. performed it with credit; then began they to refine Silver at *Potozi* with Quick-silver, which they transported from *Guancauilca*, which was a goodly helpe for the Mines; for by the meanes of Quick-silver they drew an infinite quantitie of mettall from these Mines, whereof they made no accompt, the which they called *Scrappings*. For as it hath bene said, the Quick-silver purifies the Silver, although it be drie, poore, and of base alloy, which cannot be done by melting in the fire. The Catholike King drawes from it Quick-silver mines, without any charge or hazard, almost foure hundred thousand pieces of a Mine, the which are foureteene rials a peece, or little lesse, besides the rights that rise in *Potozi*, where it is imployed, the which is a great riches. They doe yearly, one with another, draw from these Mines of *Guancauilca*, eight thousand quintals of Quick-silver, yea and more.

Let vs now speake how they draw out Quick-silver, and how they refine Silver therewith. They take the stone or mettall where they finde the Quick-silver, the which they put into the fire in pots of earth well luted, being well beaten, so as this mettall or stone comming to melt by the heate of the fire, the Quick-silver separates it selfe, and goes forth in exhalation, and sometimes even with the smoake of the fire, vntill it incounters some body where it staies and congeales, and if it passe vp higher, without meeting of any hard substance, it mounts vp vntill it be cold, and then congealed, it fells downe againe. When the melting is finished, they vnstop the pots and draw forth the mettall, sometimes staying vntill it be very cold, for if there remained

Labyrinthian Mines of Quick-silver found.

Mines of Quick-silver found.

The manner how to draw out Quick silver, and how they refine Silver.

Chap. 12.

Dangers by
Quick-silver.
Force of Straw
Pl. 1. 33. 64.
Abundance of
Metals.

Manner of
working.

remained any fume or vapour, which should encounter them that should vnstop the pots, they were in danger of death, or to be benumbed of their limbes, or at the least to loose their teeth. And for that they spend an infinitie quantitie of wood, in the melting of these mettals, a Miller called *Rodrigo de Torres* found out a profitable inuention, which was, to gather certaine straw which growes throughout all those Mountaines of *Peru*, the which they call *Ycho*, it is like vnto a hard reede wherewith they make their fire. It is a strange thing to see the force which this straw hath to melt and dissolue these mettals, the which falls out, as *Plinie* saies, that there is gold which melts more easily with the flame of straw, then with hot burning coales. They put the Quick-silver thus molten into skinnes, for that it keepe best in leather, and in this sort they lay it into the Kings store-house, foom whence they carrie it by Sea to *Ariqua*, and so to *Potozi* by Land vpon their sheepe. There is yeerely spent in *Potozi* for the refining of Mettals, about six or seuen thousand quintals of Quick-silver, besides that they draw from the Plates (which is the earth or drosse of the first washings of these Mettals, which are made in caldrons.) The which plates they burne in their furnaces, to draw out the Quick-silver which remains in them: and there are aboue fiftie of these Furnaces in the Citie of *Potozi*, and in *Tarpaya*. The quantitie of mettals which they refine, (as some men of experience haue made the account) doth amount yeerely to aboue three hundred thousand quintals; from the earth and drosse whereof being molt and refined, they may draw yeerely aboue two thousand quintals of Quick-silver. We must vnderstand there are diuers sorts of mettals, for some yeelde much Silver, and waste little Quick-silver: others consume much Quick-silver, and yeelde little Silver: and there are others which consume much Quick-silver, and yeeldes much Silver; and others that consume little Quick-silver, and also yeelde little Silver: and as men encounter in these mettals, so they grow rich or poore in their trafficke. Although commonly the rich metall yeeldes much Silver, and consumes much Quick-silver; and likewise that which is poore, yeeldes little Silver, and consumes as little Mercurie. They first beate and grinde the metall very small, with hammers and other instruments, which beate this Stone like vnto tanne Mills, and being well beaten, they searce it in a copper searce, making the poulder as small and fine, as if it were horse haire: these searces being well fitted, doe sift thirtie quintals in a day and a night; then they put the poulder of the metall into the vessels vpon furnaces, whereas they anoint it and mortifie it with brine, putting to euery fiftie quintals of poulder, fve quintals of Salt. And this they doe for that the Salt seperates the earth and filth, to the end the Quick-silver may the more easily draw the Silver vnto it. After they put Quick-silver into a peece of Holland and presse it out vpon the metall, which goes forth like a dewe, alwaies turning and stirring the metall, to the end it may be well incorporate.

Before the inuention of these furnaces of fire, they did often mingle their metall with Quick-silver, in great troughes, letting it settle some daies, and did then mixe it, and stir it againe, vntill they thought all the Quick-silver were well incorporate with the Silver, the which continued twentie daies and more, and at the least nine daies. Since they discovered (as the desire to get is diligent,) that to shorten the time fire did much helpe: to incorporate Silver the sooner with Quick-silver, they inuented these furnaces, whereon they set vessels to put in their metall, with Salt and Quick-silver, and vnderneath they put fire by little and little, in furnaces made for the nonce vnderneath; so as in fve or six daies the Quick-silver is incorporate with the Silver. And when they finde that the Mercurie hath done his part, and assembled all the Silver, leauing nothing behinde, but is well imbroed as a Spunge doth water, diuiding it from the Earth, Lead, and Copper, with the which it is engendered. Then after they seperate it likewise from the Quick-silver, the which they doe in this sort; they put the Metall in Caldrons, and vessels full of water, where with certaine wheeles they turne the metall round about, as if they should make Mustard, and so the earth and drosse goes from the Metall with the water that runnes away: The Silver and Quick-silver as most ponderous remaining in the bottome; the Metall which remains, is like vnto Sand; then they take it out and wash it againe in great platters of wood, or keelers full of water, still drawing the earth from it, vntill they leaue the Silver and Quick-silver well clenfed. There slippes away also some small portion of Silver and Quick-silver with the earth and drosse, which they call *washing*; the which they after wash againe and draw out the remainder. When the Silver and Quick-silver are clenfed and begin to shine, and that there remains no earth, they put all the Metall into a cloth, which they straine out very forcibly, so as all the Quick-silver passeth out, being not incorporate with the Silver, and the rest remains as a loafe of Silver, like to a marke of Almonds pressed to draw oyle. And being thus pressed, the remainder contains but the sixt part in Silver, and fve in Mercurie. So as if there remains a marke of threescore pounds, ten are of Silver, and fiftie of Mercurie. Of these markes they make pinnes (as they call them) like pine apples, or sugar loaves, hollow within, the which they commonly make of a hundred pound weight; then to separte the Silver from the Quick-silver, they put it into a violent fire, which they couer with an earthen vessell, like to the mold of a Sugar-loafe, or vnto a capuchon or hood, the which they couer with coales, and set fire vnto it; whereby the Quick-silver exhals in smoake, the which striking against the capuchon of earth,

earth, it thickens and distils, like vnto the smoake of a pot couered; and by a pipe like vnto a limbecke, they receiue the Quick-siluer which distils, the Silver remaining without changing the forme, but in weight it is diminished fve parts of that it was, and is spongius, the which is worthy the obseruation. Of two of these loaves they make one barre of Silver, in weight sixtie fve or sixtie six markes: and in this sort they carrie it to the touch, custome, and marke. Silver drawne with Mercurie, is so fine, that it neuer abates of two thousand three hundred and fourescore of alloy, and it is so excellent, that the worke-men are enforced to alay it, putting some mixture to it, as they doe likewise in their Mints, whereas their monie is stamped. Silver indures all these martyrdomes (if we may so call it) to be refined, the which if we consider well, it is a body framed where they grinde, sift, kneade, lay the leuen, and bake the Silver: besides all this, they wash it and wash it againe; they bake it and bake it againe, induring the pestels, fires, troughes, furnaces, caldrons, presses: and finally, by the water and fire. I speake this, for that seeing this art in *Potozi*, I did consider what the Scripture speakes of the iust, *Colabit eos & purgabit quasi argentum*: And that which they speake in another part, *Sicut argentum purgatum terra, purgatum septuplum*. So as to purifie Silver, to refine and cleanse it from the earth and stone where it engenders, they purge and purifie it seuen times: for in effect it passeth their hands seuen times, yea oftner, vntill it remaines pure and fine; so is it in the word of God, where the soules must be purified, that shall inioy the heavenly perfection.

To conclude this subiect of Silver and of Mettals, there remaines yet two things to speake of, the one is of their Engins and Mills, the other of their essay or triall: I haue said before, how they grinde their Mettall: for the receiuing of the Quick-siluer, which is done with diuers instruments and Engins, some with Horses like vnto hand-mills, others like Water-mills; of which two sorts there are great numbers. But for that the water they doe vse commonly, is but of raine, whereof they haue not sufficient but three months in the yeare, December, January, and February: for this reason they haue made Lakes and standing Pooles, which containe in circuite about a thousand and six hundred rods, and in depth three stades; there are seuen with their sluices: so as when they haue neede of any water, they raise vp a sluice, from whence runnes a little streame of water, the which they stop vpon holy dayes. And when the Lakes and Pooles doe fill, and that the yeare abounds with raine, their grinding doth then continue six or seuen moneths; so as euen for Silver sake men desire a good yeare of raine in *Potozi*, as they doe in other places for bread. There are some other Engins in *Tarapaya*, which is a valley three or foure leagues distant from *Potozi*, whereas there runnes a River as in other parts. The difference of these Engins is, that some goe with six pestels, some with twelue, and others with fouretee. They grinde and beate the Mettall in Morters, labouring day and night; and from thence they carry it to be sifted, vpon the bankes of the brooke of *Potozi*. There are fortie eight Water-mills, of eight, ten, and twelue pestels, and foure on the other side, which they call *Tanacognugno*; in the Citie of *Tarapaya*, there are two and twentie Engins all vpon the water; besides there are thirtie goe with Horses in *Potozi* and many others in diuers parts, so great the desire of man is to get Silver, which is tried by deputies appointed by the King.

To giue the alloy to euerie peece, they carrie the bars of Silver vnto the Assay Master, who giue to euerie one his number, for that they carrie many at once, hee cuts a small peece of euerie one, the which he weighs iustly, and puts them into a *Cruset*, which is a small vessell made of burnt bones beaten; after he placeth euerie crusbile in his order in the furnace, giuing them a violent fire, then the Mettall melteth, and that which is lead, goes into smoake, and the copper and tinne dissolues, the Silver remaining most fine, of the colour of fire. It is a strange thing, that being thus refined, although it be liquid and molten, yet it neuer spils, were the mouth of the crusbile turned downewards; but it remaineth fixed, without the losse of a droppe. The Assay Master knoweth by the colour and other signes, when it is refined, then doth he draw the crusbiles from the fire, and weighes euerie peece curiously, obseruing what euerie one wants of his weight; for that which is of high alloy, wastes but little, and that which is baser, diminisheth much; and according to the waste, he sees what alloy he beares, according to the which he markes euerie bar punctually. Their ballance and weights are so delicate, and their graines so small, as they cannot take them vp with the hand, but with a small paire of pincers: and this triall they make by candle-light, that no ayre might moue the ballance. For of this little the price of the whole barre dependeth. In trueth it is a very delicate thing, and requires a great dexteritie.

Fine Silver for worke, must be alloyed.

Mat. 3.
Eccles. 2.
Psal. 11.

Of their Engins to grinde the Mettall, and of their triall of Silver. Chap. 13.

How the Engins grow.

How the Engins grow.

How the Engins grow.

How the Engins grow.

How the Engins grow.

How the Engins grow.

How the Engins grow.

Of Emeralds, Pearles, Indian Bread, Trees, Fruites, Flowers naturall, and carried thither from Spaine.

Plin. lib. 37. ca. 3.

I shall not be from the purpose, to speake something of Emeralds, both for that it is a precious thing, as Gold and Silver, as also that they take their beginning from Mines and Mettals, as *Plinie* reports. The Emerald hath bin in old time in great esteeme, as the same Author writes, giuing it the third place amongst all Iewels and precious stones, that is, next to the Diamond and Pearle. At this day they doe not so much esteeme the Emerald, nor the Pearle, for the great abundance brought of these two sorts from the *Indies*; onely the Diamond holds the principalltie, the which cannot be taken from it. Next, the Rubies come in price and other Stones, which they hold more precious then the Emerald. Men are so desirous of singularities and rare things, that what they see to be common, they doe not esteeme.

How Emeralds grow.

They report of a *Spaniard*, who being in *Italie* when the *Indies* were first discovered, shewed an Emerald to a Lapidary, who asking him the value thereof, after he had well viewed it, being of an excellent lustre and forme, he prized it at a hundred Duckets: he then shewed him another greater then it, which he valued at three hundred Duckats. The *Spaniard* drunke with this discourse, carried him to his lodging, shewing him a Casket full. The *Italian* seeing so great a number of Emeralds, said vnto him, Sir, these are well worth a crowne a peece. The Kings of *Mexico* did much esteeme them; some did vse to pierce their nostrils, and hang therein an excellent Emerald: they hung them on the visages of their Idols. The greatest store is found in the new Kingdome of *Grenado*, and *Pern*, neere vnto *Manta* and *Port Vieil*. There is towards that place a soile which they call, *the Land of Emeralds*, for the knowledge that they haue of abundance to be there: and yet vnto this day they haue not conquered that Land. The Emeralds grow in stones like vnto Christall; I haue seene them in the same stone, fashioned like a veine, and they seeme by little and little to thicken and refine. I haue seene some that were halfe white, and halfe Greene; others all white, and some Greene and very perfit. I haue seene some of the bignesse of a Nut, and there haue bin some greater found: but I haue not knowne that in our time they haue found any of the forme and bignesse of the plat or Iewell they haue at *Genes*, the which they esteeme (and with reason) to be a Iewell of great price, and no relique; yet without comparison, the Emerald which *Theophrastus* speakes of, which the King of *Babylon* presented to the King of *Egypt*, surpasseth that of *Genes*; it was foure cubits long, and three broad, and they say, that in *Iupiters* Temple, there was a needle or pyramide, made of foure Emeralds stones of fortie cubits long, and in some places foure broad, and in others two: and that in his time there was in *Tirus* in *Hercules* Temple, a Pillar of an Emerald. It may be (as *Plinie* saith) it was of some Greene stone, somewhat like the Emerald, and they called it a false Emerald. As some will say, that in the Cathedral Church of *Cordoue* there are certaine Pillars of Emeralds which remaine since it was a Mesquite for the Kings *Miramamolins Moores*, which reigned there. In the fleete, the yeare one thousand five hundred eightie and seuen, in the which I came from the *Indies*, they brought two chests of Emeralds, euery one weighing at the least foure *Arches*, whereby we may see the abundance they haue.

Admirable Emerald.

Now that we intreate of the great riches that comes from the *Indies*, it were no reason to forget the Pearle, which the Ancients called *Marguerites*, and at the first were in so great estimation, as none but royall persons were suffered to weare them: but at this day there is such abundance as the *Negres* themselves doe weare chaines thereof; they grow in shels or Oysters, in eating whereof I haue found Pearles in the midst of them. These Oysters within are of the colour of heauen, very liuely. In some places they make Spooones, the which they call *Mother of Pearle*. The Pearles doe differ much in forme, in bignesse, figure, colour and polishing; so likewise in their price they differ much. Some they call *Aue Marias*, being like the small grains of beades: others are *Pater nosters*, being bigger. Seldome shall you finde two of one greatnesse, forme, and colour. For this reason the *Romans* (as *Plinie* writeth) called them *Unions*. When as they doe finde two that are alike in all points, they raise the price much, especially for eare-rings. I haue seene some paires valued at thousands of Ducats, although they were not like to *Cleopatras* two Pearles, whereof *Plinie* reports, either of them being worth a hundred thousand Ducates, with the which this foolish Queene wonne a wager she had made against *Marc Antony*, to spend in one Supper aboue an hundred thousand Ducates, so at the last course shee dissolved one of these Pearles in strong Vinegar, and dranke it vp. They say the other Pearle was cut in two, and placed in the *Pantheon* at *Rome*, at th'eares of the Image of *Venus*.

Of Pearles. Chap. 15.

They fish for Pearles in diuers parts of the *Indies*, the greatest abundance is in the South Seas, neere vnto *Panama*, where the *Ilands of Pearles* be, as they call them. But at this day they finde greatest store, and the best, in the North Seas, the which is neere to the Riuer of *Hache*. I

Plin. lib. 3. ca. 35.

Plin. lib. 3. ca. 35.

Cleopatras vanity.

Cleopatras vanity.

Pearle fishings.

Pearle fishings.

did see them make their fishing, the which is done with great charge and labour of the poore slaues, which diue six, nine, yea twelue fadomes into the Sea, to seeke for Oysters, the which commonly are fastened to the rockes and grauell in the Sea: they pull them vp, and bring them about the water to their canoes, where they open them, drawing forth the treasure they haue within them. The water of the Sea in this part is very cold, but yet the labour and toile is greatest in holding of their breath, sometimes a quarter, yea halfe an houre together, being vnder the water at their fishing. And to the end these poore slaues may the better continue and hold their breaths, they feede them with drie meates, and that in small quantitie, so as couetousnesse makes them abstaine and fast thus against their wils. They imploy their Pearles to diuers works, and they pierce them to make chaines whereof there is great store in euery place. In the yeare of our Lord 1581. I did see the note of what came from the *Indies* for the King: there were eighteene Maces of Pearle, besides three caskets, and for particulars, there were twelue hundred threescore and foure Marks, and besides them, seuen caskets not pierced, which heretofore we would haue esteemed and held for a lye.

Manner thereof.

Long winded flaties.

Of the Indian Bread, and of Mays. Chap. 16.

We call it also Virginia wheate.

How it groweth.

I haue had it ripen reasonably in my Garden in Essex.

Malt & strong drinke made of it.

Chica good against the Stone.

The

They haue (as we haue here) a proper name, whereby they note and signifie bread, which at *Pern*, they call *Tanta*, and in other places by another name. But the qualitie and substance of the bread the *Indians* vse, differs much from ours: for we finde not they had any kinde of Wheat or Barley, nor any other kinde of graine which they vse in *Europe* to make Bread withall: instead whereof they vsed other kindes of graines and rootes, amongst the which *Mays* holds the first place, and with reason, in *Castile* they call it *Indian Wheat*, and in *Italie* they call it *Turkey* graine. And euen as Wheate is the most common graine for the vse of man, in the regions of the old world, which are *Europe*, *Asia*, and *Africa*: So in the new found world, the most common graine is *Mays*, the which is found almost in all the Kingdomes of the *West Indies*, as at *Pern*, new *Spaine*, in the new Kingdome of *Granado*, in *Gautimalla*, in *Chille*, and vpon the maine Land. I doe not finde that in old time, in the Ilands of *Barlonte*, as *Cuba*, *Saint Dominique*, *Iamaique*, and *Saint Iean*, that they vsed *Mays*: at this day they vse much *Yuca* and *Cacani*, whereof we will presently intreate. I doe not thinke that this *Mays* is any thing inferiour to our Wheate, in strength nor substance, but it is more hot and grosse, and engenders more bloud, whereupon they that haue not bene accustomed thereunto, if they eate too much, they swell and become scabbed. It growes vpon Canes or Reedes; euerie one beares one or two branches, to the which the graine is fastened, and although the graine be bigge, yet finde they great store thereof, so as in some clusters I haue told seuen hundred graines. They must plant it with the hand one by one, and not verie thicke; it desires a hot and a moist ground, and growes in great abundance in many places of the *Indies*. It is not strange in those Countries to gather three hundred *Fanegues*, or measures for one sowing. There is difference of *Mays* as there is of Wheate, one is great and very nourishing, another small and drie, which they call *Moroche*; the greene leaues and capes of *Mays*, is a good foode for their Males and Horses, and it serues them for straw when it is dried; the graine is of more nourishment for Horses then Barley; and therefore in those Countries, they vse to water their Horses before they eate, for if they should drinke after, they would swell as when they eate Wheate. *Mays* is the *Indians* bread, the which they commonly eate boiled in the graine hot, and they call it *More*, as the *Chinois* and *Iaponois* eate their Rice sodden with the hot water: sometimes they eate it baked. There is some *Mays* round and bigge, as that of *Lucanas*, which the *Spaniards* eate roasted as a delicate meat, and hath a better taste then *Buarbenjes*, or roasted peason. There is another kinde of eating it more pleasant, which is, to grinde the *Mays*, and to make small cakes of the flower, the which they put in the fire, and then bring them hot to the Table. In some places they call them *Arepas*. They make also round bowles of this paste, and so trimme them that they continue long, eating it as a daintie dish.

They haue inuented at the *Indies* (for friandise and pleasure) a certaine kinde of paste, they doe make of this flower mixt with Sugar, which they call Biscuits and mellinders. This *Mays* serues the *Indians*, not onely for bread, but also for wine: for they doe make their drinke thereof, wherewith they are sooner drunke then with wine of Grapes. They make this wine of *Mays* in diuers sorts and manners, calling it in *Pern*, *Acua*, and by the most common name of the *Indies*, *Chicha*. And the strongest is made like vnto Beere, steeping the graine vntill it breake. After they boile it in such sort, that it growes so strong, as a little ouerthrowes a man. In *Pern* they call this *Sora*, it is defended by the Law, for the great inconueniences that grow thereby, making men drunke. But this Law is ill obserued, for that they vse it still; yea they spend whole daies and nights in drinking carowfes.

There is another manner of making this *Acua* or *Chicha*, which is to champe the *Mays*, and make a leuen thereof, and then boile it: yea the *Indians* hold opinion, that to make good leuen, it must be champed by old withered women, which makes a man sicke to heare, and yet they doe drinke it. The clenliest manner, the most wholesome, and that which least harmeth, is to roast the *Mays*, which the most ciuill *Indians* doe vse, and some *Spaniards*, yea for physicke: For in effect they finde it a very wholesome drinke for the reines, so as you shall hardly finde any one at the *Indies* complaine of paine in the backe, for that they doe drinke of this *Chicha*.

The Spaniards and Indians eat this *Mays* boyled and roasted for daintinesse, when it is tender in the grape like milke, they put it into the pot, and make sauces that are good to eat. The buds of *Mays* are very fat, and serue instead of Butter and oyle: so as this *Mays* at the *Indies* serues both for men and beasts, for bread, wine, and oyle.

Of *Tucas*, *Caçani*, *Papas*, *Chunos* and *Riz*. Chap. 17.

In some parts of the *Indies* they vse a kinde of Bread they call *Caçani*, which is made of a certaine roote they call *Tuca*. This *Tuca* is a great and grosse roote, which they cut in small morsels, they grate or scrape it, and then put it in a presse to straine, making a thinne and broad cake thereof, almost like vnto a *Moore*s Target or Buckler; then doe they drie it: and this is the Bread they eat. It hath no taste, but is healthfull and of good nourishment. For this reason we said, being at Saint *Dominicke*, that it was the proper foode for great eaters, for that they might eat much, without any feare of surfetting. They must of necessitie water this *Caçani* before they eat it; it is sharpe, and easely watered with water or broath, wherein it is very good, for that it swells much, and so they make *Capirotades*, but it is hardly steeped in Milke, Hony of Canes, or in Wine, for that these liquors cannot pierce it, as it doth Bread made of Wheate. Of this *Caçani* there is one kinde more delicate then any other, which is that they make of the flower called *Xauxau*, which they doe much esteeme in those parts. For my part, I esteeme more a morsell of Bread, how hard and blacke soeuer. It is a strange thing that the iuyce or water that commeth from this roote when they straine it, which makes the *Caçani*, is a deadly poison, and kills any that drinckes thereof: but the substance that remaineth, is a very wholesome Bread and nourishment, as we haue said.

Iuyce of *Caçani* poison.

Wheat, why it groweth not in those parts.

There is another kinde of *Tuca*, which they call *Sweet*, and hath not this poison in the iuyce: this is eaten in the roote boyled or roasted, and is good meate. *Caçani* will keepe long, and therefore they carrie it to Sea instead of Biscuit. The place where they vse most of this Bread, is at the Ilands of *Barlonte*, which are Saint *Dominicke*, *Cuba*, *Port Ricco*, *Jamaique*, and some others thereabouts; for that the soile of these Ilands will neither beare Wheate, nor *Mays*: for when as they sowe Wheate, it comes vp well, and is presently greene, but so vnequally, as they cannot gather it; for of the seede sown, at one instant some is spindled, some is in the eare, and some doth but bud, one is great and another little, one is in the grasse and another in the graine: and although they haue carried labourers thither, to see if there were any tillage or Art to be vsed, yet could they finde no remedy for the qualitie of the earth. They carry Meale from new *Spain* or the *Canaries*, which is so moist, that hardly can they make any profitable Bread, or of good taste. The Wafer-cakes wherewith they say Masse, did bend like to wet paper, by reason of the extreame humiditie and heate which are ioynly in that Countrey. There is another extreame contrarie to this, which hinders the growing of *Mays* or Wheate in some parts of the *Indies*, as on the height of the *Sierre* of *Pern*, and the Provinces which they call of *Colao*, which is the greatest part of this Realme, where the climate is so cold and dry, as it will not suffer any of these seedes to grow: instead thereof the *Indians* vse another kinde of roote, which they call *Papas*: these rootes are like to ground Nuts, they are small rootes, which cast out many leaues. They gather this *Papas*, and dry it well in the Sunne, then beating it, they make that which they call *Chuno*, which keepes many daies, and serues for bread. In this Realme there is great trafficke of *Chuno*, the which they carry to the Mines of *Potozi*: they likewise eat of these *Papas* boyled or roasted: there is one sweete of these kinds, which growes in hot places, whereof they doe make certaine sauces and minced meate, which they call *Locro*. To conclude, these rootes are the bread of that Land; so as when the yeare is good, they reioyce much, for that oftentimes they freeze in the earth, so great is the cold of that Region: they carrie *Mays* from the Valley or Sea-coast, and the Spaniards which are daintie, carrie likewise from the same places Wheate-meale, whereof they doe make good Bread, because that the Land is drie.

Papas and *Chuno*.

Of diuers roots which grow at the *Indies*. Chap. 18.

Besides *Papas*, which is the principall, there is *Ocas*, *Tanococas*, *Camotes*, *Vatas*, *Xiquimas*, *Tuca*, *Cochucha*, *Cani*, *Totoro*, *Mani*, and an infinite number of other kinds, as the *Patattres*, which they eat as a delicate and toothsome meate. They haue likewise carried fruites to the *Indies* from these parts, the which prosper better there, then the *Indian* Plants doe, brought into *Europe*. There are other rootes that serue them for dainties, as the *Cochucha*: it is a small sweete roote, which some prouide for more delight. There are other rootes fit to coole, as the *Piquima*, which is the qualitie very cold and moist, and in Summer it refresheth and quencketh the thirst; but the *Papas* and *Ocas*, be the chiefe for nourishment and substance. The *Indians* esteeme Garlike aboue all the rootes of *Europe*, and hold it for a fruite of great force.

Of diuers sorts of green hearbs and Pulses, and of those they call *Concombres*, *Pines*, or *Pine Apples*, small fruites of *Chille*, and of *Prunes*. Chap. 19.

Seeing we haue begunne with the lesser Plants, I might in few words, touch that which concernes Flowers and Pot-herbes, and that which the Latines call *Arbusta*, without any mention of Trees. There are some kinds of these shrubbes at the *Indies*, which are of verie good taste. The first Spaniards named many things at the *Indies* with such Spanish names, as they did most resemble, as *Pines*, *Concombres*, and *Prunes*, although they be very different fruites to those which are so called in *Spain*. The *Pines*, or *Pine-apples*, are of the same fashion and forme outwardly to those of *Castile*, but within they wholly differ, for that they haue neither Apples, nor

nor scales, but are all one flesh, which may be eaten when the skin is off. It is a fruit that hath an excellent smell, and is very pleasant and delightfull in taste, it is full of iuyce, and of a sweete and sharpe taste, they eate it being cut in morsels, and steeped a while in water and salt. They grow one by one like a cane or stalke, which riseth amongst many leaues, like to the Lillie, but somewhat bigger. The Apple is on the top of euerie cane, it growes in hot and moist grounds, and the best are those of the Ilands of *Barlovente*. I haue seene in new *Spaine*, conserues of these Pines, which was very good. Those which they call *Concombres*, are no trees, but shrubbes, continuing but one yeare. They giue it this name, for that some of this fruit, and the most part, is in length, and roundnesse like to the *Concombres* of *Spaine*: but for the rest they differ much, for they are not greene, but violet, yellow, or white, neither are they thornie or rough, but polished and euen, hauing a verie different taste, and farre better then that of *Spaine*, for they haue a sharpe sweete taste, very pleasant when it is ripe, yet is it not so sharpe as the Pine. They are very coole, full of liquor and of easie digestion, and in time of heate fit to refresh. They take away the rinde which is white, and all that remaines is meate. They grow in a temperate soile, and require watering. And although for the resemblance they call them *Concombres*, yet are there many of them round, and others of a different fashon: so as they haue not the figure of *Concombres*. I doe not remember to haue seene this kinde of fruit in new *Spaine*, nor at the Ilands, but vpon the *Lanos* of *Peru*. That which they call the little fruit of *Chille*, is of the same sort, verie pleasant to eate, and comes neere the taste of Cherries, but in all other things it differs much; for that it is no tree, but an hearbe, which growes little and spreads vpon the earth, casting forth this little fruit, the which in colour and graines, resembles almost the Mulberie, when it is white and not ripe, yet is it more rough and bigger then the Mulberie. They say this little fruit is naturally found in the fields of *Chille*, where I haue seene of them. They set it vpon Plants and branches, and it growes like any other shrub. Those which they call *Prunes*, are verily the fruits of trees, and haue more resemblance then the rest to our Plumbs. But to returne to Pot-hearts, I finde not that the *Indians* had any Gardens of diuers Hearbes and Plants, but did onely till the Land in some parts for pulses, which they vse, as those which they call *Frisolles* and *Palares*, which serue them as our Lentils, Beanes, or Tares: neither haue I knowne that these Pulses, or any other kinde that be in *Europe*, were there before the *Spaniards* entred, who carried Plants and Pulses from *Spaine* thither, where they now grow and increase wonderfully, and in some places exceed greatly the fertilitie of these parts. As if we speak of Mellons which grow in the Vallie of *Yuca*, in *Peru*, whose roote becomes a stalk that continues many yeares carrying Mellons yeerely, and they trimme it like vnto a tree; a thing which I doe not know to be in any part of *Spaine*. But that is more monstrous of the *Calibasses* or *Indian* Pompions, and the greatnesse they haue as they grow, especially those which are proper to the Countrey, which they call *Capallos*, the which they eate most commonly in Lent, boiled and trimmed with some other sawce. There are a thousand kindes of *Calibasses*, some are so deformed in their bignesse, that of the rinde cut in the midst and cleaned, they make as it were baskets to put in all their meate for their dinner. Of the lesser they make Vessels to eate and drinke in, and doe trimme them handsomely for manie vses.

Pulses, Melons and Pompions carried out of *Europe* and thriving better there.

These calibasses seeme th *Guinny* Gourds carried from the *African* coast thither.

Of *Axi* or *Indian* Pepper, Chap. 20.

Ginger.

They haue not found at the West *Indies* anie kinde of Spices, proper or peculiar to them, as Pepper, Cloues, Cinamon, Nutmegs or Ginger, although one of our companie, who had travelled much, and in diuers parts, told vs, that in the Desarts of the Iland of *Iamaique* he had found trees where Pepper grew. But they are not yet assured thereof, neither is there anie trade of these spices at the *Indies*. The Ginger was carried from the *Indies* to *Hispaniola*, and it hath multiplied so, as at this day they know not what to doe with the great abundance they haue. In the flecte the, yeare 1587. they brought 22053. quintals of Ginger to *Senille*: but the natural spice that God hath giuen to the West *Indies*, is that we in *Castill* call *Indian* Pepper, and at the *Indies*, *Axi*, as a generall word taken from the first Land of the Ilands, which they conquered. In the language of *Cusco*, it is called *Vchu*, and in that of *Mexico*, *Chilt*. This plant in well knowne, and therefore I will speake a little, onely we must vnderstand, that in old time it was much esteemed amongst the *Indians*: that they carried into places where it grew not, as a Marchandise of consequence. It growes not vpon cold grounds, as on the *Sierre* of *Peru*, but in hot Vallies, where it is often watered. There is of this *Axi* of diuers colours, some is greene, some red, some yellow, and some of a burning colour, which they call *Caribe*, the which is extreame-ly sharpe and biting; there is another sort not so sharpe, but is so sweete, as they may eate it alone as any other fruit. There is some of it verie small and pleasing in the mouth, almost like to the smell of Muske, and is verie good. That which is sharpe and biting in this *Axi*, be the veines and the grain onely; the rest is not: for that they eate it greene & dry, whole and beaten, in the pot, and in sawces, being the chiefe sawce, & all the spice they haue at the *Indies*. When this *Axi* is taken moderately, it helps and comforts the stomack for digestion: but if they take too much, it hath bad effects, for of it selfe it is verie hot, fuming, & pierceth greatly, so as the vse thereof is preiudiciall to the health of yong folkes, chiefly to the soule, for that it prouokes to lust. They

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vse Salt to temper this *Axi*, hauing great force to correct it, and so they moderate one with the other by the contrarietie that is in them. They vse also *Tomates*, which are cold and very wholesome. It is a kinde of graine great and full of iuyce, the which giues a good taste to sawce, and they are good to eate. They haue generally throughout the *Indies* of this *Indian Pepper*, at the Islands, new *Spaine*, *Peru*, and all the rest that is discovered. And as Mays is the generall graine for Bread, so *Axi* is the most common spice for sawces.

Of the Plane
tree, Chap. 21.

The thing wherein was most resemblance, in my opinion, betwixt the *Planes* at the *Indies*, and those which the Ancients did celebrate, is the greatnesse of the leaues; for that these haue them very great and coole. But in truth there is no more comparifon nor resemblance of the one with the other, then there is (as the Prouerbe saith) betwixt an Egge and a Chesnut. For first, the ancient plane carries no fruite, at the least, they made no account thereof, but the chiefeft reason why they esteemed it, was, for the shadow, for that there was no more Sunne vnder a Plane than vnder a rooffe. And contrariwise, the reason why they should regard it, at the *Indies*, yea make great accompt thereof, is by reason of this fruite, which is very good; for they haue little shade. Moreouer, the ancient Plane had the body so bigge, and the boughs so spread, that *Plinie* reporteth of one *Licinias* a *Romane* Captaine, who with eightene of his companions dined at ease in th' hollow of one of these *Planes*; and of the Emperour *Caligula*, who with eleuen of his ghefts feasted vpon the top of another Plane, where he made them a sumptuous banquet. The *Indian* *Planes* haue neither so great nor hollow bodies, not so broad boughs.

Plin. lib. 2. cap. 1.

Plin. lib. 11. ca. 16.

The leaues of the *Indian* Plane, are of a wonderfull bignesse, and are, in a manner, sufficient to couer a man from the foote to the head. It is a Plant that makes a stocke within the earth, out of the which springs many and sundry siens and sprigges, diuided, and not ioyned together. These sprigges grow bigge, every one making a small tree apart, and in growing they cast forth these leaues, which are of a fine, Greene, smooth, and great as I haue said. When it is growne to the height of a stade and a halfe, or two, it puts forth one onely bough of fruite, whereon sometimes there are great numbers of this fruite, and sometimes lesse. I haue told vpon some of these boughs three hundred, whereof euery one was a spanne long more or lesse, and two or three fingers bigge; yet is there much difference herein, betwixt some and others, they take away the rinde, and all the rest is a firme kernell and tender, good to eate, and nourishing. This fruite inclines more to cold then heate. They are accustomed to gather the boughs or clusters, as I haue said, being Greene, and put them into vessels, where they ripen, being well couered, especially when there is a certaine hearbe mingled with it, which serues for this effect. If they suffer them to ripen on the tree, they haue a better taste, and a very good smell, like to *Camosses* or sweete Apples. They last almost all the yeare, for that there are alwaies yong ones that grow out of this stocke; so as when one ends, another beginnes to yeelde his fruite, the one is halfe ripe, and the other begins to bud anew, so as one succedes another, and the fruite continues the whole yeare. In gathering the cluster, they cut the sprigge or stalke, for that it beares but one, and neuer but once: but as I haue said, the stalke remaines, and casts forth new siens or stalkes, vntill it growes old and dies. This Plane continues many yeares, and requires much moisture, and a very hot ground. They put ashes at the foote of it, for the better entertaining thereof; and they make small groues and very thicke: the leafe is as broad as a sheete of Paper, or little lesse, and foure times as long.

Of Cacao and
Coca. Chap. 22.

Cacao money.

Coca.

Although the *Planes* be the most profitable, yet that *Cacao* is most esteemed at *Mexico*, and the *Coca* in *Peru*, in which two trees they haue great superstition. The *Cacao* is a fruite little lesse then Almonds, yet more fat, the which being roasted hath no ill taste. It is so much esteemed amongst the *Indians* (yea and among the *Spaniards*) that it is one of the richest and the greatest traffickes of new *Spaine*: for being a drie fruite, and that keepe long without corruption, they carrie whole Ships laden from the Prouince of *Guatimala*. The last yeare an *English* Pirat did burne in the Port of *Guatulco* in new *Spaine*, aboue a hundred thousand charges of *Cacao*. They vse it instead of money, for with five *Cacaos* they buy one thing, with thirtie another, and with a hundred another, without any contradiction; and they vse to giue it to the poore that beg for almes. The chiefe vse of this *Cacao*, is in a drinke which they call *Chocholate*, whereof they make great accompt in that Country, foolishly, and without reason; for it is loathsome to such as are not acquainted with it, hauing a skum or froth that is very vnpleasant to taste, if they be not very well conceited thereof. Yet it is a drinke very much esteemed among the *Indians*, wherewith they feast Noble men as they passe through their Countie. The tree whereon this fruite growes, is of reasonable bignesse, and well fashioned, it is so tender, that to keepe it from the burning of the Sunne, they plant neere vnto it, a great tree, which serues onely to shadow it, and they call it the mother of *Cacao*. There are places where they are like to the Vines and Oliue trees of *Spaine*. The Prouince where there is greatest abundance for the trafficke of Marchandise, is *Guatimala*. There growes none in *Peru*, but *Coca*, wherein they hold another great superstition, which seemes to be fabulous. It is a kinde of Marchandise, by the which all their Markets and Faires are made with great expedition. This *Coca* whereof they make such account, is a small Greene leafe, which groweth vpon small trees about a sadome high, and in hot and moist grounds;

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every foure moneths it casts forth this leafe, which they call *Tresmitas* or *Tremoy*; it requires great care in planting, being very tender, and much more to keepe it, when it is gathered. They lay it in order in long and narrow baskets, and so lade their sheepe of the Country, which goe in troopes, with one, two, or three thousand baskets of this marchandise.

They bring it commonly from the *Andes* and vallies, where there is an extreame heate, and where it raines continually the most part of the yeare: wherein the *Indians* endure much labour and paine to entertaine it, and often many die; for that they goe from the *Sierre* and cold places to till and gather them in the *Andes*. Their vse is to carry it in their mouthes, chewing it, and sucking out the iuice, but they swallow it not. They lay it giues them great courage, and is very pleasing vnto them. They willingly employ their money therein, and vse it as money.

Of Maguey This
nal, Cochenille,
Anir, and Cot-
ton. Chap. 23.

Maguey.

Manifold com-
modities of the
Maguey.

Maguey is a tree of wonders, whereof the *Notaries* or *Chapetons* (as the *Indians* call them) are wont to write miracles, in that it yeeldeth Water, Wine, Oyle, Vinegar, Honie, Sirrope, Thred, Needles, and a thousand other things. It is a tree which the *Indians* esteeme much in new *Spaine*, and haue commonly in their dwellings some one of them for the maintenance of life; it growes in the fields, and hath great and large leaues, at the end whereof is a strong and sharpe point, which serues to fasten little pins, or to sew as a needle: and they draw out of this leafe as it were a kinde of thred which they vse. They cut the body which is bigge, when it is tender, wherein is a great hollownesse, by which the substance mounts from the roote, and is a liquor which they drinke like water, being sweete and fresh. This liquor being sodden, turnes like Wine, which growes to Vinegar, suffering it to soure, and boiling it more, it becomes as honie, and boiling it halfe, it serues as sirrope: which is healthfull enough, and of good taste; in my iudgement it is better then the sirrope of Raisons. Thus do they boile this liquor, and vse it in diuers sorts, whereof they draw a good quantitie, for that in some season they draw daily some pots of this liquor. There are also of these trees in *Peru*, but they are not so profitable as in new *Spaine*. The wood of this tree is hollow and soft, and serues to keepe fire, like to the match of a harquebuz, and preserues it long: I haue seene the *Indians* vse it to that end.

The *Tunall* is another famous tree in new *Spaine*: if wee may call a tree a heape of leaues gathered together one vpon another, it is the strangest fashioned tree of all other: for first there growes one leafe out of the ground, then another vpon it, and so one vpon one, till it commeth to his perfection; but as the leaues grow vp, and on the side, those vnderneath doe become great, and loose in a manner the forme of leaues, making a body and branches, which are sharpe, pricking, and deformed, so as in some places they doe call it a *7 bistle*. There are Thistles or wilde *Tunalls*, the which doe carrie no fruite, or else it is very pricking without any profit. There are likewise planted *Tunalls* which yeelde fruite much esteemed amongst the *Indians*, the which they call *Tunas*, and they are much greater then Plumbes, and long. They open the shell which is fat, and within it is meate and small graines, like to those of figges, which be very sweete; they haue a good taste, especially the white, which haue a pleasing smell, but the red are not vsually so good. There is another sort of *Tunalls*, which they esteeme much more, although it yeeldes no fruit, yet it beares another commoditie and profit, which is of the graine, for that certaine small wormes breede in the leaues of this tree, when it is well husbanded, and are thereunto fastned, couered with a certaine small fine web, which doth compasse them in daintily; and this is that *Indian Cochenille*, so famous, and wherewith they die in graine. They let it drie, and being dried, carrie it into *Spaine*, which is a great and rich marchandise. The robe of this *Cochenille* or graine is worth many ducats. In the fleete, the yeare 1587. they did bring fve thousand six hundred seuentie seuen robes, which amounted to two hundred fourescore three thousand seuen hundred and fiftie peeces, and commonly there comes euery yeare as great a wealth.

Tunall tree.

I thinke hee
meaneth Anill
or Indico: of
which see To. 1.
14. in Fitches
Iournall.
Cotten.

These *Tunalls* grow in temperate grounds inclining to cold. In *Peru* there growes none to this day. I haue seene some Plants in *Spaine*, but they deserue not estimation. I will speake something likewise of the *Anir*, although it comes not from a tree, but from an hearbe, for that it serueth for the dying of cloth, and is a marchandise which agrees with the graine; it groweth in great abundance in new *Spaine*, from whence there came in the fleete I mentioned 5263. arbes, or thereabouts, which amounted to so many peeces. *Cotten* likewise growes vpon small shrubs, and great trees like to little apples, which doe open and yeelde forth this webbe, which being gathered, they spinne to make stufes: and the yeare that I spake of, there came 64000. robes.

These Plants we haue spoken of, are the most profitable of the *Indies*, and the most necessarie for the life of man: yet there are many other that are good to eate, among the which the *Mameys* are esteemed, being in fashion like to great Peaches, and bigger; they haue one or two stones within them, and their meate is somewhat hard. There are some sweete, and others somewhat sowre, and haue the rinde hard. They make conserues of the meate of this fruite, which is like to Marmelade. The vse of this fruite is reasonable good, but the conserues they make thereof, are better. They grow in Ilands. I haue not seene any in *Peru*. It is a great tree, well fashioned, and a reasonable faire leafe. The *Guanayanos* be other trees which commonly

Of Mameys,
Guanayanos, and
Paltos. Chap. 24.

carrie an ill fruite, full of fowre kernels, and are like to little Apples. It is a tree little esteemed vpon the firme Land and at the Ilands, for they say it smells like to the *Panaifes*. The taste and fauour of this fruite is verie grosse, and the substance vpholesome. In Saint *Dominique* and other Ilands, there are whole Mountaines full of these *Guayanos*, and they say, there was no such kindes of trees before the *Spaniards* came there, but that they brought them they know not from whence. This tree hath multiplied infinitely, for that there is no Beast that will eate the kernels or the graine, so as being thus scattered on the earth, being hot and moist, it multiplies in this sort. In *Peru*, the *Guayanos* differs from others, for that the fruite is not red, but white, neither hath it any ill smell, but is of a very good taste; and of what sort of *Guayanos* soeuer it be, the fruite is as good as the best of *Spaine*, especially of those which they call *Guayanos de Matos*, 10 and of other little white *Guayulles*. It is a fruite reasonably holesome, and agrees with the stomach, being of a strong digestion, and cold. The *Paltas* commonly are hore and delicate. The *Palta* is a great tree, and carries a faire leafe, which hath a fruit like to great Peares: within it hath a great stone, and all the rest is soft meate, so as when they are full ripe, they are as it were Butter, and haue a delicate taste. In *Peru* the *Paltas* are great, and haue a verie hard skale, which may be taken off whole. This fruite is most vsuall in *Mexico*, hauing a thinne skinne, which may be pilled like an Apple: they hold it for a very holesome meate, and as I haue said, it declines a little from heate. These *Mamayas*, *Guayanos*, and *Paltas*, be the *Indians* Peaches, Apples, and Peares; and yet would I rather choole them of *Europe*.

The Marmalad is that which they call *Capotes*, or *Chicoapotes*, which haue a sweete taste, and neere vnto the colour of Marmalade. Some *Crollos* (for so they called the *Spaniards* borne at the *Indies*) say that this fruite passeth all the fruites of *Spaine* in excellencie: yet am I not of that opinion. Those *Chicoapotes* or *Capotes*, wherein there is little difference: grow in the hottest parts of new *Spaine*, neither haue I knowledge of any such fruite in the firme Land of *Peru*. As for the *Blanckemanger*, it is that *Annona* or *Guananana*, which growes in the firme Land, which is fashioned like vnto a Peare, a little sharpe and opened, within it is white, tender and soft like Butter, sweete and of a pleasing taste: It is no white meate, though they call it *Blanckemanger*.

There are some grosse Fruitres, as those which they call *Lucumes* (of which fruite they speake in a Prouerbe, that it is a counterfet price.) The *Guanos*, *Pacayes*, *Hubos*, and the Nuts which they call *Imprisoned*: which fruites seeme so many, to be the same kinde of Nuts we haue in *Spaine*. I doe not thinke it good to passe away vnder silence the *Cocos* or *Indian Palmes*, by reason of a verie notable propertie it hath. I call them *Palmes*, not properly, or that it beares Dates, but that they are trees like to other *Palmes*. They are high and strong, and the higher they grow, the broader they stretch out their branches. These *Cocos* yeeld a fruite which they likewise call *Cocos*, whereof they commonly make vessels to drinke in, and some they say haue a vertue against poison, and to cure the paine in the side. The nutte and meate being dried, is good to eate, and comes neere in take to greene Chestnuts. When the *Coco* is tender vpon the tree, the substance within it, is as it were Milke, which they drinke for daintinesse, and to refresh them in time of heate. I haue seene of these trees in Saint *Jean de Port Rico*, and other parts of the *Indies*, and they report a wonderfull thing, that euery moneth or Moone, this tree casts forth a new branch of this *Cocos*; so as it yeeldes fruite twelue times in the yeare, as it is written in the *Apocalips*; and in truth this seemes like vnto it, for that all the branches are of different ages, some beginning, others being ripe, and some halfe ripe. These *Cocos* are commonly of the forme and bignesse of a small Melon. There is of another kinde, which they call *Coquillos*, the which is a better fruite, whereof there be some in *Chille*. They are somewhat lesse then Nuts, but more round. There is another kinde of *Cocos*, which haue not the kernell so oylie, but within they haue a great number of small fruits like Almonds, like vnto the graines of a Pomgranat.

These Almonds are thrice as bigge as those of *Castillo*, and resemble them in taste, though they be more sharpe, and likewise moist and oylie. It is a good meate, they vse it also in feasting, for lacke of Almonds to make Marchpanes, and such other things. They call them *Almonds of the Andes*, for that these *Cocos* grow abundantly vpon the *Andes* of *Peru*; they are so strong and hard, as to open them, they must beate them with a great stone, when they fall from the tree. If they chance to hit any one on the head, he hath no more neede of any Surgeon. It is an incredible thing, that within the hollow of these *Cocos*, which are no bigger than the rest, or little more, there are such a multitude of these Almonds. But as touching Almonds and other fruits, all trees must yeelde to the Almonds of *Chachapoyas*, which I cannot otherwise call. It is the most pleasing, delicate and wholesome fruite of all that I haue seene at the *Indies*.

The *Indians* are great louers of flowers, and in new *Spaine* more then in any other part of the world, and therefore they are accustomed to make many kindes of *Nosegays*, which there they call *Suchillos*, with such prettie varietie and art, as nothing can be more pleasing. They haue a custom amongst them, that the chiefeest man offer their *Suchillos* or *nosegays* in honour to Noblemen, and to their ghests; and they presented vs with such abundance as wee passed through that Countrey, as wee knew not what to doe with them; and at this day they vse the

of many sorts
of fruit Trees,
of Cocos, Al-
monds, of the
Andes, and Al-
monds of Cha-
chapoyas, Cha 26
Cocos.

Chicoapotes.

Of many sorts
of fruit Trees,
of Cocos, Al-
monds, of the
Andes, and Al-
monds of Cha-
chapoyas, Cha 26
Cocos.

Almonds.

Of many and
diuer flowers,
and of some
trees which
yeelde onely a
flower, & how
the *Indians* doe
vse them, Ch. 27.

the principall flowers of *Castile*, to that end, for that they grow better there than here, as Gilli-flowers, Roses, Iasmins, Violets, Orange flowers, and other sorts which they haue transported out of *Spain*. The Rose tree groweth too fast in some places, so as they beare no Roses. It chanced one day that a Rose tree was burned, and the liens which sprowted out, presently bare abundance of Roses, and thereby they learned to prune them, and to cut off the superfluous branches, so as at this day they yeelde reasonable store of Roses. But besides these kindes of flowers, which haue beene transported from hence, there are many others, whose names I doe not know, whereof some are red, blew, yellow, violet and white, with a thousand different colours, which the *Indians* did vse to carry on their heads, as feathers for ornament. True it is, that may of these flowers are onely pleasing to the sight, hauing no good sauour, either they are grosse, or else they haue none at all; and yet there be some of an excellent sent. As those which grow vpon a tree tearmed by them *Floripondio* or *carry flower*, which beares no fruite, but onely these flowers, which are greater than the Lillie, and are like to little Bels, all white, which haue within them small threds, as we see in the Lillie: it leaues not all the yeare to beare these flowers, whose smell is wonderfull sweete and agreeable, especially in the coole of the morning. The Viceroy *Don Francisco de Toledo* sent of these trees vnto King *Phillip*, as a thing worthy to be planted in royall Gardens. In new *Spain* the *Indians* esteeme much of a flower, which they call *Valosuchil*, which signifieth *flower of the heart*, for that it beares the forme of a heart, and is not much lesse. The flower of *Granadille* is held for an admirable thing, and they say, it hath in it the markes of the Passion, and that therein they note the nailes, the pillar, the whips, and crowne of thornes, and the wounds, wherein they are not altogether without reason, and yet to find out and obserue these things, it requires some pietie to cause belcefe: but it is very exquisite and faire to the eye, although it haue no smell, &c.

Accidents produce most arts.

The balme which comes from the West *Indies*, is not of the same kinde of right Balme which they bring from *Alexandria* or *Cairo*, and in old time was in *Iudea*, which *Iudea* (as *Plinie* writeth) did of all the world possesse this greatnesse, vntill the Emperour *Vespasian* brought it to *Rome* and into *Italie*. At the *Indies* I haue seene the Tree from whence they draw the Balme, which is as big as a Pomgranat tree, and something neere the fashion: and if my memorie failes me not, it hath nothing common with the Vine, although that *Strabo* writes, that the ancient tree of Balme, was of the bignesse of a Pomgranat tree. But in their accidents & operations, their liquors are alike, as likewise they be in their admirable smells, & in the cure and healing of wounds in colour and substance, seeing they report of other Balmes that there is some white, vermillion, Greene and blacke, the which is likewise seene in that of the *Indies*. And as they drew forth the ancient in cutting and making incisions in the barke, to cause the liquor to distill out, so doe they with that at the *Indies*, although it distills in greater abundance. And as in the ancient there is one kinde which is pure, the which they call *Opobalsamum*, which be the verie teares that distill, so as there is another sort which is not so exquisite, the which they draw from the barke and leaues strained and boiled on the fire, the which they call *Xilobalsamum*. The like is also in the *Indian* Balmes, there is one pure that distills from the tree, and others that the *Indians* draw out by straining and boiling the leaues and wood. The Apostolike Sea hath giuen libertie to giue Creame of Balme at the *Indies*, and that they should vse it in Confirmation and other ceremonies which they vse.

Of Balme.

Plin. lib. 12. c. 15. Chap. 28.

Strab. lib. 16. Geograph.

Next to Balme, Amber holds the second place: it is another liquor which is likewise sweet and medicinall, but more thicke, and turnes into a paste of a hot complexion, and a good perfume. This Amber comes from new *Spain*, which hath that aduantage aboue other Prouinces in Gummes, Liquors, and iuyce of Trees, whereby they haue such abundance of matter, for perfume and physicke, as is the *Anise*, whereof there comes great store, *Copal* or *Suckicopal*, which is another kinde, *Storax* and *Incense*, which haue excellent operations, and haue a very good smell fit for fumigations. Likewise the *Tacamahaca* and *Caranna*, which are also very medicinall. They bring likewise from this Prouince oile of *Assicke*, which the Physicians and Painters vse much, the one for plaisters, the other to vernish their pictures. They bring also for the Physicians *Cassia fistula*, the which growes plentifully in Saint *Dominique*. It is a great Tree, which carries these Canes as his fruit. They brought in the fleet wherein I came from Saint *Dominique* fortie eight Quintals of *Cassia fistula*. *Salcepareille* is not lesse knowne, for a thousand remedies wherein it is vsed. There came in the same fleet fiftie Quintals from the same Iland. There is much of this *Salcepareille* at *Peru*, and most excellent in the Prouince of *Guayaquil*, which is vnder the Line. Many goe to be cured into this Prouince, and it is the opinion of some, that the pure water onely which they drinke, giues them health, for that it passeth by rootes as I haue said, from whence it drawes this vertue, so as there needes no great couering of garments to make a man sweat in that Countrey. The wood of *Guayac*, which they call *Lignum sanctum*, or *Indian wood*, growes abundantly in the same Ilands, and is as heauie as Iron, so as it presently sinks in the water: hereof they brought in the same fleet three hundred and fiftie Quintals, and they might haue brought twentie, yea, a hundred thousand of this wood, if there were vse for it. There came in the same fleet, and from the same Iland, one hundred and thirtie Quintals of *Bresil wood*, the which is

Of Amber, and other Oyles, Gummes, and Drugs, which they bring from the *Indies* Chap. 29.

Cas. Fistula. Salcepareille.

Lignum vitæ.

Auncient Physicians.

fiery red, so well knowne, and much vsed in dying and other things. There are at the *Indies* infinite numbers of other aromaticall Woods, Gummes, Oiles, and Drugs, so as it is not possible to name them all, neither doth it now much import. I say onely, that in the time of the Kings *Inguas* of *Cusco*, and the *Mexicane* Kings, there were many great personages expert in curing of diseases with simples, and did goodly cures, hauing the knowledge of the many vertues and properties of Herbs, Rootes, Woods, and Plants, which grow there, and whereof the Ancients of *Europe* haue had no knowledge. There are a thousand of these simples fit to purge, &c.

Strange trauil.

Woods are so many and great, that it hath beene needfull (passing through some parts of the *Indies*, especially where they newly entred) to make their way, in cutting downe Trees, and pulling vp Bushes, so that (as some religious men haue written that haue tried it) they could not sometimes haue passed about a league in a day. One of our brothers (a man worthy of credit) reported vnto vs, that being strayed in the Mountaines, not knowing which way hee should passe, he fell among such thicke Bushes, that hee was forced to goe vpon them, without setting foot to the ground, by the space of fifteen whole dayes: and to see the Sunne, or to marke some way in this thicke Forest full of wood, hee was forced to climbe to the top of the highest Trees to discouer. He that shall reade the discourse of his trauell, how often he was lost, and the wayes hee passed, with the strange aduentures that happened vnto him, the which I haue written briefly, being so worthy the knowledge, and hauing my selfe travelled a little ouer the Mountaines at the *Indies*, were it but the eightene leagues betwixt *Nombre de Dios* and *Panama*, may well iudge what great Forests there are. So as hauing no winter in those parts, to nip them with cold, and the humiditie of the Heauens and Earth being so great, as the Mountaines bring forth infinite Forests, and the Playnes which they call *Sauanas*, great plentie of grasse: there is no want of Pasture for feeding, of Timber for building, nor of Wood for fuell. It is impossible to set downe the differences and formes of so many wilde Trees, for that the names of the greatest part are vnkowne.

Great Tree.

Plin. lib. 12. c. 1.

Of Plants and fruites which haue bin carried out of Spain to the Indies. Chap. 31.

Cedars in old time so much esteemed, are there very common, both for buildings and ships, and they are of diuers sorts, some white, and some red, very odoriferant. There are great store of Bay trees, very pleasant to behold vpon the *Andes* of *Peru*, vpon the Mountaines, in the Ilands of *Nicaragua*, and in new *Spaine*. There are also infinite numbers of Palmes and Ceiuas, whereof the *Indians* make their Canoes, which are Boates made of one peece. They bring into *Spaine* from the *Hauana*, excellent timber. In the Iland of *Cuba*, there are infinite numbers of like trees, as *Ebene*, *Caouana*, *Grenadille*, Cedars, and other kindes which I doe not know. There are great Pine trees in new *Spaine*, though they be not so strong as those in *Spaine*: they beare no pignous or kernels, but emptie apples. The Oakes as they call them of *Guayaquil*, is an excellent wood and sweet, when they cut it; yea there are Canes or most high Reeds, of whose boughs or small reedes they doe make Bottles and Pitchers to carry water, and doe likewise vse them in their buildings. There is likewise the wood of *Mausle* or Firre, whereof they make masts for their ships, and they hold them as strong as Iron. *Molle* is a tree of many vertues, which casteth forth small boughes, whereof the *Indians* make wine. In *Mexico* they call it the tree of *Peru*, for that it came from thence: but it growes also in new *Spaine*, and better then those in *Peru*. There are a thousand other Trees, which were a superfluous labour to intreat of, whereof some are of an exceeding greatnesse, I will speake onely of one which is in *Tlaco Chanoya*, three leagues from *Guayaca* in new *Spaine*: this tree being measured within, being hollow, was found to haue nine fadome, and without, neere to the roote, sixteene, and somewhat higher, twelue. This tree was strooke with lightning from the toppe to the bottome, through the heart, the which caused this hollownesse: they say that before the thunder fell vpon it, it was able to shadow a thousand men, and therefore they did assemble there for their dances and superstitions: yet to this day there doth remaine some boughes and verdure, but not much. They know not what kinde of tree it is, but they say it is a kinde of Cedar. Such as shall finde this strange, let them reade what *Plinie* reporteth of the Plaine of *Lidia*, the hollow whereof contained fourescore foot and one, and seemed rather a Cabbin or a House, then the hollow of a tree, his boughes like a whole wood, the shadow whereof couered a great part of the field. By that which is written of this Tree, we haue no great cause to wonder at the Weaver, who had his dwelling and Loom in the hollow of a Chesnut tree: and of another Chesnut tree, if it were not the very same, into the hollow whereof there entered eightene men on Horsebacke, and passed out without disturbing one another. The *Indians* did commonly vse their Idolatries in these Trees, so strange and deformed, euen as did the auncient *Gentiles*, as some Writers of our time doe report.

The *Indians* haue receiued more profit, and haue bin better recompenced in Plants that haue bin brought from *Spaine*, then in any other Merchandise, for that those few which are carried from the *Indies* into *Spaine*, grow little there, and multiply not, and contrariwise the great number that haue beene carried from *Spaine* to the *Indies*, prosper well and multiply greatly: I know not whether I shall attribute it to the bountie of the Plants that goe from hence, or to the goodnesse of the soyle that is there. Finally, there is at the *Indies* any good thing that *Spaine* brings forth: in some places it is better, in some worse, as Wheate, Barley, Hearbes, and all kinds

kinds of Pulses, also Lettuce, Coleworts, Radishes, Onions, Garlike, Parsley, Turneps, Parseneps, *Becengenes*, or Apples of Ioue, Siccorie, Beetes, Spinage, Pease, Beanes, Fetches: and finally, whatsoeuer groweth here of any profit, so as all that haue voyaged thither, haue beene curious to carry Seedes of all sorts, and all haue growne, although diuersly, some more, some lesse. As for those trees that haue most abundantly fructified, be Orange-trees, Limons, Citrons, and other of that sort. In some parts there are at this day, as it were whole Woods and Forrests of Orange trees: the which seeming strange vnto me, I asked who had planted the fields with so many Orange trees: they made me answer, that it did come by chance, for that Oranges being fallen to the ground, and rotten, their seedes did spring, and of those which the water had carried away into diuers parts, these Woods grew so thicke: which seemed to mee a very good reason. I haue said that this fruite hath generally increased most at the *Indies*, for that I haue not beene in any place but I finde Orange trees, for that all their soile is hot and moist, which this tree most desires. There growes not any vpon the *Sierre* or Mountaine, but they carrie them from the vallies or Sea coast. The conserue of Oranges which they doe make at the Ilands, is the best I haue seene any where: Peaches, Preses, and Apricockes haue greatly multiplied, especially in new *Spaine*. At *Pern* there growes few of these kindes of fruites, except Peaches, and much lesse in the Ilands. There growes Apples and Peares, yet but scarcely: there are but few Plumbs, but abundance of Figges, chiefly in *Pern*. They finde Quinces in all the Countrey of the *Indies*, and in new *Spaine*, in such abundance, as they gaue vs fittie choice ones for halfe a riall. There is great store of Pomegranats, but they are all sweete, for the sharpe are not there esteemed. There are very good Melons in some parts of *Pern*. Cherries both wilde and tame haue not prospered well at the *Indies*, the which I doe not impute to want of temperature, for that there is of all sorts, but to carelesnesse, or that they haue not well obserued the temperature. To conclude, I doe not finde that in those parts there wants any daintie fruite. As for grosse fruites, they haue no *Beillottes* nor Chestnuts, neither doe I finde that any haue growne there to this day. Almonds grow there, but rarely. They carry from *Spaine*, for such as are daintie mouthed, both Almonds, Nuts, and Filberds: but I haue not knowne they had any Medlers or Seruices, which imports little.

Natures husbandrie.

There growes no Wine nor Grapes in the Ilands, nor firme Land, but in new *Spaine*, there are some Vines which beare Grapes, and yet make no Wine. The cause is, for that the Grapes ripens not well, by reason of the raine that falls in the Moneths of Iuly and August, which hinders their ripening, so as they serue onely to eat. They carry Wine out of *Spaine*, and from the *Canaries*, to all parts of the *Indies*, except *Pern* and the Realme of *Chille*. There are some places where the Vines are not watered, neither from heauen nor earth, and yet they increase in great abundance, as in the Valley of *Yca*, and in the ditches that they call *Villacuzi*, in which places they finde ditches, or the earth sunke downe amongst the dead Sands, which are thorough out the yeare of a wonderfull coolenesse, and yet it raines not there at any time, neither is there any manner of meanes to water it artificially: the reason is, because the soile is spongiouse, and sucks vp the water of the riuers that fall from the Mountaine, which moisten these Sands, or else it is the moistnesse of the Sea, as others suppose, which passing ouer this Sand, is the cause why it is not barren nor vnprofitable, as the Philosopher teaches. The Vines haue so increased there, as for this cause onely the tithes of the Churches are multiplied fve or six times double within these twentie yeares. And it is strange, that in the Citie of *Cusco* you shall finde ripe Grapes all the yeare long: the reason is (as they say) for that those Vallies bring forth fruites in diuers moneths of the yeare, either for that they cut their Vines in diuers seasons, or that this variety proceeds from the qualitie of the soile: but whatsoeuer it be, it is most certaine, there are some Vallies which carrie fruite all the yeare. If any one wonder at this, it may be he will wonder much more at that which I shall say, and perchance not beleue it. There are Trees in *Pern*, whereof the one part yeeldes fruite one fixe moneths of the yeare, and the other halfe part yeeldes fruite the other fixe moneths. In *Malla* which is thirteene leagues from the Citie of *Kings*, there is a Figge-tree, whereof the one halfe which is towards the South, is greene, and yeeldeth his fruite one season of the yeare, that is, when it is summer vpon the *Sierre*, and the other moitie towards the *Lanos* or Sea coast, is greene, and yeeldes his fruite in the other contrarie season, when it is summer vpon the *Lanos*, which groweth from the diuers temperature, and the ayre which commeth from the one part, and the other. The reuenue of Wine there is not small, but it goeth not out of the Countrey. But the Silke that is made in new *Spaine* is transported into other Countries, as to *Pern*. There were no Mulberrie trees in the *Indies*, but such as were brought from *Spaine*, and they grow well, especially in the Prouince which they call *Mistecqua*, where there are Silke-wormes, and they put to worke the Silke they gather, whereof they make verie good Taffataes: yet to this day they haue made neither Damaske, Sattin, nor Veluet. The Sugar yet is a greater reuenue, for they not onely spend it at the *Indies*, but also they carrie much into *Spaine*, for the Canes grow exceeding well in manie parts of the *Indies*. They haue built their engines in the Ilands, in *Mexico*, in *Pern*, and in other parts, which yeeldeth them a very great reuenue.

Of Grapes, Vines, Oliues, Mulberries, and Canes of Sugar. Chap. 32.

Grapes all the yeere.

Strange fruites flying.

of the same kind.

It

Oliues but
no Oile.

It was told me, that the engine for Sugar in *Nasca*, was worth yearly aboute thirtie thousand pieces of reuenue. That of *Chicama* ioyning to *Truxillo*, was likewise of great reuenue, and those of new *Spaine* are of no lesse; and it is a strange thing to see what store they consume at the *Indies*. They brought from the Iland of *Saint Dominique*, in the fleet wherein I came, eight hundred ninetie eight chests of Sugar, which being (as I did see) shipped at *Port Ricco* (euery chest (in my opinion) weighed eight Arobes, euery Arobe weighing five and twentie pounds, which are two hundred weight of Sugar) is the chiefe reuenue of these Ilands, so much are men giuen to the desire of sweet things. There are likewise Oliues and Oliue trees at the *Indies*, I say in *Mexico* and in *Pern*, yet hath there not bene to this day any Mill for Oile, for that they eate all their Oliues, and dresse them well: they finde the charge is greater to make Oile then the profit, and therefore they carry all the Oile they doe spend from *Spaine*. And here we will end with plants, and will passe to such beasts as be at the *Indies*.

¶ VI.

Of Beasts and Fowles in the Indies.

Of beasts bearing
wooll, and
of Kine, Cap. 33.



Finde there are three kindes of beasts at the *Indies*, whereof some haue bene carried from *Spaine*; others are of the same kinde we haue in *Europe*, and yet not carried by the *Spaniards*; and others are proper to the *Indies*, whereof there are none in *Spaine*.

European
beasts.

Store of sheep.

Of the first kinde are Sheepe, Kine, Goats, Swine, Horses, Asses, Dogs, Cats, and other such beasts, for there are of all these kindes at the *Indies*. The smaller Cattell haue greatly multiplied, and if they could make profit of their woolls by sending them into *Europe*, it were one of the greatest riches the *Indies* had, for there the flocks of sheepe haue great pastures, where as their feeding failes not. In *Pern* there is such store of pastures and feedings, as no man hath any proper to himselfe, but euery man feedes his troups where he pleaseth. For this reason there is commonly great store of flesh, and very good cheape, and all other things that come from sheepe, as Milke, and Cheese. For a time they lost their woolls, vntill that some began to husband it, and to make cloth and couerings, which hath bene a great helpe for the poorer sort of the Countrey, for that the cloth of *Castile* is very deare there. There are many Clothiers in *Pern*, but more in new *Spaine*, yet the cloth that comes from *Spaine* is farre better, whether the wooll bee more fine, or the workmen more expert. In former times there were men that did possesse threescore and ten, yea a hundred thousand sheepe, and at this day they haue not many lesse. If this were in *Europe*, it were a very great substance, but in that Countrey it is but a meane wealth. In many parts of the *Indies*, and I thinke in the greatest part, small Cattell doe not increase and profit well, by reason that the grasse is high, and the soile so vicious, that they cannot feede so well as great Cattell.

Store of Kine.

And therefore there is an infinite number of Kine, whereof there are two kindes. Some are tame and goe in troups, as in the land of *Charca*, and other Prouinces of *Pern*, as also in all new *Spaine*: from these tame Kine they draw such profit as they doe in *Spaine*, that is, the Flesh, Butter, Calues, and Oxen to till the ground. The other kinde is wilde, which liue in the Mountains and Forests, and therefore they tame them not, neither haue they any master to whom they are proper, both for the roughnesse and thickenesse of the Forest, as also for the great multitude there is, and he that first kills them is the master, as of any wilde beast. These wilde Kine haue so multiplied in *Saint Dominique*, and thereabouts, that they troupe together in the fields and woods by thousands, hauing no master to whom they appertaine. They hunt these beasts onely for their hides, they goe to the field on horse-backe with their weapons to hough them, coursing the Kine: and when they haue stricken any and stayed them, they are their owne, they slay them and carry the hides home, leauing the flesh, which euery one neglects for the abundance there is, so as some haue testified in this Iland, that in some places the aire hath bene corrupted with the abundance of these stinking carcases. The hides they bring into *Spaine*, is one of the best reuenues of the Ilands, and of new *Spaine*. In the fleet the yeere 1587. there came from *Saint Dominique* 35444. hides, and from new *Spaine* 64350. which they value at 96532. pieces, so as when they discharge one of these fleets, it is admirable to behold the Riuer of *Senile*, and in the Arcenall (where they vnlade) so many hides, and so much merchandize. There are also great numbers of Goats, whose chiefe profit is their tallow, besides their Kid-milke and other commodities, for that both rich and poore vse this tallow for lights. For as there is a great quantitie, so doe they make very good account of it; yea, more then of oile, but all the tallow they vse is onely of the Males. They vse their skins for shooes, yet I hold them not so good, as those which are carried from *Castile*.

Wilde herds.

Killed only for
the hides.

Almost 100000
hides transported
at once. How
rich might
Virginia become, if I

Horses.

Horses haue multiplied there, and are very excellent in many places; yea in many parts there are Races found as good as the best in *Spaine*, as well for passing of a Carrier, and for pompe, as also for trauell: and therefore they vse Horses most commonly, although there bee no want of

Moyles,

Moyles, whereof there are many, especially where they make their carriages by land. There is no great numbers of Asses, hauing no great vse for them, neither for trauell nor seruice. There are some few Camels; I haue seene some in *Peru*, that were brought from the *Canaries*, and haue multiplyed there a little. In *Saint Dominique*, Dogs haue so multiplyed in number and bignesse, as at this day it is the scourge and affliction of that Iland: for they eate the Sheepe, and goe in troupes through the fields. Such that kill them are rewarded like to them that kill Wolves in *Spaine*. At the first there were no Dogs at the *Indies* but some beasts like vnto little Dogs, the which the *Indians* call *Alco*, and therefore they call all Dogs that goe from *Spaine*, by the same name, by reason of the resemblance that is betwixt them. The *Indians* doe so loue these little Dogs, that they will spare their meat to feed them, so as when they trauell in the Country, they carry them with them vpon their shoulders, or in their bosoms, and when they are sicke, they keepe them with them, without any vse, but onely for companie.

Asses.
Camels.
Dogs multi-
plied to noy-
somnesse.

Indian Dogs.

It is certaine that they haue carried from *Spaine* all these beasts whereof I haue spoken, of which kindes there were none at the *Indies*, when they were first discovered about a hundred yeeres since; for besides that it may be well approued by witnesses at this day liuing; It is also a sufficient argument to see that the *Indians* in their tongue, haue no proper wordes to signifie these beasts, but they vse the same *Spanish* names, although they be corrupted: for being ignorant of the thing, they tooke the word common to those places from whence they came. I haue found this a good rule, to discerne what things the *Indians* had before the *Spaniards* came there, and what they had not: for they gaue names to those they had and knew before, and haue giuen new names to these that are newly come vnto them, which commonly are the same *Spanish* names, although they pronounce them after their manner, as for a Horse, Wine, and Wheat. They found of some sorts of beasts that are in *Europe*, and were not carried thither by the *Spaniards*. There are Lions, Tigres, Beares, Boares, Foxes, and other fierce and wilde beasts, whereof we haue treated in the first Booke, so as it was not likely they should passe to the *Indies* by Sea, being impossible to swim the Ocean: and it were a folly to imagine that men had imbarcked them with them. It followes therefore that this world ioynes with the new in some part: by which these beasts might passe, and so by little and little multiplyed this world. The Lions which I haue seene, are not red, neither haue they such haire as they vually paint them with. They are grey, and not so furious as they seeme in pictures. The *Indians* assemble in troupes to hunt the Lion, and make as it were a circle, which they doe call *Chaco*, wherewith they inuiron them, and after they kill them with stones, stauers, and other weapons. These Lions vse to climbe trees, where being mounted, the *Indians* kill them with Lances and Crosse-bowes, but more easily with Harquebuzes. The Tigres are more fierce and cruell, and are more dangerous to meet, because they breake forth and assaile men in treason: They are spotted, as the Historiographers describe them. I haue heard some report that these Tigres were very fierce against the *Indians*, yet would they not aduenture at all vpon the *Spaniards*, or very little; and that they would choose an *Indian* in the midst of many *Spaniards*, and carry him away.

Of some beasts
of *Europe*,
vvhich the
Spaniards
found at the
Indies, and
how they
should passe
thither, Cap. 34.
Note.

* But vvhether
our Nauigati-
ons beyond
So. haue shew-
ed open and
vvide Seas be-
tweene
Lions.
Circles are v-
sed in hunting
by *Perfians*,
Tartars, &c.
Tigres.

The Beares which in *Cusco* they call *Otoioncos*, be of the same kinde that ours are, and keepe in the ground. There are few swarmes of Bees, for that their hony-combs are found in Trees, or vnder the ground, and not in Hiuies as in *Castile*. The hony-combs which I haue seene in the Prouince of *Charcas*, which they call *Chiguanas*, are of a grey colour, hauing little iuyce, and are more like vnto sweet straw, then to hony-combs. They say the Bees are little, like vnto Flies; and that they swarme vnder the earth. The hony is sharpe and blacke, yet in some places there is better, and the combs better fashioned, as in the Prouince of *Tucuman* in *Chille*, and in *Carthage*. I haue not seene nor heard speake of wilde Boares, but of Foxes and other wilde beasts that eate their Cattell and Fowle, there are more then their Shepherds would willingly haue. Besides these beasts that are furious and hurtfull, there are others that are profitable, and haue not bene transported by the *Spaniards*, as Stags and Deere, whereof there is great abundance in all the Forests. But the greatest part is a kinde of Deere without hornes, at the least, I haue neuer seene nor heard speake of other, and all are without hornes like vnto *Corcos*. It seemes not hard to beleue, but is almost certaine, that all these beasts for their lightnesse, and being naturally wilde, haue passed from one World to another, by some parts where they ioyne, seeing that in the great Ilands farte from the mayne land I haue not heard that there are any, though I haue made diligent inquirie.

Beares.

Bees.

Foxes and
beasts of
spoile.

Deere vvith-
out hornes.

Of Fowles
vvhich are
here and are
at the *Indies*,
and how they
could passe
thither, Cap. 35.

Plin. lib. 10. c. 23.
strange

We may more easily beleue the same of birds, and that there are of the same kindes that wee haue, as Partridges, Turtles, Pidgeons, Stock-doues, Quails, and many sorts of Falcons, which they send from new *Spaine* and *Peru*, to the Noblemen of *Spaine*, for they make great account of them. There are also *Hérons* and *Eagles* of diuers kindes; and there is no doubt but these birds and such like, haue sooner passed thither then Lions, Tigres, and Stags. There are likewise at the *Indies* great numbers of *Parrots*, especially vpon the *Andes* of *Peru*, and in the Ilands of *Port Ricco*, and *Saint Dominique*, where they flie by flocks, as Pidgeons doe here. To conclude, birds with their wings may goe where they will; and truly, many kindes might well passe the Gulfe, seeing it is certaine, as *Plinie* affirmeth, that there are many that passe the Sea, and goe into

strange Regions, although I haue not read that any Fowle hath passed by flight so great a Gulfe, as is the *Indian Ocean*, yet hold I it not altogether impossible, seeing the common opinion of Mariners, that you shall finde them two hundred leagues and more from the Land. And as *Aristotle* doth teach, that birds endure the water easily, hauing little respiration, as wee see in Sea fowle, which diue and remayne long vnder the water. Euen so wee may say, that the Fowle which be at this present vpon the mayne land, and in the Ilands at the *Indies*, might passe the Sea, resting themselves in some small Ilands, or vpon some land which they discovered by a naturall instinct (as *Plinie* reporteth of some) or peraduenture falling into the water, when they were wearie of flying, and after began their flight anew when they had a little rested. As for the Fowles which wee see in the Ilands, where there are no beasts, I beleue certainly that they passed by one of the foresaid meanes. But for other birds which we finde vpon the mayne land, especially those whose flight is short, it is more credible that they came thither as the beasts did, which are of the same kindes that we haue in *Europe*. For at the *Indies* there are great birds, very heauie, as *Estridges*, whereof there are many in *Peru*, which doe vse sometimes to terrifie the *Indian* sheepe as they doe goe with their burthens.

But leauing these birds that gouerne themselves without the care of man, but onely for hauking, let vs now speake of tame Fowle. I wondred at *Hennes*, seeing there were some at the *Indies* before the *Spaniards* came there, the which is well approued, for they haue a proper name of the Countrey, and they call a Hen *Gualpa*, and the Egge *Ponto*, and they vse the same prouerbe we doe, to call a Coward, a Hen. Those that were at the discouerie of the Ilands of *Solomon*, doe report that they haue seene *Hennes* there like vnto ours: wee may conceiue that the Hen being so tame a Fowle, and so profitable, men might carry them with them when they passed from one place to another, as we see at this day the *Indians* in their trauell carry their Hen with them, or chicken vpon the burthen they haue on their shoulders: and likewise they carry them easily in their Cages of reedes or wood. Finally, there be at the *Indies* many kindes of beasts and birds, such as wee haue in *Europe*, as I haue specified, and other sorts which I leaue to others to discourse of.

It were a matter more difficult, to shew, and proue, what beginning many and sundrie sorts of beasts had, which are found at the *Indies*, of whose kindes we haue none in this Continent. For if the Creator hath made them there, we may not then alleadge nor flie to *Noahs Arke*, neither was it then necessarie to saue all sorts of birds and beasts, if others were to bee created anew. Moreouer, we could not affirme, that the creation of the World was made and finished in fixe dayes, if there were yet other new kindes to make, and specially perfite beasts, and no lesse excellent then those that are knowne vnto vs: If we say then that all these kindes of Creatures were preserued in the Arke by *Noah*, it followes, that those beasts, of whose kindes wee finde not any but at the *Indies*, haue passed thither from this Continent, as wee haue said of other beasts that are knowne vnto vs. This supposed, I demand how it is possible that none of their kinde should remayne here? and how they are found there, being as it were Trauellers and Strangers? Truly it is a question that hath long held me in suspence.

I say for example, if the sheepe of *Peru*, and those which they call *Pacos* and *Guanacos*, are not found in any other Regions of the world, who hath carried them thither? or how came they there, seeing there is no thew nor remaynder of them in al this world? If they haue not passed from some other Region, how were they formed and brought forth there? It may bee God hath made a new creation of beasts! That which I speak of these *Pacos* and *Guanacos* may be said of a thousand different kindes of birds and beasts of the Forest, which haue neuer bene known, neither in shape nor name, and whereof there is no mention made, neither among the *Latines*, nor *Greekes*, nor any other Nations of the world. Wee must then say, that though all beasts came out of the Arke, yet by a naturall instinct, and the prouidence of Heauen, diuers kinds dispersed themselves into diuers Regions, where they found themselves so well, as they would not part: or if they departed, they did not preserue themselves, but in proceesse of time perished wholly, as we doe see it chance in many things. For if wee shall looke precisely into it, we shall finde that it is not proper and peculiar alone to the *Indies*, but generall to many other Nations and Prouinces of *Asia*, *Europe*, and *Affrike*, where they say there are certaine kindes of Creatures, that are not found in other

How it should be possible, that at the *Indies* there should be any sorts of beasts, whereof the like are no where else. Chap. 36.

The same prouidence which brought all

beasts and fowles from all their natie diuersified residencies thorow all the world to the Arke (which no naturall instinct in such antipathies and at once, could doe) and kept them safe in the Arke, did also dispose them to their designed abodes after. For I hold it vncristian with *Mercator* to say, *America* was not drowned with the Flood. And the same scruple might bee made for beasts, &c. in other parts; the remper of the Arke, or of the place where the Arke rested, not agreeing naturally to the Zebra, Elephant, Riuer-horse, Crocodile, and many other hotter creatures of *Africa*; nor to the other peculiar creatures of many other Regions. In things about nature (as is both the historie and myserie of the Arke) we must see necessarily to a supernaturall cause. For except wee would imagine the most part of the Sea to haue bene lands or Ilands from beyond the cold *Magellan* to the coldest *Purges plus vltra*, that is from 57. South latitude, to about 81. of North latitude, all the Sea is known, and voyages many in this work deliuerd which excludes al possibilitie of such passages of beasts especially such as cannot endure cold, as our Author imagineth. For men in boats, that might happen accidentally, which voluntarily hath bene attempted by Ours, a little boat comming home from *Bermuda* to *England*; and the Dutch open boats from *Nova Zembla* to *Norway*; further and longer distances then is needfull from Iland to Iland for crossing from *Europe* to some parts of *America*; that I mention not the *Carthaginian* and *Owen Gwyneds* voyages, and other casuall tempests, &c. in which by fishing, fishermen might liue long at Sea with their wines, and be carried by a higher cowering ouer-ruling prouidence to people this new World, which (it is likely) at diuers times and by diuers meanes receiued her inhabitants; God which made all men of one blood, allotting to all Adams sonnes their portions and the seuerall bounds of their habitation. Act. 17. 26.

other Regions, at the least if they be any where else, they are knowne to be carried from thence. Seeing then these Creatures came out of the Arke, as for example, the Elephant which wee finde onely in the East Indies, and from thence haue beene imparted to other Regions, wee may say as much of these Creatures of Peru; and of others of the Indies; which are not found in any other part of the World.

We may likewise consider well vpon this subiect, whether these beasts differ in kinde; and essentially from all others, or if this difference be accidentall, which might grow by diuers accidents, as wee see in the linages of men, some are white, others blacke, some Giants, others Dwarfs: and in Apes, some haue no taile, others haue: and in Sheepe, some are bare, others haue fleeces; some great and strong with a long necke, as those of Peru; others weake and little, hauing a short necke, as those of Castile. But to speake directly, who so would by this Discourse, shewing onely these accidentall differences, preserve the propagation of beasts at the Indies; and reduce them to those of Europe, hee shall vndertake a charge hee will hardly discharge with his honour. For if wee shall iudge the kindes of beasts by their properties, those of the Indies are so diuers, as it is to call an Egge a Chelmut; to seeke to reduce them to the knowne kindes of Europe.

Of Fowles that are proper to the Indies, and Venison.

20 There are many kindes of notable Fowles at the Indies, either of the same sort that ours be, or of different. They bring certaine birds from China, that haue no feete, and all their bodies are almost feathers. They sit not vpon the ground, but hang vpon boughs, by strings or feathers which they haue, and so rest themselues like Flies or ayrie things. In Peru there are birds which they call *Tomineios*, so small, that often-times I haue doubted seeing them flie, whether they were Bees or Butter-flies; but in truth they are birds. Contrariwise, those which they call *Condores*, be of an exceeding greatnesse, and of such a force, that not only they will open a sheep and eate it, but also a whole calfe. Those which they call *Auras*, and others *Paullazes* (which in my opinion are of the kinde of *Rauens*) are of a strange lightnesse, and haue a very quicke sight, being very fit to clense Cities, for that they leaue no Carrion nor dead thing. They passe the night on Trees or vpon Rocks, and in the morning they come to the Cities and Townes, sitting on the tops of the highest buildings, where they attend their prey. Their yong haue white feathers, as they report of *Rauens*, and so change into blacke.

See Iobson
Tom. 1. l. 9. of
such in Guinees
Tomineios.

Condores,
Rauens.

30 The *Guacamayas* be birds bigger then Parrets, and resemble them something; they are esteemed for the varietie of their feathers, which be very faire and pleasing. In new Spaine there are abundance of birds with excellent feathers, so as there bee not any found in Europe that comes neere them, as wee may see by the Images of feathers they bring from thence, the which are (with great reason) much valued and esteemed, giuing cause of admiration, that with the feathers of birds, they should make so excellent a worke, and so perfectly equall, as they seeme properly to be the true colours of a Painter, and haue so liuely and pleasing a regard, as the Painter cannot exceede it with his pencill and colours. Some Indians which are good and expert workmen in this Art, will represent perfectly in feathers, whatsoever they see drawne with the pencill, so as the Painters of Spaine, haue in this point, no aduantage ouer them. Don Philip the Prince of Spaine his Schoole-master, did giue vnto him three figures or portraictures made of feathers, as it were to put in a *Breniarie*. His Highnesse did shew them to King Philip his father, the which his Maiestie beholding attentiuely, said, that he had neuer scene in so small a worke, a thing of so great excellency and perfection. One day as they presented to Pope Sixtus Quintus, another square bigger then it, wherein was the figure of Saint Francis, and that they had told him it was made of feathers by the Indians, he desired to make triall thereof, touching the table with his fingers, to see if it were of feathers; for that it seemed strange, to see them so properly fitted, that the eye could not iudge nor discerne whether they were naturall colours of feathers, or artificiall done with the pencill. It is a goodly thing to see the lustre which a greene, an orange tawnie like gold, and other fine colours doe cast, and beholding them another way they seeme dead colours. They make the best and goodliest figures of feathers in the Prouince of *Me-chonacan*, and in the village of *Pascaro*. The manner is with small delicate Pinfors they pull the feathers from the dead fowles, and with a fine paste they cunningly ioyne them together. They take the small and delicate feathers of those birds, which in Peru they call *Tomineyos*, or others like vnto them, which haue the most perfect colours in their feathers. The Indians (besides these Images) did vse feathers in many other most excellent workes, especially for the ornament of Kings and Noblemen, their Temples and Idols.

Feather pictures.

60 There are also other great birds, which haue excellent and fine feathers, whereof they make plumes of sundrie colours, especially when they goe to warre, enriching them with gold and silver very artificially, which was a matter of great price. They haue the same birds still, but they are not so curious, neither doe they make so many gentill deuices as they were wont. There are other birds at the Indies, contrarie to these of so rich feathers, the which (besides that they are

all.

ill-favoured) serve to no other use but for dung, and yet perchance they are of no lesse profit. I have considered this; wondering at the providence of the Creator, who hath so appointed, that all Creatures should serve Man. In some Ilands or *Phares*, which are ioyning to the coast of *Peru*, we see the tops of the Mountaines all white, and to sight, you would take it for Snow, or for The like is in the East Indies. some white Land, but they are heapes of dung of Sea fowle which goe continually thither: and there is so great abundance, as it riseth many Elles, yea, many Lances in height, which seemes but a fable. They goe with boates to these Ilands, onely for the dung, for there is no other profit in them. And this dung is so commodious and profitable, as it makes the earth yeeld great abundance of fruit. They call this dung *Guano*, whereof the Valley hath taken the name, which they call *Limaguana*, in the valleys of *Peru*, where they use this dung, and it is the most fertile of all that Country. The Quinces, Pomegranets, and other fruits there, exceed all other in bountie and greatnesse; and they say, the reason is, for that the water where with they water it, passeth by a Land compassed with this dung.

Of beasts for the Chases. Chap. 38.

* These might come from the East parts thither by means of those Ilands which you see in *Schoutens* voyage.

Dantes.

Armadillos.

Yguanas.

Chinchilles.

Cuyes.

Viscachas.

Light-Dogge.

Of Micos or Indian Monkeys. Chap. 39.

Besides the Beasts of Chase, whereof wee have spoken, There are beasts called *Sainos*, made like small Hogs, which have this singular to themselves, to haue their Nauill vpon the ridge of their backs: these goe by troupes through the Woods, they are cruell and nothing fearfull, but contrariwise they assaile, and haue their tallents sharpe as Rasors, wherewith they make dangerous wounds and incisions, if such as hunt them put not themselves in safetie. Such as hunt them (for the more safer killing of them) climbe vp into Trees, whither the *Sainos* or Hogs come presently in troupes, biting the Tree when they cannot hurt the man, and then with their Lances they kill what they will. They are very good to eate, but they must of necessitie cut off the round piece where the Nauill growes vpon the backe; for otherwise, within a day they corrupt. There is another kinde of little beast like to sucking Pigges, and they call them *Guadatinaias*. I am in doubt whether there were any Swine at the *Indies*, before the Spaniards came thither, like to these in *Spaine*, for that in the discouerie of the Ilands of *Soloman*, it is said, they found * Hennes and Swine of *Spaine*. But howsoever it be, it is most certaine, that this Cattell hath greatly multiplied at the *Indies*. They eate the flesh fresh, and hold it to bee as wholesome and as good, as if it were of Mutton; as in *Carthagene* in some parts, they are become wilde and cruell, the which they hunt like wilde Boares, as wee see in *Saint Dominique*, and other Ilands where the beasts liue in the Forests. In some places they feede them with the graine of Mays, and they grow wonderfully fat, to haue the grease, which they use for want of Oile; in some places they make Gamons, as in *Tolluca* of new *Spaine*, and in *Paria* at *Peru*. Returning then to such beasts as are peculiar there, euen as the *Sainos* are like vnto Swine, though somewhat lesse; euen so the *Dantes* resemble small Kine, but more vnto Mules, hauing no hornes. The Hides of these beasts are much esteemed for jerkins and other couerings, they are so hard as they resist any blow whatsoever. And as the *Dantes* be defended by the hardnesse of their Hides, so those which they call *Armadillos* are by the multitude of their scales, which open and shut as they please like to a Curasse. There bee little beasts which goe through the Woods, called *Armadillos*, by reason of the defence they haue hiding themselves within their scales, and opening when they list: I haue eaten of them, and doe not hold it for a meate of any great worth; but the flesh of the *Yguanas* is a better meate, but more horrible to the eye: for they are like to the very *Lizardes* of *Spaine*, although they bee of a doubtfull kinde, for that they goe to the Water, and comming to Land they climbe the Trees vpon the bankes; and as they cast themselves from the Trees into the water, the Boates watch vnderneath to receiue them. The *Chinchilles* is an other kinde of small beasts, like Squirrels, they haue a wonderfull smoothe and soft skin, which they weare as a healthfull thing to comfort the stomacke, and those parts that haue neede of a moderate heate; they make Couerings and Rugs of the haire of these *Chinchilles*, which are found on the *Sierre* of *Peru*, where there is likewise a small beast very common, which they call *Cuyes*, and which the *Indians* hold for a very good meate, and they are accustomed often to offer these *Cuyes* in their sacrifices. They are like small Conies, and haue their borrowes in the ground, and in some places they haue vndermined all the Land: some are grey, some white, and some speckled. There are other small Animals which they call *Viscachas*, and are like to Hares, although they bee bigger, they hunt them and eate the flesh. Of common Hares there are great store in some parts. There are also Conies in the Realme of *Quitto*, but the good are come from *Spaine*. There is another strange beast, the which for his great heauinesse, and slownesse in moouing, they call *Perico-ligero*, or the little light Dogge, hee hath three nailes to euery hand, and mooues both hand and feete, as it were by compasse and very heauily: it is in face like to a Monkey, and hath a shrill crie; it climeth Trees, and eates Ants.

Throughout all the Mountaines, either of these Ilands of the firme Land, or of the *Andes*, there are infinite numbers of *Micos* or Monkeys, which are a kinde of Apes, but very different, in that they haue a taile, yea a very long one. And amongst them there are some kindes which are thrice, yea foure times bigger then the ordinarie; some are all blacke, some bay, some grey, and some spotted. Their agilitie and manner of doing is admirable, for that they

seeme

seeme to haue reason and discourse to goe vpon Trees, wherein they seeme to imitate Birds. Going from *Nombre de Dios* to *Panama*, I did see in *Capira*, one of these Monkeys leape from one Tree to another, which was on the other side of a Riuer, making me much to wonder. They leape where they list, winding their tailes about a branch to shake it: and when they will leape further then they can at once, they vse a prettie deuice, tying themselves by the tailes one of another, and by this meanes make as it were a chaine of many: then doe they lanch themselves forth, and the first holpen by the force of the rest, takes hold where he list, and so hangs to a bough, and helps all the rest, till they be gotten vp. It were long to report the fooleries, tricks, trauerses, and pleasant sports they make when they are taught, which seeme not to come from brut beasts, but from a manlike vnderstanding. I saw one in *Carthagene* in the *Gouernours* house, so taught, as the things he did seemed incredible: they sent him to the *Tauerne* for wine, putting the pot in one hand, and the money in the other; and they could not possibly get the money out of his hand, before he had his pot full of wine. If any children met him in the street, and threw any stones at him, hee would set his pot downe on the one side, and cast stones against the children till hee had assured his way, then would hee returne to carry home his pot. And which is more, although he were a good Bibber of wine (as I haue oftentimes seene him drinke, when his Master hath giuen it him) yet would hee neuer touch it vntill leaue was giuen him. They told me moreouer, that if he saw any women painted, he would fall vpon them, pull off their attire, and would seeke to bite them.

- 20 Amongst the most remarkable things at the *Indies* of *Pern*, be the *Vicugnes*, and sheepe of the Countrey; as they call them, which are tractable beasts and of great profit; the *Vicugnes* are wilde, and the Sheepe are tame. Some thinke that the *Vicugnes* are those which *Aristotle*, *Plinie*, and other Authors call *Capreas*, which are wilde Goats, and in truth they haue some resemblance, for the lightnesse they haue in the Woods and Mountaines, but yet they are no Goates, for the *Vicugnes* haue no hornes, as those haue, whereof *Aristotle* makes mention; neither are they the Goates of the East *Indies*, from whom they draw the *Bezar* stone; for if they be of that kinde, it were a diuerse one, as in the race of Dogs, the Mastife is diuerse from the Grey-hound. The *Vicugnes* of *Pern* are not those beasts which carry the *Bezar* stone, in the Prouince of new *Spaine*, which there they call *Bezars*, for that they are a kinde of Stags and Venison; yet doe I not know in any part of the World there bee any of these beasts, but in *Pern*, and in *Chille*, which are Countries ioyning one to another. These *Vicugnes* are greater then Goates, and lesse then Calues. Their haire is of the colour of dried Roses, somewhat cleerer; they haue no hornes like Stags and Goates. They feede vpon the highest tops of the Mountaines, which they call *Puñas*. The Snow nor Frost doth not offend them, but contrariwise they seeme to delight in it. They goe in troupes, and runne most lightly; when they meete with any Trauellers or Beasts, they flie away, seeming very fearefull, and in flying they driue their yong ones before them. They doe not finde that they multiply much: and therefore the Kings *Inguas* did defend the hunting of *Vicugnes*; if it were not for their feasts, or by their commandement. Some complaine, that since the *Spaniards* entred there, they haue giuen too much libertie to hunt the *Vicugnes*, and by this meanes they are much diminished.
- 40 The manner the *Indians* vse in their hunting, they assemble many men together, to the number of a thousand or two thousand, yea more, and inuironing a great circuit of wood, they hunt their game vntill they haue compassed it in on all parts, and by this meanes they commonly take three or foure hundred, and so choosing what they list, they let goe the rest, especially the Females for breede. They are accustomed to theere these beasts, and of their fleece to make Couerings and Rugges of great value, for that this wooll is like to white silke, which lasts long: and as the colour is naturall and not dyed, so is it perpetuall. The stufes that are made of this wooll, are very fresh and good in Summer, and they hold them profitable for the inflammation of the reines, and other parts, tempering the excessiue heate. This wooll hath the like vertue when it is made in Quilts, and therefore some vse it to that end, for the triall they haue made thereof. They say moreouer, that this wooll or couerings made thereof, is physycall for other indispositions, as for the gowt: yet doe I not know that they haue made any certaine triall thereof. The flesh of these *Vicugnes* is not good, although the *Indians* eate it, and drie it. For the effects of physicke, I will say what I haue seene vpon the *Sierre* of *Pern*, comming one night into a *Tambo* or *Inne*, being much afflicted with paine in mine eyes, thinking they would fall out (the which doth commonly happen in those parts) for that they passe through places couered with snow, which is the cause of this accident. Being troubled with this paine, and out of patience, there came an *Indian* woman which said to me, *Father, lay this to thine eyes, and thou shalt bee cured*. It was a piece of the flesh of *Vicugnes* newly killed and all bloudie. I vsed this medicine, and presently the paine ceased, and soone after went quite away.
- 60 Besides these *Chacos* which is the most common manner of hunting at the *Indies*, they haue vsed another more priuate to take them, which is, that comming neere, they doe cast certaine lines with plummetts of lead, which intangle their legges, so as they cannot runne, and by this meanes they take the *Vicugne*. The chiefe reason why this beast is esteemed, is, by reason of

Lustie leape.
Strange sight.

Monkey leapt
ned.

Zealous.

Of *Vicugnes*,
and *Tarugnes* of
Pern. Chap 40.
Aristot. lib. 3. de
partib. animal.
6. 2. lib. 10. c. 7.

Indian hunting.

Experimente
for the eyes.

Bezars Stone.
Tarugues.

the *Bezars* stone they finde in them, whereof wee will intreate hereafter. There is another kinde of beasts, which they call *Tarugues*, which likewise are wilde, and more nimble then the *Vicugnes*. They are greater of body, and more hot. They haue soft eares and hanging: they goe not in troupes as the *Vicugnes*. I haue not seene them but alone, and most commonly in high places. They also draw *Bezars* stones from these *Tarugues*, which are greater, and haue more operation and vertue.

Of *Pacos*, *Guanacos*, and *Indian Muttons*.
Chap. 41.

Two kinds.

There is nothing at *Peru* of greater riches and profit then the Cattell of the Country, which our men call *Indian Sheepe*, and the *Indians* in their generall language call them *Lama*. For all things well considered, it is a beast of the greatest profit and least charge of any that I know: from them they draw meate and clothing, as from the sheepe of *Spain*. Moreover, they haue the benefit to carry all things they haue need of, vsing them to beare their burthens: and they haue no need either of shooes or saddles, nor yet of oates, but he serueth his Master for nought, feeding on the grasse he findes in the fields; so as God hath furnished them of Sheepe and Mares, and all in one beast. And as it is a poore Nation, so would hee in this point free them from charge, for that there is much pasture vpon the *Sierre*: and this kinde of Cattell hath no need of any other charge. There are two kinds of these Sheepe or *Lamas*, the one they call *Pacos*, or sheepe bearing wooll, and the others are bare, and haue little wooll, so are they better for burthen; they are bigger then great Sheepe, and lesse then Calues, they haue a very long necke, like to a Camel, whereof they haue good need: for being high of stature, they haue need of a long necke, else should they be deformed. They are of diuers colours, some all white, others all blacke, some grey 20 and some spotted, which they call *Meromoro*. The *Indians* had great superstitions in choosing the beasts for sacrifices, of what colour they should bee, according to the diuersitie of Seasons and Sacrifices. Their flesh is good, although it be hard, but that of their Lambs is the better, and the most delicate that can be eaten: yet they eate not many, for that the chiefe fruit and profit they yeeld, is their wooll, to make clothes, and their seruice to carry burdens. The *Indians* make stufes of this wooll wherewith they clothe themselves: the one is grosse and common, which they call *Hanaca*, and the other fine and delicate, which they call *Cumbi*, they faire lustre, like halfe silke: and that which is most rare, is their manner of weauing their workes, being both sides alike, so as you shall not finde any end in a whole piece. The *Inga* 30 King of *Peru* had many chiefe workmen, to make this worke of *Cumbi*: and the which, for the most part, were resident in the Prouince of *Capachica*, ioyning to the great Lake of *Titicaca*. They die this wooll into diuers fine colours, with sundrie kinds of herbs, whereof they make many sorts of workes both course and fine. All the *Indians*, both men and women, worke in the *Sierre*, and haue their Loomes in their houses, hauing no need to buy any stufes for their necessarie vses. Of the flesh of these sheepe they make *Cuschargui*, or dried flesh, the which will last very long, whereof they make great account. They are accustomed to driue troupes of these sheepe with burthens, and to goe in bands, three hundred, five hundred, yea a thousand in a companie, with Wine, Mays, Coca, Chuno, Quick-siluer, and all other kinds of merchandise, and of Siluer, which is the best of all. They carry barres of Siluer from *Potosi* to *Ariqua*, which 40 is three score and ten leagues. I haue often wondered to see these troupes of sheepe laden with a thousand or two thousand barres of Siluer, and much more, which is about three hundred thousand ducats, without any other guard or resort then some *Indians*, which serue onely to guide these sheepe, and to lade and vnlade them, or at the most, some few *Spaniards*: and they sleepe all night in the midst of the fields, without other guard: and yet in so long a way and so weake a guard, they neuer finde want or losse of any thing in so great a treasure of Siluer, so safe is the way in *Peru*. The burthen which one of these sheepe doth commonly carry, is of foure or sixe 50 Arrobes: when their voyage is long they goe not about two, three, or foure leagues at the most on a day. Those that guide those troupes, haue their ordinarie lodgings, where they are assured to haue water and pasture, and there they vnlade and set vp their Tents, making fire, and dressing their meates, which is not painfull, although it be a flegmatike and slow manner of trauell. When there is but one dayes journey, one of these sheepe will beare eight Arrobes in weight, or more, and beares this burthen eight or ten leagues in a day, as the poore Souldiers were wont to doe, when they marched through *Peru*. This kinde of Cattell delights most in a cold aire, and for this cause they liue vpon the *Sierre*, and die in the *Lanos*, by reason of the heate. Sometimes these sheepe are all couered with Ice and frost, and yet they continue sound and well. The bare sheepe are pleasant to behold, for they will stay vpon the way, rayling vp their necks, and will looke vpon any one very wistly, and so they remaine a long time, without mouing or any shew of feare, which giueth occasion of laughter, seeing them thus to stand. And yet sometimes they doe grow amazed sodainly, and runne away with their burthens, enen to the highest Rocks, so as not being able to come vnto them, they are constrained to kill them with an Harquebuz, lest they should lose their barres of Siluer, which they sometimes carry. The *Pacos* 60 will grow reastie vnder their burthens, lying down, and will endure to be cut in a thousand pieces before they will rise when this humor takes them: whereof the prouerb growes in *Peru*, to say that one

Sixe Arrobes is
a hundred and
fiftie pounds
weight.

is reastie, to signifie, he is oblitinate; for that when any of these beasts is moodie, it is with excessive: the remedie they haue is, to stay and sit downe by the *Paco*, making much on him, vntill the fit be past, and that he rise: and sometimes they are forced to stay two or three houres. They haue a disease like to scabs, which they call *Carache*, whereof they commonly die. The Ancients had a remedie, to burie them quicke that had the *Carache*, lest they should infect the rest, being a very contagious disease, and goes from one to another. An *Indian* that hath one or two of these sheepe, is not reputed poore, for one of them is worth fixe or seuen pieces of assay, and more, according to the time and places.

The *Bezaars* stone is found in all these beasts before mentioned, which are proper to *Peru*. Of the *Bezaars* stone. Chap. 42:
10 whereof some Authors of our time haue written whole bookes, which they may reade that desire to haue a more particular knowledge. For the present subiect it shall be sufficient to say, that this stone which they call *Bezaar*, is found in the stomacke and belly of this beast, sometimes one alone, sometimes two, three, and foure. They are very different in forme, greatnesse and colour, for that some are small like Filberds, and lesse; others like Walnuts; some like Pidgeons egges, and others as bigge as a Hens egge: and I haue seene some as bigge as an Orange; in forme some are round, others in fashion like to Lentils, and many other formes. For their colour, some are blacke, some white, some grey, darke greene, and others, as if they had beene gilded. It is no certaine rule to iudge the best and most fine by the colour or forme. All these stones are made and fashioned of diuers films and skins one vpon another. In the Prouince of *Xaura* and
20 other Prouinces of *Peru*, they finde these stones in diuers kindes of beasts, both wilde and tame, as in the *Guanacos*, *Pacos*, *Vicugnes*, and *Tarugues*, some adde an other kinde, which they say are wilde Goates, which the *Indians* call *Cypis*. These other kindes of beasts are very well known in *Peru*, whereof we haue already discoursed. The *Guanacos* or Countrie sheepe, or *Pacos*, haue commonly the lesser stones, and blacke, neither are they so much approued for the vse of physicke. They draw the greatest *Bezaar* stones from the *Vicugnes*, and they are grey, or white, or of a darke greene, which are held for the better. They esteeme those of the *Tarugues* for the most excellent, whereof there are some reasonable bigge: they are commonly white, inclining to grey; and they haue the filmes commonly bigger and thicker then the rest.

They finde the *Bezaar* stone equally both in Male and Female. All beasts that ingender it;
30 chaw the cuid, and commonly feede vpon the Snow and Rocks. The *Indians* report and teach by tradition from their Fathers and Ancients, that in the Prouince of *Xaura*, and in other Prouinces of *Peru*, there are many herbs and venemous beasts, which poison the water and the pastures where they eate and drinke, and where they breathe: amidst which venemous herbs there is one very well knowne of the *Vicugne*, by a naturall instinct, and of other beasts that ingender the *Bezaar* stone, which eate this herbe, and by meanes thereof they preserue themselves from the poisoned waters and pastures: and they say, that of this herbe the stone is compounded in the stomacke, whence it drawes all the vertue against poison, and other wonderfull effects. This is the opinion and tradition of the *Indians*, discovered by men of great experience in the Kingdome of *Peru*, which agrees with reason, and with that which *Plinie* reports of the
40 Mountaines Goats, which are nourished and fed vpon poison without suffering any harme. The *Indians* being demanded, why the Sheepe, Kine, Goats, and Calues, such as are in *Castile*, haue not the *Bezaar* stone, seeing that they feede on the same Rocks: their answer is, That they beleue not, that those beasts of *Castile* eate of that herbe, or that they haue found the *Bezaar* stone in Stags and fallow Deere. This seemes to agree with our knowledge, for that in new *Spaine* they finde the *Bezaar* stone, although there be no *Vicugnes*, *Pacos*, *Tarugues*, nor *Guanacos*, but onely Stags, in some of which they finde these stones.

One thing is worthy admiration, that they grow and are fashioned vpon very strange things, as vpon the tagge of a Point, vpon a Pin, or a piece of Wood, which they finde in the centre of this stone, and yet doe they not hold it false, for that the beast might swallow it, and the stone thicken vpon it, and growes one vpon another, and so it increaseth. I did
50 see in *Peru*, two stones fashioned vpon *Pignons* of *Castile*, which made vs to wonder much, for that in all *Peru*, wee had not seene any Pines or *Pignons* of *Castile*, if they were not brought from *Spaine*, which seemes to mee very extraordinarie. This little may suffice touching the *Bezaars* stone. They bring other physcally stones from the *Indies*, as the stone of *Hyada*, or of *Rate*, the blood stone, the stones of Milke, and of the Sea. Those which they call *Cornerinas*, for the Heart, whereof there is no neede to speake, hauing nothing common with the subiect of beasts, whereof wee haue intreated: which giues vs to vnderstand how the great Master and Author of all, hath imparted his benefits and wonderfull secrets, to all parts of the World; for the which he is to be glorified for euer.

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Reader, I haue here added this worke, for the better and more particular knowledge of the Naturall Historie of the West Indies. This Authour Gonzalo Ferdinando de Ouiedo did first write a Summarie to Charles the fifth (out of which the most part of this is taken) An. 1525. and after that

writ his Generall Historie, enlarging what he had written before this Summarie; and in the dividing it into three Parts: the first of which containyng principally the Spanishe acts and Naturall observations in the Ilands, in twentie Bookes, wee have in Ramulios third Tome of Voyages: the second (in which hee writ of the Continent of New Spaine, and the third of Peru and the Southerne America, with above foure hundred pictures of the Plants, Beasts, and other Creatures of those parts, were neuer published; so the great losse of naturall knowledge of those parts. As for the Spanishe acts we have them sufficiently written by others. But Acosta and Quiedo have best deserved of the studious of Nature, that is, of the knowledge of God in his workes. In which respect I have added many things omitted by Master Edden, and Master Willes in the former publication, both examining this, and translating the rest from Ramulios Italian edition.

CHAP. III.

Extracts of GONZALO FERDINANDO DE OVIEDO his Summarie and Generall Historie of the Indies.

Of the mynes of gold, and the manner of working in them.



His particular of the mynes of Gold, is a thing greatly to be noted, and I may much better speake hereof then any other man, forasmuch as there are now twelue yeeres past since I serued in the place of the Surueyor of the melting shops, pertayning to the gold mynes of the firme Land, and was the Gouvernor of the mynes of the Catholike King Don Ferdinando, after whole departure from this life, I serued long in the same roome in the Name of your Maiestie. The myne or veine which ought to be followed, ought to be in a place which may stand to saue much of the charges of the Labourers, and for the administration of other necessarie things, that the charges may be recompensed with gaynes. The greatest part of the wrought gold which the Indians haue, is base, and holdeth somewhat of Copper: of this they make Bracelets and Chaines, and in the same they close their Jewels which their Women are accustomed to weare, and esteemed more then all the riches of the World. The manner how gold is gathered, is this, either of such as is found in *Zauana*, that is to say, in the Plaines and Riuer of the Champaine country being without Trees, whether the Earth be with grasse or without, or of such as is sometimes found on the Land without the Riuer in places where Trees grow, so that to come by the same, it shall be requisite to cut downe many and great Trees. But after which soeuer of these two manners it be found, either in the Riuer or Breaches of waters, or else in the earth, I will shew how it is found in both these places, and how it is separate and purged. Therefore when the myne or veine is discovered, this chanceth by searching and prouing in such places as by certaine signes and tokens doe appeare to skilfull men apt for the generation of gold, and to hold gold: and when they haue found it, they follow the myne, and labour it, whether it be in the Riuer, or in the Playne, as I haue said. And if it be found on the Playne, first they make the place very cleane where they intend to digge, then they digge eight or ten foot in length, and as much in breadth: but they goe no deeper then a span or two, or more, as shall seeme best to the Master of the myne, digging equally, then they wash all the earth which they haue taken out of the said space, and if herein they finde any gold they follow it, and if not, they digge a span deeper, and wash the earth as they did before: and if then also they finde nothing, they continue in digging and washing the earth as before, vntill they come to the hard rocke or stone: and if in fine they finde no gold there, they follow no further to seeke gold in that place, but goe to another part. And it is to be vnderstood, that when they haue found the myne, they follow it in digging, in the same measure in leuell and depth, vntill they haue made an end of all the myne which that place containeth, if it appeare to be rich. This myne ought to consist of certaine feet or pases in length or breadth, according to certaine orders determined, and within that compasse of earth, it is not lawfull for any other to digge for gold: And where as endeth the myne of him that first found the gold, immediatly it is lawfull for any other man that will, with a staffe to assigne himselfe a place by the side of the same, inclosing it with stakes or pales as his owne. These mynes of *Zauana* (that is, such as are found in the Playnes) ought euer to bee sought neere to some Riuer or Brooke, or Spring of water, or Dike, or standing Poole, to the end that the gold may be washed, for the which purpose they vse the labour of certaine Indians, as they doe other in digging of the myne. And when they haue digged out the myne, they fill certaine Traves with that earth, which other Indians haue the charge immediatly to receiue at their hands, and to carry those Traves of earth to the water, where it may be washed: Yet doe not they that bring it wash it, but deliuer it to other, putting it out of their owne Traves into theirs, which they haue readie in their hands to receiue it. These Washers for the most part are the Indian women, because this worke is of lesse paine and trauell then any other. These women when they wash, are accustomed to sit by the water side, with their legges in the water euen vp to the knees, or lesse, as the place

Gold of Indians base.

Manner of mynes and searching for gold.

Gold in mynes.

Spanishe customes for vsage of mynes.

Water a good neighbour.

Women gold-washers.

place serueth their purpoe: and thus holding the Traves with earth in their hands by the handles thereof, and putting the same into the water, they moue them round about, after the manner of sifting, with a certaine aptnesse, in such sort that there enteth no more water into the Traves then serueth their turne, and with the selfe same apt mouing of their Traves in the water, they euer auoid the foule water with the earth out of the one side of the Vessell, and receiue in cleane water on the other side thereof, so that by this means by little and little, the water washeth the earth as the lighter substance of the Traves, and the Gold as the heauier matter resteth in the bottome of the same, being round and hollow in the midst like vnto a Barbars Basen. And when all the earth is auoided, and the Gold gathered together in the bottome of the

40 Tray, they put it a part, and returne to take more earth, which they wash continually as before. Furthermore it is to be noted, that for euery two *Indians* that wash, it is requisite that two other serue them to bring earth from the Mine, and other two to breake the same small, and fill their Traves therewith. Also beside these Labourers it is necessarie that there be other people in the place where they worke and rest in the night: these are such as make their bread, and provide for victuals, and other necessities. So that to conclude, there are in all, five persons ordinarily assigned to euery Tray of washers.

Other Labourers.

Five to a tray.

There is another manner of working the Mines, in Rivers or Brookes of running waters: and this is, that in auoyding the water of his course, after that the beds of the Rivers are dry and vterly emptied, they find Gold among the breaches, cliffs, and rifts of stones, and among all that is in the bottome of the Channell, and where naturally the River runneth of greatest force: So that it chanceth sometime, that when the bed of the River is good and rich, they find in it great quantitie of Gold. And therefore your Maiestie ought to vnderstand for a generall rule, as it appeareth in fact, that all Gold is ingendred in the tops and highest places of the Mountaines, and in continuance of time is by little and little brought downe to the Vales and Plaines by showres of raine, and the falls of Springs, Rivers, and Brookes, hauing their originall in the Mountaines, and descending from the same, notwithstanding it is oftentimes found in the Plaines farre from the Mountaines. But when it chanceth to be found in great quantity, it is for the most part among the Mountaines, and in the Rivers, or their branches, more then in any other part of the Plaines: and in these two manners it is commonly found most abundantly. And for the better prooue

Gold in Rivers or poulder.

Gold engendred on hill tops.

30 that Gold is ingendred on high, and is brought downe into the low places, I haue one great token thereof, which causeth me to beleue it for certaine, and this is, to consider that coles neuer putrifie nor corrupt vnder the ground, if they be made of strong wood. Whereby it chanceth, that digging the earth by the foulds or indented places of the Mountaines, or on the sides, and breaking a Mine in the earth, where it had bene broken before, and hauing now digged one or two or three Poles in measure, the Miners found certaine coles of wood vnder the same leuell where they found Gold, and this I say in the earth which was taken for a Virgin, that is to say, such as had not before bene opened for any Mine: the which coles could not naturally bee ingendred there, or enter in by any meanes, but when the superficiall part of the earth was equall with the leuell where the coles were found, it is like that the coles were left there by some occasion of fire, and that they fastened there in time, and that afterward in long continuance of time,

His reason.

40 they were by little and little couered with the earth, which the often showres of raine washed from the Mountaines, so that by the course of yeeres the earth ouergrew the coles vnto the said leuell and measure, which had before time bene the superficiall part of the earth, where the coles and Gold were found together: whereby it may appeare that the Gold was no more ingendred there then were the coles, but brought thither from the Mountaynes by the falls of waters as we haue said, forasmuch as the Mountaines are the Matrices and bowels of all rich Metals. Further and besides this, I say that in how much more the Gold is gone farre from the naturall place of his generation to the place where it is found, it is so much the more purified and fined, and of a better caract, and the neerer that it is found to his proper Mine or veine where it is ingendred, it is so much the baser, fouler, and more crude, and of a baser alay and caract, and doth waste so much the more in melting, and remaineth more bricke.

Some may thinke that coles, shels & other ludibrious nature, naturally grow there.

50 Sometimes there are found graines of Gold of great quantitie, and of great weight about the earth, and sometimes also vnder the earth: And the greatest of all other that was found to this day in the *Indies*, was that which was lost in the Sea about the Iland *Beata*, which weighed three thousand and two hundred of *Castellans* of Gold, which are in value foure thousand and hundred thirtie and eight Ducats of Gold, which weigh one *Arroba* and seuen pound, or thirtie and two pound, after twelue ounces to the pound, which make threescore and foure Markes of Gold. And I saw in the yeere 1535. in the hands of *Michel Passamonte* Treasurer to your Maiestie, two graines, of the which one weighed seuen pounds, which are fourteene Markes, and are in value about three score and five Ducats of Gold euery Marke: the other was of ten Marks, which are five pounds of like value, and of very good Gold of two and twentie caracts, and better: There are also found many other great graines, although not equall vnto these in bignesse. And forasmuch as I haue spoken of Gold, I haue thought good to declare somewhat how the *Indians* can very excellently gild such Vessels of Copper and base Gold as they make: for they can

Gold in graines. One huge piece of gold.

A Marke is a pound of 8. ounces *summa*, 16. pound weight eight ounces, after 12. ounces to the pound. *Indian gilding*

giue them so faire and flourishing a colour, that all the masse which they gilt, appeareth as though it were Gold of two and twentie caracts, and better. This colour they giue with a certaine hearbe, as though it were wrought by the art of any Gold-smith of *Spaine* or *Italie*, and would of them be esteemed as a thing of great riches and a secret manner of gilding. For the desire that our men haue to Gold, they nothing esteeme the Copper, although there might great commoditie and profit be had thereby, and also by other Metals, which they nothing regard, except Silver, which is found abundantly in that part of the firme Land which is called *New Spaine*.

Of the manner of fishing for Pearles.

The *Indians* exercise this kind of fishing for the most part in the Coasts of the North in *Cubagua* and *Cumana*, and many of them which dwell in the Houses of certaine particular Lords in the Ilands of *San Dominico* and *Sancti Iohannis*, resort to the Iland of *Cubagua*, for this purpose. Their custome is to goe five, sixe, or seuen, or more in one of their Canoes or Barkes, early in the morning to some place in the Sea thereabout, where it appeareth vnto them that there should be great plentie of those shell fishes (which some call Muscles, and some Oysters) wherein Pearles are ingendred, and there they plunge themselves vnder the water, euen vnto the bottome, sauing one that remayneth in the Canoe or Boat, which hee keepeth still in one place as neere as he can, looking for their returne out of the water: And when one of them hath bene a good while vnder the water, he riseth vp, and commeth swimming to the Boat, entring into the same, and leauing there all the Oysters which he hath taken and brought with him (for in these are the Pearles found) and when he hath there rested himselfe a while, and eaten part of the Oysters, he returneth againe to the water, where hee remayneth as long as hee can endure, and then riseth againe, and swimmeth to the Boat with his prey, where hee resteth him as before, and thus continueth course by course, as doe all the other in like manner, being all most expert Swimmers and Diuers: and when the night draweth neere, they returne to the Iland to their houses, and present all the Oysters to the Master or Steward of the house of their Lord, who hath the charge of the said *Indians*, and when he hath giuen them somewhat to eate, he layeth vp the Oysters in safe custodie, vntill he haue a great quantitie thereof, then he causeth the same Fishermen to open them, and they find in euery of them Pearles, other great or small, two, or three, or foure, and sometimes five or sixe, and many small graines, according to the liberalitie of nature. They saue the Pearles both small and great which they haue found, and either eate the Oysters if they will, or cast them away, hauing so great a quantitie thereof, that they in manner abhorre them. These Oysters are of hard flesh, and not so pleasant in eating as are ours of *Spaine*. This Iland of *Cubagua*, where this manner of fishing is exercised, is in the North Coast, and is no bigger then the Iland of *Zeland*. Oftentimes the Sea increaseth greatly, and much more then the Fishers for Pearles would, because whereas the place is very deepe, a man cannot naturally rest at the bottome, by reason of the abundance of aerie substance which is in him, as I haue oftentimes proued. For although he may by violence and force descend to the bottome, yet are his feet lifted vp againe, so that hee can continue no time there: and therefore where the Sea is very deepe, these *Indian* Fishers vse to tie two great stones about them with a coard, on each side one, by the weight whereof they descend to the bottome, and remayne there vntill them listeth to rise againe, at which time they vnloose the stones, and rise vp at their pleasure. But this their aptnesse and agilitie in swimming, is not the thing that causeth men most to maruell: but rather to consider how many of them can stand in the bottome of the water for the space of one whole houre, and some more or lesse, according as one is more apt hereunto then another. An other thing there is which seemeth to me very strange: and this is, that whereas I haue oftentimes demanded of some of these Lords of the *Indians*, if the place where they are accustomed to fish for Pearles, being but little and narrow, will not in short time be utterly without Oysters, if they consume them so fast: They all answered mee, that although they be consumed in one part, yet if they goe a fishing in an other part, or an other Coast of the Iland, or at another contrary wind, and continue fishing there also vntill the Oysters bee likewise consumed, and then returne againe to the first place, or any other place where they fished before, and emptied the same in like manner, they find them againe as full of Oysters as though they had neuer bene fished. Whereby we may iudge, that these Oysters either remoue from one place to another, as doe other fishes, or else that they are ingendred and increase in certaine ordinarie places. This Iland of *Cumana* and *Cubagua*, where they fish for these Pearles, is in the twelfth degree of the part of the said Coast which inclineth toward the North. Likewise Pearles are found and gathered in the South Sea, called *Mare del Sur*, and the Pearles of this Sea are very bigge, yet not so bigge as they of the Iland of Pearles, called *de las Perlas*, or *Margarita*, which the *Indians* call *Terarequi*, lying in the Gulfe of Saint *Michael*, where greater Pearles are found, and of greater price, then in any other Coast of the North Sea, in *Cumana*, or any other part. I speake this as a true testimonie of sight, hauing bene long in that South Sea, and making curious inquisition to be certainly informed of all that pertayneth to the fishing of Pearles. From this Iland of *Terarequi*, there was brought a Pearle of the fashion of a Pearle, weighing thirtie and one Caracts,

Men continue
an houre vnder
water.

Naturall suc-
cession.

Of this read
more largely
in the Decads.

Huge Pearle.

Caracts, which *Petrus Arias* had among a thousand and so many pounds weight of other Pearles, which he had when Captaine *Gaspar Morales* (before *Petrus Arias*) passed to the said Iland in the yeare 1515. which Pearle was of great price. From the said Iland also, came a great and very round Pearle, which I brought out of the Sea, this was as bigge as a small pellet of a Stone-bow, and of the weight of twentie and sixe Caracts: I bought it in the Citie of *Panama*, in the Sea of *Sur*, and paid for it sixe hundred and fiftie times the weight thereof of good Gold, and had it three yeeres in my custodie, and after my returne into *Spaine*, sold it to the Earle of *Nan-sao* Marquesse of *Zenete*, great Chamberlaine to your Maiestie, who gaue it to the Marquesse his Wife, the Ladie *Mentia* of *Mendoza*. I thinke verily that this Pearle was the greatest, fairest, and roundest that hath bene seene in those parts. For your Maiestie ought to vnderstand, that in the Coast of the Sea of *Sur*, there are found a hundred great Pearles round after the fashion of a Peare, to one that is perfectly round and great.

By the computation of Venice, foure graines make a Caract.

Peare-pearles

*Of the familiaritie which certayne of the Indians haue with the Deuill,
and how they receiue answere of him of things to come,
and other Superstitions.*

VHen the *Indians* beginne their battaile, or goe to any combate, or attempt any other great mater, they haue certaine elect men, whom they reuerently esteeme, and call them *Tequinas*, which in their tongue is as much to say as Masters: notwithstanding that they call euery man, that is cunning in any Science, by the same name, as Fishers, Fowlers, Hunters, or makers of Nets. These *Tequinas* therefore, they call the Masters of their Answeres, because they speake with *Tuyra*, that is, the *Deuill*, and bring them answere what he saith, either as touching such things as they haue to doe, or shall chance to them the day following, or many dayes to come. For the *Deuill*, being so ancient an Astronomer, knoweth the times of things, and seeth how they are naturally directed and inclined, and maketh them beleue that they come so to passe by his ordinance, as though he were the Lord and moouer of all that is and shall be, and that he giueth the day light, and raine, causeth tempest, and ruleth the stations of times, giuing life, or taking away life, at his pleasure: By reason whereof, the *Indians* being deceiued of him, and seeing also such effects to come certainly to passe as he hath told them before, beleue him in all other things, and honour him in many places with Sacrifices of the bloud and liues of men, and odoriferous Spices: And when God disposeth the contrary to that which the *Deuill* hath spoken in Oracle, whereby he is prooued a Lye, hee causeth the *Tequinas* to perswade the people that he hath changed his mind and sentence for some of their sins, or deuileth some such lye as liketh him best, being a skilfull Master in such subtil and craftie deuices, to deceiue the simple and ignorant people, which hath small defence against so mightie and craftie an Aduersarie. And as they call the *Deuill Tuyra*, so doe they in many places call the Christians by the same name, thinking that they greatly honour them thereby, as indeed it is a name very fit and agreeable to many of them, hauing laid apart all honestie and vertue, liuing more like Dragons then men, among these simple people.

Deuils Imposture.

Before the Inhabitants of the Iland of *Hispaniola* had receiued the Christian Faith, there was among them a Sect of men, which liued solitarily in the Desarts and Woods, and led their life in Silence and Abstinence, more streightly then euer did the Philosophers of *Pythagoras* Sect, abstaining in like manner from the eating of all things that liue by bloud, contented onely with such Fruites, Herbes, and Rootes, as the Deserts and Woods ministred vnto them to eate: The Professors of this Sect were called *Piaces*. They gaue themselves to the knowledge of naturall things, and vsed certaine secret Magicall Operations and Superstitions, whereby they had familiaritie with Spirits, which they allured into their owne bodies, at such times as they would take vpon them to tell of things to come, which they did in manner as followeth. When any of the Kings had occasion to call any of them out of the Desarts for this purpose, their custome was to send them a portion of their fine Bread of *Cazabi* or *Maiz*, and with humble request and suite to desire them to tell them of such things as they would demand. After the request granted, and the place and day appointed, the *Piaces* commeth with two of his Disciples wayting on him, whereof the one bringeth with him a Vessel of a secret Water, and the other a little Siluer Bell. When hee commeth to the place, hee sitteth downe on a round seate made for him of purpose, where hauing his Disciples the one standing on the one hand, and the other on the other, euen in the presence of the King and certaine of his Nobles (for the common people are not admitted to these Mysteries) and turning his face toward the Desert, hee be- ginne his Inchantment, and calleth the Spirit with loude voyce by certaine names, which no man vnderstandeth but hee and his Disciples. After hee hath done thus a while, if the Spirit yet deferre his comming, hee drinketh of the said Water, and therewith waxeth hot and furious, and inuerteth and turneth his Inchantment, and letteth himselfe bloud with a thorne, maruellously turmoiling himselfe, as we read of the furious Sybils, not ceasing

Pythagorean Piaces.

Indian consultations or consultations.

vntill

By reason
of the
eclipse
of the
Sunne
and
Moone
the
people
are
in
great
fear
and
abhorre
the
eclipse
of
the
Sunne
and
Moone

Eclipses and
Prognosticati-
ons.

Reason why
men kill them-
selues to serue
their Masters
in the other
world.

Images of the
Diuell.

Tempests.

untill the spirit be come: who at his coming entred into him, and oerthroweth him, as it were a Greyhound should ouerturne a Squerell, then for a space, he seemeth to lye as though he were in great paine, or in a rapte, wonderfully tormenting himselfe, during which agonie, the other Disciple shaketh the Siluer Bell continually. Thus when the agonie is past, and he lyeth quietly (yet without any sence or feeling) the King, or some other in his stead, demandeth of him what he desired to know: and the spirit answered him by the mouth of the rapte *Piaces*, with a direct and perfect answer to all points: In somuch that on a time certaine *Spaniards* being present at these mysteries with one of the Kings, and in the *Spanish* tongue demanding the *Piaces* of their Ships which they looked for out *Spaine*, the spirit answered in the *Indian* tongue, and told them what day and houre the Ships departed from *Spaine*, how many they were, and what they brought, without failing in any point. If he be also demanded of the eclipse of the Sunne or Moone (which they greatly feare and abhorre) he giueth a perfect answer, and the like of tempests, famine, plentie, warre or peace, and such other things. When all the demands are finished, his Disciples call him aloud, ringing the Siluer Bell at his eare, and blowing a certaine powder into his nostrils, whereby he is raised as it were from a dead sleepe, being yet somewhat heauy headed and faint a good while after. Thus being againe rewarded of the King with more bread, he departeth againe to the desarts with his Disciples. But since the Christian faith hath beene disperfed throughout the Iland, these diuellish practises haue ceased, and they of the members of the Diuell, are made the members of Christ by Baptisme, forsaking the Diuell and his works, with the vaine curiosity of desire of knowledge of things to come, whereof for the most part it is better to be ignorant, then with vexation to know that which cannot be auoided.

Furthermore, in manie places of the firme Land, when any of the Kings dye, all his household seruants, as well women as men, which haue continually serued him, kill themselves, beleeuing as they are taught by the Diuell *Tuyra*, that they that kill themselves when the King dyeth, goe with him to heauen, and serue him in the same place and office as they did before on the earth while he liued: and that all that refuse so to doe, when after they dye by their naturall death or otherwise, their soules to die with their bodies, and to be dissolued into ayre, and become nothing, as doe the soules of Hogges, Birds, Fishes, or other brute beasts: and that onely the other may enioy the priuiledge of immortalitie for euer, to serue the King in heauen. And of this false opinion cometh it, that they which lowe corne, or set rootes for the Kings bread, and gather the same, are accustomed to kill themselves, that they may enioy this priuiledge in heauen, and for the same purpose, cause a portion of the graine of *Maiz*, and a bundle of *Iucca* (whereof their bread is made) to be buried with them in their graues, that the same may serue them in heauen, if perhaps there should lacke seedes to sowe, and therefore they take this with them, to begin withall, untill *Tuyra* (who maketh them all these faire promises) provide them of greater quantitie. This haue I my selfe seene in the top of the Mountaines of *Gnaturo*, where hauing in prison the King of that Province (who rebelled from the obedience of your Maestie) and demanding of him to whom pertained those Sepultures or graues which I saw in his house: he answered, that they were of certaine *Indians* which slew themselves at the death of his Father. And because they are oftentimes accustomed to bury great quantities of wrought gold with them, I caused two graues to be opened, wherein was nothing found but a vessell full of the graine of *Maiz*, and a bundle of *Iucca*, as I haue said. And demanding the cause hereof, of the King and the other *Indians*: they answered, that they that were buried there, were the labourers of the ground, and men skilfull in sowing of seedes, and making of bread, and seruants to the Kings father, and to the end that their soules should not dye with their bodies, they slue themselves at the death of the King their Master, to liue with him in heauen, and to the intent that they might serue him there in the same office, they referred that *Maiz* and *Iucca*, to sowe it in heauen. Whereunto I answered them in this manner, Behold how your *Tuyra* deceiueth you, and how all that he teacheth you is false. You see how in so long a time since they are dead, they haue not yet taken away this *Maiz* and *Iucca*, which is now putrified and worth nothing, and not like to be sown in heauen. To this the King replied, saying, In that they haue not taken it away, nor sown it in heauen, the cause is, that they chanced to finde enough there, by reason whereof they had no neede of this. To this error many things were said, which seemed of little force to remoue him from his false opinion, and especially any such as at that age are occupied of the Diuell, whom they paint of the selfe same forme and colour, as he appeared vnto them in diuers shapes and formes. They make also Images of Gold, Copper, and Wood, to the same similitudes, in terrible shapes, and so variable, as the Painters are accustomed to paint them at the feete of Saint *Michael* the Archangell, or in any other place, where they paint them of most terrible portrature. Likewise when the diuell greatly intendeth to feare them, he threatneth to send them great tempests, which they call *Furacanas*, or *Haurachanas*, and are so vehement, that they oerthrow many houses, and great trees. And I haue seene in Mountaines, full of many and great trees, that for the space of three quarters of a league the Mountaine hath beene subuerted, and the tree oerthrowne, and plucked out of the earth with the rootes.

The gulfe of *Vraba*, is distant from the Equinoctiall line, from an hundred and twentie, to a hundred

hundred and thirty leagues, and three quarters of a league, after that accompt of seuenteen leagues and a halfe for euerie degree from Pole to Pole: & thus for a little more or lesse, goeth all the coast. By reason wherof, in the Citie of *Santa Maria, Antigua*, in *Dariena*, and in all that course of the foresaid gulfe of *Praba*, at all times of the yeere the daies and nights are in manner of equall length: and if there be any difference betweene them by reason of this small distance from the Equinoctiall, it is so little, that in foure and twentie houres, making a naturall day, it cannot be perceived but by the iudgement of speculative men, and such as vnderstand the sphere. From hence the North Starre is seene verie low.

Of diuers particular things, as Wormes, Serpents, Beasts, Foules, Trees, &c.

10 I Will first speake of certaine little and troublesome Beasts, which may seeme to be engendred of nature to molest and vexe men, to shew them and giue them to vnderstand, how small and vile a thing may offend & disquiet them, to the end that they may remember the principall end for the which they were created, that is, to know their maker. In manie parts of the firme Land, by the which as wel the Christians as the Indians do trauaile, there are such marishes & waters in the way, that they are faine to go without breeches among the hearbs & weeds, by reason wherof, certain small beasts or wormes (which they call *Garapates*) much like vnto Ticks, cleaue fast to their legs. These worms are as little as the poulder of beaten Salt, & cleaue so fast, that they can by no meanes be taken away, except the place be noynted with oyle: & after that the legs be noynted a while with oyle, or the other parts where these little Ticks are fastened, they scrape the place with a Knife, & so take them away. But the *Indians* which haue no oyle, smoake them, and burne them with fire, and abide great paines in taking them away by this means. Of other little Beasts which trouble men, and are engendred in their heads or other parts of their bodies, I say that the Christian men which trauaile into these parts, haue them but seldome times, and that not past one or two, and this also very seldome: For passing by the line of the Diameter where the compasse maketh difference of sailing by the winde called *Greco* (that is, North-east) and *Magistral* (that is, South-west) which is in the course of the Ilands of *Azori*, they saile but a little way following our voiage by the West, but that all the Lice which the Christians carrie with them, or are engendred in their heads, or other places of their bodies, die and vtterly consume by little and little, and are not engendred in *India*, except in the heads of little children in those parts, as well among the children of the *Christians* which are borne there, as also among the naturall *Indians*, who haue them commonly in their heads, and sometimes in other parts of their bodies, and especially they of the Prouince of *Cutua*, which is a region containing more then a hundred leagues in length, and embraseth the one and the other coast of the North Sea, and of the East. When these *Indians* are infected with this filthinesse, they dresse and cleanse one another: And they that exercise this, are for the most part women, who eate all that they take, and haue herein such dexterity by reason of their exercise, that our men cannot lightly attaine thereunto. There is also another thing greatly to be considered: and this is, how the *Christian* men, being there cleane from this filthinesse of *India*, as well in their heads as the rest of their bodies, yet when they returne to come againe into *Europe*, and begin to arriue in that place of the Ocean Sea where we said before that these Lice died and forsooke them, sodainely in their repassing by the same clime (as though these Lice had tarried for them in that place) they can by no meanes auoide them for the space of certaine daies, although they change their shirts two or three times in a day. These Lice are at the first as little as Nits, and grow by little and little, vntill they be of the bignesse that they are in *Spaine*. This haue I oftentimes proued, hauing now foure times passed the Ocean Sea by this voiage. Beside these wormes and vermin wherof we haue spoken, there is another little mischieuous worm, which we may number among the kindes of Fleas, this Pestilence the *Indians* call *Nigua*, and is much lesse then a Flea: it pearcheth the flesh of a man, and so lancheth or cutteth the same (while in the meane time it can neither be seene nor taken) that from some it hath cut off their hands, and from other their feete, vntill the remedy was found to annoint the place with Oyle and scrape it with a Rasor. In the firme Land in golden Castile or *Beragua*, there are many Vipers like vnto them of *Spaine*: they that are bitten of them, dye in short space, for few liue to the fourth day, except present remedy. Of these, some are of lesse kinde then other, and haue their taile somewhat round, and leape in the aire to assaile men; and for this cause, some call this kinde of Vipers *Tyro*: their biting is most venomous, and for the most part incurable. One of them chanced to bite an *Indian* Maide which serued me in my house, to whom I caused the Surgians to minister their ordinary cure, but they could doe her no good, nor yet get one drop of blood out of her, but onely a yellow water, so that she died the third day for lacke of remedie, as she like hath chanced to diuers others. This Maide was of the age of foureene yeares, and spake the *Spanish* tongue as if she had bene borne in *Castile*: she said that the Viper which bit her, on the foot, was two spans long, or little lesse: and that to bite her, she leapt in the aire for the space of more then six paces, as I haue heard the like of other credible persons.

Small Wormes troublesome.

Lice forsake them.

Lice finde them againe.

Nigua.

Vipers.

I haue

Adders.

I haue also seene in the firme Land a kinde of Adders, very small, and of seuen or eight foot long; these are so red, that in the night they appeare like burning coles, and in the day seeme as red as blood, these are also venomous, but not so much as the Vipers. There are other much lesse and shorter, and blacker: these come out of the Riuer, and wander sometimes farre on the Land, and are likewise venomous. There are also other Adders of a russet colour: these are somewhat bigger then the Viper, and are hurtfull and venomous. There are likewise another sort of many colours, and very long: of these I saw one in the yeare of Christ 1515. in the Iland of *Hispaniola*, neere vnto the Sea coasts, at the foote of the Mountaines called *Pedernales*. When this Adder was slain, I measured her, & found her to be more then twenty foot long, and somewhat more then a mans fist in bignesse: and although she had three or foure deadly wounds with a Sword, yet dyed she not, nor stunke the same day, in so much that her blood continued warme all that time. There are also in the Marishes and desarts of the firme Land many other kindes of Lysarts,

Dragons.

Dragons, and diuers other kindes of Serpents, whereof I intend not here to speak much, because I haue more particularly entreated of these things in my generall historie of the West Indies. There

Spiders huge.

are also Spiders of marueilous bignesse, and I haue seene some with bodie and legges bigger then a mans hand extended euery way, and I once saw one of such bignesse, that onely her body was as bigge as a Sparrow, and full of that Laune whereof they make their webbes: this was of a darke russet colour, with eyes greater then the eyes of a Sparrow, they are venomous, and of terrible shape to behold. There are also Scorpions, and diuers other such venomous wormes. Furthermore in the firme Land, there are many Toades, being verie noious and hurtfull by reason

Toades.

of their great multitude, they are not venomous, they are seene in great abundance in *Darcena*, where they are so big that when they die in the time of drought, the bones of some of them (and especially the ribs) are of such greatnesse, that they appeare to be the bones of Cats, or of some other beasts of the same bignesse. But as the waters diminish, & the moisture consumeth in the time of drought (as I haue said) they also consume therewith, vntill the yeare next following when the raine and moisture encrease, at which time they are seene againe. Neuerthelesse, at this present there is no such quantitie of them, as was wont to be, by reason that as the Land is better

Their renewing.

cultured by the Christians, as well by the felling of Woods and Shrubs, as also by the Pasture of Kine, Horses, and other beasts, so is it apparant that this poison diminisheth daily, whereby that region becommeth more holesome and pleasant. These Toades sing after three or foure sort, for some of them sing pleasantly, other like purs of *Spaine*, some also whistle, and other some make another manner of noise: they are likewise of diuers colours, as some greene, some russet or gray, and some almost blacke, but of all sorts they are great and filthie, and noious by reason of their great multitude, yet are they not venomous, as I haue said.

Singing.

There are also a strange kinde of Crabbes, which come forth of certaine holes of the earth, that they themselues make: the head and bodie of these make one round thing, much like to the hood of a Faulcon, hauing foure feete comming out of the one side, and as manie out of the other: they haue also two mouthes, like vnto a paire of small Pincers, the one bigger then the other, wherewith they bite, but doe no great hurt, because they are not venomous: their skin and bodie is smooth, and thinne, as is the skinne of a man, sauing that it is somewhat harder; their colour is russet, or white, or blew, and walke sidelong, they are verie good to be eaten, in so much that the Christians traouailing by the firme Land, haue bene greatly nourished by them, because they are found in manner euerie where: in shape and forme they are much like vnto the Crabbe which we paint for the signe Cancer, and like vnto those which are found in *Spaine* in *Andalusia* in the Riuer *Guadalchiber*, where it entreth into the Sea, and in the Sea coasts there about, sauing that these are of the water, and the other of the land: they are sometimes hurtfull, so that they that eat of them dye, but this chanceth onely when they haue eaten any venomous thing, or of the venomous apples wherewith the Caniball archers poison their arrowes, whereof I will speake hereafter, and for this cause the Christians take heede how they eat of these Crabbes, if they finde them neere vnto the said apple trees. Furthermore in these Indies, as well

Crabs or rather Tortoises.

in the firme land, as in the Ilands, there is found a kinde of Serpents, which they call *Tuanas*, which some call *Iuannas*, these are terrible and fearefull to sight, and yet not hurtfull, they are verie delicate to be eaten, and it is not yet knowne whether they be beasts of the land, or fishes, because they liue in the water, and wander in the woods, and on the land: they haue foure feet, and are commonly bigger then Connies, and in some places bigger then Otters, with tailes like Lysarts or Eutes: their skinne is spotted, and of the same kinde of smoothnesse or barenesse, although of diuers colours: vpon the ridge of their backes, they haue manie long prickles, their teeth are very sharpe, and especially their fangs or dogge teeth, their throates are long and large, reaching from their beards to their breasts, of the like skinne to the residue of their bodies: they are dumbe, and haue no voice, or make any noise, or crie, although they be kept tied to the foote of a chest, or any other thing, for the space of twentie or fye and twentie daies, without any thing to eat or drinke, except they giue them now and then a little of the bread of *Cazabi*, or some such other thing: they haue foure feete, and their fore-feete as long as a mans finger, with clawes like the clawes of a bird, but weaker, and such as cannot grasple or take hold of any thing:

Serpents called Iuanni.

There are also a strange kinde of Crabbes, which come forth of certaine holes of the earth, that they themselues make: the head and bodie of these make one round thing, much like to the hood of a Faulcon, hauing foure feete comming out of the one side, and as manie out of the other: they haue also two mouthes, like vnto a paire of small Pincers, the one bigger then the other, wherewith they bite, but doe no great hurt, because they are not venomous: their skin and bodie is smooth, and thinne, as is the skinne of a man, sauing that it is somewhat harder; their colour is russet, or white, or blew, and walke sidelong, they are verie good to be eaten, in so much that the Christians traouailing by the firme Land, haue bene greatly nourished by them, because they are found in manner euerie where: in shape and forme they are much like vnto the Crabbe which we paint for the signe Cancer, and like vnto those which are found in *Spaine* in *Andalusia* in the Riuer *Guadalchiber*, where it entreth into the Sea, and in the Sea coasts there about, sauing that these are of the water, and the other of the land: they are sometimes hurtfull, so that they that eat of them dye, but this chanceth onely when they haue eaten any venomous thing, or of the venomous apples wherewith the Caniball archers poison their arrowes, whereof I will speake hereafter, and for this cause the Christians take heede how they eat of these Crabbes, if they finde them neere vnto the said apple trees. Furthermore in these Indies, as well in the firme land, as in the Ilands, there is found a kinde of Serpents, which they call *Tuanas*, which some call *Iuannas*, these are terrible and fearefull to sight, and yet not hurtfull, they are verie delicate to be eaten, and it is not yet knowne whether they be beasts of the land, or fishes, because they liue in the water, and wander in the woods, and on the land: they haue foure feet, and are commonly bigger then Connies, and in some places bigger then Otters, with tailes like Lysarts or Eutes: their skinne is spotted, and of the same kinde of smoothnesse or barenesse, although of diuers colours: vpon the ridge of their backes, they haue manie long prickles, their teeth are very sharpe, and especially their fangs or dogge teeth, their throates are long and large, reaching from their beards to their breasts, of the like skinne to the residue of their bodies: they are dumbe, and haue no voice, or make any noise, or crie, although they be kept tied to the foote of a chest, or any other thing, for the space of twentie or fye and twentie daies, without any thing to eat or drinke, except they giue them now and then a little of the bread of *Cazabi*, or some such other thing: they haue foure feete, and their fore-feete as long as a mans finger, with clawes like the clawes of a bird, but weaker, and such as cannot grasple or take hold of any thing:

thing: they are much better to be eaten then to behold, for few that see them, will haue desire to eate of them, by reason of their horrible shape, except such as haue beene accustomed to the beasts of these regions, which are more horrible and fearefull, as this is not, but onely in appearance: their flesh is of much better taste then the flesh of Connies, and more holesome, for it hurteth none but onely such as haue had the French poxe, in so much, that if they haue beene touched of that infirmitie, although they haue beene whole of long time, neuerthelesse they feeble hurt, and complaine of the eating of these *Inannas*, as hath beene oftentimes proued by experience.

Note:

- There are found in the firme land certaine birds, so little, that the whole bodie of one of them is no bigger then the top of the biggest finger of a mans hand, and yet is the bare body without the feathers not halfe so bigge: This Bird, beside her littlenesse, is of such velositie and swiftnesse in flying, that who so seeth her flying in the aire, cannot see her flap or beate her wings after any other sort then doe the Dorres, or humble Bees, or Beetels: so that there is no man that seeth her flye, that would thinke her to be any other then a Dore: they make their nests according to the proportion of their bignesse, and I haue seene that one of these Birds with her nest put in a paire of gold weights altogether, hath waide no more then 2. *Tomini*, which are in poise 24 graines, with the feathers, without the which she should haue waied somewhat lesse. And doubtlesse, when I consider the finenesse of the clawes and feete of these Birds, I know not whereunto I may better liken them, then to the little birds which the lymners of bookes are accustomed to paint on the margent of Church Bookes, and other Bookes of Diuine Seruice. Their Feathers are of manie faire colours, as golden, yellow, and greene, beside other variable colours: their beake is verie long for the proportion of their bodies, and as fine and subtile as a sowing needle: they are verie hardy, so that when they see a man clime the tree where they haue their nests, they flye at his face, and strike him in the eyes, coming, going, and returning with such swiftnesse, that no man would lightly beleue it, that hath not seene it: and certainly these birds are so little, that I durst not haue made mention hereof, if it were not that diuers others which haue seene them as well as I, can beare witnesse of my saying: they make their nests of flocks and cotten, whereof there is great plentie in these regions, and serueth well for their purpose. But as touching the Birds, Foules, and Beasts of these *Indies*, because they are innumerable, both little and great, I intend not to speake much here, because I haue spoken more largely hereof in my generall Historie of the *Indies*. There is another kinde of Beasts seene in the firme Land, which seemeth very strange and marueilous to the Christian men to behold, and much differing from all other Beasts which haue beene seene in other parts of the world: these Beasts are called *Bardati*, and are foure footed, hauing their taile and all the rest of their bodies couered onely with a skin like the coperture of a barbed horse, or the checkered skin of a Lizard or Crocodile, of colour betweene white and russet, inclining somewhat more to white. This Beast is of forme and shape much like to a barbed horse, with his barbes and flankets in all points, and from vnder that which is the barbe and coperture, the taile commeth forth, and the feete in their place, the necke also and the eares in their parts, and in fine all things in like sort as in a barbed courser: they are of the bignesse of one of these common Dogges, they are not hurtfull, they are filthy, and haue their habitation in certaine hillockes of the earth, where digging with their feete, they make their dens verie deepe, and the holes thereof, in like manner as doe Connies: they are very excellent to be eaten, and are taken with nets, and some also killed with Cross-bowes: they are likewise taken oftentimes when the Husbandmen burne the stubble in sowing time, or to renew the herbage for Kine and other Beasts. I haue oftentimes eaten of their flesh, which seemeth to me of better taste then Kiddes flesh, and holesome to be eaten. And if these Beasts had euer beene seene in these parts of the world, where the first barbed Horses had their originall, no man would iudge but that the forme and fashion of the coperture of Horses furnished for the warres, was first deuised by the sight of these Beasts.

Small Birds,
Tomincios.Bardati or Armadillos; a
kinde of Mole

- There is also in the firme Land another beast, called *Orso Formigaro*, that is, the *Ante-beare*. This beast in haire and colour, is much like to the Beare of *Spaine*, and in manner of the same making, saue that he hath a much longer snout, and is of euill sight: they are oftentimes taken only with staues, without any other weapon, and are not hurtfull, they are also taken with Dogges, because they are not naturally armed, although they bite somewhat, they are found for the most part about and neere to the hillockes where are great abundance of Antes. For in these Regions is ingendred a certaine kind of Antes, very little and blacke, in the Fields and Plaines whereas grow no Trees, where by the instinct of Nature these Antes separate themselves to ingender farre from the Woods for feare of these Beares, the which because they are fearefull, vile, and vnarmed (as I haue said) they keepe euer in places full of Trees, vntill very famine and necessitie, or the great desire that they haue to feede on these Antes, cause them to come out of the Woods to hunt for them: these Antes make a hillocke of earth to the height of a man, or somewhat more or lesse, and as bigge as a great Chest, and sometimes as bigge as a But or a Hoghead, and as hard as a stone, so that they seeme as though they were stones, set vp to limit the ends and confines of certaine Lands. Within these hillockes, made of most hard earth,

Beares.

Antes

Iohs mentions
the like neere
Gambra.

Great wonders
in least crea-
tures.

A strange beast
which seemeth
a kind of Ca-
melion.

are innumerable and infinite little Ants, the which may be gathered by bushels when the hillock is broken: the which when it is sometimes moisted by raine, and then dried againe by the heat of the Sunne, it breaketh, and hath certaine small rifts, as little and subtil as the edge of a Knife, and it seemeth that Nature hath giuen sense to these Antes to find such a matter of earth, where- with they may make the said hillocke of such hardnesse, that it may seeme a strong pavement made of lime and stone: and whereas I haue prooued and caused some of them to be broken, I haue found them of such hardnesse, as if I had not seene, I could not haue beleued, insomuch that they could scarcely be broken with Pikes of Iron, so strong Fortresses doe these little beasts make for their safegard against their aduersarie the Beare, who is chiefly nourished by them, and giuen them as an enemy, according to the common Prouerbe which saith, *Non e alcuna persona si libera, a chumanchi il suo Bargello*, that is, There is no man so free, that hath not his Persecutor or priue Enemy. And here when I consider the marvellous prouidence which Nature hath giuen to these little bodies, I call to remembrance the wittie Sentence of *Plinie*, where speaking of such little beasts, he saith thus, *Why doe we maruell at the Towre-bearing shoulders of Elephants, and not rather where Nature hath placed so many senses and such industry in such little bodies? Where is Hearing, Smelling, Seeing, and Feeling, yea, where are the Veines and Arteries (without which no beast can liue or moue) in these so little bodies, wherof some are so small that their whole bodies can scarcely bee seene of our eyes: What shall we then say of the parts of the same? Yet euen among these there are many of such sagacitie and industry, as the like is not seene in beasts of greater quantitie, nor yet in man, &c.*

But to returne to the Historie. This Enemy which nature hath giuen to these little Beasts, useth this manner to assaile them: When he resorteth to the Hillocke where the Antes ly hid as in their fortresse, he putteth his tongue to one of the rifts, whereof we haue spoken, beeing as subtil as the edge of a Sword, and therewith continuall licking, maketh the place moist, the foame and froth of his mouth being of such propertie, that by continuall licking the place, it enlargeth the rift in such sort by little and little, that at the length he easily putteth in his tongue, which he hath very long and thinne, and much disproportionate to his bodie, and when he hath thus made free passage for his tongue in the hillocke, to put it easily in and out at his pleasure, then he thrusteth it into the hole as farre as he can reach, and so letteth it rest a good space, vntill a great quantitie of the Antes (whose nature reioyceth in heat and moisture) haue laden his tongue, and as many as he can containe in the hollownesse thereof, at which time hee suddenly draweth it into his mouth, and eateth them, and returneth againe to the same practice immediately, vntill hee haue eaten as many as him listeth, or as long as hee can reach any with his tongue. The flesh of this Beast, is filthy and vsauourie, but by reason of the extreame shifts and necessitie that the Christian men were put to at their first comming into these parts, they were inforced to prooue all things, and so fell to the eating of these Beasts: but when they had found more delicate meates, they fell into hatred with this. These Antes haue the appearance of the place of their entrance into the hillocke, vnder the ground, and this at so little a hole, that it could hardly bee found, if certaine of them were not seene to passe in and out: but by this way the Beares could haue no such power to hurt them as about at the said rifts, as I

There is anoother strange beast, which by a name of contrary effect, the Spaniards call *Cagnuolo leggiero*, that is, *The Light Dogge*, whereas it is one of the slowest beasts in the World, and so heauie and dull in moouing, that it can scarcely goe fiftie paces in a whole day: these beasts are in the firme Land, and are very strange to behold for the disproportion that they haue to all other beasts: they are about two spans in length when they are growne to their full bignesse, but when they are very young, they are somewhat more grosse then long: they haue foure subtil feet, and in euery of them foure clawes like vnto Birds, and ioyned together, yet are neither their clawes or their feet able to susteine their bodies from the ground, by reason whereof, and by the heauinesse of their bodies, they draw their bellies on the ground: their neckes are high and straight, and all equall like the pestle of a Morter, which is altogether equall euen vnto the top, without making any proportion or similitude of a head, or any difference except in the noddle, and in the tops of their neckes: they haue very round faces much like vnto Owles, and haue a marke of their owne haire after the manner of a Circle, which maketh their faces seeme somewhat more long then large: they haue small eyes and round, & nostrils like vnto Monkeyes: they haue little mouthes, and moue their neckes from one side to another, as though they were astonished: their chiefe desire and delight is to cleaue and sticke fast vnto Trees, or some other thing whereby they may climbe aloft, and therefore for the most part, these beasts are found vpon Trees, whereunto cleauing fast, they mount vp by little and little, staying themselues by their long clawes: the colour of their haire is betweene russet and white, and of the proper colour of the haire of a Wesell: they haue no tayles, and their voice is much differing from other beasts, for they sing onely in the night, and that continually from time to time, singing euer fixe notes one higher then another, so falling with the same, that the first note is the highest, and the other in a baser tune, as if a man should say, *La, sol, fa, mi, re, ut*, so this beast saith, *Ha, ha, ha, ha, ha, ha*. And

And doubtesse, it seemeth to me, that as I haue said in the Chapter of the beast called *Bardati*, that those beaſts might be the originall and document to imbarbe Horſes: euen ſo, the firſt in-
 uention of Muſicke might ſeeme by the hearing of this beaſt, to haue the firſt principles of that
 Science, rather then by any other thing in the World. But now to returne to the Hitories. I ſay
 that in a ſhort ſpace after this Beaſt hath ſung, and hath pauſed a while, ſhee returneth againe to
 the ſelfe ſame Song, and doth this onely in the night, and not in the day: By reaſon whereof,
 and alſo becauſe of her euill light, I thinke her to be a night Beaſt, and the friend of darkneſſe.
 Sometimes the Chriſtian men find theſe Beaſts, and bring them home to their houſes, where alſo
 they creepe all about with their naturall ſlowneſſe, inſomuch that neither for threatning or
 10 pricking they will moue any faſter then their naturall and accuſtomed pace. And if they finde
 any Trees, they creepe thither immediately, and mount to the top of the higheſt branch thereof,
 where they remayne continually for the ſpace of eight, or ten, or twentie dayes, without ea-
 ting of any thing, as farre as any man can iudge. And whereas I my ſelfe haue kept them in my
 houſe, I could neuer perceiue other but that they liue onely of Aire: and of the ſame opinion, are
 in manner all men of thoſe Regions, becauſe they haue neuer ſeene them eate any thing, but euer
 turne their heads and mouthes toward that part where the wind bloweth moſt, whereby may
 be conſidered that they take moſt pleaſure in the Ayre. They bite not, nor yet can bite, hauing
 very little mouthes: they are not venomous or noyous any way, but altogether brutiſh, and vt-
 terly vnprofitable, and without commoditie yet knowne to men, ſauing onely to moue their
 20 minds to contemplate the infinite power of God, who delighteth in the varietie of creatures,
 whereby appeareth the power of his incomprehenſible wiſdome and maieltie, ſo farre to exceed
 the capacitie of mans vnderſtanding.

In theſe Regions there are likewiſe found certaine Fowles or Birds, which the *Indians* call
Alcatraz: theſe are much bigger then Geefe, the greateſt part of their feathers are of ruſſet co-
 lour, and in ſome parts yellow, their bills or beakes are of two ſpannes in length, and very large
 neere to the head, and growing ſmall toward the point, they haue great and large throates, and
 are much like to a Fowle which I ſaw in *Flanders*, in *Bruffels* in your Maieſties Palace, which the
Flemmings call *Haina*: And I remember that when your Maieſtie dined one day in your great
 Hall, there was brought to your Maieſties preſence a Caldron of water with certaine fiſhes a-
 30 liue, which the ſaid fowle did eat vp whole, and I thinke verily that that fowle was a fowle of the
 Sea, becauſe ſhe had feet like fowles of the water, as haue alſo theſe *Alcatrazs*, which are likewiſe
 fowles of the Sea, and of ſuch greatneſſe, that I haue ſeene a whole coate of a man put into the
 throats of one of them in *Panama*, in the yeere 1521. And forasmuch as in that Coaſt of *Pa-*
ma, there paſſeth and flyeth a great multitude of theſe *Alcatrazs*, being a thing very notable, I
 will declare the manner hereof, as not onely I, but alſo diuers other now preſent in your Maie-
 ſties Court haue oftentimes ſeene. Your Maieſtie ſhall therefore vnderſtand, that in this place
 (as I haue ſaid before) the Sea of *Sar* riſeth and falleth two leagues and more from fixe houres to
 fixe houre: ſo that when it increaſeth, the water of the Sea arriueth ſo neere to the houſes of
 40 *Panama*, as doth our Sea (called *Mare Mediterraneum*) in *Barzalona*, or in *Naples*: and when
 the ſaid increaſing of the Sea commeth, there commeth alſo therewith ſuch a multitude of ſmall
 fiſhes called *Sardines*, that it is ſo maruellous a thing to behold, that no man would beleue it that
 hath not ſeene it. Inſomuch that the *Cacique* (that is) the King of that Land, at ſuch time as I
 dwelt there, was bound daily, as he was commanded by your Maieſties Gouvernour, to bring or-
 dinarily three Canoaſ or Barkes full of the ſaid *Sardines*, and to vnlade the ſame in the Markeſ
 place, which were afterward by the Ruler of the Citie diuided among the Chriſtian men, with-
 out any coſt or charge to any of them: Inſomuch that if the people had bene a much greater
 multitude then they were, and as many as are at this preſent in *Toledo*, or more, and had none o-
 ther thing to liue by, they might haue bene ſufficiently ſuſtained by theſe *Sardines*, beſide the
 ouerplus which ſhould haue remayned. But to returne to the fowles, whereof wee haue ſpo-
 50 ken. As the Sea commeth, and the *Sardines* with the ſame, euen ſo likewiſe come the ſaid
Alcatrazs therewith, and flye continually ouer it in ſuch a multitude, that they appeare to
 couer the vpper part or floore of the water, and thus continue in mounting and falling from the
 ayre to the water, and from the water to the ayre, during all the time of their fiſhing: and af-
 ſoone as they haue taken any of theſe *Sardines*, they flye about the waters, and eate them in-
 continently, and ſuddenly returne againe to the water for more, continuing thus courſe by courſe
 without ceaſing: in like manner when the Sea falleth, they follow their fiſhing as I haue ſaid.
 There goeth alſo in the company of theſe fowles another kind of fowles, called *Coda inforcata*,
 (that is) the *forked tayle*, whereof I haue made mention before, and aſſoone as the *Alcatraz* moun-
 teth from the water with her prey of the *Sardines*, ſuddenly this *Coda inforcata* giueth her ſo
 60 many ſtrokes, and ſo perſecutech her, that ſhee cauſeth her to let fall the *Sardines* which ſhee
 hath in her mouth: the which aſſoone as they are fallen, and before they yet touch the water,
 the *Coda inforcata* catcheth them euen in the fall, in ſuch ſort, that it is a great pleaſure to behold
 the combat betweene them all the day long. The number of theſe *Alcatrazs* is ſuch, that the
 Chriſtian men are accuſtomed to ſend to certaine Ilands and Rockes which are neere about *Pa-*
nama,

Fowles and
Birds.
Alcatraz.*Panama*.*Pilchards*.

nama, with their Boates or Barkes to take these *Alcatrazzi*, while they are yet young, and cannot flie, and kill as many of them with staues as they will, vntill they haue therewith laden their Barkes or Canoas: these young ones are so fat and wellfed, that they cannot bee eaten, and are taken for none other intent, but onely to make Grease for Candles to burne in the night, for the which purpose it serueth very well, and giueth a cleere light, and burneth easily. After this manner, and for this purpose, innumerable of them are killed: and yet it seemeth that the number of them that fish for *Sardines* doe daily increase. There are other fowles called *Passere sempie*, that is, simple Sparowes: these are somewhat lesse then Seamewes, and haue their feet like vnto great Malards, and stand in the water sometimes, and when the ships saile fiftie or a hundred leagues about the Ilands, these fowles beholding the ships comming toward them, breake their flight, and fall downe vpon the Saile yards, Masts, and Cables thereof, and are so simple and foolish, that they tarrie vntill they may easily bee taken with mens hands, and were therefore called of the Mariners simple Sparowes: they are blacke, and vpon their blacke, haue their head and shoulders of feathers of a darke russet colour: they are not good to bee eaten, although the Mariners haue sometimes bene enforced to eate them. There is another kind of Birds in the firme Land, which the *Christians* call *Picuti*, because they haue very great beakes, in respect of the littleness of their bodies, for their beakes are very heauie, and weigh more then their whole bodies beside: these Birds are no bigger then Quails, but haue a much greater bushment of feathers insomuch that their feathers are more then their bodies: their feathers are very faire, and of many variable colours; their beakes are a quarter of a yard in length or more, and bending downe toward the Earth, and three fingers broad neere vnto the head: their tongues are very quills, wherewith they make a great hissing: they make holes in Trees with their beakes, in the which they make their Nests. And surely these Birds are maruellous to behold, for the great difference which they haue from all other Birds that I haue seene, aswell for their tongues (which are quills as I haue said) as also for the strangeness of their sight and disproportion of their great beakes, in respect of the rest of their bodies. There are no Birds found that provide better for the safeguard of their young in the time of their breeding, to be without danger of wilde Cats, that they enter not into their Nests to destroy their Egges or young, and this aswell by the strange manner of building their Nests, as also by their owne defence: and therefore when they perceiue that the Cats approach toward them, they enter into their Nests, and holding their beakes toward the entrance of the same, stand at their defence, and so vex the Cats, that they cause them to leaue their enterprize.

There are also other Birds or Sparowes, which the *Christians* by contrary effect call *Matti*, that is *Fooles*: Whereas neuertheless there is no Bird that sheweth more wit and craft in defending her young from perill. These Birds are little, and in snanner blacke, and somewhat bigger then our Thrushes: they haue certaine white feathers in their neckes, and the like sagacitie or sharpnesse of sense as haue the Birds or Pyes called *Gazzuole*: they seldome times light vpon the earth: they make their Nests in Trees separated from other, because the Monkeyes are accustomed to leape from Tree to Tree, not descending to the ground for feare of other beasts, except when they are enforced by thirst to come downe to drinke, at such times as they are sure not to be molested, and for this cause doe not these Birds make their Nests but in Trees farre diuided from other, they make them of a Cubit in length, or more, after the manner of bagges or little sackes, large at the bottome, and growing narrower and narrower toward the mouth, whereby they are fastened, hauing the hole whereat they enter into the sacke, of such bignesse as may onely suffice to receiue them. And to the end that the Monkeyes may not deuoure their young, if they chance to mount vpon the Trees where they haue their Nests, they vse another craft, which is, to make their Nests in thicke branches of Trees, and to defend the same with sharpe and strong thornes, implicate and set in such order, that no man is able to make the like, so that the Monkeyes can by no meanes put their legges into the hole of the Nest to take out the young Birds, aswell for the sharpnesse of the thornes, as also for the depth of the Nests, in the bottome whereof, the young Birds rest without danger of their enemy: for some of their Nests being three or foure spans in length, the leg of the Monkey cannot reach to the bottome thereof. They vse also another policie, which is, to make many of their Nests in one Tree, the which they doe for one of these two causes: that is, that either of their owne naturall disposition they are accustomed to goe in great multitudes, and reioyce in the company of their owne generation, as doe the Birds which we call Stares, or else to the intent that if it should so chance that the Monkeyes should climbe the Trees where they make their Nests, they might bee a greater company to resist and molest the Monkeyes, at whose approach they make a fearefull and terrible cry, whereby the Monkeyes are put to flight. Furthermore, in the firme Land, and in the Ilands, there are certaine Birds called *Piche*, or *Gazzuole*, somewhat like vnto those which we call Wood-wals, or Wood-peckes, being lesse then ours of *Spaine*: these are altogether blacke, and goe hopping and leaping, their beakes are also blacke, and of the same fashion as are the Poppingiayes beakes, they haue long tayles, and are somewhat bigger then Stares.

There

*Passere sempie.**Picuti*, Birds with bills heavier then bodies.

Foolish Sparowes, wisely prouident.

Gazzuole.

There are other Birds called *Pintadelli*, which are like vnto certaine Greene Birds, which the *Pintadelli*.
Irlians call *Fringuelli*, and are of seven colours: these Birds for feare of the Monkeyes, are euer
wont to make their Nests ouer the bankes of Rivers, or the Sea, where the branches of Trees so
reach ouer the water, that with a little weight they may bow downe to the water: their Nests
are made so neere the tops of the branches, that when the Monkeyes come thereon, the branches
bend toward the water, and the Monkeyes turne backe againe for feare of falling: For although
no beast in the World be more malicious then this, yet whereas the most part of beasts are natu-
rally inclined to swimme, this Monkey hath no manner of aptnesse thereunto, and is therefore
soone drowned or strangled in the water, and by a priuie sense of Nature feareth the danger
which he cannot escape. These Birds make their Nests in such sort, that although they bee wet
and filled with water, yet doe they so suddenly rise vp againe, that the young Birds are not there-
by hurt or drowned. There are also many Nightingales, and other Birds which sing maruellous-
ly with great melodie and difference in singing: these Birds are of maruellous diuers colours the
one from the other, some are altogether yellow, and some other of so excellent, delectable, and
high a colour, as it were a Rubie; other are also of diuers and variable colours, some of few co-
lours, and other some all of one colour, being all so faire and beautifull, that in brightnesse and
shining they excell all that are in *Spain*, or *Italie*, or other Prouinces of *Europe*. Many of these
are taken with Nets, lime-twigs, and Springes of diuers sorts. Diuers other sorts of great fowles
like vnto Eagles, and such other as line of prey, are found in the firme Land, of such diuersitie,
that it is in manner impossible to describe them all particularly: and forasmuch as I haue more
largely intreated hereof in my generall Historie of the *Indies*, I thinke it not requisite heere to
make any further mention of the same.

Of Trees, Fruits, and Plants.

There is both in the firme Land and the Ilands a certaine Tree called *Coco*, being a kind of
Date Trees, and hauing their leaues of the selfesame greatnesse, as haue the Date Trees
which beare Dates, but differ much in their growing, for the leaues of this *Coco* grow out of the
trunkes of the Tree, as doe the fingers out of the hand, wreathing themselues one within ano-
ther, and so spreading abroad: these Trees are high, and are found in great plentie in the Coast of
the Sea of *Sur*, in the Prouince of *Cacique Chiman*. These Date Trees bring forth a Fruit after
this sort: being altogether vnite as it groweth on the Tree, it is of greater circumference then
the head of a man, and from the superficial part to the middest, which is the fruit, it is inuolued
and couered with many Webs much like vnto those Hirds of Towe which they vse in *Andalusia*.
Of this Towe or Web, the *East Indians* make a certaine kind of Cloth, of three or foure sorts,
and Cordes for the Sayles of Ships: but in these *Indies* of your Maiestie, they passe not for these
Coards, or this Cloth that may be made of the Fruit of *Coco*, by reason of the great plentie that
they haue of the Bombage or Cotton of Gossampine Trees. The Fruit which is in the middest of
the said Tow, is (as I haue said) as bigge as a mans fist, and sometimes twice as bigge, and more:
It in forme like vnto a Walnut, or some other round thing, somewhat more long then large, and
very hard, the rinde or barke hereof, is as thicke as the circle of Letters of a Riall of Plate, and
within, there cleaueth fast to the rinde of the Nut a carnositie or substance of coornell, of the
thicknesse of halfe a finger, or of the least finger of the hand, and is very white, like vnto a faire
Almond, and of better taste and more pleasant. When this Fruit is chewed, there remayne cer-
taine crummes, as doe the like of Almonds: Yet if it be swallowed downe, it is not vnpleasant.
For although that after the iuyce or moysture be gone downe the throat before the said crummes
be swallowed, the rest which is eaten, seeme somewhat sharpe or sowre, yet doth it not so great-
ly offend the taste, as to be cast away. While this *Cocos* is yet fresh and newly taken from the
Tree, they vse not to eate of the said carnositie and Fruit, but first beating it very much, and then
strayning it, they draw a Milke thereof, much better and sweeter then is the Milke of Beasts,
and of much substance, the which the Christian men of those Regions put in the Tartes or
Cakes which they make of the grain of *Maiz* whereof they make their Bread, or in other Bread
as we put Bread in Pottage: so that by reason of the said Milke of *Cocos*, the Tartes are more ex-
cellent to be eaten without offence to the stomacke: they are so pleasant to the taste, and leaue it
as well satisfied as though it had beene delighted with many delicate Dishes. But to proceed
further, your Maiestie shall vnderstand, that in the place of the stone or coornell, there is in the
middest of the said carnositie a void place, which neuerthelesse is full of a most cleere and excel-
lent water, in such quantitie as may fill a great Egge shell, or more, or lesse, according to the big-
nesse of the *Cocos*, the which water surely, is the most substantiall, excellent and precious to bee
drunke, that may be found in the World: insomuch that in the moment when it passeth the pa-
late of the mouth, and beginneth to goe downe the throate, it seemeth that from the sole of the
foot, to the crowne of the head, there is no part of the bodie but that feeleth great comfort
thereby: as it is doubtlesse one of the most excellent things that may bee tasted vpon the earth,
and such as I am not able by writing or tongue to expresse. And to proceed yet further, I say that

I haue seene
one of these
Fruits opened,
the which
when it was
whole, if it
were shaken
the water was
hard shogge
therein as it
were in a Bot-
tle, but in time
it consumed &
was partly
congealed into
a salt substance

Good against
the wind and
stone Collick.

Great Trees.

Great Canoas

A marvellous
Tree.

when the meate of this fruit is taken from the Vessell thereof, the vessell remaineth as faire and neate as though it were polished, and is without of colour inclining toward black, and thineth or glistereth very faire, and is within of no lesse delicatenesse. Such as haue accustomed to drinke in these Vessels, and haue beene troubled with the Disease called the fretting of the guts, say that they haue by experience found it a marvellous remedie against that Disease, and that it breaketh the stone, and prouoketh vrine. This fruit was called *Coca*, for this cause, that when it is taken from the place where it cleaueth fast to the Tree, there are seene two holes, and about them two other naturall holes, which altogether doe represent the gesture and figure of the Cattes called *Mammons*, that is, Monkeyes, when they cry, which cry the *Indians* call *Coca*, but in very deed, this Tree is a kind of Date Tree, and hath the same effect to heale fretting of the guts, that *Plinie* describeth all kinde of Date trees to haue. There are furthermore in the firme Land, Trees of such bignesse that I dare not speake thereof, but in place where I haue so many witnesses which haue seene the same as well as I. I say therefore, that a league from *Dariena* or the Citie of *Santa Maria Antiqua*, there passeth a Riuer very large and deepe, which is called *Cuti*, ouer the which the *Indians* laid a great Tree, so trauerfing the same, that it was in the stead of a bridge, the which I my selfe with diuers other that are at this present in your Maiesties Court, haue oftentimes passed ouer. And forasmuch as the said Tree had lyen long there, and by the great weight thereof was so shrunked downeward, and partly couered with water, that none could passe ouer it, but were wet to the knee, I being then in the yeere 1522. the officiall or Iustice in that Citie at your Maiesties appointment, caused another great Tree to be laid in that place, which in like manner trauerfed the Riuer, and reached more then fiftie foote ouer the further side: This Tree was exceeding great, and rested about the water more then two Cubits, in the fall, it cast downe all such other Trees as were within the reach thereof, and discovered certaine bynes, which were so laden with blacke Grapes of pleasant taste, that they satisfied more then fiftie persons which ate their fill thereof. This Tree, in the thickest part thereof, was more then sixteene spannes thicke, and was neuertheless but little in respect of many other trees which are found in this Prouince. For the *Indians* of the Coast and Prouince of *Cartagenia*, make Barkes or Boates thereof (which they call *Canoas*) of such bignesse, beeing all one whole Tree, that some containe a hundred men, some a hundred and thirtie, and some more, hauing neuertheless such void space within the same, that there is left sufficient roome to passe to and fro throughout all the *Canoas*. Some of these are so large, beside the length, that they containe more then tenne or twelue spannes in breadth, and saile with two sailes, as with the Master saile and the trincket, which they make of very good Cotton. The greatest Trees that I haue seene in these parts, or in any other Regions, was in the Prouince of *Guaturo*, the King whereof rebelling from the obedience of your Maiestie, was pursued by me, and taken Prisoner: at which time I with my company, passed ouer a very high Mountaine, full of great Trees, in the top whereof, we found one Tree, which had three roots, or rather diuisions of the roote about the Earth, in forme of a Triangle, or Treuet, so that betweene euery foot of this Triangle or three feet, there was a space of twentie foot betweene euery foot, and this of such height about the Earth, that a laden Cart of those wherewith they are accustomed to bring home Corne in time of Haruest in the Kingdome of *Toledo* in *Spaine*, might easily haue passed through euery of those partitions or windoores which were betweene the three feet of the said Tree. From the Earth vpward to the trunk of the Tree, the open places of the diuisions betweene these three feet, were of such height from the ground, that a Footman with a lauelin was not able to reach the place where the said feet ioyned together in the trunk or bodie of the Tree, which grew of great height in one piece, and one whole bodie, or euer it spread in branches, which it did not before it exceeded in height the Towre of *Saint Romane* in the Citie of *Toledo*: from which height and vpward, it spread very great and strong branches. Among certaine *Spaniards* which climbed this Tree, I my selfe was one, and when I was ascended to the place where it begunne to spread the branches, it was a marvellous thing to behold a great Countrey of such Trees toward the Prouince of *Abayme*. This Tree was easie to climbe, by reason of certaine *Besuchi*, (whereof I haue spoken before) which grew wreathed about the Tree, in such sort that they seemed to make a scaling Ladder. Euery of the foresaid three feet which bore the bodie of the Tree, was twentie spannes in thicknesse, and where they ioyned altogether about the Trunke or bodie of the Tree, the principall Trunke was more then fortie and fve spannes in circuite. I named the Mountaine where these Trees grow, the Mountaine of *three footed Trees*. And this which I haue now declared, was seene of all the company that was there with mee when (as I haue said before) I took King *Guaturo* Prisoner in the yeere 1522. Many things more might here be spoken as touching this matter, as also how there are many other excellent Trees found of diuers sorts and difference, as sweet Cedar Trees, blacke Date Trees, and many other, of the which some are so heauie that they cannot float about the water, but sinke immediately to the bottome, and other againe as light as a Corke. As touching all which things I haue written more largely in my generall Historie of the *Indies*.

And for as much as at this present I haue entred to entreate of Trees, before I passe any further

ther to other things, I will declare the manner how the *Indians* kindle fire, onely with Wood and without fire, the manner whereof is this. They take a peece of wood, of two spannes in length, as biggeas the least finger of a mans hand, or as an arrow well pullished, and of a strong kinde of wood which they keepe onely for this purpose: and where they intend to kindle any fire, they take two other peeces of wood, of the driest and lightest that they can finde, and binde them fast together one with another, as close as two fingers ioyned: in the midst or between these, they put the point of the first little staffe made of hard and strong wood, which they hold in their hands by the top thereof, and turne or rubbe it round about continually in one place betweene the two peeces of wood which lye bound together vpon the earth, which by that vn-

10 cessant rubbing and chafing, are in short space kindled, and take fire. I haue also thought good here to speake somewhat of such things as come to my remembrance of certaine Trees which are found in this Land, and sometime also the like haue bene seene in *Spaine*. These are certaine putrified trunks, which haue lien so long rotting on the earth, that they are very white, and shine in the night like burning firebrands, and when the *Spaniards* finde any of this wood, and intend priuily in the night to make warre and invade any Prouince, when case so requireth that it shall be necessarie to goe in the night, in such places where they know not the way, the formost Christian man which guideth the way, associate with an *Indian* to direct him therein, taketh a little starre of the said wood, which he putteth in his cap, hanging behinde on his shoulders, by the light whereof he that followeth next to him, directeth his journey, who also

20 in like manner beareth another starre behinde him, by the shining whereof the third followeth the same way, and in like manner doe all the rest, so that by this meanes none are lost or straggle out of the way. And for as much as this light is not seene very farre, it is the better policie for the *Christians*, because they are not thereby disclosed before they invade their enemies. Furthermore, as touching the natures of Trees, one particular thing seemeth worthy to be noted, whereof *Plinie* maketh mention in his naturall Historie, where he saith that there are certaine Trees which continue euer greene, and neuer loose their leaues, as the Bay-tree, the Cedar, the Orange-tree, and the Oliue-tree, with such other, of the which in altogether he nameth not past five or six. To this purpose, I say, that in the Islands of these *Indies*, and also in the firme land, it is a thing of much difficultie to finde two Trees that lose or cast their leaues at any time: for although

30 I haue diligently searched to know the truth hereof, yet haue I not seene any that lose their leaues, either of them which we haue brought out of *Spain* into these regions, as Orange-trees, Limons, Cedars, Palmes, or Date-trees, and Pomegranate-trees, or of any other in these regions, except onely *Cassia*, which loseth his leaues, and hath a greater thing appropriate to it selfe onely: which is, that whereas all other Trees and Plants of *India* spread their rootes no deeper in the earth then the depth of a mans height, or somewhat more, not descending any further into the ground, by reason of the great heate which is found beneath that depth, yet doth *Cassia* pearle further into the ground, vntill it finde water: which by the Philosophers opinion should be the cause of a thinne and watery radicall moisture to such things as draw their nourishment thereof, as fat and vntuous grounds with temperate heate, yelde a fast and firme

40 moisture to such things as grow in them, which is the cause that such Trees lose not their leaues, as the said thinne and waterish moisture is cause of the contrarie, as appeareth by the said effect which is seene onely in *Cassia*, and none other Tree or Plant in all these partes.

Kindling of fire without fire.

Putrified wood shining in the night.

Plinie

Almost all *Indian* trees continue euer greene.

Cassia

Earth hot lower then a fadome. A secret thing. Radicall moisture.

Of Reedes or Canes.

IN the firme land there are many sorts of Reedes, so that in many places they make their houses thereof, couering them with the tops of the same, and making their wals of them in like manner, as I haue said before: and among these kindes of Reedes, there is one so great, that the Canes thereof are as bigge as a mans legge in the knee, and three spans in length from ioynt to

50 ioynt, or more, in so much that euery of them is of capacitie to containe a little bucket of water. In this kinde, there are found some greater, and some lesse, of the which some they vse to make quiers for arrowes. There is found another kinde, which surely is marueilous, being little bigger then a luelin, the Canes whereof are longer then two spannes: these Reedes grow one farre from another, as sometimes twenty or thirty paces, and sometimes also two or three leagues: they grow in manner in all Prouinces in the *Indies*, and grow neere to very high Trees, whereunto they leane, and creepe vp to the top of their branches, which they imbrace, and descend againe downe to the earth. Their Canes are full of most cleare water, without any manner of taste or sauour, either of the Canes, or of any other thing, and such as if it were taken out of the freshest Spring in the world, nor yet is it knowne that euer it hurt any that

60 drunke thereof. For it hath oftentimes so chanced, that as the *Christian* men haue traualled in these regions in desolate waies, where for lacke of water they haue bene in great danger to dye with thirst, they haue escaped that perill by reason that they found the said Reedes, of the water of whose Canes they haue drunke a great quantity, without any hurt thereof ensuing. Therefore when they finde these in any place, they make water vessels of the Canes thereof, and carry

Reed-springs or fountains of water

as many of them full of water as may suffice for one dayes iourney : and sometime they carrie so many, that they take for euery man two or three quarts of water, which may serue them for many daies, because it doth not corrupt, but remaineth still fresh and good.

Platani, or
Plantans.

There are also certaine Plants, which the Christians call *Platani*. They are as high as trees, and become as bigge in the trunke as the knee of a man, or more. From the foote to the top, they beare certaine long and large leaues, being more then three spans in largenesse, and about ten or twelue in length : the which when they are broken of the winde, the stalke remaineth whole in the midst. In the midst of this Plant, in the highest part thereof, there groweth a cluster with fortie or fiftie Plantans about it, euery of them being a span and a halfe in length, and as bigge as a mans arme in the small, or more, or lesse, according to the goodnesse of the soile where they grow : they haue a rinde not very thicke, and easie to be broken, being within altogether full of a substance like vnto the marie of the bone of an Oxe, as it appeareth when the rinde or barke is taken from the same. This cluster ought to be taken from the Plant, when any one of the Plantans begin to appeare yellow, at which time they take it, and hang it in their houses, where all the cluster waxeth ripe, with all his Plantans. This cluster is a very good fruite, and when it is opened, and the rinde taken off, there are found within it many good drie Figges, which being roasted, or stewed in an Ouen, in a close pot, or some fush other thing, are of pleasant taste, much like to the conserue of Honny : they putrifienot on the Sea so soone as some other fruites doe, but continue fifteene daies and more, if they be gathered somewhat greene : they seeme more delicate on the Sea then on the Land, not for that they any thing encrease in goodnes on the Sea, but because that wheras on the Sea other things are lacking, whereof is plentie on the Land, those meates seeme of best taste, which satisfie present necessitie. This trunke or sprig which bringeth forth the said cluster, is a whole yeare in growing and bringing forth fruite, in which time it hath put forth round about in ten or twelue sprigges, as bigge as the first or principal, and multiplieth no lesse then the principall in bringing forth of clusters, with fruits likewise at their time, and also in bringing forth other and many sprigges, as is said before. From the which sprigges or trunks, as soone as the cluster of the fruite is taken away, the Plant beginneth to drie and wither, which then they take out of the ground, because it doth none other then occupie it in vaine, and without profit. They are so many, and doe so marueilously encrease and multiplie, that it is a thing in manner incredible. They are exceeding moist, in so much that when they are plucked vp from the place where they grow, there issueth forth a great quantity of water, as well out of the Plant, as out of the place where it grew, in such sort, that all the moisture of the earth farre about, might seeme to be gathered together about the trunke or blocke of the said Plant, with the fruites whereof, the Antes are so farre in loue, that they are seene in great multitudes in the branches of the Plants : so that for the multitude thereof, it sometime so chanceth, that men are enforced to take away the Plants from their possion : these fruites are found at all times of the yeere. There is also another kinde of wilde Plants that groweth in the fieldes, which I haue not seene but in the Iland of *Hispaniola*, although they be found in other Ilands of the *Indies* : these they call *Tunas*. They grow of a Thistle full of thornes, and bring forth a fruite much like vnto great Figges, which haue a crowne like Medlers, and are within of a high colour, with graines and the rinde like vnto a Figge : they are of good taste, and grow abundantly in the fields in many places : They worke a strange effect in such as eate them, for if a man eate two, or three, or more, they cause his vrine to be of the very colour of blood, which thing chanced once to my selfe. For on a time as I made water, and saw the colour of my Vrine, I entred into a great suspicion of my life, being so astonished for feare, that I thought the same had chanted to me vpon some other cause, in so much that surely my imagination might haue done me hurt, but that they which were with me did comfort me immediately, declaring the cause thereof, as they knew by experience, being auncient inhabitants in those regions. There groweth also another Plant, which the people of the Countrie call *Bihaos* : this putteth forth certaine straight branches, and very broade leaues, which the *Indians* vse for diuers purposes : for in some places they couer their houses with the leaues thereof, couched and laid after the manner of thatch, whereunto it serueth very well : Sometimes also when it raineth, they cast these ouer their heads, to defend them from the water. They make also certaine chests, which they call *Hanas*, weaued after a strange sort, and intermixt with the leaues of this *Bihaos*. These Chests are wrought in such sort, that although it raine vpon them, or they chance to fall into the water, yet are not such things wet as are within them : they are made of the branches of the said *Bihaos*, with the leaues weaued together therewith. In these they keepe salt, and other subtile things. They vse them also for another purpose, which is this : that finding them in the fields at such time as they haue scarsenesse of victuals, they digge vp the rootes of these Plants while they are yet yong, or eate the Plant it selfe, in that part where it is most tender, which is from a foote vnder the ground, where it is as tender and white as a Reede or Bulrush. And for as much as we are now come to the end of this narration, it commeth to my remembrance to make mention of

Figges.

Tunas.

Bihaos.

Hanas.

of another
or dye clo
as Blacke,
and Leau
and by t
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of another thing, which is not farre from my purpose: and this is, how the *Indians* doe staine or dye cloath of bombage cotton, or any other thing which they intend to dye, of diuers colours, as Blacke, Tawny, Greene, Blew, Yellow, and Red, which they doe with the Barkes, or Rindes, and Leaues of certaine Trees, which they know by experience to be good for this practise: and by this art they make colours in such perfection and excellency, that no better can be deuised. But this seemeth a strange thing, that they doe all this in one selfe same Vessell: so that when they haue caused the said Rindes and Leaues to boile together, they make in the same Vessell without any change (as I haue said) as many colours as them listeth. Which thing I suppose to come to passe, by the disposition of the colour which they haue first giuen to the thing that they intend to dye or colour, whether it be Thred, Web, or Cloth, or any thing that they intend to colour.

*Of venemous Apples, wherewith they poyson
their Arrowes.*

THE Apples wherewith the *Indian Canibals* inuenome their arrowes, grow on certaine Trees couered with many Branches and Leaues, being very greene, and growing thicke. They are laden with abundance of these euill fruites, and haue their Leaues like the Leaues of a Peare-tree, but that they are lesse and rounder: the fruit is much like the muscadell Peares of the Iland of *Sicilie* or *Naples* in forme and bignesse, and are in some parts stained with red spots, and of very sweet sauour: these trees for the most part, grow euer by the Sea Coasts, and neere vnto the water, and are so faire and of pleasant sauour, that there is no man that seeth them, but will desire to eate thereof, insomuch that if it may bee spoken of any fruit yet growing on the earth, I would say that this was the vnhappy fruit whereof our first parents * *Adam* and *Eue* tasted, whereby they both lost their felicitie, and procured death to them and their posteritie. Of these fruits, and of the great Ants whose byting causeth swelling (whereof I haue spoken elsewhere) and of the *Eutes*, or *Lysarts*, and *Vipers*, and such other venomous things, the *Canibals* which are the chiefe Archers among the *Indians*, are accustomed to poyson their Arrowes, wherewith they kill all that they wound: These venomes they mingle together, and make thereof a blacke Masse or composition, which appeareth like vnto very blacke Pitch. Of this poyson caused a great quantitie to bee burnt, in *Santa Maria Antiqua*, in a place two leagues and more within the Land, with a great multitude of their inuenomed Arrowes and other munition, with also the house wherein they were reserued: This was in the yeere 1514. at such time as the Armie arriued there with Captaine *Pedarias de Villa*, at the commaundement of the Catholike King *Don Fernando*. But to returne to the Historie. These Apples (as I haue sayde) grow neere vnto the Sea: the Christians which serue your Maiestie in these patties, suppose that there is no remedie so profitable for such as are wounded with these Arrowes, as is the water of the Sea, if the wound bee much waied therewith, by which meanes some haue escaped, although but few: yet to say the truth, albeit the water of the Sea, haue a certaine cautlike qualitie against poyson, it is not sufficient remedie in this case, nor yet to this day haue the Christians perceived that of fiftie that haue bene wounded, three haue recouered. But that your Maiestie may the better consider the force of the venome of these trees, you shall further vnderstand, that if a man doe but repose himselfe to sleepe a little while vnder the shadow of the same, he hath his head and eyes so swolne when he riseth, that the eye lids are ioyned with the cheekes, and if it chance one drop or more of the dew of the said tree to fall into the eye, it vtterly destroyeth the sight. The pestilent nature of this tree is such, that it cannot be declared in few words. Of these, there groweth great plentie in the gulfe of *Vraba*, toward the North coast, on the West and East side. The wood of these trees when it burneth, maketh so great a stinke, that no man is able to abide it, by reason it causeth so great a paine in the head.

Among other trees which are in these *Indies*, as well in the Ilands, as in the firme land, there is another kind which they call *Xagua*, whereof there is great plentie: they are very high, and streight, and faire to behold. Of these they vse to make Pikes, and Iagelins of diuers lengths and bignesse: they are of a faire colour, betweene russet and white: this tree bringeth forth a greac fruit as big as *Papauer* or *Poppie*, and much like thereunto, it is very good to be eaten when it is ripe. Out of this they get a very cleare water, wherewith they wash their legs, and sometimes all their bodies, when they feele their flesh weary, faint, or loose: the which water, beside that it hath a binding qualitie, it hath also this properties, that whatsoever it toucheth, it staineth it blacke by little and little, vntill it be as blacke as let, which colour cannot bee taken away in lesse space then tenne or twelue dayes: And if the nayle bee but touched therewith, it is so stained, that it can by no meanes be taken away, vntill it either fall of, or grow out, and be clipped away by little and little, as I my selfe haue oftentimes seene by experience.

Dying of
Cotton.

A strange
thing.

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Canibals inue-
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The water of
the Sea.

The gulfe of
Vraba.

Xagua.

Blacke staines.

There

Hohi.
Some thinke
these to be mi-
robalants.

There is another kinde of Trees which they call *Hohi*: these are very great and faire, and cause wholesome aire where they grow, and a pleasant shadow, and are found in great abundance: their fruit is very good, and of good taste and sauour, and much like vnto certaine Damsons or Prunes being little and yellow, but their stone is very great, by reason whereof they haue but little meate: their Barke or Rinde boyled in water, maketh a wholesome Bathe for the legges, because it bindeth and stayeth the loosenesse of the flesh, so sensibly that it is a maruell to consider. It is surely a wholesome and excellent Bathe against such faintnesse, and is the best Tree that may be found in those parts to sleepe vnder: For it causeth no heauinesse of the head, as doe diuers other Trees, which thing I speake, because the Christians are much accustomed in those Regions to lie in the fields. It is therefore a common practice among them, that wheresoeuer they finde these Trees, there they spreade their Mattresses and Beds wherein they sleepe. 10

Date trees.

The Inhabi-
tants of the
Sea of Sur.

There are also a kinde of high Date trees, and full of thornes: the wood of these is most excellent, being very blacke and thining, and so heauie that no part thereof can swim about the water, but sinketh immediatly to the bottom. Of this wood they make their Arrowes and Darts, also Iauelins, Speares, and Pikes: and I say Pikes, because that in the coasts of the Sea of Sur, beyond *Esquegua* and *Uracha*, the *Indians* vse great and long Pikes, made of the wood of these Date trees. Of the same likewise they make Clubs, and Swords, and diuers other weapons: Also vessels and household stuffe of diuers sorts, very faire and commodious. Furthermore, of this wood the Christians vse to make diuers muscalle instruments, as Claricymbals, Lutes, Gitterns, and such other, the which beside their faire shining colour like vnto jeat, are also of a good sound, and very durable, by reason of the hardnesse of the wood. 20

An herbe that
beareth
cordes.

Cabua and *He-
nequen.*

A strange
thing.

Leaues.

Thistle trees.

A leafe of great
vertue.

After that I haue said thus much of Trees and Plants, I haue thought good also to speake somewhat of Herbs. You shall therefore vnderstand, that in these *Indies* there is an herbe much like vnto a yellow Lilly, about whose leaues there grow and creepe certaine Cordes or Laces, as the like is partly seene in the herbe which we call *Laced sanory*, but these of the *Indies* are much bigger, and longer, and so strong that they tie their hanging beds thereby, which they call *Hamacas*, whereof we haue spoken elsewhere: these Cordes they call *Cabua*, and *Henequen*, which are all one thing, sauing that *Henequen* is lesse and of a finer substance, as it were Line, and the other is grosser, like the wike or twist of Hempe, and is imperfect in comparison to the other: they are of colour betweene white and yellow, like vnto abarne, and some also white. With *Henequen*, which is the most subtil and fine threed, the *Indians* saw in sunder Fetters, Chaines, or barres of Iron, in this manner: They mooue the threed of *Henequen* vpon the Iron which they intend to saw or cut, drawing the one hand after the other as doe they that saw, putting euer now and then a portion of fine Sand vpon the threed, or on the place or part of the Iron, where they continue rubbing the said threed, so that if the threed be worne, they take another, and continue in their worke as before, vntill they haue cut in sunder the Iron, although it bee neuer so bigge, and cut it as if it were a tender thing, and easie to be sawen. 30

And forasmuch as the leaues of Trees may be counted among Herbs, I will here speake somewhat of the qualitie of the leaues of certaine Trees which are found in the Iland of *Hispaniola*. These trees are so full of thornes, that there is no tree or plant that seemeth more wilde and deformed: so that I cannot well determine whether they bee Trees or Plants: they haue certaine branches full of large and deformed leaues, which branches were first leaues like vnto the other. As the branches made of these leaues grow forth in length, there cometh other leaues of them: so that in fine it is a difficult thing to describe the forme of these trees, except the same should be done by a Painter, whereby the Eye might conceiue that whereip the Tongue faileth in this behalfe. The leaues of this tree are of such vertue, that being well beaten and spred vpon a cloth, after the manner of a plaister, and so laid to a legge or arme that is broken in many pieces, it healeth it in fifteene dayes, and maketh it as whole as though it had neuer bene broken: During the time of this operation, it cleaueth so fast to the flesh, that it cannot without much difficultie be taken away, but as soone as it hath healed the sore, and wrought his operation, it looseth it selfe from the place where it was laid, as I my selfe, and diuers other which haue proued it, know by experience. 50

Of Fishes, and of the manner of fishing.

IN the Sea coasts of the firme Land, there are diuers and sundrie kindes of fishes, much differing in shape and forme. And although it be impossible to speake of all, yet will I make mention of some. And first to begin at *Sardines*, you shall vnderstand that there is found a kinde of fishes very large and with red tailes, being a very delicate fish. The best kindes of other fishes are these, *Moxarre*, *Diabace*, *Brettes*, *Dabaos*, *Thornbacks*, and *Salmons*: All these, and diuers other which I doe not now remember, are taken in great quantitie in Riuer. There are likewise taken very good *Crenishes*. There are also found in the Sea, certaine other fishes, as *Solos*, *Mackerels*, *Turbuts*, *Palamite*, *Lizze*, *Polpi*, *Chieppe*, *Xaibas*, *Locusts*, *Oysters*, exceeding great *Tortoises*, and *Tiburoni* of maruellous bignesse: also *Manates*, and *Murene*, and many other fishes, which 60

Tiburoni.
Manatis.

which haue no names in our language, and these of such diuersitie and quantitie, as cannot bee expressed without large writing and long time. But to let passe to intreate particularly of the multitude of fishes, I intend to speake chiefly, and somewhat largely, of three sorts of most notable fishes: whereof the first is, the great *Tortoises*, the second is called *Tiburon*, and the third *Manate*. And to begin at the first, I say that in the Iland of *Cuba*, are found great *Tortoises* (which are certaine shell fishes) of such bignesse that ten or fifteene men are scarcely able to lift one of them out of the water, as I haue bene informed of credible persons dwelling in the same Iland. But of that which I my selfe haue seene, I can testifie, that in the firme Land, in the village of *Aela*, there are of this sort some taken and killed of such bignesse, that fixe men with much difficultie could scarcely draw them out of the water, and commonly the least sort of them are as much as two men may carry at a burden: that which I saw lifted vp by fixe men, had her shell a yard and a quarter in length, and in breadth more then five yards. The manner of taking them, is this: It sometimes chanceth that in their great nets (which they call shoote nets) there are found certaine *Tortoises* of the common sort, in great quantities, and when they come out of the Sea, and bring forth their egges, and goe together by companies from the Sea, to feede on the Land, the *Christians* or *Indians* follow their steps which they finde in the Sand, and soone ouertake them, because they are very heauie and slow in going, although they make all the haste they can to returne to the Sea, as soone as they espy any body. When they that pursue them haue ouertaken them, they put a stake or staffe vnder their legs, and ouerturne them on their backs as they are yet running, so that they can goe no further, nor yet rise againe or turne, and thus they suffer them to lye still while they follow after the rest, which they ouerturne in like manner: and by this meanes take very many, at such times as they come forth of the Sea, as I haue said: This fish is very excellent and wholesome to be eaten, and of good taste.

The second of the three fishes whereof I haue spoken, is the *Tiburon*: this is a very great fish, and very quick and swift in the water, and a cruell Deuourer: these are oftentimes taken, as well when the ships are vnder saile in the Ocean, as also when they lye at anker, or at any other time, and especially the least kinde of these fishes. When the ships are vnder saile, the biggest sort are taken after this manner. When the *Tiburon* seeth the ship sayling, hee followeth it swimming behind, the which things the Mariners seeing, cast forth all the filth of the ship into the Sea for the fish to eate, who neuertheless followeth them with equall paze, although they make neuer such haste with full winde and sailes, and walloweth on euery side and about the ship, and thus followeth it sometime for the space of a hundred and fiftie leagues, and more, and when the Mariners are disposed to take them, they cast downe by the sterne of the ship a hooke of Iron, as bigge as the biggest finger of a mans hand, of three spans in length, and crooked like a fish-hooke, with beards according to the bignesse thereof, and fastned to an Iron chaine of five or fixe linkes neere vnto the end, and from thence tyed with a great rope, fastning also on the hooke for a bait, a piece of some fish, or hogs flesh, or some other flesh, or the bowels and intrals of another *Tiburon* which they haue taken before, which may easily be done, for I haue seene nine taken in one day, and if they would haue taken more, they might also. Thus when the *Tiburon* hath pleasantly followed the ship a long voyage, at the length he swalloweth the bait with the hooke, and aswell by his struing to flee or escape, as also by the swift passage of the ship, the hooke ouerthwarteth and catcheth hold of his chaps: the which fish when it is taken, it is of such huge bignesse, that twelue or fifteene men are scarcely able to draw it out of the water, and lift it into the ship, where one of the Mariners giueth it many knocks on the head with a club or beetle, vntill he haue slaine it: they are sometimes found of ten or twelue foote long, and of five, fixe, or seuen spans in breadth, where they are broadest: they haue very great and wide mouthes, to the proportion of the rest of their bodies, and haue two rowes of teeth, the one somewhat separate from the other, of cruell shape, and standing very thicke. When they haue slaine this fish, they cut the body thereof in small pieces, and put it to drie, hanging it three or foure dayes at the Cordes of the saile clothes to drie in the winde, and then eate it: It is doubtlesse a good fish, and of great commoditie to serue the ships for victualls for many dayes: the least of these fishes are most wholesome and tender, it hath a skin much like to the skin of a *Sole* whereunto the said *Tiburon* is like in shape: Which I say, because *Plinie* hath made mention of none of these three fishes, among the number of them whereof he writeth in his Naturall historie. These *Tiburons* come forth of the Sea, and enter into the Riuers, where they are no lesse perillous then great *Lizards* or *Crocodiles*, whereof I haue spoken largely before: For they deuoure Men, Kine, and Horses, euen as doe the *Crocodiles*: they are very dangerous in certaine washing places or Pooles by the Riuers sides, and where they haue deuoured at other times. Diuers other fishes both great and small, of sundrie sorts and kindes, are accustomed to follow the ships going vnder saile, of the which I will speake somewhat when I haue written of *Manate*, which is the third of the three whereof I haue promised to entreat. *Manate* therefore, is a fish of the Sea, of the biggest sort, and much greater then the *Tiburon* in length and breadth, and is very brutish and vile, so that it appeareth in forme like vnto one of those great vessels made of Goats skins, wherein they vse to carry new wine in *Medina de Campo*, or in *Arenalo*: the head of this beast is like the head of an Oxe,

Oxe, with also like eyes, and hath in the place of armes, two great stumps wherewith he swimmeth: It is a very gentle and tame beast, and commeth oftentimes out of the water to the next shoare, where if he finde any herbes or grasse, he feedeth thereof. Our men are accustomed to kill many of these, and diuers other good fishes, with their Crosse-bowes, pursuing them in Barkes or Canoas, because they swim in manner aboue the water: the which thing when they see, they draw them with a hooke tyed at a small corde, but somewhat strong: As the fish fleeth away, the Archer letteth goe, and prolongeth the corde by little and little, vntill he haue let it goe many fathoms: at the end of the corde, there is tyed a corke, or a piece of light wood, and when the fish is gone a little way, and hath coloured the water with his bloud, and feeleth himselfe to faint and draw toward the end of his life, he resorteth to the shoare, and the Archer followeth, gathering vpon his corde, whereof while there yet remaine fixe or eight fathoms, or somewhat more or lesse, he draweth it toward the Land, and draweth the fish therewith by little and little, as the waues of the Sea helpe him to doe it the more easily: then, with the helpe of the rest of his companie, he listeth this great beast out of the Water to the Land, being of such bignesse, that to conuey it from thence to the Citie, it shall be requisite to haue a Cart with a good yoke of Oxen, and sometimes more, according as these fishes are of bignesse, some being much greater then other some in the same kinde, as is seene of other beasts: Sometimes they lift these fishes into the Canoas, or Barke, without drawing them to the Land as before, for as soone as they are slaine, they flote aboue the water: And I beleue verily that this fish is one of the best in the world to the taste, and the likest vnto flesh, especially so like vnto beefe, that who so hath not seene it whole, can iudge it to be none other when hee seeth it in pieces then very Beefe or Veale, and is certainly so like vnto flesh, that all the men in the world may herein be deceived: the taste likewise, is like vnto the taste of very good Veale, and lasteth long, if it be powdred: so that in fine, the Beefe of these parts, is by no meanes like vnto this. This *Manate* hath a certaine stone, or rather bone in his head within the braine, which is of qualitie greatly appropriate against the dis-ease of the stone, if it be burnt and ground into small powder, and taken fasting in the morning when the paine is felt, in such quantitie as may lye vpon a peny, with a draught of good white wine: For being thus taken three or foure mornings, it acquieth the grieve, as diuers haue told me which haue proued it true, and I my selfe by testimonie of sight, doe witnesse that I haue seen this stone sought of diuers for this effect.

The fish *Manate*.
A remedie against the stone.

There are also diuers other fishes as bigge as this *Manate*, among the which there is one called *Vibulla*. This fish beareth in the top of his head a sword, being on euery side full of many sharp teeth: this sword is naturally very hard and strong, of foure or fve spans in length, and of proportion according to the same bignesse: and for this cause is this fish called *Spada*, that is, the *Sword fish*. Of this kinde some are found as little as *Sardines*, and other so great, that two yokes of Oxen are scarcely able to draw them on a Cart. But whereas before I haue promised to speake of other fishes, which are taken in these Seas while the ships are vnder saile, I will not forget to speake of the *Tunny*, which is a great and good fish, and is oftentimes taken and kild with Trout speares, and hookes, cast in the water, when they play and swim about the ships. In like manner also are taken many *Turbuts*, which are very good fishes as are lightly in all the Sea. And here is to be noted, that in the great Ocean Sea, there is a strange thing to be considered, which all that haue bene in the *Indies* affirme to be true: And this is, that like as on the Land there are some Prouinces fertile and fruitfull, and some barren, euen so doth the like chance in the Sea: So that at some windes the ships saile fiftie, or a hundred, or two hundred leagues and more, without taking or seeing of one fish: and againe, in the selfe same Ocean in some places, all the water is seen tremble by the moouing of the fishes, where they are taken abundantly. It commeth further to my remembrance to speake somewhat of the flying of fishes, which is doubtlesse a strange thing to behold, and is after this manner. When the ships saile by the great Ocean, following their viage, there riseth sometimes on the one side or on the other, many companies of certaine little fishes, of the which the biggest is no greater then a *Sardine*, and so diminish lesse and lesse from that quantitie, that some of them are very little: these are called *Volatori*, that is, *flying fishes*: they rise by great companies and flocks, in such multitudes that it is an astonishment to behold them: Sometimes they rise but little from the water, and (as it chanceth) continue one flight for the space of an hundred paces, and sometimes more, or lesse, before they fall againe into the Sea, sometimes also they fall into the ships. And I remember, that on an euening when all the companie in the ship were on their knees, singing *Salve Regina*, in the highest part of the Castle of the poepe, and sailed with a full winde, there passed by vs a flocke of these flying fishes, and came so neere vs, that many of them fell into the ship, among the which, two or three fell hard by mee, which I tooke aliue in my hand, so that I might well perceiue that they were as bigge as *Sardines*, and of the same quantitie, hauing two wings or quils growing out of their finnes, like vnto those wherewith all fishes swim in Riuer: these wings are as long as the fishes themselves. As long as their wings are moist, they beare them vp in the aire, but as soone as they are drie, they can continue their flight no further then as I haue said before, but fall immediatly into the Sea, and so rise againe, and flie as before from place to place. In the yeere 1515, when I came first to enforme your

The Sword fish.

Tunny.

Turbut.

Note.
The Sea some-where fertile, somewhere barren.

Flying fishes.

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your Maiestie of the state of the things in *India*, and was the yeere following in *Flanders* in the time of your most fortunate successe in these your Kingdomes of *Arragon* and *Castile*, whereas at that voyage I sayled about the Iland *Bermuda*, otherwise called *Garza*, being the furthest of all the Ilands that are found at this day in the world, and arriuing there at the depth of eight yards of water, and distant from the Land as farre as the thot of a piece of Ordinance, I determined to send some of the ship to Land, as well to make search of such things as were there, as also to leaue in the Iland certaine Hogs for increase. But the time not seruing my purpose by reason of contrarie winde, I could bring my ship no neerer the Iland, being twelue leagues in length, and sixe in breadth, and about thirtie in circuit, lying in the three and thirtieth degree of the North side.

The Iland of
Bermuda

- 10 While I remayned here, I saw a strife and combat betweene these flying fishes, and the fishes named *Gilt heads*, and the fowles called *Sea-mewes*, and *Cormorants*, which surely seemed vnto me a thing of as great pleasure and solace as could be deuised, while the *Gilt heads* swam on the brim of the water, and sometimes lifted their shoulders about the same, to raise the flying fishes out of the water to driue them to flight, and follow them swimming to the place where they fall, to take and eate them suddenly. Againe on the other side, the *Sea-mewes* and *Cormorants*, take many of these flying fishes, so that by this meanes they are neither safe in the Aire, nor in the Water. In the selfe same perill and danger doe men liue in this mortall life, wherein is no certaine securitie, neither in high estate, nor in lowe. Which thing surely ought to put vs in remembrance of that blessed and safe resting place which God hath prepared for such as loue him, who shall acquiet and finish the trauailes of this troublesome world, wherein are so many dangers, and bring them to that eternall life where they shall finde eternall securitie and rest.

Not too hie
for the Pie,
Nor too low
for the Crowe

Of the increase and decrease (that is) rising and falling of our Ocean Sea, and South Sea, called the Sea of Sur.

- I Will now speake of certaine things which are seene in the Prouince, or at the least in the Citie of *Golden Castile*, otherwise called *Beragua*, and in the coasts of the North Sea, and of the South Sea, called the Sea of *Sur*, not omitting to note one singular and maruellous thing which I haue considered of the Ocean Sea, whereof hitherto no Cosmographer, Pilot, or Mariner, or any other, haue satisfied me. I say therefore, as it is well knowne to your Maiestie, and all such as haue knowledge of the Ocean Sea, that this great Ocean catcheth from it selfe the Sea *Mediterraneum* by the mouth of the Strait of *Gibraltar*, in the which the water, from the end and furthest part of that Sea, euen vnto the mouth of the said Strait, either in the East toward the coast commonly called *Leuante*, or in any other part of the said Sea *Mediterraneum*, the Sea doth not so fall nor increase, as reason would iudge for so great a Sea, but increaseth very little, and a small space: Neuerthelesse, without the mouth of the Strait in the mayne Ocean, it increaseth and falleth very much, and a great space of ground, from sixe houres to sixe houres, as in all the coasts of *Spaine*, *Britaine*, *Flanders*, *Germanie*, and *England*. The selfe same Ocean Sea in the firme Land newly found, in the coasts of the same lying toward the North, doth neither rise nor fall, nor likewise in the Ilands of *Hispaniola* and *Cuba*, and all the other Ilands of the same lying toward the North, for the space of three thousand leagues, but onely in like manner as doth the Sea *Mediterraneum* in *Italie*, which is in manner nothing, in respect to that increase and decrease which the said Ocean hath in the coasts of *Spaine* and *Flanders*. But this is yet a greater thing, that also the selfe same Ocean in the coasts of the said firme Land lying toward the South, in the Citie of *Panama*, and also in the coast of that Land which lyeth toward the East and West from that Citie, as in the Iland of *Pearles* or *Margarita*, which the *Indians* call *Tarrarequi*, and also in *Taboga* and *Oroque*, and in all other Ilands of the South Sea of *Sur*, the water riseth and falleth so much, that when it falleth, it goeth in manner out of sight, which thing I my selfe haue seene oftentimes. And here your Maiestie may note another thing, that from the North Sea to the South Sea, being of such difference the one from the other in rising and falling, yet is the Land that diuideth them not past eightene or twentie leagues in breadth from Coast to Coast: So that both the said Seas, being all one Ocean, this strange effect is a thing worthy greatly to bee considered of all such as haue inclination and desire to know the secret workes of Nature, where in the infinite power and wisdom of God is seene to be such, as may allure all good Natures to reuerence and loue so diuine a Maiestie.

Beragua.

The West
Ocean.
The Sea *Mediterraneum*.

Hispaniola.
Cuba.
Ocean without
ebbing and
flowing.

The ebbe at
Panama falleth
two leagues or
sixe miles.

The South
Sea.

Of the straight or narrow passage of the Land lying betweene the North and South Sea, by the which Spices may much sooner and easilier be brought from the Ilands of Molucca into Spaine by the West Ocean, then by that way where by the Portugals saile into the East India.

- 60 The firme Land in some parts thereof is so straight and narrow, that the *Indians* say, that from the Mountaines of the Prouince of *Esquegua* or *Vrraca* (which are betweene the one Sea and the other) if a man ascend to the top of the Mountaines, and looke toward the North,

Esquegua and
Vrraca.

he

The Riuer of
Chagre.

The land Ba-
stimento.

The maruel-
lous Bridge.

Naturall stone
Bridge.

Tigres.

Plants and
herbes.

Birds.

Men.

Sheepe.
Bulls.

Lucca.

Bats.

he may see the Water of the North Sea of the Prouince of *Beragua*: and againe looking the con-
trarie way, may on the other side (towards the South) see the Sea of *Sur*, and the Prouin-
ces which confine with it, as doe the Territories of the two Lords or Kings of the said Prouin-
ces of *Verraca* and *Esquegua*. Some measure this way in this part, to bee from Sea to Sea eigh-
teene leagues, which I suppose to bee rather twentie, not for that it is any more by measure,
but because it is rough and difficult, as I haue said, and as I haue found it by experience, ha-
uing now twise passed that way by foote, counting from the Port and Village of *Nombre de
Dios*, vnto the Dominion of the Cacique of *Iuanaga*, otherwise called *Capira*, eight leagues,
and from thence to the Riuer of *Chagre*, other eight leagues. So that at this Riuer, being six-
teene leagues from the said Port, endeth the roughnesse of the way: then from hence to the
maruellous Bridge are two leagues, and beyond that, other two, vnto the Port of *Panama*:
So that all together, in my iudgement, make twentie leagues. It is a marvellous facilitie to bring
Spices by this way which I will now declare. From *Panama* to the Riuer of *Chagre*, are foure
leagues of good and faire way, by the which Carts may passe at pleasure, by reason that the
Mountaines are but few and little, and that the greatest part of these foure leagues is a plaine
ground void of Trees: and when the Carts are come to the said Riuer, the Spices may be carried
in Barkes and Pinases. For this Riuer entrieth into the North Sea five or sixe leagues lower then
the Port of *Nomen Dei*, and emptieth it selfe in the Sea neere vnto an Iland called *Bastimento*,
where is a very good and safe Port. Your Maestie may now therefore consider, how great a
thing, and what commoditie it may be to conuey Spices this way, forasmuch as the Riuer of
Chagre, hauing his originall onely two leagues from the South Sea, continueth his course, and
emptieth it selfe into the other North Sea. This Riuer runneth fast, and is very great, and so
commodious for this purpose as may bee thought or desired: the marvellous Bridge made by the
worke of Nature, being two leagues beyond the said Riuer, and other two leagues on this side
the Port of *Panama*, so lying in the mid way betweene them both, as framed naturally in
such sort, that none which passe by this voyage doth see any such Bridge, or thinke that there
is any such building in that place, vntill they be in the top thereof, in the way toward *Pana-
ma*: But alsoone as they are on the Bridge, looking toward the right hand, they see a little Ri-
uer vnder them, which hath his Channell distant from the feete of them that walke ouer it,
the space of two speares length or more. The water of this Riuer is very shallow, not passing the
depth of a mans legge to the knee, and is in breadth betweene thirtie and fortie paces, and fal-
leth into the Riuer of *Chagre*. Toward the right hand, standing on this Bridge, there is no-
thing seene but great Trees. The largenesse of the Bridge containeth fifteene paces, and the
length thereof about threescore or fourscore paces: The Arch is so made of most hard stone, that
no man can behold it without admiration, being made by the High and Omnipotent Creator
of all things.

How things that are of one kinde, differ in ferme and qualitie, according to the
nature of the place where they are engendred or grow, and of
the beasts called Tigres.

IN the firme Land are found many terrible beasts, which some thinke to be Tigres. Which
thing neuertheless I dare not affirme, considering what Authors doe write of the lightnesse
and agilitie of the Tigre, whereas this beast, being otherwise in shape very like vnto a Tigre,
is notwithstanding very slow. Yet true it is, that according to the maruailes of the World, and
differences which naturall things haue in diuers Regions vnder Heauen, and diuers constellati-
ons of the same, vnder the which they are created, wee see that some such Plants and Herbes
as are hurtfull in one Countrey, are harmelesse and wholesome in other Regions. And Birds
which in one Prouince are of good taste, are in other so vnfauourie that they may not bee eaten.
Men likewise which in some Countreies are blacke, are in other places white: and yet are both
these and they, men. Euen so may it be, that Tigres are light in some Region, as they write,
and may neuertheless be slow and heauie in these *Indies* of your Maestie, whereof wee speake.
The Sheepe of *Arabie* draw their tiales long and bigge on the ground, and the Bulls of *Egypte*
haue their haire growing toward their heads: yet are those Sheepe, and these Bulls. Men in
some Countreies are hardie and of good courage, and in other naturally fearfull and bruitish. All
these things, and many more, which may be said to this purpose, are easie to bee prooued, and
worthy to bee beleued, of such as haue read of the like in Authors, or trauelled the World,
whereby their owne sight may teach them the experience of these things whereof I speake. It
is also manifest that *Lucca*, whereof they make their bread in the Iland of *Hispaniola*, is deadly
poison if it be eaten Greene with the iuyce: and yet hath it no such propertie in the firme Land,
where I haue eaten it many times, and found it to be a good fruit. The Bats of *Spaine*, although
they bite, yet are they not venomous: but in the firme Land, many die that are bitten of them.
And in this forme may so many things be said, that time shall not suffice to write, whereas my
intent is onely to prooue that this beast may be a Tigre, or of the kinde of Tigres, although it
be

bee not of such lightnesse and swiftnesse, as are they whereof *Plinie* and other authors speake, describing it to bee one of the swiftest beasts of the Land, and that the Riuer of *Tygris* for the swift course thereof was called by that name. The first *Spaniards*, which saw this Tyger in the firme land, did so name it. Of the kind of these, was that which *Don Diego Columbo*, the Admiral sent your Maiesty out of New *Spaine* to *Toledo*. Their heads are like to the heads of Lions, or Lionesses, but greater: the rest of all their bodies, and their legs, are full of black spots one neere vnto another, & diuided with a circumference, or fringe of red colour, shewing (as it were) a faire work and correspondent picture, about their croopes or hinder parts, they haue these spots biggest and lesse & lesse toward their bellies, legs, & heads. I haue seen some of three spans in height, and more then five in length. They are beasts of great force, with strong legs, and well armed with nayles and fanges, which we call Dog-teeth: they are so fierce, that in my iudgement, no reall Lyon of the biggest sort is so strong or fierce. Of these, there are many found in the firme Land, which deuoure many of the *Indians*, and doe much hurt otherwise: but since the comming of the *Christians*, many haue bene killed with Crosse-bowes after this manner. Assoone as the Archer hath knowledge of the haunt of any of these Tygers, hee goeth searching their trace, with his Crosse-bow, and with a little Hound or Begle, & not with a grey-hound; because this Beast would soon kill any Dogge that would venter on him: When the Hound hath found the Tigre, he runneth about him baying continually, and approacheth so neere him, snapping and grinning, with so quicke flying and returning, that he hereby so molesteth this fierce Beast, that hee driueth him to take the next Tree, at the foot whereof he remayneth still baying, and the Tigre grinning and shewing his teeth, while in the meane time the Archer commeth neere, and twelue or fourteene paces off, striketh him with the querrell of his Crosse-brow in the brest, and flyeth incontinent, leaving the Tigre in his trauell for life and death, byting the Tree and eating earth for fiercenesse: then within the space of two or three houres, or the day following, the Archer returneth thither, and with his Dogge findeth the place where hee lyeth dead. The *Indians* (and especially they of the firme Land in the Prouince which the Catholike King *Don Ferdinando* commanded to bee called *Golden Castle*) call this Beast *Ochi*. This thing is strange that chanced of late: that whereas the Tigre whereof we haue made mention before, would haue killed his keeper that then kept him in a Cage, was in few daies after made so tame, that he led her eyed only with a small coard, and plaid with her so familiarly, that I marvelled greatly to see it, yet not without certaine beliefe that this friendship will not last long, without danger of life to the Keeper, forasmuch as surely these Beasts are not meet to be among men, for their fiercenesse and cruell nature that cannot be tamed.

Plinie.
The Tigre.

The hunting of Tigres.

A Tigre made tame.

Of the manners and customes of the Indians of the Firme Land, and of their women.

The manners and customes of these *Indians*, are diuers in diuers Prouinces. Some of them take as many Wiues as them list, and other liue with one Wife, whom they forsake not without consent of both parties, which chanceth especially when they haue no children. The Nobilitie aswel men as women, repute it infamous to ioyne with any of base Parentage or Strangers, except *Christians*, whom they count Noblemen, by reason of their valiantnesse, although they put a difference betwene the common sort and the other to whom they shew obedience, counting it for a great matter and an honorable thing, if they bee beloued of any of them: inso-much that if they know any *Christian* man carnally, they keepe their faith to him, so that hee be not long absent farre from them, for their intent is not to be Widdowes, or to liue chaste like religious women. Many of them haue this custome, that when they perceiue that they are with childe, they take an Hearbe wherewith they destroy that is conceived: for they say that only well aged women should beare children, and that they will not forbear their pleasures, and deform their bodies with bearing of children, whereby their Teates become loose and hanging, which thing they greatly dispraise. When they are deliuered of their children, they goe to the Riuer and wash them, which done, their bloud and purgation ceaseth immediately. And when after this they haue a few dayes abstained from the company of men, they become so streight, as they say which haue had carnal familiaritie with them, that such as vse them, cannot without much difficultie satisfie their appetite: They also which neuer had children, are euer as Virgins. In some parts they weare certaine little Aprons round about them before and behind, as low as to their knees and hammes, wherewith they couer their priuy parts, and are naked all their bodie beside. The principall men beare their Priuities in a hollow Pipe of Gold, but the common sort haue them inclosed in the shells of certaine great Welkes, and are beside vtterly naked: For they thinke it no more shame to haue their Cods seene, then any other part of their bodies: and in many Prouinces both the men and women goe vtterly naked, without any such couerture at all. In the Prouince of *Cuenca* they call a man *Chuy*, and a woman *Ira*, which name is not greatly disagreeable to many both of their women and of ours.

The Indian women.

Vnnaturall abortions.
Large breasts.
Child-birth.

The men of India.

These *Indians* giue great honor and reuerence to their *Caciques* (that is) their Kings and Rulers.

The King is borne on mens backs.

Letting of bloud.

They haue no beards.

They paint their bodies.

The Canibals Trumpets.

Armor of gold.

Their gallan- nesse in the warres.

Their Jewels.

How the wo- men beare vp their teates with bars of Gold.

The stature & colour of the Indians.

The Indians called Coronati.

The Iland of Giants.

Incatos.

lers. The principall *Cacique*, hath twelue of his most strong *Indians* appointed to beare him, when he remoueth to any place, or goeth abroad for his pleasure. Two of them carrie him sitting vpon a long peece of wood, which is naturally as light as they can finde, the other ten follow next vnto him as footemen: they keepe continually a trotting pace with him on their shoulders. When the two that carrie him are wearie, other two come in their places, without any disturbance or stay. And thus if the way be plaine, they carry him in this manner for the space of fifteene or twenty leagues in one day. The *Indians* that are assigned to this office, are for the most part slaues, or *Naboriti*, that is, such as are bound to continuall seruice.

I haue also noted that when the *Indians* perceiue themselves to be troubled with too much bloud, they let themselves bloud in the calfe of their legges, and brawnes of their armes: this doe they with a very sharpe stone, and sometimes with the small tooth of a Viper, or with a sharpe reede or thorne. All the *Indians* are commonly without Beards, in so much that it is in a manner a maruell to see any of them either men or women to haue any downe or haire on their faces, or other parts of their bodies: Albeit I saw the *Cacique* of the Prouince of *Cata-rapa*, who had haire on his face and other parts of his body, as had also his wife in such places as women are accustomed to haue. This *Cacique* had a great part of his body painted with a blacke colour, which neuer fadeth, and is much like vnto that wherewith the *Moors* paint themselves in *Barbarie* in token of Nobilitie. But the *Moors* are painted specially on their visage and throate, and certaine other parts. Likewise the principall *Indians* vse these paintings on their armes and breasts, but not on their visages, because among them the slaues are so marked. When the *Indians* of certaine Prouinces goe to the battaile (especially the *Caniball* Archers) they carrie certaine shels of great welkes of the Sea, which they blow, and make therewith great sound, much like the noise of Hornes: they carrie also certaine Timbrels, which they vse in the stead of Drummes: also very faire Plumes of Feathers, and certaine armour of gold, especially great and round peeces on their breasts, and splints on their armes. Likewise other peeces, which they put on their heads and other parts of their bodies: For they esteeme nothing so much as to appeare gallant in the warres, and to goe in most comely order that they can deuise, glistering with precious Stones, Jewels, Gold, and Feathers. Of the least of these welkes or perewinkles, they make certaine little Beades, of diuers sorts and colours: they make also little Bracelets, which they mingle with gaudes of Gold, these they roule about their armes from the elbow to the wrest of the hand. The like also doe they on their legges from the knees to the soles of their feete, in token of Nobilitie, especially their Noble Women in diuers Prouinces are accustomed to weare such Jewels, and haue their neckes in manner laden therewith: these Beades and Jewels, and such other trinkets, they call *Caquiras*. Beside these also, they weare certaine Rings of Gold at their eares and nostrils, which they bore full of holes on both sides, so that the Rings hang vpon their lippes. Some of these *Indians* are poulde and rounded; albeit commonly both the Men and Women take it for a decent thing to weare long haire, which the women weare to the middest of their shoulders, and cut it equally, especially about their browes: this doe they with certaine hard Stones, which they keepe for the same purpose. The principall Women, when their teates fall, or become loose, beare them vp with barres of Gold, of the length of a Spanne and a halfe, well wrought, and of such bignesse that some of them weigh more then two hundred Castellans or Ducades of Gold: these barres haue holes at both the ends, whereat they tye two small cords made of Cotton at euery end of the barres: one of these cords goeth ouer the shoulder, and the other vnder the arme holes, where they tye both together, so that by this meanes the barre beareth vp their teates. Some of these chiefe Women goe to the battaile with their Husbands, or when they themselves are regents in any Prouinces, in the which they haue all things at commandement, and execute the office of generall Captaines, and cause themselves to be carried on mens backs, in like manner as doe the *Caciques*, of whom I haue spoken before.

These *Indians* of the firme Land are much of the same stature and colour as are they of the Ilands: they are for the most part of the colour of an Oliue: if there be any other difference, it is more in bignesse then otherwise, and especially they that are called *Coronati*, are stronger and bigger then any other that I haue seene in these parts, except those of the Iland of Giants, which are on the South side of the Iland of *Hispaniola*, neere vnto the coasts of the firme Land, and likewise certain other which they call *Incatos*, which are on the North side. All which chiefly, although they be no Giants, yet are they doubtlesse the biggest of the *Indians* that are known to this day, and commonly bigger then the *Flemings*; and especially many of them, as well women as men, are of very high stature, and are all archers both men and women. These *Coronati* inhabit thirtie leagues in length by these coasts, from the point of *Canoa* to the great riuer which they call *Guadalchiber*, neere vnto *Santa Maria de gratia*. As I trauesed by those coasts, I filled a butt of fresh water of that riuer, six leagues in the Sea from the mouth thereof where it falleth into the Sea. They are called *Coronati* (that is *Crowned*) because their haire is cut round by their eares, and poulde lower a great compasse about the Crowne, much like the Friers of Saint *Augustines* Order. And because I haue spoken of their manner of wearing their

their haire, here commeth to my remembrance a thing which I haue oftentimes noted in these *Indians*: and this is, that they haue the bones of the sculls of their heads foure times thicker, and much stronger then ours, so that in coming to handstroakes with them, it shall be requisite not to strike them on the heads with swords, for so haue many swords beene broken on their heads, with little hurt done.

The sculls of
Indians heads.

Of the chiefe Islands, Hispaniola and Cuba.

The *Indians* which at this present inhabit the Island of *Hispaniola*, are but few in number, and the *Christians* not so many as they ought to be, for as much as many of them that were in this Island, are gone to other Islands, and to the firme Land. For being for the most part yong men vnmarried, and desirous daily to see new things, wherein mans nature delighteth, they were not willing to continue long in one place, especially seeing daily other new Lands discovered, where they thought they might sooner fill their Purles, by being present at the first spoile: Wherein neuerthelesse their hope deceived many of them, and especially such as had houses and habitations in this Island: For I certainly beleene, confirming my selfe herein with the iudgement of many other, that if any one Prince had no more seignories then onely this Island, it should in short time be such, as not to giue place either to *Sicilie* or *England*, whereas euen at this present there is nothing wherefore it would malice their prosperity, not being inferior to them in any felicity, that in manner the heauens can grant to any Land: being furthermore such as may enrich many Princes and Kingdomes, by reason of many rich Gold Mines that are in it, of the best Gold that is found to this day in the world, and in greatest quantitie. In this Island, nature of her selfe bringeth forth such abundance of Cotton, that if it were wrought and maintained, there should be more and better then in any part of the world. There is so great plentie of excellent *Cassia*, that a great quantitie is brought from thence into *Spaine*, from whence it is carried to diuers parts of the world, &c.

Men are desirous of new things.

The commodities of *Hispaniola*, *England*, and *Sicilie*.

Gold Mines.

Cotton.

Cassia.

Sheepe and Hogs, Dogs and Cats become wilde. The situation of *Hispaniola*.

A Cathedrall Church and Monasteries in *Hispaniola*.

An Hospitall.

The people.

Cicnas a kinde of Glowwormes.

Crowes stinking and sweet.

partridges.

Bullets for Guns wrought by nature.

In this Island furthermore are many Sheepe, and a great number of Hogges, of the which (as also of the Kine) many are become wilde, and likewise many Dogges and Cats, of those which were brought out of *Spaine*: These (and especially the Dogs) doe much hurt among the Cattell, by reason of the negligence of the *Heard-men*. There are also many Horses, Mares, and Mules, and such other Beasts as serue the vse of men in *Spaine*, and are much greater then they of the first broode brought thither out of *Spaine*.

Saint *Domingo* was built by line and rule: the Houses of Stone very faire. There is also a Cathedrall Church builded of late, where as well the Bishopp according to his dignity, as also the Canons are well endowed. This Church is well builded of Stone and Lime, and of good workmanship. There are furthermore three Monasteries, bearing the name of *S. Dominicke*, *S. Francis*, and *S. Marie of Mercedes*, the which are al well builded, although not so curiously as they of *Spain*. There is also a very good Hospital for the aid & succor of poore people, which was found by *Michael Passamont*, treasurer to your Maiestie. The people of this Island are commonly of somewhat lesse stature then are the *Spaniards*, & of a shining or cleare brown color: they haue Wines of their own, and abstaine from their Daughters, Sisters & Mothers: they haue large foreheads, long black haire, and no beards or haire in any other parts of their bodies, as well Men as Women, except very few, as perhaps scarcely one among a thousand. They goe as naked as they were borne, except that on the parts which may not with honestie be seene, they weare a certaine leafe as broad as a mans hand, which neuerthelesse is not kept close with such diligence, but that sometimes a man may see that they thinke sufficiently hid. In this Island are certaine Glowwormes, that shine in the night as doe ours, but are much bigger, and giue a greater light: In so much that when the men of the Island goe any iournies in the night, they beare some of these wormes made fast about their feete and head, in such sort that he that should see them a farre, and ignorant of the thing, would be greatly astonished thereat. By the light of these also, the women worke in their houses in the night. These wormes they call *Cicnas*. Their light lasteth for the space of three dayes, and diminisheth as they begin to drie vp. There is also a kinde of Crowes, whose breath stinketh in the morning, and is sweete in the afternoone: the excrement which they auoide, is a liuing worme.

In *Cuba*, is a certaine kinde of Partridges, being very litle, with their feathers much of the colour of Turtle Dones, but are of much better taste to be eaten: they are taken in great number, and being brought wilde into the houses, they become as tame within the space of three or foure dayes as though they had beene hatched there: they become exceeding fat in short space, and are doubtlesse the most delicate and pleasant meate that euer I haue eaten. But to let passe many other things that might be here said, and to speake of two marueilous things which are in this Island of *Cuba*: whereof the one is, that a Valley containing two or three leagues in length betweene two Mountaines, is full of a kinde of very hard Stones, of such perfect roundnesse, and like vnto Pellets of Gunnes, that no art can make better or more exactly polished. Of these, some are as small as Pellets for Handgunnes, and

30 2100 001
A Fountaine
of the Pitch of
Bitumen.

A Fountaine
of the Pitch of
Bitumen.

Quintus Curtius
wrote in his
History of
Babylon.

The Roverso
is a strange fish
to hunt with.

Perhaps this
Roverso is the
little fish which
cleaveth to the
Sharke and is
by him carried
in all his Cha-
ses, feeding on
the scraps.

Memorials of
the dead.

Memorials of
the dead.

Ignorance of
Letters.

Arctos, songs
and dances.

Houses of
three sorts.

other species, bigger and bigger from that quantitie, that they may serve for all sorts of Artillerie, although they be of big nesse to see one or two or more Quintales of powder, every Quintale containing one hundred weight, or of what other quantitie they be. These Rocks are found throughout all the Valley within the earth, as in a Mine, which they digge, and take out such as they neede of all sorts. The other marvellous thing of this land is this: That farre from the Sea, there issueth out of a Mountaine a certaine liquor, much like the Clay of Babylon, called *Bitumen*, or like unto Pitch, in great quantitie, and such as is very commodious for the calking of Shippes: this falleth continually from the Rocke, and runneth into Sea, in such abundance that it is seene floating about the water on every side of the Sea thereabout, as it is driven from place to place by the winde, or course of the water.

Quintus Curtius writeth in his Historie, that great Alexander came to the Citie of *Memi*, where is a great Caue or Denne, in the which is a Spring or Fountaine that continually avoide a great quantitie of *Bitumen*, in such sort, that it is an easie thing to beleue that the stones of the walls of Babylon might be laid therewith, according as the said Author writeth. I have seene this Mine of *Bitumen*, not onely in the land of *Cuba*, but also such another in new *Spaine*, in the Province of *Parace*.

Thus farre I have given you from Master Eden his Edition, wherein because many things necessary to the naturall History of the Indies are in the Authors Summarie, and in his 20. Books of a larger Historie, I have added hither such things as I thought fittest.

The *Mina* are like great Rats, and the *Corien* like Conies, of which the people in *Hispaniola* eat, as also of the *Xnani*, *Chemi* and *Mohni* are little creatures also in that land: which and their little mute Dogges were all the foure footed Beasts they had, save that of Rats there is some question. The *Indians* of *Jamaica* and *Cuba* use to catch fish with the fish *Roverso*, as Huntmen use Falconers use Hounds or Hawkes in their game. The *Indians* take it sometimes in their Nets, of which I have eaten: and when they will bring vp one of them they feede it in the Sea and carrie it tied to their Canoe by a strong line, which when they see a fish fit for pray, they loosen and use words to excite courage and valour in this fish, which presently flies like an arrow at that fish and fastens thereon, and the *Indian* lets the line runne out at length (being oiled, of many fathomes, and having a peece of wood at the end to buoy it,) till the fish be wearied: this little fish (little above a spanne long, vnstightly to looke on) still holding fast, till the *Indian* gathering in his cord, prepares to shoue to take the greater fish, with much commendation and words of encouragement to this chase-fish, perswading him to let goe his hold, which otherwise should sooner by violence breake in peeces this Huntman, then force him to vnsasten. Thus will he fasten on the belly of a Tortoise, so great that two *Indians* and sometimes sixe haue enough to doe to carrie the same to their houses. This fish *Roverso* hath scales staire fashioned, or like the rooffe of a mans mouth, and on them certain prickles very sharpe and strong, whereby he fastens himselfe to what fish him pleaseth: and these prickly scales he hath on the most part of his body.

They haue likewise a cunning wilde-goose-chase, in a great Lake casting in certaine great emptie Pompons in the season when Geese resort thither, wherewith they being accustomed grow out of feate and will sit on them, to bee carried: Being thus acquainted, the *Indian* puts one of these emptie Pompons on his head, and with much dexteritie of swimming enters amongst the Geese, and when one hath made him his Porter, no part of his body being seene, he swimmes from the rest, and then with his hand pulls her in, and hangs her thus strangled at his girdle, and begins a fresh game.

When their *Caciques* are dead they lay them on a peece of wood or stone, and make a fire about the same which may not burne them, but by degrees draw forth all the moysture in sweat, leaving onely the skin and bones, and then in a place separate repose the same with the Ancestors which before had bene so dealt with; this being their best Booke of Heraldrie to recount the Names and severall Descents in that Pedegree. If any die in battell, or so that they cannot recover his body, they compose Songs which the Children learne touching him, and the manner of his death, to supply that memoriall. These Songs they call *Arctos*. As for Letters they were so ignorant, that seeing the intercourse of *Spaniards* by Letters, they thought that Letters could speake, and were very cautelous in their carriage of them, lest the Letters might accuse them of ill demeanor by the way. When they will disport themselves, the Men and Women meet and take each other by the hand, and one goeth before which is called *Tequina* or their Master, with certaine paces measured to his singing in a low voice what commeth in his minde, and after him all the multitude answereth in a higher voice with like measures proportioned to the tune, and so continue they three or foure houres, with *Chicha* or Mayz-wine among; sometimes also changing the *Tequina* and taking another with a new tune and song. Their Houses are commonly round like a Tent, and sometimes with a double water passage (which they call *Bubio*) of good Timber, thatched with Straw or long Grasse, the Walls of Reed pitched into the ground. In the Province of *Abrayne* in *Golden Castile* and thereabouts, there are many Villages of *Indians* which dwell on the tops of Trees in Houses or Roomes there made, to which they ascend

by certaine staires of *Besuco*, which growes about * Trees; and is vsed to binde their Walls and Timbers in their houses before mentioned. Beneath, the ground is fenny and covered with water not so high as a man: and where it is deeper, they vse Canoes, and therewith passe to drie Land to sow their Mays and *Iucca*, *Bartatas* and *Aies*. In those houses they are secured from wild Beasts, Enemies and Fire. They are not Archers, and vse Clubs. In the Gulfe of *Vraba* where *Rio Grande* enters the Sea, are many *Palme* trees in the midst of the River growing neere together, on the tops whereof are houses made as the former and much bigger, in which many Inhabitants dwell together, and haue their beds tyed to the lower parts of the said *Palme* trees. These beds they call *Hamacas*, being couerlets of Cotten of good threed and well wouen, of two or three braces long, but narrower, with cordes at the ends. The cordes are of Cotton, or of *Henequen* or *Cabuya*, this the courser threed, that the finer and able to cut Iron; made of the leafe of a certaine herbe. These *Indians* fight also with Clubs, and did much harme to Captaine *Vasco Nunes di Balboa* his men, which returned with losse not able to ouer-come them. I haue also obserued that these *Indians* haue the bones of their skulls foure times as thicke as those of the *Christians*, so that to strike them with a Sword must be warily done, the Swords being thereby often broken.

* *Besuco* seemes to be as bind-weed or luie, but stronger and more pliant.

Besides the *Tigre* and other beasts before mentioned, in the firme Land are the *Beori* (the *Christians* call them *Dants*, not that they are such, but for some resemblance, as is also said of the *Tigre*) of the bignesse of a meane Mule, without hornes, ash-coloured: they know not to dresse and tanne their hides. They take them with Dogs, but if they take water, they are fierce and cruell. The *Gatto Cerniero* is as bigge as the *Tigre* and very fierce, more dreadfull to the *Christians*, the swiftest beast yet found in those parts. The *Lions* are a little lesse then those of *Barbarie* and not so full of courage, but fearfull and fugitiue, and hurt none but such as assault them. The *Leopards* are like those of *Barbarie*, and are swift and fierce, but neither these nor the *Lions* haue yet done *Christians* any harme, nor do they eate the *Indians* as the *Tigres* doe. The *Foxes* are like those of *Spaine*, but in colour blacker then blacke veluet, and somewhat lesse then of *Spaine*. The *Red Deere* are as those of *Spaine*, but not so swift. Their *Fallow Deere* are like those of *Spaine*, but both *Red* and *Fallow* exceed the *Spanish* in taste. Their *Conies* or *Hares* are somewhat like ours, but liker *Hares* then *Conies*, yet lesse then the *Conies* of *Spaine*. The *Martens* are like to those of *Spaine* in bignesse, biting and otherwise: some of them are kept tame and are as full of sport and lesse filthy then the *Monkeys*. The *Monkeys* are of innumerable sorts and shapes: some of them so suttile as they imitate the actions of men, as breaking of *Pine-apples* and *Almonds* with stones: some will throw stones at passengers, or breake boughs to fall on them as they passe by to breake their heads, and retort the arrowes shot at them, and doe other things incredible. Some are as little or lesser then a mans hand, and some as great as a meane Mastiffe. The *Indian Dogs* are little and barke not, some hayrie and some bare, but wagge the taile and leape on those which feede them, and are not so tame as ours. The *Churchia* is as bigge as a small *Conie*, tawnie, sharpe-snowted, dog-toothed, long-tayled and eared like a *Rat*. They doe great harme to their *Hennes*, killing sometimes twentie or more at once to sucke their blood: And if they then haue young, shee carrieth them with her in a bagge of skin vnder her belly, running alongst the same like a Satchell, which shee opens and shuts at pleasure to let them in and out: and if any come with light when the Damme and young are at their Hen-bloud dainties, shee receiues them into this bagge, and runneth away with them: and if shee finde the way stopped, shee climbeth vp about the Hen-roost, and is sometimes taken alieue or dead in this manner, as I haue seene. Her Teats are within her bagge. It is a stinking creature.

The beasts of those parts. *Dants*.

Gatto Cerniero.

Leopards.

Foxes.

Red and fallow Deere.

Martens.

Monkeys.

Dogs.

Churchia.

Fowles.

Parrots.

Night-sparrowes.

Bats.

Peacocks and *Turkeys*.

Sea-crowes.

Wilde Hennes.

Of Fowles, they haue *Eagles*, *Hawkes*, *Buzzards*, *Rauens*, &c. as in *Spaine*. Other differing sorts they haue so many that they need rather a Painter then Relator to describe them. Of *Parrots* I carried ten or twelue sorts at once to King *Ferdinand*. They flie by couples, a Male and Female together: and doe much harme to their Corne grounds. There are *Night-sparrowes* which flie by night onely, and strike at the *Bats*, holding a pleasant pursute after them. They are bigger and swifter then *Swallowes*, hauing a row of white feathers ouerthwart the wing. The *Bats* draw much bloud by their bitings; and if they bite one man amongst an hundred persons, the same *Bat* will in the nights following still single the same person. They stanch the bloud with hot ashes, or water as hot as may be endured, and so I haue bene cured. There are *Peacocks*, some yellow, some blacke, with tailed like those of *Spaine*: they are better meat: some are wilde, and some tame, which are brought home young. Other *Peacocks* they haue, of which the Hens are ill shaped, the Males haue not so great a taile as ours: their necke also is bare of feathers, but covered with a skin which they change after their phantasie into diuers colours. They haue a horne as it were on their front, and haire on the breast (the last seeme *Turkeys*.)

The *Sea-Crowes* are so many which on the coast of *Panama* follow the *Pilchards* or *Sardines* (as is before said of the *Alcatrazis*) that lighting or houering on the Sea, they seeme to couer the same with a blacke carpet of cloth or veluet, going and coming with the Sea. There are *Wilde Hens* as great as *Peacocks*, blacke, the head part of the necke gray skins, and not feathered: they eate Carrion and are of vnflauourie taste to be eaten; smell like muske whiles they are alieue,

alieve, but that sent dyeth with them : neither are they good for any thing, except their quills to feather arrowes. They are desirous to liue about places inhabited to feede on Carrion. The *Partriches* are gray, as sauourie as those of *Spaine*, and as great as the *Spanish* Hens: they haue their brawnes or flesh double, one ouer the other. Their egges are as bigge as Hens egges, but rounder, and coloured like a fine *Turkesse* stone. The *Indians* making a sound like theirs, draw them to theirs nets. There are also a lesse kinde. The *Pheasants* are not in feathers like those of *Spaine*, nor so goodly, but very sauourie meate like the great *Partriches*, but are not so great; they are gray, haue long legs and tailes, make a loud whittling noise, and are easily shot.

Flies are not there so many as in these parts of *Europe*. Their *Wasps* are greater and sting more dangerously. Their *Bees* are almost as small as flies, and sting not. They haue great *Hives* and *Combes* which hold foure times as much *Honie* as ours: their *Honie* is white. *Ants* are great, many, and doe much damage to the *Trees*, *Sugars*, and other provisions. There are of many sorts, some little and black (of which and the *Ant-beare* is spoken before) some called *Conixen* halfe *Ant*, halfe *Worme*, very hurtfull; they carry earth on their heads, and therewith on trees, walls, or where they please build their nests, three or foure spans large, and are as hurtfull to houses as *Moths* to clothes. There are others greater of diuers sorts, some as bigge as *Bees* with vs, so poysonfull that herewith the *Indians* infect their arrowes so remediless, that not foure of an hundred which are wounded escape: and if this *Ant* bite a *Man* he presently falls into a grievous feauer, and the place swelleth much. There are others red, yellow, and some winged. Of *Hornets* or *Horse-flies* (*Tasani*) are many sorts, tedious to expresse. There are also *Scorpions* in the firme Land. An. 1519. and two yeeres after the *Ants* destroyed in *Hispaniola* their *Cannastola*, *Oranges*, and fruit *Trees*, neither in their houses could they keepe victuals for their multitudes, destroying all like the *African* *Grasse-hoppers*, in so much that *Saint Domingo* was nigh dispeopled by them.

They laugh in *India* to heare the disease called *French* by the *Italians*, and *Neapolitan* by the *French*, which may indeed be called *Indian*, where the best remedie *Lignum Sanctum*, and *Guaiacan* grow; God so in iudgement remembring mercy, that where our sinnes produce a punishment, he also sends a remedie. I had acquaintance with diuers which went in the first and second voyages of *Columbus*: of which was *Peter Margarite* Commendator in the second voyage, of most respect with the King and Queene, who complained of those paines. Soone after, in the yeere 1496. began the disease to arrest some Courtiers; but in those beginnings, it was onely amongst bader persons of small authoritie: and it was thought that they got it with hauing to doe with common women. But afterwards it extended to principall Persons, and the Physicians could not tell what to thinke of it, so that many dyed. When after this *Gonzalo Fernandez de Cordona* was sent with a great Armie by the Catholike Kings, in behalfe of *Ferdinand* the second King of *Naples*, against *Charles* the *French* King, some diseased persons went with that Armie, and by dealing with the women, and by conuersing, spread the disease to the *Italians* and *French-men*, which thence got the names aforesaid, but indeed came from *Hispaniola*: where it is ordinarie, and the remedie also. Our Author l. 17. c. 4. and *Ramusio* in his Preface to his third Tome say, That the *Souldiers* of *Pamfilo de Nauaz* hauing the small pockes infected the *Indians*, which neuer before had heard of that disease: in so much that of 1600000. soules in that Iland there are so few left, as by and by you shall heare. The *Niguas* also, creatures lesse then *Fleas*, which eate in the flesh very dangerously, are rife in that Iland. The people of that Iland when first they were diuided amongst the *Spanish* Planters, were deemed a Million or more (some say 1600000. of which and of their posteritie in the yeere 1535. were not aboue five hundred left, little and great, the rest which then were there being *Slaues* brought thither from other parts. The couetousnesse of the *Myne-workers*, neglect of Diet, change of *Gouernours* growing worse and worse, caused them to poyson, kill, and hang themselves, besides those which were consumed by infectious or pestilentiall pockes* and other diseases: Their owne vices, also *Sodomitie*, *Idolatrie*, &c. prouoked diuine Iustice against them. No provision could hinder their consumption. The King sent Religious men of diuers Orders, but this I know that the *Dominicans* and *Franciscans* contradicted each other, and what one approued the other disallowed, although after the other had left that opinion, the Contradictors would embrace it, still agreeing in disagreeing: which caused much danger not onely to new *Conuerts*, but also to old *Christians*: whiles one Order would not absolue them except they franchised the *Indians*, and the other absolued them neuertheless. Much disputation hath bene about the *Indians* seruice amongst the *Thomists*, *Canonists*, and famous *Lawyers* and *Diuines*, but their differences haue done little good to the *Indians* or the plantation; and in a short time both this Iland and the three adioyning, *Saint Iohn*, *Jamaica*, and *Cuba*, remayned desolate, being by the *Friars* meanes (which I thinke, meant well) dispersed thorow the Iland, to lessen their labours, which the *Gentlemen* imposed on them. I am of opinion that if a *Christian* Prince had this Iland of *Hispaniola* onely, hee might make it as good as either *England* or *Sicily*: such is the store of *Gold*, the prosperous successe of things carried from *Spaine*, the *Beeues* (which I knew first carried thither from *Spaine*) being already so multiplied that they kill them for the *Hides*, leauing the flesh in the fields of five hundred at once: and

Partriches.

Pheasants.

Flies, and Wasps,
Bees, Ants, &c.Hist. G. l. 15. c. 1.
vid. infra
Historia Gen.
l. 2. c. 14.Beginnings of
the fouled
cane.

Lib. 3. c. 6.

* Those before
mentioned out
of Ramusio.
Friars quar-
rels.

Lib. 4. c. 2.

Lib. 3. c. 11.

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CHAP. 3. Strange Huracans, Spout, Monster, Hawk. Great hurts by least vermin. 997

and Roderigo di Bastidas Bishop of *Venezuela* hath therein 16000. Bees, and the Treasurer *Pasamonte* as many; others 8000. or more, likewise in other Beasts, Seeds, Oranges, Limons, Figs, Pomegranets, &c.

Of their *Zemes*, Idols, Sepulchres, and other things concerning their Religion, the Reader may see enough in the ninth Booke and fourteenth Chapter of my Pilgrimage; and of the Spanish first voyages thither in the beginning of this worke, which *Ouiedo* handleth in his former Bookes.

Their *Huracans* (so they call tempests of winde and raine together) are very excessive. An. 1508. on the third of August, all the thatched houses in Saint *Domingo* were throwne to the ground, and some also of stone; all the houses also in the Towne *Bona Ventura*, which might thence be named *Mala Ventura*: in the Haven were sunke twentie Ships and Caruels, a North-wind first and after a South-wind playing their furious prizes; one carrying out the Vessels in despite of all provisions to Sea, and the other as terribly forcing them againe to the Haven (if the losse of ships and men may permit that name) yea on Land many men were carried in the streets and fields diuers bow-shots before they could stay themselves. Hell seemed to haue bene opened, and the Devils to haue carried things to and fro. Yet in Iuly following was a worse, which now are allayed and not so violent since the Blessed Sacrament hath bene placed in Churches. I haue seene the space of a Crosse-bow shot or two, all the ground couered with Trees plucked vp by the Windes from the Rootes, and ours haue sometime by dangers of the way bene forced to climbe from tree to tree ouer such a passage, with rents and perills enough.

The Cocks in *Spaine* crow at mid-night and towards day: but herein the shutting in of the evening, or two houres within night, and two houres before day, and not at all at mid-night: some crow in the first watch and not else all night. Their Cats also vse their lusts all the yeere and without walling noise, which in *Spaine*, *France*, *Sicily*, and other places in *Europe* and *Africke* which I haue seene goe on Catter-walling onely about Februarie. In the Ile of *Nauaza* Westward from *Hispaniola* in the way thence to *Iamaica*, the Rocks are seene vnder the water: and amongst them a fathome and five foote vnder the salt water there ariseth a spring of good fresh water vpon the Sea, spowting vp bigger then a mans arme, higher then the salt water that it may easily be taken in. I haue not seene it, but *Stephen Rocca* a person of credit testifieth this of his owne sight and taste. But I haue seene in the Iland *Dominica* at the Riuer *Acquata*, twentie paces wide, and not deeper then the arme pits, there is a hot spring, that if one take vp the Sands they seeme like embers in his fist, and so is the water a span deepe about the Sands, which on the top is fresh and like other water.

Ouiedos 8. 9. 10. and 11. Bookes are of Plants and Trees in those parts. The 12. of Creatures before mentioned: the 13. of Fishes, in which he telleth that An. 1529. going from the Gulfe of *Orotigua* to *Panama* two hundred leagues Eastward, neere the mouth of the Gulfe, wee saw a Fish or great Water-monster, which at times lifted it selfe right vp above the Water so farre that the head and both the armes might bee seene, which seemed higher then our Carauell and all her Masts. Thus did shee rise and fall diuers times beating the water strongly, not casting any water out of the mouth. A younger or lesse of the same kinde did likewise, swimme a little distant from the greater. Some iudged it to bee a Whale with her young one, which others denyed, saying, a Whale had no armes. To my iudgement each arme might be five and twentie foote long, and as bigge as a Butt or Pipe: the head fourteene or fifteene foote high and much more in breadth; and the rest of the body larger. That of her which appeared about water, was about five times the height of a meane man, which make five and twentie paces. *Lorenzo Martino* Canon of the Church of *Golden Castile*, *Sancio di Tudela*, &c. were with me: and we were all afraid when shee came neere our small Caruall. Shee seemed to disport her selfe at a tempest approaching, which suddenly arose much to our purpose, from the West, and brought vs in few dayes to *Panama*.

In *Hispaniola* and the neighbouring Ilands is a strange bird of prey, as bigge as a great *Gania* and much like it: shee preyeth on the Land on birds, &c. and on fish in the Water, shee is footed like water-fowles and goeth like a Goose, but hath talons like Hawkes, and fasteneth therewith on the fishes which shee eates (so taken) either in the Water or on the Rocks, or as shee flyeth in the Aire holding it betweene her feete. The Christians call them *Affors di acqua*.

What scath the Ants did in *Hispaniola*, is before mentioned, in the yeere 1519. and the next following, and the Citie of Saint *Domingo*, was almost dishabited by this great Armie of little creatures, as in *Spaine* a Citie was dispeopled by Conies, and which lately happened to the Ile *Porto Santo*; in *Theffalia* (which almost fell out to the English Colonie in *Bermuda*) to another Citie by Rats, to the *Atariota* by Frogges, to the *Aduntmes* by Fleas, to *Amicle* in *Italie* by Serpents, and to another part thereof by Sparrowes; to diuers places of *Africa* often by Locusts: so can the Great God arme the least creatures to the destruction of proud vainglorious men. And this miserie so perplexed the *Spaniards*, that they sought as strange a remedie as was the disease, which

Ouiedos fife Booke is of their religions &c.

Lib. 6. c. 3.

Superstitious conceit of the Sacrament. It was ordaind against the *Huracans* of the conscience, not of the weather. Lib. 7. c. 10. Cocks & Cats differing from the Spanish: wherein our English doe much agree with the Indians Strange waters pour.

Lib. 13. c. 2.

Sea Monster stupendious;

* 25. pass, which sometimes signifieth fathoms.

Lib. 14. c. 7.

* An Italian fowle.

Water hawkes.

L. 15. c. 1.

Greatest harme by least creatures.

Vncertainty of
Superstition.

Gal. 4.
Rom. 4.
Eph. 4.
Rom. 8.
Job. 14.
1. Tim. 4.
Col. 1.
Col. 2.
Col. 3.
Heb. 13.
Eph. 5.
1. Job. 4.
Mat. 11.
Num. 11.
Jer. 2. 13.
Mat. 25.
Job. 1.

L. 16. c. 15.

Lawyers dan-
gerous in the
Spanish Indies.

L. 17. c. 4.
Filthy Mar-
riages.

Onedore testi-
mony of Indian
Christianity.
He thiakes it a
Fable that is
told of Crosse
found in Luca-
124.

Strange passa-
ges of Fowles.

which was to chuse some Saint for their Patron against the Antes. *Alexander Giralde*, the Bi-
shop hauing sung a solemne and Pontificall Masse, after the Consecration and Eleuation of the
Sacrament, and deuout Prayers made by him and the people, opened a Booke in which was a
Catalogue of the Saints, by lot to chuse some he or she Saint, whom God should please to ap-
point their Aduocate against that Calamitie. And the Lot fell vpon Saint *Saturnine* whose Feast
is on the nine and twentieth of Nouember: after which the Ant-damage became more tolera-
ble and by little and little diminished, by Gods mercie and intercession of that Saint: I note it
the rather, because the Bishop and that Saint were both *Romanes*, and as that Martyr had made
mute the Idols in *Toledo*, (as is written in the Historie of his Martyrdome) so now was Idolatry
(and I pray what was this?) destroyed in *Hispaniola*? Hee might haue said exchanged! a piti-
full case that when God hath sent his owne Sonne made of a woman, made vnder the Law, &c. Who
hath dyed for our (yea, that Martyrs) sinnes, risen for our Iustification, ascended on high to giue gifts
to men; and is there, and therefore, set downe at Gods right hand to make intercession for vs sinners, to
take possession for vs mortals, to accomplish, as our Amen, all the promises of this life, and that which
is to come, whether against Ants or Deuils; and in him it hath pleased the Father that all fulnesse
should dwell; yea (beyond and it pleased) in him dwelleth the fulnesse of the Godhead bodily, and we are
compleate in him, and he is all in all, yesterday, to day, the same for ever; which hath loued vs, and gi-
uen himselfe for vs, which is loue, which hath invited vs, Come to me all ye that labour, which hath
incited vs by all attractiues: that after all this, men, Christian men should goe cast Lots for an
Intercessor, and neglecting Christ, dreame of *Romane* carnall phancies, or runne mad with *Romish*
superstitious phrenies; wherein if the bodie be deliuered, as happened to the *lusting Israelites*,
with their *Quaile-store*, the burthen is made double to the soule, when God heareth in his anger.
Such Cisternes doe they digge which forsake the Fountaine of liuing waters, euen broken Cisternes
which can hold no waters: the best of Saints like the wise Virgins, hauing no more Oile then will suf-
fice their owne Lampes, and that also receiued out of anothers fulnesse, of whose fulnesse wee all haue
receiued grace for grace; said a principall Saint.

There are Caterpillers, which shine in the night fiftie or a hundred paces off, only from that
part of the bodie whence the legges issue: others only haue their head shining. I haue seene
some a spanne long very fearefull, but for any thing I haue heard, harmelesse. Flies are lesse, but
more hurtfull then in *Spaine*: but these in kindes and colours are so diuersified that it is impossi-
ble to write them: and so may be said of other small creatures in those parts.

In his sixteenth Booke he declareth the Conquest of the Ile *Borichen*, or Saint *John* and the
quarrels betwixt the *Spauiards*, the learning of some breeding such dissentions, that not with-
out cause (saith our Author) in Golden *Castile* and in other parts, the King forbad Law-learned
men and Proctors should passe thither, as men infectious by sowing strife where they ought not.
In this Ile, the people and other things are as before is said of *Hispaniola*; there are more Birds
in Saint *John*, rich Mineralls of Gold, certaine Battes which the people eate; and *Lig-
num Sanctum* groweth there, more excellent then the *Guaiacan* for the *French Disease*
and others.

In his seuenteenth Booke he writeth of *Cuba*. The people and other things are much like to
Hispaniola. In their Mariages, all the guests of the Bridegroomes ranke (as *Caciques*, if hee bee
a *Cacique* or Principall, or Plebeians as he is) lye with the Spouse before he himselfe may doe it:
after which she with her fist bent comes crying with a loud voyce, *Manicato, Manicato*, that is
forced and full of force, as glorying in her shame. They are in vices like thole of *Hispaniola*, and
will be no better *Christians* then other *Indians*, whatsoever *Peter Martyr* writeth from *Encises*
Relations. For I haue seene more *Indians* then they both, and by experience of those Nations
know, that none or very few of them are *Christians* of their owne will and accord: and when
any are baptized being of age, he doth it more for some by-purpose then for zeale of the faith:
for there remaines to him nothing but the name, which also soone after he forgets. Perhaps there
are some faithfull, but I beleue they are very rare.

The Creatures and Plants of *Spaine* prosper well there, as doe the naturall which are the same
which are in *Hispaniola*. The people were exhausted when they first went into *New Spaine*,
and with the second Armie of *Grigialna*, and with the third of *Cortese*, and with the fourth of
Pamphilo di Narbaez, all by order of Lieutenant *Velasco*: whereby *Cuba* was in manner dispeo-
pled, and by the former causes mentioned of *Hispaniola*, and by the contagion of the small
Pockes which was vniuersall in all these Ilands: So that the Great God hath in manner wholly
extinguished them for their (not without others) sinnes. They haue much Gold and Brasie:
vse to fish much with the *Rouer* so before mentioned, as also that Wild-goose chase. There are
innumerable Cranes, such as are in *Spaine*; the Boyes take infinite Egges and young ones. There
are Turtles greater then in *Spaine*. Euery yeare there passe from the end of *Cuba* infinite numbers
of diuers sorts of Birds, which come from the North of the firme Land, and crosse ouer the *A-
lacrain* Ilands and *Cuba*, and flye ouer the Gulfe Southwards. I haue seene them passe ouer *Da-
rien* and *Nombre de dios* and *Panama* in diuers yeeres, in the *Firme Land*; so many that they co-
uer

uer the Skie : and this passage or march continueth a moneth or more about the moneth of March. I thinke they flie round about the World ; for they neuer are seene to returne toward the West or North : and we see them not every yeere one after another ; from morning to night the aire is couered, and some flie so high that they cannot bee seene, others lower yet higher then the Mountaines tops. They come from the North-west and North to the Southwards, and then turne South-west, occupying in length more then the eye can discerne, and a great space in breadth. The lowest are Eaglets and Eagles, and all seeme Birds of prey of many kinds and plumes : The higher cannot bee discerned in their plumes, but in manner of flying and quantitie appeare of diuers sorts.

- 30 There haue beene Serpents killed in *Cuba*, as bigge as a mans thigh, and five and twentie, or thirtie foot long and more. They are tame, and the *Indians* eat them, and find sometimes in their bellies fixe or seuen creatures bigger then Conies, which they swallow whole.

I am loth to lead you with this Author along with *Grigialua*, in his long Expedition from hence to *Lucatan* and other parts. Neere to *Porto de Termini*, he found two Trees seeming set by hand, standing alone, and fittene paces off diuers Idols of Chalke. They saw two Images made of the wood *Copei*, in manner of *Sodomiticall* villenie ioyned together; and another of Chalke with his circumcised member betwixt his hands.

L. 17. c. 18.

Abominable deuotions.

- 40 *Jamaica* was in people, vices, creatures and other things like the former : they were the Inuentors of the reuerse-fishing and Goose-catching with Gourds or Pömpions afore said, which sometimes they practised also with leaues and Greene boughes on their heads, and vsed that Garland, as is before said of the Pömpions. Of *Cubagua* the Pearle Iland and of the Pearle-fishing is spoken before. In *Cubagua* is a bituminous Fountayne, hauing otherwise no water to drinke, nor Hearbes, nor Trees but a few of *Guaiacan*, nor any living creatures, though at first comming of the Christians there were a few Conies. At the East point is the Fountayne running into the Sea with an Oily substance floating on it, profitable for Medicine there called *Devils Dung*. They that lue there, fetch their water seuen leagues off from *Cumana*, on the firme Land, and wood from *Margarita*. The Kings fifth of the Pearle-fishing hath yeelded 15000. Duckets yearly : a thing not knowne that so many Pearles haue beene taken from so small a space, the Iland of *Cubagua* not compassing about three leagues. In the Gulfe of *Orotigna*, and the Ilands

L. 18. c. 2.

L. 19. c. 2. Pitch Fountaine.

- 50 therein in the Prouince of *Nicaragua* on the South Sea, are many shel-fishes of a long forme, some a Cubit long, some lesse, created, growing broader and broader to the end when they are opened: they haue a fishie substance within them, and shine within as the Pearle-oysters doe, halfe their length, thence by degrees loosing that shining toward the broader end. The Pearles within them are not so fine as the other. The *Indians* vie the shels to digge their loose ground, fastning the shell to a handle of wood, binding it fast and making a kind of Spade thereof.

C. 9.

Two shel-fishes which yeeld Pearles.

- In the yeare 1517. An *Englishman* vnder colour of Discouery came with a great ship towards *Brasil* on the Firme Land, and thence trauesed to *Hispaniola*, and came neere the Hauen of *Saint Domingo*, and sent his Boat full of people on shoare, and desired Trade. But the Capitaine of the Fort shot from the Castle at the Boate, because shee came directly to the Port; and thereupon they returned to their ship. The *English* seeing this entertainment, tooke their course towards the Iland of *Saint Iohn*, and entred the Port of *Saint German*, and there demanded victuals and prouisions for their ship, complaining of the wrong done them at *Saint Domingo*, comming thither for Trade, to buy with their Mony, and to barter Commodities. There they got some victuals for which they paid in wrought pieces of Pewter and other things: and so returned towards *Europe*, where it is likely they came not; for there was neuer any more heard of them.

English voyage to the West Indies, A. 1517.

L. 19. c. 13.

* He calls him a Pirate, but sheweth no reason of that name. Pewter.

- The next yeare a *French* Pirat guided by a *Spanish* Pilot, came to trade in the Iland of Pearles and a *Portugall* Carauell which he had taken on the Coast of *Brasil*, and would haue landed his Boats full of men, but was resisted, and a Battel betwixt both parts followed, in which thirteene

L. 20.

- 60 *Frenchmen* were slaine, and two of ours. Three or foure *Nauarrois* and *Biskainers* fled from them and said the *French* were Theeues and came to take the Iland: whereupon they went with all their strength, and tooke her Boat, and the ship fled out of sight, &c.

L. 20. c. 3.

- Oniedos* twentieth Booke is of shipwrackes and disaduentures which haue happened to the *Spaniards* in those parts. One which happened 1514. is admirable, the ship sinking and five and twentie persons escaping in the Boat, fast forbidding prouision of Card, Compasse or victuall, to save their liues. Thus liued they twelue dayes at Sea; neither had they any thing to eat or drinke, only a young man had saved two pounds of Bisket, which being diuided amongst them, he which had most had not about an ounce and halfe. Vrine, or the Sea was their drinke. In this case they made Vowes to our Ladie of *Antica in Sinill*: and on the twelfth day

- 60 hauing made a Saile of their shirts, they came to *Siluer-port* in *Hispaniola*. Their Pilot *Anto Caluo* told me the Storie. The same yeare in the Fleet of *Pedarias de Anilla* a *Portugall* youth, being scuffed at, and flouted by the *Spaniards*, leaped into the Sea in a fresh gale, and not without the wonder of all men was taken vp by another ship alieue, whom after I saw vaunting of this folly, and saying that no *Castilian* dur it haue done it; which I easily beleuee, as hauing more wit then this

Foole.

Quiedo write
other Bookes
of the firme
Land, which
are not extant.

Foole. Yet will I imitate a little this foolish Portugall, and leape out of *Quiedos Spanish ship* (for who will not feare such dreadfull shipwrackes as this Booke, the last which hath come to our hands, is full of?) and swim ashore, or seeke other passage with *Acosta*, in a new or rather an old Voyage for Discoverie of the *Mexican Antiquities*.

CHAP. IIII.

Mexican Antiquities gathered out of the Writings of IOSEPHVS ACOSTA a learned Iesuite.

2.7.
Eccles. 1.



Very Historie well written is profitable to the Reader: For as the Wiseman saith, That which hath beene, is, and that which shall bee, is that which hath beene: *Humane things haue much resemblance in themselves, and some grow wise by that which happeneth to others.* There is no Nation, how barbarous soeuer, that haue not something in them, good, and worthy of commendation; nor Common-weale so well ordered, that hath not something blame-worthy, and to bee controlled. If therefore there were no other fruit in the Historie and Narration of the Deeds and Gestes of the Indians, but this common vtilitie, to be a Relation or Historie of things, the which in the effect of truth haue happened, it deserueth to bee received as a profitable thing, neither ought it to bee reiected, for that it concerns the Indians. As wee see that those Authors that treat of naturall things, write not onely of generous Beasts, notable and rare Plants, and of Precious Stones, but also of wilde Beasts, common Hearbes, and base and vulgar Stones, for that there is alwayes in them some properties worthy obseruation. If therefore there were nothing else in this Discourse, but that it is a Historie, and no fables nor fictions, it were no unworthy Subject to be written, or read. There is yet another more particular reason, which is, that we ought herein to esteeme that which is worthy of memorie, both for that it is a Nation little esteemed, and also a Subject different from that of our Europe, as these Nations bee, wherein wee should take most pleasure and content, to vnderstand the ground of their beginning, their manner of life, with their happie and unhappie Adventures. And this subject is not onely pleasant and agreeable, but also profitable, especially to such as haue the charge to rule and gouerne them; for the knowledge of their Acts inuities vs to giue credit, and doth partly teach how they ought to be intreated: yea, it takes away much of that common and foolish contempt wherein they of Europe hold them, supposing that those Nations haue no feeling of reason. For in truth wee cannot cleere this error better, than by the true report of the Acts and deeds of this people. I will therefore as briefly as I can, intreat of the beginning, proceedings and notable deeds of the Mexicanes, whereby wee may know the time and the disposition that the high God would choafe, to send vnto these Nations the Light of the Gospell of Iesus Christ his only Sonne our Lord, whom I beseech to second our small labour, that it may bee to the glorie of his Diuine greatnesse, and some profit to these people, to whom he hath imparted the Law of his holy Gospell.

§. I

Of the ancient Inhabitants of New Spaine, and of the sixe Linages of the Nauatlacas. Of the Mexican Exodus, and Adventures by the way: the foundation of Mexico, their first King and Tribute.

L. 7. c. 2.

Chichimecas.
Their savage
course of life.



The ancient and first Inhabitants of those Prouinces, which wee call New Spaine, were men very barbarous and sauage, which liued onely by hunting, for this reason they were called *Chichimecas*. They did neither sow nor till the ground, neither liued they together; for all their exercise was to hunt, wherein they were very expert. They liued in the roughest parts of the Mountaynes beast-like, without any policie, and they went all naked. They hunted wilde Beasts, Hares, Conies, Weezels, Mowles, wild Cats, and Birds, yea vncleane beasts, as Snakes, Lizards, Locusts and Wormes, whercon they fed, with some hearbs and roots. They slept in the Mountaynes, in caues and in bushes, and the wiues likewise went a hunting with their husbands, leauing their young children in a little panier of Reeds, tyed to the boughes of a Tree, which desired not to sucke vntill they were returned from hunting. They had no Superiours, nor did acknowledge or worship any gods, neither had any manner of Ceremonies or Religion.

There is yet to this day in New Spaine of this kind of people, which liue by their Bowes and Arrowes, the which are very hurtfull, for that they gather together in troopes to doe mischief.

chiefe, and to rob: neither can the Spaniards by force or cunning reduce them to any policie or obedience: for having no Townes nor places of residence, to fight with them, were properly to hunt after savage beasts, which scatter and hide themselves in the most rough and covered places of the Mountaynes. Such is their manner of living euen to this day, in many Prouinces of the Indies. Those in New Spaine, which they call *Ottomies*, were of this sort; being commonly poore Indians, inhabiting a rough and barren Land, and yet they are in good numbers, and liue together with some order, and such as doe know them, find them no lesse apt and capeable of matters of Christian Religion, then others which are held to be more rich and better gouerned. Comming therefore to our subiect, the *Chichimecas* and *Ottomies* which were the first Inhabitants of New Spaine, for that they did neither till nor sowe the Land, left the best and most fertile of the Countrey vnpeopled, which Nations that came from farre did possesse, whom they called *Nauatalcas*, for that it was a more ciuill and politicke Nation; this word signifies a people that speaks well, in respect of other barbarous Nations without reason. These second peoplers *Nauatalcas*, came from other farre Countreyes, which lye toward the North, where now they haue discovered a Kingdome they call *New Mexico*.

There are two Prouinces in this Countrey, the one called *Aztlan*, which is to say a place of Herons: the other *Tuculhuacan*, which signifies a Land of such, whose Grandfathers were diuine. The Inhabitants of these Prouinces haue their houses, their Lands tilled, Gods, Customes, and Ceremonies, with like order and gouernment to the *Nauatalcas*, and are diuided into seven Tribes or Nations: and for that they haue a custome in this Prouince, that euery one of these Linages hath his place and priuate Territorie, the *Nauatalcas* paint their beginning and first Territorie in figure of a Caue, and say that they came forth of seven Caues to come and people the Land of Mexico, whereof they make mention in their Historie, where they paint seven Caues and men coming forth of them. By the supputation of their Bookes, it is aboute eight hundred yeeres since these *Nauatalcas* came forth of their Countrey, reducing which to our accompt, was about the yeere of our Lord 720. When they left their Countrey to come to Mexico, they stayed fourescore yeeres vpon the way; and the cause of this their long stay in their Voyage, was, that their Gods (which without doubt were Devils, and spake visibly vnto them) had perswaded them to seeke new Lands that had certaine signes. And therefore they came discovering the whole Land, to search for these tokens which their Idols had giuen them; and in places where they found any good dwellings, they peopled it, and laboured the Land, and as they discovered better Countreyes, they left those which they had first peopled; leauing still some, especially the aged, sicke folkes, and the wearie, yea, they did plant and build there, whereof wee see the remainders at this day. In the way where they passed, they spent fourescore yeeres in this manner of leisurely trauell, the which they might haue done in a moneth. By this meanes they entered the Land of Mexico, in the yeere 902. after our computation.

These seven Linages I haue spoken of, came not forth altogether: the first were the *Suchimilcos*, which signifie a Nation of the seeds of flowres. Those peopled the bankes of the great Lake of Mexico towards the South, and did build a Citie of their name, and many Villages. Long time after came they of the second Linage called *Chalcas*, which signifies people of mounthes, who also built a Citie of their name, diuiding their limits and Territories with the *Suchimilcos*. The third were the *Tepanecas*, which signifies people of the bridge: they did inhabite vpon the banke of the Lake towards the West, and they increased so, as they called the chiefe and Metropolitane of their Prouince, *Axcapuzcalco*, which is to say, an Ants Nest, and they continued long time mightie. After them came those that peopled *Tescuco*, which be those of *Culhua*, which is to say, a crooked people: for that in their Countrey there was a Mountaine much bending. And in this sort this Lake was enuironed with these foure Nations, these inhabiting on the East, and the *Tepanecas* on the North. These of *Tescuco*, were held for great Courtiers, for their tongue and pronounciation is very sweet and pleasant. Then arriued the *Tlallucans*, which signifies men of the Sierre or Mountaine. Those were the most rude and grosse of all the rest, who finding all the Plaines about the Lake possessed euen vnto the Sierre, they passed to the other side of the Mountaine, where they found a very fertile, spacious and warme Countrey, where they built many great Villages, calling the Metropolitane of their Prouince *Quahunachua*, which is as much to say, as a place that sounds the voice of an Eagle, which our common people call by corruption, *Quernanaca*, and at this day they call this Prouince, the *Marquisate*. Those of the sixt Generation, which are the *Tlascaltecas*, which is to say, Men of bread, passed the Mountaine towards the East, crossing all the Sierre, or Mountaine of *Menade*, where that famous *Vulcan* is betwixt Mexico and the Citie of *Angels*, where they did find a good Countrey, making many buildings. They built many Townes and Cities, whereof the Metropolitane was called by their name *Tlascala*. This is the Nation which fauoured the Spaniards at their entrie, by whose helpe they did winne this Countrey, and therefore to this day they pay no Tribute, but enioy a generall exemption. When all these Nations peopled these Countreyes, the *Chichimecas* being the ancient Inhabitants, made no resistance, but fled, and as people amazed, they hid themselves in the most obscure of the Rockes. But those that inhabited on the other side of the Moun-

Ottomies.

New Mexico.

Aztlan.

Tuculhuacan.

Their begin-

nings 900.

yeeres agoe.

A.D. 720.

How the six

Linages of Na-

uatalcas peo-

pled the Land

of Mexico.

Chap. 3.

Suchimilcos.

Chalcas.

Tepanecas.

Axcapuzcalco.

Tescuco.

Culhua.

Tlallucans.

Quahunachua.

Tlascaltecas.

Giants,

Mountaine where the *Tlascaltecan*s had planted themselves, did not suffer them in quiet, as the rest of the *Chichimecan*s had done, but they put themselves in defence to preserve their Country, and being Giants as the Histories report, they fought to expell the last Commers, but they were vanquish't by the policy of the *Tlascaltecan*s, who counterfeiting a peace with them, invited them to a great banquet, and when they were busiest in their drunkenesse, there were some laid in ambush, who secretly stole away their weapons, which were great Clubs, Targets, Swords of wood, and other such armes. Then did they suddenly set vpon them, and the *Chichimecan*s seeking to defend themselves, they did want their armes, so as they fled to the Mountaines and Forests adioyning, where they pulled downe Trees, as if they had beene stalkes of Lettuces. But in the end, the *Tlascaltecan*s being armed, and marching in order, they defeated all the Giants, not leaving one alive. We must not hold this of the Giants to be strange, or a fable; for at this day we finde dead mens bones of an incredible bignesse.

Note of Giants.

When I was in *Mexico*, in the yeere 1586. they found one of those Giants buried in one of our Farmes, which we call *Iesus du Mont*, of whom they brought a tooth to bee seene, which (without augmenting) was as bigge as the fist of a man, and according to this, all the rest was proportionable, which I saw and admired at his deformed greatnesse. The *Tlascaltecan*s by this victorie remayned peaceable, and so did the rest of the Linages. These sixe Linages did alwayes entertaine amitie together, marrying their children one with another, and diuiding their limits quietly: then they studied with an emulation to encrease and beautifie their Commonweale.

Beginnings of ciuilitie.

The barbarous *Chichimecan*s, seeing what passed, began to vse some gouernment, and to apparell themselves, being ashamed of what had passed: for till then they had no shame. And hauing abandoned feare by their communication with these other people, they began to learne many things of them, building small Cottages, hauing some policy and gouernment. They did also chooe Lords, whom they did acknowledge for their Superiors, by meanes whereof they did in a manner quite abandon this brutish life, yet did they alwayes continue in the Mountaines diuided from the rest.

Of the Mexican departure, of their journey and peopling the Province of Mechoacan. Ch. 4.

Three hundred and two yeeres after the former two Linages had left their Country, to inhabit New Spaine, the Country being now well peopled, and reduced to some forme of gouernment, Those of the seventh Caue or Line arriued, which is the *Mexicane* Nation, the which like vnto the rest, left the Province of *Aztlan*, and *Teuculhuacan*, a politike, courtlike, and warlike Nation. They did worship the Idoll *Kuzliputzli*, the Deuill that was in this Idoll spake, and gouerned this Nation easily. This Idoll commanded them to leaue their Country, promising to make them Princes and Lords ouer all the Provinces which the other sixe Nations did possesse, that he would giue them a Land abounding with gold, siluer, precious stones, feathers, and rich mantels: whereupon they went forth, carrying their Idoll with them in a Coffe of Reedes, supported by foure of their principall Priests, with whom he did talke and reueale vnto them in secret, the successe of their way and voyage, aduising them of what should happen. He likewise gaue them Lawes, and taught them the customes, ceremonies, and sacrifices they should obserue. They did not aduance nor mooue without commandement from this Idoll. He gaue them notice when to march, and when to stay in any place, wherein they wholly obeyed him. The first thing they did wherefoeuer they came, was to build a House or Tabernacle for their false god, which they set alwayes in the midst of their Campe, and there placed the Arke vpon an Altar, in the same manner as they haue vsed in the holy Christian Church. This done, they sowed their land for bread and pulles, which they vsed: and they were so addicted to the obedience of their god, that if he commanded them to gather, they gathered, but if he commanded them to raise their Campe, all was left there for the nourishment of the aged, sicke, and wearie, which they left purposely from place to place, that they might people it, pretending by this meanes, that all the Land should remaine inhabited by their Nation.

Deuills emulation of that worke of God in bringing Israel out of Egypt, and passing thorow the desert to Canaan. Tabernacle. Arke.

We may well iudge what this *Kuzliputzli* was, for that there was neuer seene nor heard speake of customes more superstitious, nor sacrifices more cruell and inhumane, then those which he taught them. To conclude, they were inuited by the enimie of mankind. The Chiefe and Capitaine whom they followed, was called *Mexi*, whence came the name of *Mexico*, and of the *Mexican* Nation. This people marching thus at leisure, as the other sixe Nations had done, peopling and tilling the Land in diuers parts, whereof there is yet some shewes and ruines: and after they had endured many trauels and dangers, in the end they came to the Province of *Mechoacan*, which is as much to say, as a land of fish, for there is great abundance in goodly great Lakes, where contenting themselves with the situation and temperature of the ground, they resolved to stay there. Yet hauing consulted with their Idoll vpon this point, and finding him unwilling, they demanded license to leaue some of their men to people so good a Land, the which he granted, teaching them the meanes how to doe it, which was, that when the Men and Women should be entred into a goodly Lake called *Pascuaro*, to bathe themselves, those which remayned on Land, should steale away all their clothes, and then secretly raise their Campe, and depart without any bruit, the which was effected, and the rest which dreamt not of this deceit (for the pleasure they tooke in bathing) comming forth and finding themselves spoyled of their

Mexi their Moses.

Mechoacan.

Pascuaro.

garments,

garments, and thus mocked and left by their Companions, they remayned discontented and vexed therewith: so as to make shew of the hatred they had conceiued against them, they say that they changed their manner of life and their language: At the least it is most certaine, that the *Mechouacans* haue beene alwayes enemies to the *Mexicans*, and therefore they came to congratulate the *Marquesse De Valle*, after his victorie obtayned when he had conquered *Mexico*.

Of that which happened in *Malinalco*, *Tula*, and in *Chapultepec*. Chap. 5.

Witch forsaken.

Deuils proud emulation in punishing disobedience, and teaching murtherous sacrifices.

Chapultepec.

Metamorphosis.

Atlacayanaya.

Of the warres the *Mexicans* had against them of *Culhuacan*. Chap. 6.

Ticaapan.

the

- From *Mechouacan* to *Mexico*, are about fiftie leagues, and vpon the way is *Malinalco*, where it happened, that complaying to their Idoll of a woman that was a notable witch, which came in their company carrying the name of their sister to their god, for that with her wicked artes shee did them much harme, pretending by certaine meanes to bee worshipped of them as their goddess: the Idoll spake in a dreame to one of those old men that carried the Arke, commanding him to comfort the people, making them new and great promises, and that they should leaue this his sister with her family, being cruell and bad, rayling their Campe at mid-night in great silence, leauing no shew what way they passed. So they did, and the Witch remayning alone with her family in this sort, peopled a Towne which they call *Malinalco*, the Inhabitants whereof are held for great Sorcerers, being issued from such a mother. The *Mexicans* for that they were greatly diminished by these diuisions, and by the number of sicke and wearied persons, which they had left behinde, meant to repayre themselves, and to stay in a place called *Tula*, which signifies a place of Reedes. There their Idoll commanded them to stop a great Riuer, that it might couer a great Playne, and by the meanes he taught them, they did inuiron a little Hill called *Copatepec*, making a great Lake, the which they did plant round about with Willowes, Elmes, Sapines, and other Trees. There began to breede much fish, and many birds came thither: so as it became a very pleasant place. The situation of this place, seeming pleasant vnto them, and being wearied with trauell, many talked of peopling there, and to passe no farther: wherewith the Deuill was much displeased, threatning the Priests with death, commanding them to returne the Riuer to her course, saying, that hee would that night chastise those which had beene disobedient as they had deserued. And as to doe ill is proper to the Deuill, and that the diuine Iustice doth often suffer such to be deliuered into the hands of such a Tormentor, that choose him for their god; It chanced that about mid-night they heard a great noyse in one part of the Campe, and in the morning going thither, they found those dead that had talked of staying there. The manner of their death, was, that their stomacks were opened, and their hearts pulled out. And by that meanes, this good god taught these poore miserable Creatures, the kindes of sacrifices that pleased him, which was, in opening the stomacke, to pull out the heart, as they haue since practised in their horrible sacrifices. Seeing this punishment, and that the Playne was dried, the Lake being emptied, they asked counsell of their god what to doe, who commanded them to passe on, the which they did by little and little, vntill they came to *Chapultepec*, a league from *Mexico*, famous for the pleasantnesse thereof. They did fortifie themselves in these Mountaines, fearing the Nations which inhabited that Country, the which were opposite vnto them, especially for that one named *Copil*, sonne to this Sorceresse, left in *Malinalco*, had blamed and spoken ill of the *Mexicans*: for this *Copil* by the commandement of his mother, awhile after followed the *Mexicans* course, labouring to incense the *Tapanecas*, and other neighbours against them, euen vnto the *Chalcas*: so as they came with a strong Armie to destroy the *Mexicans*. *Copil* in the meane space stood vpon a little Hill in the midst of a Lake, called *Acopilco*, attending the destruction of his Enemies, and they by the aduice of their Idoll, went against him, tooke him suddenly, and slue him, carrying his heart to their god, who commanded them to cast it into the Lake, sayning that thereof did grow a plant called *Tunal*, where since *Mexico* was built. They came to fight with the *Chalcas*, and other Nations, hauing chosen for their Captaine, a valiant man, called *Uitzilonilti*, who in an encounter, was taken and slaine by the Enemies. But for all this, they were not discouraged, but fought valiantly; and in despite of their Enemies they brake the squadrons, and carrying their Aged, their Women, and young Children in the midst of their battaile, they passed on to *Atlacayanaya*, a Towne of the *Culhuans*, whom they found solemnising of a Feast, in which place they fortified. The *Chalcas*, nor the other Nations did not follow them, but grieved to be defeated by so small a number of men; they being in so great multitudes tetyred to their Townes.
- The *Mexicans*, by the aduice of their Idoll, sent their Messengers to the Lord of *Culhuacan*, to demand a place to dwell in; who after hee had imparted it to his people, granted them the place of *Ticaapan*, which signifies *white waters*, to the end they should all perish there, being full of Vipers, Snakes, and other venemous beasts, which bred in a Hill neere adioyning. But being perswaded and taught by their Deuill, they accepted willingly what was offered, and by their deuillish arte, tamed these beasts, so as they did them no harme; yea, they vsed them as meate, eating them with delight and appetite. The which the Lord of *Culhuacan* seeing, and that they had tilled and sowed the Land, he resolved to receiue them into the Citie, and to contract amitie with them. But the god whom the *Mexicans* did worship (as he is accustomed to do no good, but ill) said vnto his Priests, that this was not the place where hee would haue them stay, and that they must go forth making warres. Therefore they must seeke forth a Woman, and name her

Queene of
Discord made
by the King of
Pride.

Howe that to
Toccy.

Of the foun-
dation of Mex-
ico, Chap. 7.

Eagle glorious
adored.

Tenoxtiltan.

Tabernacle
for their De-
uils Arke.

the *Goddeſſe of Diſcord*. Whereupon they reſolved to ſend to the King of *Calhuacan*, to demand his daughter to be Queene of the *Mexicans*, and mother to their god, who receiued this ambassage willingly, ſending his daughter preſently gorgeouſly attired and well accompanied. The ſame night ſhee arrived, by order of the murtherer whom they worſhipped, they killed her cruelly; and hauing ſlayed her artificially as they could doe, they did clothe a young man with her ſkin, and thereupon her apparell, placing him neere their Idoll, dedicating him for a *Goddeſſe and the mother of their god*, and euer after did worſhip it, making an Idoll which they called *Toccy*, which is to ſay, *our grand mother*. Not content with this crueltie, they did maliciously inuite the King of *Calhuacan*, the father of the young Maid, to come and worſhip his daughter, who was now conſecrated a goddeſſe, who comming with great Preſents, and well accompanied with his people, he was led into a very darke Chappell where their Idoll was, that he might offer ſacrifice to his daughter that was in that place. But it chanced that the Incenſe that was vpon the harth, according to their cuſtome, kindled in ſuch fort, as he might diſcerne his daughters haire, and hauing by this meanes diſcouered the crueltie and deceit, he went forth crying aloud, and with all his men he fell vpon the *Mexicans*, forcing them to retyre to the Lake, ſo as they were almoſt drowned. The *Mexicans* defended themſelues, caſting certaine little darts, which they vſed in the warres, wherewith they much galled their enemies. But in the end they got Land, and leauing that place, they coaſted along the Lake, very weary and wet; the Women and little Children crying and making great exclamations againſt them and their god that had brought them into this diſtreſſe. They were inforced to paſſe a Riuer that could not bee waded thorow, and therefore they aduiſed to make ſmall Boates of their Targets and of Reedes, wherein they paſſed. Then afterwards, hauing left *Calhuacan*, they arrived at *Ixtacalco*, and finally to the place where the Hermitage of Saint *Anthony* now is, at the entrie of *Mexico*, and to that quarter which they now call *Saint Paul*. During which time their Idoll did comfort them in their trauels, and encouraged them, promiſing great matters.

The time being now come, that the Father of Iyes ſhould accompliſh his promiſe made to his people, who could no longer ſuffer ſo many turnings, trauels, and dangers, it happened that ſome old Priests or Sorcerers, being entred into a place full of water-lillies, they met with a very faire and cleere current of water, which ſeemed to be ſiluer, and looking about, they found the Trees, Meadowes, Fiſh, and all that they beſeld to be very white: wondering hereat, they remembered a prophesie of their god, whereby he had giuen them that for a token of their place of reſt, and to make them Lords of other Nations. Then weeping for ioy, they returned to the people with theſe good newes. The night following, *Vitzliputzli* appeared in a dreame to an ancient Priest, ſaying, that they ſhould ſeek out a *Tunal* in the Lake, which grew out of a ſtone (which as hee told them, was the ſame place where by his commandement they had caſt the heart of *Copil*, ſonne to the Sorceresse their enemy) and vpon this *Tunal* they ſhould ſee a goodly Eagle, which fed on certaine ſmall birds. When they ſhould ſee this, they ſhould beleue it was the place where their Citie ſhould be built, the which ſhould ſurmout all others, and be famous throughout the World. Morning being come, the old man aſſembled the whole people, from the greateſt to the leaſt, making a long ſpeech vnto them, how much they were bound vnto their god, and of the reuelation, which (although vnworthy) he had receiued that night, concluding that all muſt ſeek out that happy place which was promiſed them; which bred ſuch deuotion and ioy in them all, that preſently they vndertooke the enterpriſe, and diuiding themſelues into Bands, they began to ſearch, following the ſignes of the reuelation of the deſired place. Amidſt the thickeſt of theſe water-lillies in the Lake, they met with the ſame courſe of water they had ſeene the day before, but much differing, being not white, but red, like blood; the which diuided it ſelfe into two ſtreames, whereof the one was of a very obſcure azure, the which bred admiration in them, noting ſome great myſterie, as they ſaid. After much ſearch here and there, the *Tunal* appeared growing on a ſtone, whereon was a Royall Eagle, with the wings diſplayed towards the Sunne, receiuing his heat. About this Eagle were many rich feathers, white, red, yellow, blue, and Greene, of the ſame ſort as they make their Images, which Eagle held in his tallants a goodly bird. Thoſe which ſaw it and knew it to bee the place foretold by the Oracle, fell on their knees, doing great worſhip to the Eagle, which bowed the head looking on euery ſide. Then was there great cries, demonſtrations, and thanks vnto the Creator, and to their great god *Vitzliputzli*, who was their father, and had alwayes told them truth. For this reaſon they called the Citie which they founded there, *Tenoxtiltan*, which ſignifies *Tunal on a ſtone*, and to this day they carry in their Armes, an Eagle vpon a *Tunal*, with a bird in his tallant, and ſtanding with the other vpon the *Tunal*. The day following, by common conſent they made an Hermitage adioyning to the *Tunal* of the Eagle, that the Arke of their god might reſt there, till they might haue meanes to build him a ſumptuous Temple; and ſo they made this Hermitage of Flagges and Turfes couered with ſtraw. Then hauing conſulted with their god, they reſolved to buy of their Neighbours, Stone, Timber, Lime, in exchange of Fiſh, Frogs, and young Kids, and for Ducks, Water-hens, Courlieus, and diuers other kindes of Sea fowles. All which things they did fiſh and hunt for in this Lake, whereof there is great abundance. They went with

with these things to the Markets of the Townes and Cities of the *Tapanecans*, and of them of *Tescuco* their neighbours, and with policy they gathered together by little and little, what was necessarie for the building of their Citie: so as they built a better Chappell for their Idoll of lime Stone Chap- and stone, and laboured to fill vp a great part of the Lake with rubbish. This done, the Idoll pell. spake one night to one of his Priests, in these termes; *Say vnto the Mexicans, that the Noble- Oracle: men diuide themselves euery one with their Kinsfolks and Friends, and that they diuide themselves into foure principall quarters, about the house which you haue built for my rest, and let euery quarter build in his quarter at his pleasure.* The which was put in execution: and those be the foure principall quarters of *Mexico*, which are called at this day *Saint Iean*, *Saint Mary the round*, *Saint Paul*, and *Saint Sebastian*. After this, the *Mexicans* being thus diuided into these foure quarters, their 10 god commanded them to diuide amongst them the gods he should name to them, and that they should giue notice to euery quarter, principall of the other foure partcull quarters, where their gods should bee worshipped. So as vnder euery one of these foure principall quarters, there were many lesse comprehended, according to the number of the Idols which their god commanded them to worship, which they called *Calpulteco*, which is as much to say, as *God of the quarters*. In this manner the Citie of *Mexico Tenoxtiltan* was founded, and grew great.

God of the quarters.

Of the sedition of those of *Tlatelulco*, and of the first Kings the *Mexicans* did choosce chap. 8.

This diuision being made as afore said, some old Men and Ancients held opinion, that in the diuision, they had not respected them as they deserued: for this cause, they and their 20 Kinsfolke did mutinie, and went to seeke another residence: and as they went through the Lake, they found a small piece of Ground or Terrasse, which they call *Tlateloli*, where they inhabited, calling it *Tlatelulco*, which signifies *Place of a Terrasse*. This was the third diuision of the *Mexicans*, since they left their Country. That of *Mecbouacan* being the first, and that of *Malinalco* the second. Those which separated themselves and went to *Tlatelulco*, were famous men, but of bad disposition: and therefore they practised against the *Mexicans* their neighbours, all the ill neighbourhood they could. They had alwayes quarrels against them, and to this day continues their hatred and old leagues. They of *Tenoxtiltan*, seeing them of *Tlatelulco* thus opposite vnto them, and that they multiplied, feared that in time they might surmount them: hereupon they assembled in counsell, where they thought it good to choosce a 30 King, whom they should obey, and strike terrour into their Enemies, that by this meanes they should bee more vnited and stronger among themselves, and their Enemies not presume too much against them. Being thus resolved to choosce a King, they tooke another aduice very profitable and assured, to choosce none among themselves, for the auoyding of dissentions, and to gayne (by their new King) some other neighbour Nations, by whom they were inuiro- ned, being destitute of all succours. All well considered, both to pacifie the King of *Culhuacan*, whom they had greatly offended, hauing slaine and slayed the daughter of his predecessor, and done him so great a scorne, as also to haue a King of the *Mexican* blood, of which genera- tion there were many in *Culhuacan*, which continued there since the time they liued in peace amongst them; they resolved to choosce for their King, a young man called *Acamapixtli*, 40 sonne to a great *Mexican* Prince, and of a Lady, daughter to the King of *Culhuacan*. Pre- sently they sent Ambassadors with a great Present to demand this man, who deliuered their Ambassage in these termes; Great Lord, wee your Vassals and Seruants, placed and shut up in the Weedes and Reedes of the Lake, alone, and abandoned of all the Nations of the World, led one- ly and guided by our god to the place where wee are, which falls in the iurisdiction of your limits of *Ascapulalco*, and of *Tescuco*: Although you haue suffered vs to liue and remayne there, yet will wee not, neither is it reason to liue without a Head and Lord to command, correct, and gouerne vs, instructing vs in the course of our life, and defending vs from our Enemies: Therefore wee come to you, knowing that in your Court and House, there are Children of our generation, linckt and allied with 50 yours, issued from our entrailles, and yours, of our blood and yours, among the which wee haue knowledge of a Grand-child of yours and ours, called *Acamapixtli*. Wee beseech you therefore, to giue him vs for Lord, wee will esteeme him as hee deserues, seeing hee is of the Linage of the Lords of *Mexico*, and the Kings of *Culhuacan*.

Acamapixtli first King of the *Mexicans*

The King hauing consulted vpon this point, and finding it nothing inconuenient to bee al- lied to the *Mexicans*, who were valiant men, made them answer, That they should take his grand-child in good time, adding thereunto, that if he had beene a woman, hee would not haue giuen her, noting the foule fact before spoken of, ending his discourse with these wordes, Let my grand-child goe to serue your god, and be his Lieutenant, to rule and gouerne his Creatures, by whom we liue, who is the Lord of Night, Day, and Windes: Let him goe and be Lord of the Water and Land, and possesse the Mexican Nation, take him in good time, and vse him as my sonne and grand- 60 child. The *Mexicans* gaue him thanks, all ioyntly desiring him to marry him with his owne hand, so as hee gaue him to wife, one of the noblest Ladies amongst them. They conducted the new King and Queene with all honor possible, and made him a solemne reception, going all in generall forth to see the King, whom they led into Palaces which were then but meane, and hauing seated them in Royall Thrones, presently one of the Ancients and an Orator

much esteemed amongst them, did rise vp, speaking in this manner, *My sonne, our Lord and King, thou art welcome to this poore House and Citie, amongst these weeds and mud, where thy poore fathers, Grand-fathers, and Kinsfolks, endure what it pleaseth the Lord of things created. Remember Lord thou comdest hither to be the defence and support of the Mexican Nation, and to be the resemblance of our god Vitzliputzli, wherenpon the charge and government is given thee. Thou knowest we are not in our Country, seeing the Land we possesse at this day is anothers, neither know we what shall become of vs to morrow, or another day: Consider therefore that thou comest not to rest or recreate thy selfe, but rather to indure a new charge under so heavy a burden: wherein thou must continually labour, being slane to this multitude, which is fallen to thy lot, and to all this neighbour people, whom thou must strue to gratifie, and give them contentment, seeing thou knowest we liue upon their Lands, and within their limits.* And ending, he repeated these wordes; *Thou art welcome, Thou and the Queene our Mistris, to this your Realme.* This was the speech of the old man, which with other Orations (which the Mexican Histories doe celebrate) the Children did vse to learne by heart, and so they were kept by Tradition, some of them deserue well to bee reported in their proper termes. The King answering, thanked them, and offered them his care and diligence in their defence and aide in all he could. After they gaue him the Oath, and after their manner set the Royall Crowne vpon his head, the which is like to the Crowne of the Dukes of Venice: the name of *Acamapixtli* their first King, signifies a handfull of Reedes, and therefore they carry in their Armouries a hand holding many arrowes of Reedes.

The *Mexicans* hapned so well in the election of their new King, that in short time they grew to haue some forme of a Commonweale, and to bee famous among strangers; whereupon their neighbours moued with feare, practised to subdue them, especially the *Tapanecans*, who had *Azcapuzalco* for their Metropolitane Citie, to whom the *Mexicans* payed tribute, as strangers dwelling in their Land. For the King of *Azcapuzalco* fearing their power which increased, sought to oppresse the *Mexicans*, and hauing consulted with his subiects, he sent to tell King *Acamapixtli*, that the ordinarie tribute they payed was too little, and that from thenceforth they should bring Firre trees, Sapines, and Willows for the building of the Citie; and moreouer, they should make him a Garden in the water, planted with diuers kindes of Herbes and Pulses, which they should bring vnto him yeerly by water, dressed in this manner, without fayling; which if they did not, he declared them his enemies, and would roote them out. The *Mexicans* were much troubled at this commandement, holding it impossible: and that this demand was to no other end, but to seeke occasion to ruine them. But their god *Vitzliputzli* comforted them, appearing that night to an old man, commanding him to say to the King his sonne in his name, that he should make no difficultie to accept of this tribute, he would helpe them and make the meanes easie, which after happened: for the time of tribute being come, the *Mexicans* carried the Trees that were required, and moreouer, a Garden made and floating in the water, and in it much *Mays* (which is their Corne) already grayned and in the eare: there was also Indian Pepper, Beetes, Tomates, which is a great sappy and sauourie graine, French Pease, Figs, Gourds, and many other things, all ripe, and in their season. Such as haue not seene the Gardens in the Lake of Mexico, in the middest of the water, will not beleue it, but will say it is an inchantment of the Deuill whom they worship: But in truth it is a matter to bee done, and there hath bene often seene of these Gardens floating in the water; for they cast earth vpon Reeds and Grasse, in such sort as it neuer wastes in the water; they sow and plant this ground, so as the graine growes and ripens very well, and then they remoue it from place to place. But it is true, that to make this great Garden easie, and to haue the fruits grow well, is a thing that makes men iudge there was the worke of *Vitzliputzli*, whom otherwise they call *Patillas*, specially hauing neuer made nor seene the like. The King of *Azcapuzalco* wondred much when he saw that accomplished which he held impossible, saying vnto his subiects, that this people had a great god that made all easie vnto them, and he said vnto the *Mexicans*, that seeing their god gaue them all things perfect, he would the yeere following, at the time of tribute, they should bring in their Garden a wilde Ducke, and a Heron, sitting on their egges, in such sort, that they should hatch their young ones as they should arriue, without fayling of a minute, vpon paine of his indignation. The *Mexicans* were much troubled and heauie with this proud and strict command: but their god, as he was accustomed, comforted them in the night, by one of his Priests, saying, that he would take all that charge vpon him, willing them not to feare, but beleue that the day would come, when as the *Azcapuzalcos* should pay with their liues this desire of new Tributes. The time being come, as the *Mexicans* carried all that was demanded of their Gardens, among the Reedes and Weedes of the Garden, they found a Ducke and a Heron hatching their egges, and at the same instant when they arriued at *Azcapuzalco* their young ones disclosed. Whereat the King of *Azcapuzalco* wondring beyond measure, hee said againe to his people, that these were more then humane things, and that the *Mexicans* began as if they would make themselues Lords ouer all those Prouinces. Yet did hee not diminish the order of this tribute, and the *Mexicans* finding not themselues mightie enough, endured this subiection and slauerie the space of fiftie yeeres. In this time the King *Acamapixtli* died, hauing beautified the Citie of Mexico with many goodly buildings, streets, Conduits of water,

How Orations
were kept in
memorie.

Crowne and
coronation.

Of the strange
tribute the
Mexicans pay-
ed to them of
Azcapuzalco.
Chap. 9.

Garden in the
water.

How made.

New Pharaoni-
call taxes.

Acamapixtli
dyeth.

water, and great abundance of munition. He reigned in peace and rest fortie yeeres, hauing beene alwayes zealous for the good and increase of the Commonweale.

As he drew neere his end, he did one memorable thing, that hauing lawfull children to whom he might leaue the succession of the Realme, yet would he not doe it, but contrariwise hee spake freely to the Common-weale, that as they had made a free Election of him, so they should choose him that should seeme fittest for their good Government, aduising them therein to haue a care to the good of the Common-weale, and seeming grieued that he left them not freed from Tribute and subiection, he dyed, hauing recommended his wife and children vnto them, he left all his people sorrowfull for his death.

§. II.

Of the second King VITZILOVITLI; and of his Successours and their Acts untill the Reigne of MOTEZUMA their last King.

He Obsequies of the dead King performed, the Ancients, the chiefe of the Realme, and some part of the people assembled together, to choose a King, where the Ancients propounded the necessitie wherein they were, and that it was needfull to choose for chiefe of their Citie, a man that had pittie of age, of Widdowes, and Orphans, and to be a Father of the Common-weale: for in very deed they should be the feathers of his wings, the eye-browes of his eyes, and the beard of his face, that it was necessary hee were valiant, being needfull shortly to vse their forces, as their God had prophesied. Their resolution in the end was to choose a sonne of the Predecessor, vling the like good office in accepting his sonne for Successor, as hee had done to the Common-weale, relying thereon.

This young man was called *Vitzilovitli*, which signifieth a rich feather. They set the Royall Crowne vpon his head, and anointed him, as they haue beene accustomed to do to all their Kings, with an Ointment they call *Diuine*, being the same vnction wherewith they did anoint their Idoll. Presently an Orator made an eloquent speech, exhorting him to arme himselfe with courage, and free them from the trauels, slauerie and miserie they suffered, being oppressed by the *Azcapuzalcos*: which done, all did him homage. This King was not married, and his Counsell held opinion, that it was good to marry him with the Daughter of the King of *Azcapuzalco*, to haue him a friend by this alliance, and to obtaine some diminution of their heauie burthen of Tributes imposed vpon them, and yet they feared lest he should disdaine to giue them his Daughter, by reason they were his Vassals: yet the King of *Azcapuzalco* yeelded thertunto, hauing humbly required him, who with courteous words gaue them his Daughter, called *Ayanchiguall*, whom they led with great pompe and ioy to Mexico, and performed the Ceremonie and Solemnitie of

Marriage, which was to tie a corner of the mans Cloake to a part of the womans Veile, in signe of the band of Martiage. This Queene brought forth a sonne, of whose name they demanded aduice of the King of *Azcapuzalco*, and casting Lots as they had accustomed (being greatly giuen to Southsayings, especially vpon the names of their children) hee would haue his Grand-childe called *Chimalpopoca*, which signifies *A Target casting smoke*. The Queene his Daughter seeing the contentment the King of *Azcupuzalco* had of his Grand-childe, tooke occasion to intreate him to relieue the *Mexicans*, of the heauie burthen of their Tributes, seeing hee had now a Grand-childe *Mexican*, the which the King willingly yeelded vnto, by the aduice of his Counsell, granting (for the Tribute which they paid) to bring yeerely a couple of Duckes and some fish, in signe of subiection, and that they dwelt in his Land. The *Mexicans* by this meanes remained much eased and content, but it lasted little. For the Queene their Protectrix died soone after:

and the yeere following likewise *Vitzilovitli* the King of Mexico died, leauing his sonne *Chimalpopoca* tenne yeeres old; he reigned thirteene yeeres, and died thirtie yeeres old, or little more. He was held for a good King, and carefull in the seruice of his Gods, whose Images hee held Kings to be; and that the honour done to their God, was done to the King who was his Image. For this cause the Kings haue been so affectionate to the seruice of their Gods. This King was carefull to winne the loue of his neighbours, and to trafficke with them, whereby hee augmented his Citie, exercising his men in Warrelke actions in the Lake, disposing them to that which he pretended, as you shall see presently.

The *Mexicans* for successor to their deceased King did choose his sonne *Chimalpopoca*, by common consent, although he were a child of ten yeeres old, being of opinion that it was alwayes necessary to keepe the fauour of the King of *Azcapuzalco*, making his Grand-childe King. They then set him in his Throne, giuing him the Ensignes of warre, with a Bow and Arrows in one hand, and a Sword with Rasors (which they commonly vse) in the right, signifying thereby

Vitzilovitli elected King.

Marriage Ceremonie. Lots and Southsaying.

Kings death

Of *Chimalpopoca* the third King, and his cruell death, &c. the occasion of warre which the *Mexicans* made, Chap. II.

(as they doe say) that they pretended by Armes to set themselves at libertie. The *Mexicans* had great want of water, that of the Lake being very thicke and muddie, and therefore ill to drinke, so as they caused their infant King to desire of his Grand-father the King of *Azcapuzalco*, the water of the Mountaine of *Chapultepec*, which is from *Mexico* a league, as is said before, which they easily obtained, and by their industrie made an Aquaduct of faggots, weeds and flagges, by the which they brought water to their Citie. But because the Citie was built within the Lake, and the Aquaduct did crosse it, it did breake forth in many places, so as they could not enioy the water, as they desired, and had great scarcitie: whereupon, whether they did expressly seeke it, to quarrell with the *Tapanecans*, or that they were moued vpon small occasion, in the end they sent a resolute Ambassage to the King *Azcapuzalco*, saying, they could not vse the water which he had graciously granted them, and therefore they required him to prouide them wood, lime, and stone, and to send his Workmen, that by their meanes they might make a Pipe of stone and lime that should not breake. This message nothing pleased the King, and much lesse his subiects, seeming to be too presumptuous a message, and purposely insolent, for Vassals to their Lord. The chiefe of the Counsell disdainning thereat, said *It was too bold, that not content with permission to line in anothers Land, and to haue water giuen them, but they would haue them goe to serue them: what a matter was that? And whereon presumed this fugitive Nation, shut up in the mud? They would let them know, how fit they were to worke, and to abate their pride, in taking from them their Land and their lines.*

Quarrell with
the Tapanecans.

In these tearmes and choller they left the King, whom they did somewhat suspect, by reason of his Grand-tilde, and consulted againe anew, what they were to doe, where they resolved to make a generall Proclamation, that no *Tapanecan* should haue any commerce or traffique with any *Mexican*, that they should not goe to their Citie, nor receiue any into theirs, vpon paine of death. Whereby we may vnderstand that the King did not absolutely command ouer his people, and that hee gouerned more like a Consull, or a Duke, then a King; although since with their power, the command of Kings increased, growing absolute Tyrants, as you shall see in the last Kings.

The King of
Azcapuzalco

The King of *Azcapuzalco* seeing the resolution of his subiects, which was to kill the *Mexicans*, intreated them first to steale away the young King his Grand-tilde, and afterwards doe what they pleased to the *Mexicans*. All in a manner yeelded hereto, to giue the King contentment, and for pittie they had of the childe; but two of the chiefe were much opposite, inferring, that it was bad counsell, for that *Chimalpopoca*, although hee were of their blood, yet was it but by the Mothers side, and that the Fathers was to be preferred, and therefore they concluded that the first they must kill was *Chimalpopoca* King of *Mexico*, protesting so to doe. The King of *Azcapuzalco* was so troubled with this contradiction, and the resolution they had taken, that soone after for very griefe he fell sicke, and dyed. By whose death the *Tapanecans* finishing their consultation, committed a notable Treason: for one night the young King of *Mexico* sleeping without guard, or feare of any thing, they of *Azcapuzalco* entred his Palace, and slue him suddenly, returning vnseene. The morning being come, when the Nobles went to salute the King, as they were accustomed, they found him slaine with great and cruell wounds; then they cryed out and filled all their Citie with teares, and transported with choller, they presently

King murdered.

fell to Armes, with an intent to reuenge their Kings death. As they ranne vp and downe full of furie and disorder, one of their chiefe Knights stept forth, labouring to appease them, with a graue admonition: *Whither goe yee (said he) O yee Mexicans? quiet your selues, consider that things done without consideration are not well guided, nor come to good end: suppress your griefe, considering that although your King be dead, the Noble blood of the Mexicans is not extinct in him. Wee haue children of our Kings deceased, by whose conduct, succeeding to the Realme, you shall the better execute what you pretend, having a Leader to guide your enterprise, goe not blindly, surcease, and choose a King first, to guide and encourage you against your enemies. In the meane time dissemble discreetly, performing the Funerals of your deceased King, whose bodie you see heere present, for hereafter you shall find better means to take reuenge.* By this meanes the *Mexicans* passed no farther, but stayed to make the Obsequies of their King, whereunto they imited the Lords of *Tescuco*, and *Culhuacan*, reporting vnto them this foule and cruell fact, which the *Tapanecans* had committed, mouing them to haue pittie on them, and incensing them against their enemies, concluding that their resolution was to die, or to bee reuenged of so great an indignitie, intreating them not to fauour so vnjust a fact of their enemies; and that for their part, they desired not their aide of Armes or men, but onely to be lookers on of what should passe, and that for their maintenance, they would not stop nor hinder the commerce, as the *Tapanecans* had done. At these speeches they of *Tescuco* and *Culhuacan* made them great shewes of good will, and that they were well satisfied, offering them their Cities, and all the Commerce they desired, that they desired, that they might prouide victuall and Munition at their pleasure, both by land and water. After this, the *Mexicans* intreated them to stay with them, and assist at the election of their King, the which they like wise granted, to giue them contentment.

The King

The King

The

The Electors being assembled, an old man that was held for a great Orator, rose vp, who (as the Histories report) spake in this manner, *The light of your eyes, O Mexicans, is darkened, but not of your hearts: for although you haue lost him that was the light and guide of the Mexican Common-weale, yet that of the heart remaines: to consider, that although they haue slaine one man, yet there are others that may supply with advantage, the want we haue of him: the Mexican Nobilitie is not extinguished thereby, nor the blond Royall decayed. Turne your eyes and looke about you, you shall see the Nobilitie of Mexico set in order, not one or two, but many and excellent Princes, Sons to Acamapixtli, our true and lawfull King and Lord. Here you may choose at your pleasure, saying, I will this man, and not that. If you haue lost a Father, heere you may find both Father and Mother: make account O*
 10 *Mexicans, that the Sunne is eclipsed and darkened for a time, and will returne suddenly. If Mexico hath bene darkened by the death of your King, the Sunne will soone shew, in choosing another King. Look to whom, and upon whom you shall cast your eyes, and towards whom your heart is inclined, and this is he whom your God Vitzliputzli hath chosen. And continuing awhile this discourse, he ended to the satisfaction of all men. In the end, by the consent of this Counsell, Ixcalt was chosen King, which signifies a Snake of Rasors, who was Sonne to the first King Acamapixtli, by a slave of his: and although he were not legitimate, yet they made choice of him, for that hee exceeded the rest in behauiour, valour, and magnanimitie of courage. All seemed very well satisfied, and about all, these of Tescuco, for their King was married to a sister of Ixcalts. After the King had bene crowned and set in his Royall Seat, another Orator stept vp, discoursing how the*
 20 *King was bound to his Common-weale, and of the courage he ought to shew in trauell, speaking thus, Behold this day we depend on thee, it may be thou wilt let fall the burthen that lies upon thy Souldiers, and suffer the old man and woman, the Orphelin and the widow to perish. Take pittie of the Infants that goe creeping in the Ayre, who must perish if our enemies surmount vs: unfold then, and stretch forth thy Gloake, my Lord, to beare these Infants upon thy shoulders, which bee the poore and the common people, who liue assured vnder the shadow of thy wings, and of thy bounty. Uttering many other words vpon this subiect, the which, (as I haue said) they learne by heart, for the exercise of their children, and after did teach them as a Lesson to those that began to learne the facultie of Orators.*

In the meane time, the Tapanecans were resolute to destroy the Mexicans, and to this end
 30 they had made great preparations. And therefore the new King tooke counsell for the proclaiming of Warre, and to fight with those that had so much wronged them. But the common people, seeing their Aduersaries to exceed them farre in numbers and munition for the warre, they came amazed to their King, pressing him not to vndertake so dangerous a warre, which would destroy their poore Citie and Nation: whereupon being demanded what aduice were fittest to take, they made answer, that the King of Azcapuzalco was very pittifull, that they should demand peace, and offer to serue him, drawing them forth those Martires, and that hee should giue them houses and lands among his subjects, that by this meanes they might depend all vpon one Lord. And for the obtaining hereof, they should carrie their God in his Litter for an Intercessor. The cries of the people were of such force (hauing some Nobles that approoued
 40 their opinion) as presently they called for the Priests, preparing the Litter and their God, to performe the Voyage. As this was preparing, and euery one yeelded to this treatie of peace, and to subject themselves to the Tapanecans, a gallant young man, and of good sort, stept out among the people, who with a resolute countenance spake thus vnto them, *What meanes this O yee Mexicans, are yee mad? How hath so great cowardise crept in among vs? Shall wee goe and yeeld our selues thus to the Azcapuzalcans? Then turning to the King he said, How now my Lord, will you endure this? Speake to the people, that they may suffer vs to find out some meanes for our honour and defence, and not yeeld our selues so simply and shamefully into the hands of our enemies. This young man was called Tlacaellec, Nephew to the King, he was the most valiant Captaine and greatest Counsellor that euer the Mexicans had, as you shall see hereafter. Ixcalt encouraged by that his*
 50 *Nephew had so wisely spoken, retained the people, saying they should first suffer him to try another better meanes. Then turning towards his Nobilitie, he said vnto them, You are all beeing my Kinsmen, and the best of Mexico, he that hath the courage to carrie a message to the Tapanecans, let him rise up. They looked one vpon another, but no man stirred nor offered himselfe to the word. Then this young man Tlacaellec rising, offered himselfe to goe, saying, that seeing hee must die, it did import little whether it were to day or to morrow: for what reason should hee so carefully preserve himselfe? he was therefore readie, let him command what he pleased. And although all held this for a rash attempt, yet the King resolved to send him, that he might thereon vnderstand the will and disposition of the King of Azcapuzalco and of his people: holding it better to haue his Nephewes death, then to hazard the honour of his Common-weale. Tlacaellec being readie, tooke his way, and being come to the Guards, who had commandement to*
 60 *kill any Mexican that came towards them, by cunning or otherwise: hee perswaded them to suffer him to passe to the King, who wondred to see him, and hearing his Ambassage, which was to demand peace of him vnder honest conditions, answered, that he would impart it to his subjects, willing him to returne the next day for his answer. Then Tlacaellec demanded a*

Of the fourth King called Ixcalt, and of the warre against the Tapanecans. Chap. 12.

Tlacaellecs valour.

Passport,

Ceremonies
of defiance.

Of the battaile
the Mexicans
gaue to the
Tapanecans, and
of the victorie
they obtained.
Chap. 13.

The Battaile.

Mexicans con-
quer.

Division of
spoiles.

passport, yet could he not obtaine any, but that he should vse his best skill : with this he returned to *Mexico*, giuing his words to the guards to returne. And although the King of *Azcapuzalco* desired peace, being of a milde disposition, yet his Subiects did so incense him, as his answer was open warre. The which being heard by the Messenger, he did all his King commanded him, declaring by this ceremony, to giue armes, and anointing the King with the vnction of the dead, that in his Kings behalfe he did defie him. Hauing ended all, the King of *Azcapuzalco* suffering himselfe to be anointed and crowned with Feathers, giuing goodly armes in recompence to the Messenger, wishing him not to returne by the Pallace gate, whereas many attended to cut him in peeces, but to goe out secretly by a little false Posterne that was open in one of the Courts of the Pallace. This yong man did so, and turning by secret waies, got away in safetie in sight of the Guards, and there defied them, saying, Tapanecans and Azcapuzalcans, you doe your office ill, vnderstand you shall all dye, and not one Tapanecan shall remaine aliu. In the meane time the Guards fell vpon him, where he behaued himselfe so valiantly, that he slew some of them : and seeing many more of them come running, he retired himselfe gallantly to the Citie, where he brought newes, that warre was proclaimed with the Tapanecans, and that he had defied their King.

The defie being knowne to the Commons of *Mexico*, they came to the King, according to their accustomed cowardise, demanding leaue to depart the Citie, holding their ruine certaine. The King did comfort and encourage them, promising to giue them libertie if they vanquished their enemies, willing them not to feare. The people replied. *And if we be vanquished, what shall wee doe? If wee be overcome,* (answered the King) *we will be bound presently to yeelde our selues into your hands to suffer death, eat our flesh in your dishes and bereuenged of vs. It shall be so then* (say they) *if you loose the victorie, and if you obtaine the victorie, we doe presently offer our selues to be your Tributaries, to labour in your houses, to sowe your ground, to carrie your armes and baggage when you goe to the warres for ever, wee and our descendants after vs.* These accords made betwixt the People, and the Nobilitie (which they did after fully performe, either willingly or by constraint, as they had promised) the King named for his Captaine Generall *Tlacaellec*: the whole Campe was put in order, and into squadrons, giuing the places of Captaines to the most valiant of his kinsfolkes and friends : then did he make them a goodly speech, whereby he did greatly encourage them, being now well prepared, charging all men to obey the commandement of the Generall whom he had appointed : he diuided his men into two parts, commanding the most valiant and hardie, to giue the first charge with him, and that all the rest should remaine in order, they were discouered by them of *Azcapuzalco*, who presently came furiously forth the Citie, carrying great riches of Gold, Siluer, and Armes of great value, as those which had the Empire of all that Countrie. *Izcoalt* gaue the signall to battaile, with a little Drumme he carried on his shoulders, and presently they raised a generall shoute, crying, *Mexico, Mexico*, they charged the Tapanecans, and although they were farre more in number, yet did they defeat them, and force them to retire into their Citie, then aduanced they which remained behinde, crying *Tlacaellec, Victorie, Victorie*, all sodainly entred the Citie, where (by the Kings commandement) they pardoned not any man, no not old men, women, nor children, for they slew them all, and spoiled the Citie being very rich. And not content herewith, they followed them that fled, and were retired into the craggie rockes of the *Sierres* or neere Mountaines, striking and making a great slaughter of them. The Tapanecans being retired to a Mountaine cast downe their Armes, demanding their liues, and offering to serue the Mexicans, to giue them Lands and Gardens, Stone, Lime and Timber, and to hold them alwayes for their Lords. Vpon this condition *Tlacaellec* retired his men and ceased the battaile, granting them their liues vpon the former conditions, which they did solemnely sweare. Then they returned to *Azcapuzalco*, and so with their rich and victorious spoiles to the Citie of *Mexico*. The day following the King assembled the Nobilitie and the People, to whom hee laid open the accord the Commons had made, demanding of them, if they were content to persist therein : the Commons made answer, that they had promised, and they had well deserued it, and therefore they were content to serue them perpetually. Whereupon they tooke an oath, which since they haue kept without contradiction.

This done, *Izcoalt* returned to *Azcapuzalco* (by the aduise of his Counsell) he diuided all the Lands and Goods of the conquered among the conquerours, the chiefe part fell to the King, then to *Tlacaellec*, and after to the rest of the Nobles, as they best deserued in the Battaile. They also gaue Land to some Plebeians, hauing behaued them selues valiantly ; to others they distributed the Pillage, making small account of them as of cowards. They appointed Lands in common for the quarters of *Mexico*, to every one his part, for the Service and Sacrifices of their Gods. This was the order which afterwards they alwayes kept, in the diuision of the Lands and spoiles of those they had vanquished and subdued. By this meanes they of *Azcapuzalco* remained so poore, as they had no Lands left them to labour, and (which was worse) they tooke their King from them, and all power to choose any other then him of *Mexico*.

Although

Although the chiefe Citie of the *Tapaneques*, was that of *Azcapuzalco*, yet had they others with their priuate Lords, as *Tucuba* and *Cuyoacan*. These seeing the storme passed, would gladly that they of *Azcapuzalco* had renewed the warre against the *Mexicans*, and seeing them danted, as a Nation wholly broken and defeated, they of *Cuyoacan* resolved to make warre by themselves; to the which they laboured to draw the other neighbour Nations, who would not stirre nor quarrell with the *Mexicans*. In the meane time the hatred and malice increasing, they of *Cuyoacan* began to ill intreate the women that went to their Markets, mocking at them, and doing the like to the men ouer whom they had power: for which cause the King of *Mexico* defended, that none of his should goe to *Cuyoacan*, and that they should receiue none of them into *Mexico*; the which made them of *Cuyoacan* resolve wholly to warre: but first they would prouoke them by some shamefull scorne, which was, that hauing invited them to one of their solemne Feasts, after they had made them a goodly Banquet, and feasted them with a great daunce after their manner, they sent them for their fruite, womens apparell, forcing them to put it on, and so to returne home like women to their Citie, reproaching them, that they were cowards and effeminate, and that they durst not take armes being sufficiently prouoked. Those of *Mexico* say, that for reuenge they did vnto them a foule scorne, laying at the gates of their Citie of *Cuyoacan* certaine things which smoaked, by meanes whereof many women were deliuered before their time, and many fell sicke. In the end, all came to open war, and there was a battaile fought, wherein they imploied all their forces, in the which *Tlacaellec*, by his courage and policie in warre, obtained the victorie. For hauing left King *Izcoalt* in fight with them of *Cuyoacan*, he put himselfe in ambush with some of the most valiant Souldiers, and so turning about, charged them behinde, and forced them to retire into their Citie. But seeing their intent was to flie into a Temple which was very strong, he with three other valiant Souldiers, pursued them eagarly, and got before them, seising on the Temple and firing it, so as he forced them to flie to the fields, where he made a great slaughter of the vanquished, pursuing them two leagues into the Countrey, vnto a little hill, where the vanquished casting away their weapons, and their armes a crosse, yeelded to the *Mexicans*, and with many teares craued pardon of their ouerweening folly, in vsing them like women, offering to be their slaues: so as in the end the *Mexicans* did pardon them. Of this victory the *Mexicans* did carry away very rich spoiles of Garments, Armes, Gold, Silver, Jewels, and rich feathers, with a great number of Captiues. In this Battaille there were three of the principals of *Culbmacan* that came to aide the *Mexicans*, to win honour, the which were remarkeable aboue all. And since being knowne to *Tlacaellec*, and hauing made prooffe of their fidelity, he gaue them *Mexican* deuises, and had them alwayes by his side, where they fought in all places very valiantly. It was apparant that the whole victory was due to the Generall, and to these three; for among so many captiues taken, two third parts were wonne by these foure, which was easily knowne by a policie they vsed: for taking a Captiue, they presently cut off a little of his haire, and gaue it to others, so as it appeared that those which had their haire cut, amounted to that number, whereby they wonne great reputation and fame of valiant men. They were honoured as Conquerours, giuing them good portions of the spoiles and Lands, as the *Mexicans* haue alwaies vsed to doe, which gaue occasion to those that did fight, to become famous, and to win reputation by Armes.

The Nation of the *Tapaneques* being subdued, the *Mexicans* had occasion to doe the like to the *Suchimilcos*, who (as it hath beene said) were the first of the seuen Caues or linages that peopled this Land. The *Mexicans* sought not the occasion, although they might presume as Conquerours to extend their limits, but the *Suchimilcos* did moue them, to their owne ruine, as it happens to men of small iudgement that haue no foresight, who not preuenting the mischiefe they imagined, fall into it. The *Suchimilcos* held opinion, that the *Mexicans*, by reason of their victories past, should attempt to subdue them, and consulted hereon among themselves. Some among them thought it good to acknowledge them for superiours, and to applaud their good fortune, but the contrary was allowed, and they went out to giue them battaile: which *Izcoalt* the King of *Mexico* vnderstanding, he sent his Generall *Tlacaellec* against them, with his armie: the battaile was fought in the same field that diuides their limits, which two Armies were equall in men and armes, but very diuers in their order and manner of fighting; for that the *Suchimilcos* charged all together on a heape confusedly, and *Tlacaellec* diuided his men into squadrons with a goodly order, so as he presently brake his enemies, forcing them to retire into their Citie, into the which they entred, following them to the Temple whither they fled, which they fired, and forcing them to flye to the Mountaines: in the end they brought them to this point, that they yeelded with their arme acrosse. The Generall *Tlacaellec* returning in great triumph, the Priests went forth to receiue him, with their musicke of Flutes, and giuing incense. The chiefe Captaines vsed other Ceremonies and shewes of ioy, as they had beene accustomed to doe, and the King with all the troupe went to the Temple to giue thanks to their false god.

The day following, the King *Izcoalt* went vnto the Citie of *Suchimilco*, causing himselfe to

Of the warre and victory the *Mexicans* had against the Citie of *Cuyoacan*. Chap. 14.

Temple.

Of the warre and victory which the *Mexicans* had against the *Suchimilcos*. Ch. 15.

Temple filled.

be sworne King of the *Suchimilcos*: and for their comfort he promised to doe them good. In to-
ken whereof he commanded them to make a great Cawley stretching from *Mexico* to *Suchi-*
milco, which is foure leagnes, to the end there might be more commerce and trafficke among
them. Which the *Suchimilcos* performed, and in short time the *Mexican* government seemed
so good vnto them, as they held themselves happy to haue changed their King and Common-
weale. Some neighbours pricked forward by enuie, or feare, to their ruines, were not yet made
wise by others miseries.

Cuitlanaca, *Cuitlanaca* was a Citie within the Lake: which though the name and dwelling be changed,
continueth yet. They were actiue to swim in the Lake, and therefore they thought they might
much indomage and annoy the *Mexicans* by water, which the King vnderstanding, he resol-
ued to send his Armie presently to fight against them. But *Tlacaellec* little esteeming this warre,
holding it dishonorable to lead an Armie against them, made offer to conquer them with the
children onely: which he performed in this manner: he went vnto the Temple and drew out of
the Couent such children as he thought fittest for the action, from tenne to eightene yeares of
age, who knew how to guide their Boates, or Canoes, teaching them certaine pollicies. The
order they held in this warre, was, that he went to *Cuitlanaca* with his children, where by
his pollicie he pressed the enemy in such sort, that he made them to flye; and as he followed
them, the Lord of *Cuitlanaca* met him and yeilded vnto him, himselfe, his Citie, and his peo-
ple, and by this meanes he stayed the pursuite. The children returned with much spoyle, and
many Captiues for their Sacrifices, being solemnely receiued with a great Procession, Musicke
and Perfumes, and they went to worship their gods, in taking of the earth which they did
eate, and drawing blood from the forepart of their legs with the Priests Lancets, with other su-
perstitions which they were accustomed to vse in the like solemnities. The children were much
honored and encouraged, and the King imbraced and kissed them, and his kinsmen and allies
accompanied them. The bruite of this victory ranne throughout all the Countrie, how that
Tlacaellec had subdued the Citie of *Cuitlanaca* with children: the news and consideration where-
of opened the eyes of those of *Tescuco*, a chiefe and very cunning Nation for their manner of
life: So as the King of *Tescuco* was first of opinion, that they should subiect themselves to the
King of *Mexico*, and inuite him thereunto with his Citie. Therefore by the aduise of his Coun-
sell, they sent Ambassadors good Orators with honorable presents, to offer themselves vnto
the *Mexicans*, as their Subiects, desiring peace and amity, which was graciously accepted;
but by the aduise of *Tlacaellec* he vsed a Ceremony for the effecting thereof, which was, that
those of *Tescuco* should come forth armed against the *Mexicans*, where they should fight, and
presently yeelde, which was an act and ceremony of warre, without any effusion of blood on
either side. Thus the King of *Mexico* became soueraigne Lord of *Tescuco*, but he tooke not
their King from them, but made him of his Priuie Counsell; so as they haue alwaies maintai-
ned themselves in this manner vntill the time of *Moteczuma* the second, during whose raig-
ne the *Spaniards* entred. Hauing subdued the Land and Citie of *Tescuco*, *Mexico* remained Lady
and Mistris of all the Lands and Cities about the Lake, where it is built. *Izcoatl* hauing
enjoyed this prosperitie, and raigned twelue yeares, dyed, leauing the Realme which had
beene giuen him, much augmented by the valour and counsell of his Nephew *Tlacaellec*.

Forasmuch as the election of the new King, belonged to foure chiefe Electors, and to the
King of *Tescuco*, and the King of *Tacuba*, by especiall priuiledge: *Tlacaellec* assembled these
six personages, as he that had the soueraigne authority, and hauing propounded the matter vn-
to them, they made choise of *Moteczuma*, the first of that name, Nephew to the same *Tlacaellec*.

His election was very pleasing vnto them all, by reason whereof, they made most solemn feasts,
and more statelie then the former. Presently after his election they conducted him to the Tem-
ple with a great traine, where before the diuine harth (as they call it) where there is continuall
fire, they set him in his royall throane, putting vpon him his royall ornaments. Being there, the
King drew blood from his eares and legs with a Griffons talons, which was the Sacrifice where-
in the diuell delighted to be honoured. The Priests, Ancients, and Captaines, made their Ora-
tions, all congratuling his election. They were accustomed in their elections to make great
Feasts and Dances, where they wasted many lights. In this Kings time the custome was brought
in, that the King should goe in person to make warre in some Prouince, and bring Captiues to
solemnize the feast of his Coronation, and for the solemn Sacrifices of that day. For this cause
King *Moteczuma* went into the Prouince of *Chalco*, who had declared themselves his enemies:
from whence (hauing fought valiantly) he brought a great number of Captiues, whereof he did
make a notable Sacrifice the day of his Coronation, although at that time he did not subdue all
the Prouince of *Chalco*, being a verie warlike Nation. Manie came to this Coronation from di-
uers Prouinces, as well neere as farre off, to see the feast, at the which all commers were verie
bountifullie entertained and clad, especially the poore, to whom they gaue new garments. For
this cause they brought that day into the Citie, the Kings tributes, with a goodly order, which
consisted in Stuffles to make Garments of all sorts, in *Cacao*, Gold, Silver, rich Feathers, great bur-
thens of Cotton, Cucumbers, sundrie sorts of Pulses, many kindes of Sea fish, and of the fresh
water,

Cawley made.

Cuitlanaca.

Children in
the Couent.Captiues sa-
crificed.

Izcoatl's death.

Of the first King
of Mexico, cal-
led Moteczuma,
the first of that
name. Chap. 16.Griffons ta-
lons.Bloody and di-
uinish institu-
tion.Pompous so-
lemnity.

warer, great store of Fruits, and Venison without number, not reckoning an infinite number of Presents, which other Kings and Lords sent to the new King. All this Tribute marched in order according to the Prouinces, and before them the Stewards and receiuers, with diuers markes and Ensignes, in very goodly order: so as it was one of the goodliest things of the feast, to see the entrie of the Tribute. The King being crowned, he imploied himselfe in the conquest of many Prouinces, and for that he was both valiant and vertuous, he still increased more and more, vntill in all his affaires the counsell and industrie of his Generall *Tlacaellec*, whom he did alwaies loue and esteeme very much, as he had good reason. The warre wherein he was most troubled and of greatest difficultie, was that of the Prouince of *Chalco*, wherein there happened great matters, whereof one was very remarkeable; which was, that they of *Chalco*, had taken a brother of *Moteczumaes* in the warres, whom they resolved to choose for their King, asking him verie curteously, if he would accept of this charge. He answered (after much importunitie, still persisting therein) that if they ment plainely to choose him for their King, they should plant in the Market-place, a Tree or very high stake, on the top whereof, they should make a little scaffold, and meanes to mount vnto it. The *Chalcos* supposing it had beene some ceremonie to make himselfe more apparant, presently effected it: then assembling all his *Mexicans* about the stake, he went to the top with a garland of flowers in his hand, speaking to his men in this manner, *O valiant Mexicans, these men will choose me for their King, but the gods will not permit, that to be a King I should commit any treason against my Countrey, but contrariwise, I will that you learne by me, that it behooueth vs rather, to indure death, then to aide our enemies.* Saying these words, he cast himselfe downe, and was broken in a thousand peeces, at which spectacle, the *Chalcos* had so great horror and despite, that presently they fell vpon the *Mexicans* and slew them all with their Lances, as men whom they held too proud and inexorable, saying, they had diuellish hearts. It chanced the night following, they heard two Owles making a mournfull cry, which they did interpret as an vnfortunate signe, and a presage of their neere destruction, as it succeeded: for King *Moteczuma* went against them in person with all his power, where he vanquished them, and ruined all their kingdome: and passing beyond the Mountaine *Menade*, he conquered still euen vnto the North Sea. Then returning towards the South Sea, he subdued many Prouinces; so as he became a mighty King: all by the helpe and counsell of *Tlacaellec*, who in a maine conquered all the *Mexican* Nation. Yet he held an opinion (the which was confirmed) that it was not behoouefull to conquer the Prouince of *Tlascalla*, that the *Mexicans* might haue a frontier enemy, to keepe the youth of *Mexico* in exercise and allarme: and that they might haue numbers of Captiues to Sacrifice to their Idols, wherein they did waste (as hath beene said) infinite numbers of men, which should be taken by force in the wars. The honor must be giuen to *Moteczuma*, or to speak truly, to *Tlacaellec* his Generall, for the good order and pollicy setled in the Realme of *Mexico*, as also for the Counsels and goodly enterprises, which they did execute: and likewise for the number of Iudges and Magistrates, being as well ordered there, as in any Common-weale; yea, were it in the most flourishing of *Europe*. This King did also greatly increase the Kings house, giuing it great authoritie, and appointing many and sundry Officers, which serued him with great pompe and ceremony. He was no lesse remarkable touching the deuotion and seruice of his Idols, increasing the number of his Ministers, and instituting new ceremonies, whereunto he carried a great respect.

He built that great Temple dedicated to their god *Tzilizipatzli*, whereof is spoken in the other Booke. He did Sacrifice at the dedication of this Temple, a great number of men, taken in sundry victories: finally, inioying his Empire in great prosperitie, he fell sick, and died, hauing reigned twentie eight yeares, vnlike to his successor *Ticocic*, who did not resemble him, neither in valour, nor in good fortune.

The foure Deputies assembled in counsell, with the Lords of *Tescuco* and *Tacuba*, where *Tlacaellec* was President in the election, where by all their voices *Tlacaellec* was chosen, as deserting this charge better then any other. Yet he refused it, perswading them by pertinent reasons, that they should choose another, saying, that it was better, and more expedient to haue another King, and he to be his instrument and assistant, as he had beene till then, and not to lay the whole burthen vpon him, for that he held himselfe no lesse bound for the Common-weale, then if he were King: seeming to him, though he were not King, yet in a manner, that he commanded Kings, suffering him to carry certaine markes, as a *Tiara* or ornament for the head, which belonged onely to themselves: as in a Comedie he deserves most commendation, that represents the personage that imports most. In recompence of his modesty, and for the respect which the *Mexican* Electors bare him, they demanded of *Tlacaellec* (that seeing he would not reigne) whom hee thought most fit: Wherevpon he gaue his voyce to a Sonne of the deceased King, who was then very young, called *Ticocic*: but they replied, that his shoulders were very weake to beare so heauie a burthen. *Tlacaellec* answered, that his was there to. helpe him to beare the burthen, as he had done to the deceased: by meanes whereof, they tooke their resolution, and *Ticocic* was chosen, to whom were done all the accustomed ceremonies.

Horrible courage.

Tlascalla to *Mexico*, as *Carna* thage to *Rome*.

Great Temple built. Deuillish deuotions.

How *Tlacaellec* refused to be King, and of the election and deedes of *Ticocic*. Chap. 17

Fit similitude.

They

Nostrils pierced.

King poisoned

Of the death of Tlacacllec, & the deeds of Axayaca the seventh King of the Mexicans. Chap. 18.

Tiquantepec razed. Guatimco.

Royall combat.

They pierced his nostrils, and for an ornament put an Emerald therein: and for this reason, in the *Mexican Bookes*, this King is noted by his nostrils pierced. Hee differed much from his Father and Predecessor, being noted for a coward, and not valiant. He went to make warre for his Coronation, in a Prouince that had rebelled, where hee lost more of his owne men then hee tooke captiues; yet he returned saying, that he brought the number of captiues required for the Sacrifice of his Coronation, and so hee was crowned with great solemnitie. But the *Mexicans* discontented to haue a King so little disposed to warre, practised to hasten his death by poison. For this cause he continued not aboue foure yeeres in the Kingdome. But this losse was well repaired by a Brother of the deceased, who was also sonne to great *Moteczuma*, called *Axayaca*, who was likewise chosen by the aduice of *Tlacacllec*, wherein hee happened better then before.

Now was *Tlacacllec* very old, who by reason of his age, was carried in a chaire vpon mens shoulders, to assist in counsell when businesse required. In the end he fell sicke, when as the King (who was not yet crowned) did visit him often, shedding many teares, seeming to loose in him his Father, and the Father of his Countrey. *Tlacacllec* did most affectionately recommend his children vnto him, especially the eldest, who had shewed himselfe valiant in the former warres. The King promised to haue regard vnto him, and the more to comfort the old man, in his presence hee gaue him the charge and ensignes of Captaine Generall, with all the preheminences of his Father; wherewith the old man remained so well satisfied, as with this content he ended his dayes.

The *Mexicans* made his Funerall as the Founder of that Empire, more sumptuous and stately, then they had done to any of their former Kings. And presently after *Axayaca* (to appease the sorrow which all the people of *Mexico* shewed for the death of their Captaine) resolved to make the voyage necessary for his Coronation. He therefore led his Armie with great expedition into the Prouince of *Tequantepec*, two hundred leagues from *Mexico*, where he gaue battell to a mighty Army, and an infinite number of men assembled together, as well out of that Prouince, as from their Neighbours, to oppose themselves against the *Mexicans*. The first of his Campe that aduanced himselfe, to the combate was the King himselfe, defying his enemies, from whom he made shew to flye when they charged him, vntill hee had drawne them into an Ambuscadoe, where many Souldiers lay hidden vnder straw, who suddenly issued forth, and they which fled, turned head: so as they of *Tiquantepec* remayned in the midst of them, whom they charged furiously, making a great slaughter of them: and following their victorie, they razed their Citie and Temple, punishing all their Neighbours rigorously. Then went they on farther, and without any stay, conquered to *Guatimco*, the which is a Port at this day well knowne in the South Sea. *Axayaca* returned to *Mexico* with great and rich spoiles, where he was honourably crowned, with sumptuous and stately preparation of Sacrifices, Tributes, and other things, whither many came to see his Coronation. The Kings of *Mexico* received the Crowne from the hands of the King of *Tescuco*, who had the preheminence. Hee made many other Enterprises, where he obtained great victories, being alwayes the first to leade the Armie, and to charge the enemy; by the which he purchased the name of a most valiant Captaine: and not content to subdue strangers, he also suppressed his Subjects which had rebelled, which neuer any of his Predecessors euer could doe, or durst attempt. Wee haue already shewed how some seditions of *Mexico* had diuided themselves from that Common weale, and built a Citie neere vnto them, which they called *Tlatelulco*, whereas now Saint Iaguer is.

These being reuolted, held a faction apart, and increased and multiplied much, refusing to acknowledge the Kings of *Mexico*, nor to yeeld them obedience. The King *Axayaca* sent to aduise them, not to liue diuided, but being of one blood, and one people, to joyne together, and acknowledge the King of *Mexico*; wherupon the Lord of *Tlatelulco* made an answer full of pride and disdain, defying the King of *Mexico*, to single combate with himselfe: and presently mustred his men, commanding some of them to hide themselves in the weeds of the Lake; and the better to deceiue the *Mexicans*, he commanded them to take the shapes of Ravens, Geese, and other Beasts, as Frogges, and such like, supposing by this meanes to surprize the *Mexicans* as they should passe by the wayes and cawties of the Lake. Hauing knowledge of this desie, and of his Aduersaries policie, he diuided his Armie, giuing a part to his Generall, the sonne of *Tlacacllec*, commanding him to charge this Ambuscadoe, in the Lake; and hee with the rest of his people, by an vnfrequented way, went and incamped before *Tlatelulco*. Presently he called him who had defied him, to performe his promise, and as the two Lords of *Mexico*, and *Tlatelulco* aduanced, they commanded their Subjects not to mooue, vntill they had seene who should bee fought long, in the end the Lord of *Tlatelulco* was forced to turne his backe, being vnable to indure the furious charge of the King of *Mexico*. Those of *Tlatelulco* seeing their Captaine flye, fainted, and fled likewise; but the *Mexicans* following them at the heeles, charged them furiously; yet the Lord of *Tlatelulco* escaped not the hands of *Axayaca*, for thinking to saue himselfe, hee fled to the top of the Temple, but *Axayaca* followed him so neere, as hee seized on him with great

great force, and threw him from the top to the bottome, and after set fire on the Temple, and the Citie.

10 While this passed at Tlatelulco, the Mexican Generall was very hote in the reuenge of those that pretended to defeat him by policie, and after hee had forced them to yeeld, and to cry for mercy, the Generall said he would not pardon them, vntill they had first performed the Offices of those figures they represented, and therefore hee would haue them cry like Frogges and Ravens, every one according to the figure which he had vnderaken, else they had no composition: which thing he did to mocke them with their owne policie. Feare and Necessitie bee perfect Teachers, so as they did sing and cry with all the differences of voices that were commanded them, to saue their liues, although they were much grieved at the sport their enemies made at them. They say that vnto this day, the Mexicans vse to jeast at the Tlatelulcans, which they beare impatiently, when they put them in minde of this singing and crying of beasts. King Azayaca tooke pleasure at this scorn and disgrace, and presently after they returned to Mexico with great joy. This King was esteemed for one of the best that had commanded in Mexico. Hee reigned eleuen yeeres.

Tlatelulco fired.

Among the foure Electors that had power to choose whom they pleased to be King, there was one endued with many perfections, named Autzol. This man was chosen by the rest, and this election was very pleasing to all the people: for besides that he was valiant, all held him courteous and affable to euery man, which is one of the chiefe qualities required in them that command, to purchase loue and respect. To celebrate the Feast of his Coronation, hee resolved to make a Voyage, and to punish the pride of those of Quaxulatlán, a very rich and plentifull Province, and at this day the chiefe of New Spaine. They had robbed his Officers and Stewards, that carried the Tributes to Mexico, and therewithall were rebelled. There was great difficultie to reduce this Nation to obedience, lying in such sort, as an arme of the Sea stoppeth the Mexicans passage: to passe the which Autzol (with a strange deuice and industry) caused an Island to be made in the water, of faggots, earth, and other matter; by means whereof, both hee and his men might passe to the enemy, where giuing them battell, he conquered them, and punished them at his pleasure. Then returned he vnto Mexico in triumph, and with great riches, to bee crowned King, according to their custome. Autzol extended the limits of his Kingdome farre, by many conquests, euen vnto Guatimalia, which is three hundred leagues from Mexico. Hee was no lesse liberall then valiant: for when as the Tributes arrived, which (as I haue said) came in great abundance, hee went forth of his Palace, gathering together all the people into one place, then commanded he to bring all the Tributes, which he diuided to those that had need. To the poore he gaue Stuffs to make them apparell, and meate, and whatsoever they had need of in great abundance, and things of value, as Gold, Silver, Iewels, and Feathers, were diuided amongst the Captaines, Souliuers, and Seruants of his House according to euery mans merit. This Autzol was likewise a great Politician, hee pulled downe the houses ill built, and built others very sumptuous.

Of the deeds of Autzol the eight King of Mexico. Chap. 19 The Picture story calls him Tifocicatzli. Quaxulatlán

40 It seemed vnto him that the Citie of Mexico had too little water, and that the Lake was very muddie, and therefore hee resolved to let in a great course of water, which they of Cuyoacan vied. For this cause hee called the chiefe man of the Citie vnto him, being a famous Sorcerer, hauing propounded his meaning vnto him: the Sorcerer wished him to bee well aduised what he did, being a matter of great difficultie, and that he vnderstood, if hee drew the Riuer out of her ordinary course, making it passe to Mexico, hee would drowne the Citie. The King supposed these excuses were but to frustrate the effect of his Designe, being therefore in choler, he dismissed him home, and a few dayes after he sent a Prouost to Cuyoacan, to take this Sorcerer: who hauing vnderstanding for what intent the Kings Officers came, he caused them to enter his house, and then he presented himselfe vnto them in the forme of a terrible Eagle, wherewith the Prouost and his companions being terrified, they returned without taking him. Autzol incensed herewith sent others, to whom he presented himselfe in forme of a furious Tigre, so as they durst not touch him. The third came, and they found him in the forme of a horrible Serpent, whereat they were much afraid. The King moued the more with these doings, sent to tell them of Cuyoacan, that if they brought not the Sorcerer bound vnto him, hee would raze their Citie. For feare whereof, or whether it were of his owne free will, or being forced by the people, he suffered himselfe to be led to the King, who presently caused him to bee strangled, and then then did he put his resolution in practice, forcing a channell whereby the water might passe to Mexico, whereby he brought a great current of water into the Lake, which they brought with great Ceremonies and Superstitions, hauing Priests casting Incense along the bankes, others sacrificed Quails, and with the blood of them sprinkled the channell bankes, others founding of Cornets, accompanied the water with their Musicke. One of the chiefe went attired in a habit like to their Goddesse of the water, and all saluted her, saying, that she was welcome. All which things are painted in the Annalls of Mexico: which Booke is now at Rome in the holy Library, or Vatican, where a Father of our Company, that was come from Mexico, did see it, and other Histories, the which he did expound to the Keeper of his Holinesse Library,

Famous Sorcerer, or Indian Prouost.

Mexican Annalls in the Vatican.

taking great delight to vnderstand this Booke, which before hee could neuer comprehend. Finally, the water was brought to Mexico, but it came in such abundance, that it had well neere drowned the Citie, as was foretold: and in effect it did ruine a great part thereof, but it was presently prevented by the industry of *Autzol*, who caused an issue to bee made to draw forth the water, by meanes whereof hee repayed the buildings that were fallen, with an exquisite worke, being before but poore Cottages. Thus he left the Citie inuironed with water, like another *Venice*, and very well built: he reigned eleuen yeeres, and ended with the last and greatest Successor of all the *Mexicans*.

Of the Election of great MOTEZUMA, the last King of Mexico: his pompe and manner of government, prodigious fore-warnings, of his ruine, and the Spanish Conquest.

When the *Spaniards* entered New *Spaine*, being in the yeere of our Lord 1519, *Motezuma* second of that name, was the last King of the *Mexicans*. I say the last, although they of *Mexico*, after his death, chose another King, yea, in the life of the same *Motezuma*, whom they declared an enemy to his Countrey, as wee shall see hereafter. But he that succeeded him, and he that fell into the hands of the *Marquess de Valle*, had but the names and titles of Kings, for that the Kingdome was in a manner all yeilded to the *Spaniards*: so as with reason we account *Motezuma* for the last King, and so hee came to the period of the *Mexicans* power and greatnesse, which is admirable beeing happened among *Barbarians*. For this cause, and for that this was the season, that God had chosen to reueale vnto them the knowledge of his Gospell, and the Kingdome of Iesus Christ, I will relate more at large the Acts of *Motezuma*, then of the rest.

Before he came to be King, hee was by disposition, very graue and stayed, and spake little, so as when he gaue his opinion in the priuy Counsell, whereas he assisted, his speeches and discourses made euery one to admire him, so as euery then he was feared and respected. Hee retired himselfe vsually into a Chappell, appointed for him in the Temple of *Ytzliputzli*, where they said their Idoll spake vnto him; and for this cause hee was held very religious and deuout. For these perfections then, being most noble and of great courage, his election was short and easie, as a man vpon whom all mens eyes were fixed, as worthy of such a charge. Having intelligence of this election, he hid himselfe in this Chappell of the Temple, whether it were by judgement (apprehending so heauy and hard a burthen) as to gouerne such a people, or rather, as I beleue, through hypocrisie, to shew that hee desired not Empery: In the end they found him, leading him to the place of Councell, whither they accompanied him with all possible joy: he marched with such a grauity, as they all said the name of *Motezuma* agreed very well with his nature, which is as much to say, as an angry Lord. The Electors did him great reverence, giuing him notice, that hee was chosen King: from thence hee was led before the hearth of their Gods, to giue Incense, where he offered Sacrifices in drawing blood from his eares, and the calves of his legs, according to their customs. They attyred him with the Royall ornaments, and pierced the gristle of his nostrils, hanging thereat a rich Emerald, a barbarous and troublous costume: but the desire of rule, made all paine light and easie. Being seated in his Throne, hee gaue audience to the Orations and Speeches that were made vnto him, which according vnto their custome were eloquent and artificiaall.

The first was pronounced by the King of *Tescuco*, which being preferred, for that it was lately deliuered, and very worthy to be heard, I will set it downe word by word, and thus hee said: The concordance and unitie of voyces vpon thy election, is a sufficient testimonie (most noble young man) of the happinesse the Realme shall receiue, as well deserving to be commanded by thee, as also for the generall applause which all doe shew by meanes thereof. Wherein they haue great reason, for the Empire of Mexico doth already so farre extend it selfe, that to gouerne a World, as it is, and to beare so heauie a burthen, it requires no lesse dexteritie and courage, then that which is resident in thy firme and valiant heart, nor of lesse wisdom and iudgement then thine. I see and know plainly, that the mightie God loneth this Citie, seeing hee hath giuen vnderstanding to chooseth what was fit. For who will not beleene that a Prince, who before his Reigne had pierced the nine Vaults of Heauen, should not likewise now obtaine those things that are earthly to relieue his people, aiding himselfe with his best iudgement, being thereunto bound by the dutie and charge of a King? Who will likewise beleene that the great courage which thou hast alwayes valiantly shewed in matters of importance, should now faile thee in matters of greatest need? Who will not perswade himselfe but the Mexican Empire is come to the height of their Soueraintie, seeing the Lord of things created hath imparted so great graces vnto thee, that with thy looke onely thou breedest admiration in them that behold thee? Reioyce then, O hap-

King of *Tescuco* Oration.

Mexican greatnesse.

Their opinions of God and 9. Heauens.

Elegant Prose.

CHAP. 4. §. 3. Oration to Moteçuma. His domesticall, politicall, polemicall behaviour. 1019

happie Land, to whom the Creator hath given a Prince, as a firme Pillar to support thee, which shall bee thy Father and thy defence, by whom thou shalt be succoured at need, who will bee more then a brother to his subiects, for his pietie and clemencie. Thou hast a King, who in regard of his estate is not inclined to delights, or will lye stretched out upon his bed, occupied in pleasures and vices, but contrariwise in the midst of his sweet and pleasant sleep, he will suddenly wake, for the care he must haue ouer thee, and will not feele the taste of the most sauourie meats, hauing his spirits transported with the imagination of thy good. Tell me then (O happie Realme) if I haue not reason to say that thou oughtest reioyce, hauing found such a King: And thou noble young man, and our most mightie Lord, be confident, and of a good courage, that seeing the Lord of things created hath given thee this charge, hee will also giue thee force and courage to manage it: and thou mayest well hope, that hee which in times past hath vsed so great bountie towards thee, will not now deny thee his greater gifts, seeing he hath given thee so great a charge, which I wish thee to enioy many yeeres. King Moteçuma was very attentiu to this Discourse: which being ended, they say hee was so troubled, that endeououring thrice to answer him, hee could not speake, being overcome with teares, which joy and content doe vsually cause, in signe of great humility. In the end being come to himselfe, he spake briefly, I were too blind, good King of Tescuco, if I did not know, that what thou hast spoken vnto me, proceeded of meere fauour, it pleaseth you to shew me, seeing among so many noble and valiant men within this Realme, you haue made choice of the least sufficient: and in truth, I find my selfe so incapable of a charge of so great importance, that I know not what to doe, but to beseech the Creatour of all created things, that hee will fauour mee, and I intreate you all to pray vnto him forme. These words vttered, hee beganne againe to weepe.

He that in his election made such shew of humility and mildnesse, seeing himselfe King, began presently to discouer his aspiring thoughts. The first was, hee commanded that no plebeian should serue in his house, nor beare any Royal Office, as his Predecessors had vsed til then; blaming them that would be serued by men of base condition, commanding that all the noble and most famous men of his Realme should liue within his Palace, and exercise the Offices of his Court, and House. Whereunto an old man of great authoritie (who had sometimes bin his Schoolemaster) opposed himselfe, aduising him, to be careful what he did, and not to thrust himselfe into the danger of a great inconuenience, in separating himselfe from the vulgar and common people, so as they should not dare to looke him in the face, seeing themselves so reiected by him. He answered, that it was his resolution, and that he would not allow the Plebeians thus to goe mingled among the Nobles, as they had done, saying, that the seruice they did, was according to their condition, so as the Kings got no reputation, and thus he continued firme in his resolution. Hee presently commanded his Counsell to dismiss all the Plebeians from their charges and offices, as well those of his Household as of his Court, and to provide Knights, the which was done. After hee went in person to an enterprize necessary for his Coronation. At that time a Province lying farre off towards the North Ocean, was reuolted from the Crown, whither he led the flower of his people, well appointed. There he warred with such valour and dexteritie, that in the end hee subdued all the Province, and punished the Rebels seuerely, returning with a great number of Captiues for the Sacrifices, and many other spoyle. All the Cities made him solemne receptions at his returne, and the Lords thereof gaue him water to wash, performing the offices of seruants, a thing not vsed by any of his Predecessors. Such was the feare and respect they bare him. In Mexico, they made the Feasts of his Coronation with great preparations of Dances, Comedies, Banquets, Lightes, and other inuentions for many dayes. And there came so great a wealth of Tributes from all his Countreyes, that strangers vnknowne came to Mexico, and their very enemies resorted in great numbers disguised to see these Feasts, as those of Tlascalla, and Mechoanacan: the which Moteçuma hauing discovered, he commanded they should be lodged and gently intreated, and honoured as his owne person. He also made them goodly Galleries like vnto his owne, where they might see and behold the Feasts. So they entred by night to those Feasts, as the King himselfe, making their Sports and Maskes. And for that I haue made mention of these Provinces, it shall not be from the purpose to vnderstand, that the Inhabitants of Mechoanacan, Tlascalla, and Tapeaca, would neuer yeeld to the Mexicans, but did alwayes fight valiantly against them; yea, sometimes the Mechoanacans did vanquish the Mexicans, as also those of Tapeaca did. In which place, the Marquesse Don Ferrand Cortes, after that hee and the Spaniards were expelled Mexico, pretended to build their first Citie, the which hee called (as I well remember) Segura de la Frontiere: But this peopling continued little: for hauing afterwards reconquered Mexico, all the Spaniards went to inhabite there. To conclude, those of Tapeaca, Tlascalla, and Mechoanacan, haue bene alwayes enemies to the Mexicans; although Moteçuma said vnto Cortes, that hee did purposely forbear to subdue them; to haue occasion to exercise his men of warre, and to take numbers of captiues.

This King laboured to bee respected, yea, to be worshipped as a God. No Plebeian might looke him in the face; if he did, he was punished with death: he did neuer set his foot on the ground, but was alwayes carried on the shoulders of Noblemen; and if he lighted, they laid rich Tapistrie whereon hee did goe. When hee made any Voyage, hee and the Noblemen went as it were

Elegant Prose.
Kings Office.

Moteçuma
answers.

How Moteçuma ordered the seruice of his house, and of the warre he made for his Coronation. Chap. 21. Pride before the fall.

Segura de la Frontiere.

Of the behaviour and greatnesse of Moteçuma. Chap. 22. His proud state.

* Or betwixt
railes.

His liberalitie.

His feueritie.

His policie to
fist men.

in a Parke * compassed in for the nonce, and the rest of the people went without the Parke, enuironing it in on euery side; hee neuer put on a garment twice, nor did eate or drinke in one vessell or dish aboue once; all must be new, giuing to his attendants that which had once serued him: so as commonly they were rich and sumptuous. Hee was very carefull to haue his Lawes obserued. And when he returned victor from any warre, hee fained sometimes to goe and take his pleasure, then would hee disguise himselfe, to see if his people (supposing hee were absent) would omit any thing of the feast or reception: If there were any excelsse or defect, hee then did punish it rigorously. And also to discern how his Ministers did execute their Offices, hee often disguised himselfe, offering gifts and presents to the Iudges, prouoking them to doe iniustice. If they offended, they were presently punished with death, without remission or respect, were they Noblemen, or his Kinsmen; yea, his owne Brethren. Hee was little conuersant with his people, and seldome seene, retyring himselfe most commonly to care for the gouernment of his Realme. Besides that, he was a great Iusticier and very Noble, he was very valiant and happy, by meanes whereof, hee obtayned great victories, and came to this greatnesse, as is written in the *Spanish* Histories, whereon it seemes needlesse to write more. I will onely haue a care hereafter to write what the Books and Histories of the *Indies* make mention of; the which the *Spanish* Writers haue not obserued, hauing not sufficiently vnderstood the secrets of this Countrey, the which are things very worthy to be knowne, as we shall see hereafter.

It chanced that *Moteçuma* hauing reigned many yeeres in great prosperitie, and so puffed vp in his conceit, as he caused himselfe to be serued and feared, yea to be worshipped as a God, that the Almighty Lord began to chastise him, and also to admonish him, suffering euen the very Devils whom he worshipped, to tell him these heauy tydings of the ruine of his Kingdome, and to torment him by Visions, which had neuer bene seene; wherewith hee remayned so melancholy and troubled, as he was void of judgement.

Quetzacoalt.

The Idoll of those of *Cholola*, which they called *Quetzacoalt*, declared, that a strange people came to possesse his Kingdome. The King of *Tescuco* (who was a great Magitian, and had conference with the Deuill) came one day at an extraordinary houre to visit *Moteçuma*, assuring him that his Gods had told him, that there were great losses preparing for him, and for his whole Realme: many Witches and Sorcerers went and declared as much, amongst which there was one, did very particularly foretell him what should happen: and as hee was with him hee told him that the pulses of his feete and hands failed him. *Moteçuma* troubled with these newes, commanded all those Sorcerers to be apprehended: but they vanished presently in the Prison, wherewith he grew into such a rage, that he might not kill them, as hee put their wiues and children to death, destroying their Houses and Families. Seeing himselfe importuned and troubled with these aduertisements, hee sought to appease the anger of his Gods: and for that cause hee laboured to bring a huge stone, thereon to make great Sacrifices: For the effecting whereof hee sent a great number of people with Engins and Instruments to bring it: which they could by no meanes moue, although (being obitinate) they had broken many Instruments. But as they stroue still to raise it, they heard a voyce joyning to the stone, which said they laboured in vaine, and that they should not raise it, for that the Lord of things created would no more suffer those things to be done there. *Moteçuma* vnderstanding this, commanded the Sacrifice to be performed in that place, and they say the voyce spake againe: *Haue I not told you, that it is not the pleasure of the Lord of things created, that it should bee done? and that you may well know that it is so, I will suffer my selfe to bee transported a little, then after you shall not moue mee.* Which happened so indeed, for presently they carried it a small distance with great facilitie, then afterwards they could not moue it, till that after many Prayers, it suffered it selfe to bee transported to the entry of the Citie of *Mexico*, where suddenly it fell into the Lake, where seeking for it, they could not find it, but it was afterwards found in the same place from whence they had remooued it, wherewith they remayned amazed and confounded.

His crueltie a
true effect of
the Devils
foretellings.
God fore-
warneth
men to bring
them to repen-
tance: the De-
uill to fill them
with feates,
perfidious and
cruell iea-
lousies, super-
stitions
shifts, and to
maintaine his
credit, by his
diuining, see-
king to proue
his diuinity (al-
which is heere
eident) in
things which
Gods iustice
lets him know
he will doe to
punish such
impious pieties.
Prodgies or
Deuillish Mi-
racles.
A Comet by
day.

At the same time there appeared in the Element a great flame of fire, very bright, in the forme of a Pyramide, which beganne to appeare at midnight, and went still mounting vntill the Sunne rising in the morning, where it stayed at the South, and then vanished away. It shewed it selfe in this sort the space of a whole yeere, and euer as it appeared the people cast forth great cries as they were accustomed, beleeuing it was a presage of great misfortune. It happened also that fire tooke the Temple, when as no body was within it, nor came vnto it, neyther did there fall any lightning or thunder: whereupon the Guards crying out, a number of people ranne with water, but nothing could helpe, so as it was all consumed; and they say the fire seemed to come forth of pieces of timber, which kindled more by the water that was cast vpon it. There was a Comet seene in the day time, running from the West to the East, casting an infinite number of sparkles, and they say the forme was like to a long tayle, hauing three heads.

The great Lake betwixt *Mexico* and *Tescuco*, without any winde, earthquake, or any other apparant signe, began sudainly to swell, and the waues grew in such sort, as all the buildings nere vnto it fell downe to the ground. They say at that time they heard many voices, as of a

Woman

woman in paine, which said sometimes, *O my children, the time of your destruction is come:* and other whiles it said, *O my children, whither shall I carry you that you perish not utterly?* There appeared likewise many Monsters with two heads, which being carried before the King, suddenly vanished. There were two that exceeded all other Monsters, being very strange; the one was, the Fishers of the Lake tooke a Bird as bigge as a Crane, and of the same colour, but of a strange and vnseene forme. They carried it to *Moteczuma*, who at that time was in the pallace of reares and mourning, which was all hanged with blacke; for as he had many Pallaces for his recreation, so had he also others for times of affliction, wherewith he was then heavily charged and tormented, by reason of the threatnings his gods had given him by these sorrowfull aduertisements. The Fishers came about noone setting this Bird before him, which had on the top of his head a thing bright and transparent, in forme of a Looking-glasse, wherein he did behold a warlike Nation comming from the East, armed, fighting, and killing. He called his Diuines and Astronomers (whereof there was a great number) who hauing seene these things, and not able to yeelde any reason of what was demanded of them, the Bird vanished away, so as it was neuer more seene: whereupon *Moteczuma* remained very heauy and sorrowfull. The other which happened, was a Laborer, who had the report of a very honest man; he came vnto him, telling him, that being the day before at his worke, a great Eagle flew towards him, and tooke him vp in his talents, without hurting him, carrying him into a certaine Caue, where it left him; The Eagle pronouncing these words, *Most mighty Lord, I haue brought him whom thou hast commanded me:* This Indian Laborer looked about on euery side, to whom he spake, but he saw no man. Then he heard a voyce which said vnto him, *Dooest thou not know this man, whom thou seest lying vpon the ground? and looking thereon, he perceiued a man to lye very heauy asleepe, with royall ensignes, flowers in his hand, and a staffe of perfumes burning, as they are accustomed to vse in that Country: whom the Labourer beholding, knew it was the great King Moteczuma, and answered presently: Great Lord, this resembles our King Moteczuma. The voyce said againe, Thou sayest true, behold what he is, and how hee lies asleepe, carelesse of the great miseries and afflictions prepared for him. It is now time that he pay the great number of offences he hath done to God, and that he receiue the punishment of his tyrannies, and great pride, and yet thou seest how carelesse he lyes, blinde in his owne miseries, and without any feeling. But to the end thou maiest the better see him, take the staffe of perfumes he holds burning in his hand, and put it to his face; thou shalt then finde him without feeling.* The poore laborer durst not approach neere him, nor doe as he was commanded, for the great feare they all had of this King. But the voyce said, *Haue no feare, for I am without comparison greater than this King, I can destroy him, and defend him, doe therefore what I command thee.* Whereupon the Laborer tooke the staffe of perfumes out of the Kings hand, and put it burning to his nose, but he moued not, nor shewed any feeling. This done, the voyce said vnto him, that seeing he had found the King so sleepe, he should goe awake him, and tell him what he had seene. Then the Eagle by the same commandement, tooke the man in his talents, and set him in the same place where he found him, and for accomplishment of that which he had spoken, he came to aduertise him. They say, that *Moteczuma* looking on his face, found that he was burnt, the which he had not felt till then, wherewith he continued exceeding heauie and troubled.

Monsters.

Prodigious

Foule.

Of the newes
Moteczuma re-
ceiued of the
Spaniards arri-
ual in his Coun-
try, and of the
Ambassage he
sent them.
Chap. 24.

Relation of
writing by Pi-
taures.

Effects of his
persecutions
legends.

with

Cortes admits
divine worship
agreeing more
with his coue-
tous designs
then Christian
religion, which
thrued there
according to
these begin-
nings.

Egregiam vero
laudem.

Needs must
they goe whom
Deuill driues.

Procean shifts.

Of the Spani-
ards entrie in-
to Mexico.
Chap. x.

with rich presents, to congratulate his comming, saying, they knew well that their great Lord *Queztzalcoatl* was come, and that his seruant *Moteczuma* sent to visite him, for so he accounted himselfe. The Spaniards vnderstood this message by the meanes of *Marina*, an Indian woman whom they brought with them which vnderstood the Mexican tongue. *Fernande de Cortes* finding this a good occasion for his entry, commanded to decke his Chamber richly, and being set in great state and pompe, he caused the Ambassadors to enter, who omitted no shewes of humilitie, but to worship him as their god.

They deliuered their charge, saying, that his seruant *Moteczuma* sent to visit him, and that he held the Country in his name as his Lieutenant, that he knew well it was the *Topilein* which had beene promised them many yeares since, who should returne againe vnto them. And therefore they brought him such Garments as he was wont to weare, when he did conuerse amongst them, beseeching him to accept willingly of them, offering him many presents of great value. *Cortes* receiuing the presents, answered, that he was the same they spake of, wherewith they were greatly satisfied, seeing themselves to be courteously receiued and intreated by him. To conclude, the day after this Ambassage, all the Captaines and Commanders of the Fleete, came vnto the Admirall, where vnderstanding the matter, and that this Realme of *Moteczuma* was mighty and rich, it seemed fit to gaine the reputation of braue and valiant men among this people, and that by this meanes (although they were few) they should be feared and receiued into Mexico. To this end they discharged all their Artillery from their Shippes, which being a thing the Indians had neuer heard, they were amazed, as if heauen had fallen vpon them. Then the Spaniards beganne to desie them to fight with them: but the Indians not daring to hazard themselves, they did beate them and intreate them ill, shewing their Swords, Lances, Pertuisans, and other armes, wherewith they did terrifie them much. The poore Indians were by reason hereof so fearefull and amazed, as they changed their opinion, saying, that their Lord *Topilein* came not in this troupe, but they were some gods (their enemies) came to destroy them. When as the Ambassadors returned to Mexico, *Moteczuma* was in the house of audience; but before he would heare them, this miserable man commanded a great number of men to be sacrificed in his presence, and with their blood to sprinkle the Ambassadors (supposing by this ceremony) which they were accustomed to doe in solemne Ambassages) to receiue a good answer. But vnderstanding the report and information of the manner of their Ships, Men, and Armes, he stood perplexed and confounded: then taking counsell thereon, he found no better meanes, then to labor to stop the entry of these strangers, by Coniurations and Magicke Arts. They had accustomed often to vse this meanes, hauing great conference with the Deuill, by whose helpe they sometimes obtained strange effects. They therefore assembled together all the Sorcerers, Magicians, and Inchanters, who being perswaded by *Moteczuma*, they tooke it in charge to force this people to returne vnto their Country. For this consideration, they went to a certaine place which they thought fit for the inuocation of their Deuils, and practising their Arts (a thing worthy of consideration) They wrought all they could; but seeing nothing could preuaile against the Christians, they went to the King, telling him that they were more then men, for that nothing might hurt them, notwithstanding, all their Coniurations and Inchantments. Then *Moteczuma* aduised him of another policie, that faining to be very well contented with their comming, he commanded all his Countries to serue these celestiall gods that were come into his Land. The whole people was in great heauinesse and amazement, and often newes came that the Spaniards inquired for the King, of his manner of life, of his house and meanes. He was exceedingly vexed herewith: some of the people and other Negromanciers aduised him to hide himselfe, offering to place him whereas no creature should euer finde him. This seemed base vnto him, and therefore he resolved to attend them, although it were dying. In the end he left his Houses and royall Princes to lodge in others, leaving them for these gods as he said.

I pretend not to intreate of the acts and deedes of the Spaniards, who conquered New Spaine, nor the strange adventures which happened vnto them, nor of the courage and inuincible valour of their Captaine *Don Fernando Cortes*: for that there are many Histories and Relations thereof, as thole which *Fernando Cortes* himselfe did write to the Emperour *Charles* the fift, although they be in a plaine stile, and farre from arrogancy, the which doe giue a sufficient testimony of what did passe, wherein he was worthy of eternall memory, but onely to accomplish my intention: I am to relate what the Indians report of this action, the which hath not to this day beene written in our vulgar tongue. *Moteczuma* therefore, hauing notice of this Captains victories, that he aduanced for his conquest, that he was confederate and ioyned with them of *Tlascalla*, his capitall enemies, and that he had severely punished them of *Cholola* his friends, he studied how to deceiue him, or else to try him in sending a principall man vnto him, attyred with the like ornaments and royall ensignes, the which should take vpon him to be *Moteczuma*, which fiction being discovered to the Marquise by them of *Tlascalla* (who did accompany him) he sent him backe, after a milde and gentle reprehension, in seeking so to deceiue him: whereupon *Moteczuma* was so confounded, that for the feare thereof he returned to his first imaginations and

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ards entrie in-
to Mexico.
Chap. x.

and practises, to force the *Christians* to retire, by the inuocation of Coniurers and Witches. And therefore he assembled a greater number then before, threatening them, that if they returned without effecting what he had giuen them in charge, not any one should escape, whereunto they all promised to obey. And for this cause, all the Deuils officers went to the way of *Chalco*, by the which the *Spaniards* should passe, when mounting to the top of a hill, *Tezcalipuca*, one of their principall gods, appeared vnto them, as comming from the *Spaniards* campe, in the habit of *Chalcas*, who had his paps bound about eight fold with a cord of reedes, he came like a man beside himselfe, out of his wits, and drunke with rage and furie. Being come to this troupe of Witches and Coniurers, he stayed, and spake to them in great choller, *Why come you hither? what doth Motecuma pretend to doe by your meanes? He had aduised himselfe too late: for it is now determined, that his Kingdome and honour shall be taken from him, with all that he possesseth, for punishment of the great tyrannies he hath committed against his Subiects, hauing gouerned not like a Lord, but like a traitour and tyrant.* The Inchanters and Coniurers hearing these words, knew it was their Idoll, and humbling themselves before him, they presently built him an Altar of Stone in the same place, couering it with flowers which they gathered thereabouts, but he contrariwise, making no account of these things, began againe to chide them, saying: *What come you hither to doe, O ye traitours? Returne presently and behold Mexico, that you may vnderstand what shall become thereof.* And they say, that returning towards *Mexico* to behold it, they did see it flaming on fire. Then the Deuill vanished away, and they not daring to passe any farther, gaue notice thereof to *Moteczuma*, whereat he remained long without speaking, looking heauily on the ground; then he said, *What shall we doe if god and our friends leave vs, and contrariwise, they helpe and fauour our enemies? I am now resolute, and we ought all to resolue in this point, that happen what may, wee must not flye nor hide our selues, or shew any signe of cowardise. I onely pittie the aged and infants, who haue neither seele nor hands to defend themselves.* Hauing spoken this, he held his peace, being transported into an extasie. In the end, the Marquesse approaching to *Mexico*, *Moteczuma* resolved to make of necessity a vertue, going three or foure leagues out of the Citie to receiue him with a great maiesty, carried vpon the shoulders of foure Noblemen, vnder a rich Canapy of Gold and Feathers. When they met, *Moteczuma* descended, and they saluted one another very courteously. *Don Fernando Cortes* said vnto him, that he should not care for any thing, and that he came not to take away his Realme, nor to diminish his authority. *Moteczuma* lodged *Cortes*, and his companions in his royall Pallace, the which was very stately, and he himselfe lodged in other priuate houses. This night the Souldiers for ioy discharged their Artillery, wherewith the *Indians* were much troubled, being vnaccustomed to heare such Musicke. The day following, *Cortes* caused *Moteczuma* and all the Nobles of his Court to assemble in a great Hall, where being set in a high Chaire, he said vnto the, that he was seruant to a great Prince, who had sent them into these Countries to doe good workes, and that hauing found them of *Tlascalla* to be his friends (who complained of wrongs and grieuances done vnto them daily by them of *Mexico*) he would vnderstand which of them was in the blame, and reconcile them, that hereafter they might no more afflict and warre one against another: and in the meane time, he and his brethren (which were the *Spaniards*) would remaine still there without hurting them: but contrariwise, they would helpe them all they could. He laboured to make them all vnderstand this discourse, vsing his Interpreters and truchmen. The which being vnderstood by the King and the other *Mexican* Lords, they were wonderfully well satisfied, and shewed great signes of loue to *Cortes* and his company. So it is, that by some occasions, many complaints, griefes, and ieaalousies grew on either side. The which *Cortes* finding, & that the *Indians* mindes began to be distracted from them, he thought it necessary to assure himselfe, in laying hand vpon King *Moteczuma*, who was seized on, and his legges fettered. Truly this act was strange vnto all men, and like vnto that other of his, to haue burnt his Shippes, and shut himselfe in the midst of his enemies, there to vanquish or to dye. The mischief was, that by reason of the v unexpected arriual of *Pamphilo Naruaes* at the true crosse, drawing the Country into mutiny, *Cortes* was forced to absent himselfe from *Mexico*, and to leaue poore *Moteczuma* in the hands of his companions, who wanted discretiō nor had not moderation like vnto him: so as they grew to that dissention, as there was no meanes to pacifie it.

When as *Cortes* was absent from *Mexico*, he that remayned his Lieutenant, resolved to punish the *Mexicans* seuerely, causing a great number of the Nobilitie to be slaine at a maske, which they made in the Palace, the which did so farre exceed, as all the people mutined, and in a furious rage, tooke Armes to be reuenged and to kill the *Spaniards*. They therefore besieged them in the Palace, pressing them so neere, that all the hurt the *Spaniards* could doe them with their Artillerie and Crosse-bowes, might not terrifie them, nor force them to retyre from their enterprise, where they continued many dayes, stopping their victuals, not suffering any one to enter or issue forth. They did fight with stones, and cast Darts after their manner, with a kind of Lances like vnto Arrowes, in the which there are foure or sixe very sharpe Rapiers, the which are such (as the Histories report) that in these warres, an *Indian* with one blow of these Rapiers, almost cut off the necke of a Horse, and as they did one day fight with this resolution and furie,

Tezcalipuca a Deuill-god.

Good fishing in troubled waters.

Cortes his two strange attempts.

Of the death of *Moteczuma*, and the *Spaniards* departure out of *Mexico*. Chap. 26.

Indian armies.

the

Fourth dayes
rest in warre.

300. Spaniards
lost.

And can you
write the best
of himselfe?

Succession of
superstition.
Royall cou-
rage.
You here hear
a Iesuit. Gold
is a miracle-
working God
in couetous
hearts. *Quid
non mortalia
pectora cogit
Auri sacra fa-
mes? this sacer-
rima fames
wrought mira-
cles in all the
Spanish Indies,
and still doth
at Saints
shrines, and in
European pil-
grimages, and
Purgatorie vi-
sions, &c.
Great is (cried
the shrine-ma-
kers) Diana of
the Ephesians.*

the *Spaniards* to make them cease, shewed forth *Motēcūma*, with an other of the chiefe Lords of *Mexico*, vpon the top of a plat-forme of the house, couered with the Targets of two Souldiers that were with them. The *Mexicans* seeing their Lord *Motēcūma*, stayed with great silence. Then *Motēcūma* caused the Lord to aduise them to pacifie themselves, and not to warre against the *Spaniards*, seeing that (he being a prisoner) it could little profit him. The which being vnderstood by a yong man, called *Quicuxtemoc*, whom they now resolved to make their King, hee spake with a loud voyce to *Motēcūma*, willing him to retyre like a Villaine, that seeing he had beene such a Coward, as to suffer himselfe to bee taken, they were no more bound to obey him, but rather should punish him as he deserued, calling him *Woman* for the more reproach, and then he began to draw his Bowe and to shoot at him, and the people began to cast stones at him, and to continue their combate. Many say that *Motēcūma* was then hurt with a stone, whereof hee dyed. The *Indians* of *Mexico* affirme the contrarie, and that hee dyed as I will shew hereafter. *Aluaro*, and the rest of the *Spaniards* seeing themselves thus pressed, gaue intelligence to Capitaine *Cortes*, of the great danger they were in: who hauing with an admirable dexteritie and valour, giuen order to *Naruaes* affaires, and assembled the greatest part of his men, hee returned with all speed to succour them of *Mexico*, where obseruing the time the *Indians* rest (for it was their custome in warre, to rest euery fourth day) Hee one day aduanced with great policy and courage, so as both he and his men entred the Palace, where as the *Spaniards* had fortified themselves: they then shewed great signes of ioy, in discharging their Artillerie. But as the *Mexicans* fury increased (being out of hope to defend themselves) *Cortes* resolved to passe away secretly in the night without bruit. Hauing therefore made Bridges to passe two great and dangerous passages, about mid-night they issued forth as secretly as they could, the greatest part of his people hauing passed the first bridge, they were discovered by an *Indian* woman before they could passe the second, who cryed out their enemies fled, at the which voyce all the people ranne together with a horrible furie: so as in passing the second bridge, they were so charged and pursued, as there remayned about three hundred men slaine and hurt in one place; where at this day there is a small Hermitage, which they vnproperly call of *Martyrs*. Many *Spaniards* (to preferue the gold and jewels which they had gotten) perished, and others staying to carry it away, were taken by the *Mexicans*, and cruelly sacrificed to their Idols. The *Mexicans* found King *Motēcūma* dead, and wounded as they say with Poniards, and they hold opinion that that night the *Spaniards* slue him with other Noblemen. The Marquesse in his Relation sent to the Emperour, writes the contrary, and that the *Mexicans* killed him that night with a sonne of *Motēcūma*, which he led with him amongst other Noblemen, saying, that all the treasure of gold, stones, and siluer, fell into the Lake and was neuer more seene. But how soeuer, *Motēcūma* dyed miserably, and payed his deserts to the iust iudgement of our Lord of Heauen for his pride and tyrannie: his body falling into the *Indians* power, they would make him no Obsequies of a King, no not of an ordinarie person, but cast it away in great disdain and rage. A seruant of his hauing pitie of this Kings miserie (who before had beene feared and worshipped as a God) made a fire thereof, and put the ashes in a contemptible place. Returning to the *Spaniards* that escaped, they were greatly tyred and turmoyled, the *Indians* following them two or three dayes very refo-
lutely, giuing them no time of rest, being so distressed for victuals, as a few graines of Mays were diuided amongst them for their meate. The Relations both of the *Spaniards* and *Indians* agree, that God deliuered them here miraculously, the Virgin *Mary* defending them on a little Hill, whereat this day three leagues from *Mexico*, there is a Church built in remembrance thereof, called our *Lady of succour*. They retyred to their ancient friends of *Tlascalla*, whence (by their aide, and the valour and policy of *Cortes*) they returned afterwards to make war against *Mexico*, by Water and Land, with an inuention of Brigantines, which they put into the Lake, where after many combats, and about threescore dangerous battailes, they conquered *Mexico*, on Saint *Hippolitus* day, the 13. of August, 1521. The last King of the *Mexicans* (hauing obstinately maintayned the warres) was in the end taken in a great Canoe, whereinto hee fled, who being brought with some other of the chiefe Noblemen before *Fernando Cortes*, this petie King with a strange resolution and courage, drawing his dagger, came neere to *Cortes*, and said vnto him, *Vntill this day I haue done my best indenuour for the defence of my people: now am I no farther bound, but to giue thee this dagger to kill me therewith.* *Cortes* answered, that he would not kill him, neither was it his intention to hurt them: but their obstinate folly was guiltie of all the miserie and afflictions they had suffered, neither were they ignorant how often he had required peace and amitie at their hands. Hee then commanded them to be intreated curteously. Many strange and admirable things chanced in this Conquest of *Mexico*: for I neither hold it for an vntruth, nor an addition, which many write, that God fauoured the *Spaniards* by many miracles. It is most certaine by the Relations of many, and by the Histories which are written, that in diuers battailes which the *Spaniards* had, as well in New *Spain*, as in *Peru*, the *Indians* their enemies did see a Horseman in the ayre, mounted on a white horse, with a Sword in his hand, fighting for the *Spaniards*, whence comes the great reuerence they beare at the *Indies* to the glorious Apollle Saint *Iames*. Otherwhiles they did see in some battailes, the Image of our *Lady*, from whom

whom the Christians haue receiued in those parts incomparable fauours and benefits, &c. And therefore we ought not to condemne all these things of the first Conquerors of the *Indies*, as some religious and learned men haue done, doubtlesse with a good zeale, but too much affected: For although for the most part they were couetous men, cruell, and very ignorant in the course that was to be obserued with the *Infidels*, who had neuer offended the *Christians*, yet can we not denie, but on their part there was much malice against God and our Men, which forced them to vse rigour and chastisement.

- Every one may vnderstand by the Relation and Discourse I haue written in these Bookes, as well at *Peru*, as in *New Spaine*, when as the *Christians* first set footing, that these Kingdomes and Monarchies were come to the height and period of their power. The *Inguas* of *Peru*, possessing from the Realme of *Chille* beyond *Quitto*, which are a thousand leagues, being most abundant in gold, siluer, sumptuous seruices, and other things: as also in *Mexico*, *Moteczuma* commanded from the North Ocean Sea, vnto the South, being feared and worshipped not as a man, but rather as a god. Then was it, that the most high Lord had determined that that stone of *Daniel*, which dissolued the Realmes and Kingdomes of the World, should also dissolue those of this new World. And as the Law of Christ came when as the *Roman* Monarchie was at her greatnesse: so did it happen at the *West Indies*, wherein wee see the iust prouidence of our Lord: For being then in the World, I meane in *Europe*, but one head and temporall Lord, as the holy Doctors doe note, whereby the Gospell might more easily bee imparted to so many People and Nations: Euen so hath it happened at the *Indies*, where hauing giuen the knowledge of Christ to the Monarchs of so many Kingdomes, it was a meanes that afterwards the knowledge of the Gospell was imparted to all the people: yea, there is herein a speciall thing to be obserued, that as the Lords of *Cusco* and *Mexico* conquered new Lands, so they brought in their owne language: for although there were (as at this day) great diuersitie of tongues, yet the Courtly speech of *Cusco*, did and doth at this day runne aboue a thousand leagues, and that of *Mexico* did not extend farre lesse, which hath not beene of small importance, but hath much profited in making the preaching easie, at such a time, when as the Preachers had not the gift of many tongues, as in old times. He that would know what a helpe it hath beene for the conuersion of this people in these two great Empires, and the great difficultie they haue found to reduce those *Indians* to Christ, which acknowledge no Soueraigne Lord, let him goe to *Florida*, *Bresil*, the *Andes*, and many other places, where they haue not preuayled so much by their preaching in fiftie yeeres, as they haue done in *Peru* and new *Spaine* in lesse then fise. If they will impute the cause to the riches of the Country: I will not altogether denie it. Yet were it impossible to haue so great wealth, and to be able to preserue it, if there had not beene a Monarchie. This is also a worke of God in this age, when as the Preachers of the Gospell are so cold and without zeale, and Merchants with the heat of couetousnesse and desire of command, search and discover new people whither we passe with our commodities; for as Saint *Augustine* saith, the prophesie of *Esay* is fulfilled, in that the Church of Christ is extended, not onely to the right hand, but also to the left: which is (as hee declareth) by humane and earthly meanes, which they seeke more commonly then Iesus Christ. It was also a great prouidence of our Lord, that when as the first *Spaniards* arriued there, they found aide from the *Indians* themselves, by reason of their partialities and great diuisions.

Si ego (might America say) digna sum hac contumelia maxime; At tu (Hispane) indignus qui faceres tamen.

What differed twice Wordes and Swords, twice Apostles and greedie Soldiers? The Prince of peace sent men not to kill, but to be killed, & came to bee a flaine Lamb, that the World might be saued; not to slay a World that himselfe might be a couetous worldly sauer and conqueror. Nimrod or Alexander had been fitter Preachers in this kinde then Peter and Pauls their examples (not of these) did Cortes and Pizarro follow: and the Christianitie of those parts more smells of the Sword then the Word, as the lesuit in bookes de procuranda Ind. sal. hath shewed, as is shewed sup. To. 1. l. 2. c. 1. in bayting the Popes Bull. August. lib. 2. de com. euang. c. 36. This was the greatest helpe of the Spanish conquest. Indian quarrels made that easie which their gold made desirable. Diuers Nations which the Spaniards could neuer conquer to this day.

This is well knowne in *Peru*, that the diuision betwixt the two brothers *Atahualpa* and *Guasca*, the great King *Guanacapa* their father being newly dead, gaue entrie to the Marquesse *Don Francis Pizarro*, and to the *Spaniards*, for that either of them desired his alliance being busied in warre one against the other. The like experience hath beene in new *Spaine*, that the aide of those of the Prouince of *Tlascalla*, by reason of their continuall hatred against the *Mexicans*, gaue the victorie and siegnorie of *Mexico*, to the Marquesse *Fernando Cortes* and his men, and without them it had beene impossible to haue wonne it, yea, to haue maintayned themselves within the Country.

They are much deceiued that so little esteeme the *Indians*, and iudge that (by the aduantage the *Spaniards* haue ouer them in their Persons, Horses, and Armes, both offensive and defensive) they might easily conquer any Land or Nation of the *Indies*.

Chille stands yet, or to say better, *Aranco* and *Tuecapel*, which are two Cities, where our *Spaniards* could not yet win one foot of ground, although they haue made warre there aboue fise and twentie yeeres, without sparing of any cost. For this barbarous Nation, hauing once lost the apprehension of horse and shot, and knowing that the *Spaniards* fall as well as other men, with the blow of a stone or of a dart, they hazard themselves desperately, entring the Pikes vpon any enterprise. How many yeeres haue they leuiued men in new *Spaine*, to send against the *Chychemquos*, which are a small number of naked *Indians*, armed only with bowes and arrowes? yet to this day they could not be vanquished, but contrariwise, from day to day they grow more desperate and resolute. But what shall we say of the *Chucos*, of the *Chiraguas*, of the *Piscocones*, and all the other people of the *Andes*? Hath not all the flower of *Peru* beene there, bringing with them so great prouision of Armes and Men as we haue seene? What did they? With what victories

Deuill insupportable.

victories returned they? Surely, they returned very happy in sauing of their liues, hauing lost their baggage and almost all their horses. Let no man thinke (speaking of the *Indians*) that they are men of nothing; but if they thinke so, let them goe and make triall. Wee must then attribute the glorie to whom it appertaynes, that is, principally to God, and to his admirable disposition: for if *Moteczuma* in *Mexico*, and the *Inga* in *Peru*, had beene resolute to resist the *Spaniards*, and to stop their entrie, *Cortes* and *Pizarre* had preuayled little in their landing, although they were excellent Captaines. It hath also beene a great helpe to induce the *Indians* to receiue the Law of Christ, the subiection they were in to their Kings and Lords, and also the seruitude and slauerie they were held in by the Deuils tyrannies and insupportable yoke. This was an excellent disposition of the diuine Wisedome, the which drawes profit from ill to a good end, and receiues his good from an others ill, which it hath not sowed. It is most certaine that no people of the West *Indies* haue beene more apt to receiue the Gospell, then those which were most subiect to their Lords, and which haue beene charged with the heauiest burthens, as well of Tributes and Seruices, as of Customes and bloudie Practises. All that which the *Mexican* Kings and those of *Peru* did possesse, is at this day most planted with Christian Religion, and where there is least difficultie in the Gouernment and Ecclesiasticall Discipline. The *Indians* were so wearied with the heauy and insupportable yoke of Satans lawes, his sacrifices and ceremonies, whereof wee haue formerly spoken, that they consulted among themselves, to seeke out a new Law, and an other God to serue. And therefore the Law of Christ seemed vnto them, and doth at this day seeme iust, sweet, cleane, good, and full of happinesse.

And that which is difficult in our Law, to beleue so high and soueraigne Mysteries, hath beene easie among them, for that the Deuill had made them comprehend things of greater difficultie, and the selfe-same things which hee had stolen from our Euangelicall Law, as their manner of Communion and Confession, their adoration of Three in One, and such other like, the which against the will of the Enemy, haue holpen for the easie receiuing of the Truth by those who before had embraced Lyes. God is wise and admirable in all his workes, vanquishing the Aduersarie euen with his owne weapon, hee takes him in his owne snare, and kills him with his owne sword. Finally, our God (who had created this People, and who seemed to haue thus long forgot them) when the houre was come, hee would haue the same Deuils, enemies to mankind, whom they falsly held for gods; should giue a testimonie against their will, of the true Law, the power of Christ, and the triumph of the Crosse, as it plainly appears by the presages, prophecies, signes, and prodigies, here before mentioned, with many others happened in diuers parts, and that the same ministers of Satan, Sorcerers, Magicians, and other *Indians* haue confessed it. And wee cannot denie it (being most euident and knowne to all the World) that the Deuill dareth not hisse, and that the Practises, Oracles, Answers, and visible Apparitions, which were so ordinarie throughout all this Infidelitie, haue ceased, whereas the Crosse of Christ hath beene planted, where there are Churches, and where the Name of Christ hath beene confessed. And if there be at this day any cursed minister of his, that doth participate thereof, it is in Caves, and on the tops of Mountaines, and in secret places, farre from the name and communion of Christians. The Soueraigne Lord be blessed for his great mercies, and for the glorie of his holy Name: And in truth, if they did gouerne this people temporally and spiritually, in such sort as the Law of Iesus Christ hath set it downe, with a milde yoke and light burthen, and that they would impose no more vpon them then they can well beare, as the Letters Patents of the good Emperour of happy memorie doe command, and that they would imploy halfe the care they haue to make profit of these poore mens sweats and labours, for the health of their soules, it were the most peaceable and happy Christian part of all the World, &c.

CHAP. V.

Of the ancient superstitions of the Mexicans and Indians of America,
gathered out of the fifth Booke of IOSEPHVS
ACOSTA.

They acknowledge one supreme Deitie.



First, although the darknesse of Infidelitie holdeth these Nations in blindnesse, yet in many things the light of Truth and Reason workes somewhat in them. And they commonly acknowledge a supreme Lord and Author of all things, which they of *Peru* called *Vnacocha*, and gaue him names of great excellence, as *Pachacamac*, or *Pachayachac*, which is, the Creator of Heauen and Earth: and *Usapu*, which is, admirable, and other like names. Him they did worship, as the chiefest of all, whom they did honor in beholding the Heauen. The like wee see amongst them of *Mexico*, and *China*, and all other Infidels. Which accordeth well with that which is said of Saint Paul, in the Acts of the Apostles, where he did see the Inscription of an Altar; *Ignoto Deo*.

to the unknowne God. Whereupon the Apostle tooke occasion to preach vnto them, saying; *Hee whom you worship without knowing, him doe I preach vnto you.* In like sort, those which at this day doe preach the Gospell to the *Indians*, finde no great difficultie to perswade them that there is a High God and Lord ouer all, and that this is the Christians God, and the true God. And yet it hath caused great admiration in mee, that although they had this knowledge, yet had they no proper Name for God; if wee shall seeke into the *Indian* tongue for a word to answer to this Name of God, as in Latin, *Deus*; in Greeke, *Theos*; in Hebrew, *El*; in Arabike, *Alla*; but we shall not finde any in the *Cuscan* or *Mexican* tongues. So as such as preach or write to the *Indians*, vnder our *Spanishe* name *Dios*, fitting it to the accent or pronounciation of the *Indian* tongues, the which differ much, whereby appears the small knowledge they had of God, seeing they cannot so much as name him; if it bee not by our very name: yet in truth they had some little knowledge, and therefore in *Peru* they made him a rich Temple, which they called *Pachacamac*, which was the principall Sanctuary of the Realme. And as it hath beene said, this word of *Pachacamac*, is as much to say, as the Creator, yet in this Temple they vsed their Idolatries, worshipping the Deuill and Figures. They likewise made Sacrifices and Offerings to *Viracocha*, which held the chief place amongst the worships which the Kings *Incas* made. Hereof they called the *Spaniards* *Viracocha*, for that they hold opinion they are the *sonnes of Heauen*, and diuine; euen as others did attribute a Deitie to *Paul* and *Barnabas*, calling the one *Iupiter*, and the other *Mercurie*; so would they offer sacrifices vnto them, as vnto gods; and as the *Barbarians* of *Mexico* (which is *Malte*) seeing that the *Viper* did not hurt the Apostle, they called him God.

Next to *Viracocha*, or their supreme God, that which most commonly they haue and doe adore amongst the Infidels, is the *Sunne*; and after, those things which are most remarkable in the celestiall or elementarie nature, as the *Moon*, *Starres*, *Sea*, and *Land*. The *Guncas*, or *Oratories*, which the *Incas* Lords of *Peru* had in greatest reuerence, next to *Viracocha* and the *Sunne*, was the *Thunder*, which they called by three diuers names, *Chuquilla*, *Catulla*, and *Intiillapa*, supposing it to be a man in heauen, with a Sling and a Mace, and that it is in his power to cause Raine, Haile, Thunder, and all the rest that appertaines to the Region of the Aire, where the Cloudes engender. It was a *Gunca* (for so they called their Oratories) generall to all the *Indians* of *Peru*, offering vnto him many sacrifices: and in *Cusco*, which is the Court and Metropolitan Citie, they did sacrifice children vnto him, as to the *Sunne*. They did worship these three, *Viracocha*, the *Sunne*, and *Thunder*, after another manner then all the rest, as *Pollo* writes, who had made triall thereof, they did put as it were a Gantlet or Gloue vpon their hands, when they did lift them vp to worship them. They did worship the *Earth*, which they called *Pachamama*, as the Ancients did the goddess *Tellus*: and the *Sea* likewise, which they call *Mamacocha*, as the Ancients worshipped *Thetis*, or *Neptune*. Moreover, they did worship the *Raine-bowe*, which were the Armes and Blazons of the *Incas*, with two Snakes stretched out on either side. Amongst the *Starres* they all did commonly worship that which they called *Colca*, and wee here call *Cabrille*. They did attribute diuers offices to diuers *Starres*, and those which had neede of their fauour did worship them, as the Shepherds did sacrifice to a *Starre*, which they called *Vrcuchillay*, which they hold to be a Sheepe of diuers colours, hauing the care to preserve their Cattell; and they imagine it is that which the Astronomers call *Lyra*. These Shepherds worship two other *Starres*, which walke neere vnto them, they call them *Catuchillay*, and *Vrcuchillay*; and they sayne them to be an *Ewe* and a *Lambe*. Others worshipped a *Starre* which they called *Machacnay*, to which they attribute the charge and power ouer Serpents, and Snakes, to keepe them from hurting of them. They ascribe power to another *Starre*, which they called *Chiguinchinchay* (which is as much as *Tigre*) ouer *Tigres*, *Beates*, and *Lions*, and they haue generally beleued, that of all the beasts of the earth, there is one alone in heauen like vnto them, the which hath care of their procreation and increase. And so they did obserue and worship diuers *Starres*, as those which they called *Chacana*, *Topatayca*, *Mamaman*, *Marco*, *Miquiquicay*, and many other. So as it seemed they approached somewhat neere the propositions of *Platoes Ideas*. The *Mexicans* almost in the same maner after the supreme God, worshipped the *Sunne*. And therefore they called *Hernando Cortez* (as he hath written in a Letter sent vnto the Emperour *Charles* the fifth) *Sonne of the Sunne*, for his care and courage to compasse the *Earth*. But they made their greatest adoration to an Idoll, called *Vitzliputzli*, the which in all this Region they called the most puissant, and Lord of all things: for this cause the *Mexicans* built him a Temple, the greatest, the fairest, the highest, and the most sumptuous of all other. The situation and beautie thereof, may well be conjectured by the ruines which yet remaine in the midst of the Citie of *Mexico*. But here the *Mexicans* Idolatrie hath beene more pernicious and hurtfull then that of the *Incas*, as wee shall see playner hereafter, for that the greatest part of their adoration and Idolatrie, was imployed to Idols, and not to naturall things, although they did attribute naturall effects to these Idols, as *Raine*, multiplication of Cattell, *Warre*, and *Generation*, euen as the *Greekes* and *Latines* haue forged Idols of *Phoebus*, *Mercurie*, *Iupiter*, *Minerva*, and of *Mars*. To conclude, who so shall neerly looke into it, shall finde this manner which the Deuill hath vsed to deceiue the *Indians*.

Of the first kinde of Idolatrie, vpon naturall and vniuersall things. Chap. 4. *Sunne* their second God: and then other heavenly Bodies in their order. Temples to the *Thunder* their third God. *Iupiters* fulmen. Humane sacrifices. *Earth*, *Sea*, *Raine-bow*, *Starres* worshipped.

Mexicans worship the *Sunne* &c.

Vitzliputzli Temple.

Idolatriſing
rite the ſame
to all their I-
dols with words
different.

Lares: as Po-
piſh mediators
of interceſſion.
* Adoration
had the name
of ad and os:
killing the
hand with
bowing of the
body, &c. See
Min. Fel.
Iob 31.

Of the Idola-
try the Indians
vſed to parti-
cular things.
Chap. 5.

Concil. Limenſi.
p. 216. 22.

Of another
kinde of Idola-
try vpon the
dead. Chap. 6.
Wisd. 14.

to be the ſame wherewith he hath deceiued the *Greekes and Romans*, and other ancient *Gentiles*, giuing them to vnderſtand that theſe notable creatures, the *Sunne, Moone, Starres, and Elements*, had power and authority to doe good or harme to men. Their manner to pray to *Kracocha*, to the *Sunne*, the *Starres*, and the reſt of their Idols, was to open their hands, and to make a certaine ſound with their mouthes (like people that kiſſed) and to aſke that which every one deſired in offering his Sacrifices; yet was there great difference betwixt the words they vſed in ſpeaking to the great *Ticmiracocha*, to whom they did attribute the chiefe power and commandement over all things, and thoſe they vſed to others, the which every one did worſhippe priuately in his houſe, as Gods or particular Lords, ſaying, that they were their Interceſſors to this great *Ticmiracocha*. This manner of worſhip, opening the hands, and as it were, kiſſing, hath ſomething like to that which *Iob* had in horreur, as ſit for Idolaters, ſaying, *If I haue kiſſed my hands with my mouth, beholding the Sunne when it ſhines, or the Moone when it is light, the which is a great iniquitie, and to deny the moſt great God.*

The Deuill hath not bene contented to make theſe blinde Indians to worſhippe the *Sunne, Moone, Starres, Earth, and Sea*, and many other generall things in nature, but he hath paſſed on further, giuing them for God, and making them ſubiect to baſe and abieſt things, and for the moſt part, filthy and infamous: for they worſhipped *Riuers, Fountaines, the mouthes of Riuer, entries of Mountaines, Rockes or great Stones, Hills and the tops of Mountaines*, which they call *Apachitas*, and they hold them for matters of great deuotion. To conclude, they did worſhip all things in nature, which ſeemed to them remarkable and different from the reſt, as acknowledging ſome particular deities.

Theſe ſhewed me in *Caxamalca* of *Nasca* a little hill or great mount of Sand, which was the chiefe Idoll or *Guaca* of the Ancients. I demaunded of them what diuinity they found in it? They answered, that they did worſhip it for the wonder, being a very high mount of Sand, in the miſt of very thicke Mountaines of Stone. We had neede in the Citie of *Kings*, of great ſtore of great wood; for the melting of a Bell, and therefore they cut downe a great deformed Tree, which for the greatneſſe and antiquity thereof had bene a long time the Oratorie and *Guaca* of the Indians. And they beleued there was a certaine Diuinity in any thing that was extraordinary and ſtrange in his kinde, attributing the like vnto ſmall Stones and Mettals; yea vnto rootes and fruites of the earth, as the rootes they call *Papas*. There is a ſtrange kinde which they call *Lallubuas*, which they kiſſed and worſhipped. They did likewise worſhip Beares, Lyons, Tygres and Snakes, to thend they ſhould not hurt them: and ſuch as their gods be, ſuch are the things they offer vnto them in their worſhip. They haue vſed as they goe by the way, to caſt, in the croſſe wayes, on the hills, and toppes of Mountaines, which they call *Apachitas*, olde ſhoes, Feathers, and *Coca* chewed, being an herbe they vſe much. And when they haue nothing left, they caſt a Stone as an offering, that they might paſſe freely, and haue greater force, the which they ſay increaſeth by this meanes, as it is reported in a provinciall Counſell of *Perru*. And therefore they finde in the hie-waies great heapes of Stones offered, and ſuch other things. They vſed another offering no leſſe pleaſant and ridiculous, pulling the haire from the eyebrows to offer it to the *Sunne, Hills, Apachitas*, to the Windes, or to any other thing they feare. Such is the miſeries that many Indians haue liued in, and doe to this day, whom the Deuill doth abuſe like very Babes, with any fooliſh illuſion whatſoeuer.

They report of one of the Kings *Inguis*, a man of a ſubtile ſpirit, who (ſeeing that all his predeceſſours had worſhipped the *Sunne*) ſaid, that he did not take the *Sunne* to be God, neither could it be, for that God was a great Lord, who with great quiet and leaſure performed his workes, and that the *Stonne* doth neuer ceaſe his courſe, ſaying, that the thing which laboured ſo much could not ſeeme to be God.

They came to the height of Idolatry by the ſame meanes the Scripture maketh mention of: firſt they had a care to keepe the bodies of their Kings and Noblemen whole, from any ill ſcent or corruption about two hundred yeeres. In this ſort were their Kings *Inguis* in *Cusco*, every one in his Chappell and Oratory, ſo as the Marqueſſe of *Canette* being Viceroy, to root out Idolatry, cauſed three or foure of their Gods to be drawne out and carried to the Citie of *Kings*, which bred a great admiration, to ſee theſe bodies (dead ſo many yeeres before) remayne ſo faire and alſo whole. Every one of theſe Kings *Inguis* left all his Treaſure and Reuenues, to enter-tayne the place of worſhip where his body was laid, and there were many Miniſters with all his Family dedicated to his ſeruiſe: for no King Succeſſor did vſurpe the Treasures and Plate of his Predeceſſor, but he did gather all new for himſelfe, and his Palace. They were not content with this Idolatry to dead bodies, but alſo they made their figures and representations: and every King in his life time cauſed a figure to be made wherein he was repreſented, which they called *Guaogui*, which ſignifieth Brother, for that they ſhould doe to this Image, during his life and death, as much honour and reverence as to himſelfe. They carried this Image to the warres, and in proceſſion for raine or faire weather, making ſundry Feaſts and Sacrifices vnto them. There haue bene

beene many of these Idols in *Cusco*, and in that Territory, but now they say that this Superstition of worshipping of stones hath altogether ceased, or for the most part, after they had beene discovered by the diligence of the Licentiate *Pollo*, and the first was that of the *Inguas Rocha*, chiefe of the faction or race of *Hanam Cusco*. And we find that among other Nations they had in great estimation and reuerence the bodies of their Predecessors, and did likewise worship their Images.

THe Indians of *Pern* beleued commonly that the Soules liued after this life, and that the good were in glorie, and the bad in paine; so as there is little difficultie to perswade them to these Articles. But they are not yet come to the knowledge of that point, that the bodies should rise with the Soules. And therefore they did vse a wonderfull care, as it is said, to preserve the bodies which they honoured after death: to this end their Successors gaue them Garments, and made Sacrifices vnto them, especially the Kings *Inguas*, being accompanied at their Funerals, with a great number of seruants and women for his seruice in the other life: and therefore on the day of his decease, they did put to death the woman he had loued best, his Seruants and Officers, that they might serue him in the other life.

Of Superstitious they vfed to the dead.
Chap. 7.
Immortality of soules beleued but not resurrection of the bodies:
as at. 17.

When as the *Guanacapa* dyed (who was father to *Atagualpa*, at what time the *Spaniards* entered) they put to death aboue a thousand persons of all ages and conditions, for his seruice to accompany him in the other life, after many songs and drunkenesse they slew them; and these that were appointed to death, held themselves happy. They did sacrifice many things vnto them, especially *yong children*, and with the bloud they made a stroake on the dead mans face, from one eare to the other. This superstition and inhumanity, to kill both men and women, to accompany and serue the dead in the other life, hath beene followed by others, and is at this day vfed amongst some other barbarous Nations. And as *Pollo* writes, it hath beene in a manner generall throughout all the *Indies*. The reuerent *Beda* reports, that before the *Englishmen* were conuerted to the Gospell, they had the same custome, to kill men to accompany and serue the dead. It is written of a *Portugall*, who being captiue among the *Barbarians*, had beene hurt with a dart, so as he lost one eye, and as they would haue sacrificed him to accompany a Nobleman that was dead, he said vnto them, that those that were in the other life, would make small account of the dead, if they gaue him a blinde man for a companion; and that it were better to giue him an attendant that had both his eyes. This reason being found good by the *Barbarians*, they let him goe. Besides this superstition of sacrificing men to the dead, being vfed but to great Personages, there is another farre more generall and common in all the *Indies*, which is, to set meate and drinke vpon the graue of the dead, imagining they did feede thereon: the which hath likewise beene an error amongst the Auncients, as Saint *Austine* writes, and therefore they gaue them meate and drinke. At this day many *Indian* Infidels, do secretly draw their dead out of the Churchyard, and bury them on hills, or vpon passages of Mountaines, or else in their owne houses. They haue also vfed to put Gold and Siluer in their mouth, hands, and bosome, and to apparell them with new Garments durable, and well lined vnder the herse. They beleue that the soules of the dead wandred vp and downe and indure cold, thirst, hunger and trauel, and for this cause they make their anniuersaries, carrying them cloathes, meate and drinke.

1000. flaine to attend one dead man.

The fourth Superstition of the old English Portugall wiles.

Purgatory fancies as in Popish legends.

Hauing reported what many Nations of *Pern* haue done with their dead, it shall not be from the purpose, to make particular mention of the *Mexicans* in this point, whose mortuaries were much solemnised, and full of notable follies. It was the office of the Priests and religious of *Mexico* (who liued there with a strange obseruance, as shall be said hereafter) to interre the dead, and doe their obsequies. The places where they buried them, was in their Gardens, and in the Courts of their owne houses: others carried them to the places of sacrifices which were done in the Mountaines: others burnt them, and after buried the ashes in their Temples; and they buried them all, with whatsoeuer they had, of Apparell, Stones and Iewels. They did put the ashes of such as were burnt into pots, and with them, the Iewels, Stones, and Eare-rings of the dead, how rich and precious soeuer. They did sing the Funerall offices, like to anweres, and did often lift vp the dead bodies, doing many ceremonies. At these mortuaries they did eate and drinke; and if it were a person of quality, they gaue apparell to all such as came to the interment. When any one dyed, they laid him open in a chamber, vntill that all his kinsfolks and friends were come, who brought presents vnto the dead, and saluted him as if he were liuing. And if he were a King or Lord of some towne, they offered him slaues to be put to death with him, to the end they might serue him in the other world. They likewise put to death his Priest, or Chaplaine (for every Nobleman had a Priest which administered these ceremonies within his house) and then they killed him, that he might execute his office with the dead. They likewise killed his Cook, his Butler, his Dwarfes, and deformed men, by whom he was most serued: neither did they spare the very brothers, of the dead, who had most serued them: for it was a greatnesse amongst the Noblemen, to be serued by their brethren and the rest. Finally, they

Of the manner of burying the dead among the Mexican and sundry other Nations.
Chap. 8.
Places of buriall.

The Death of a Nobleman.

Chaplen and other Officers killed.

put to death all of his traine, for the entertaining of his house in the other world: and lest poverty should oppresse them, they buried with them much wealth, as Gold, Siluer, Stones, Curtins of exquisite worke, Bracelets of Gold, and other rich peeces. And if they burned the dead, they vsed the like with all his Seruants, and ornaments they gaue him for the other world. Then tooke they all the ashes they buried with very great solemnity. The obsequies continued tenne dayes with songs of plaints and lamentations, and the Priests carried away the dead with so many ceremonies, and in so great number, as they could scarce accompt them. To the Captaines and Noblemen they gaue trophies and markes of honour, according to their enterprises and valor employed in the wars and governments; for this effect they had armes and particular blasons. They carried these markes or blasons to the place where he desired to be buried or burnt, marching before the body, and accompanying it, as it were in procession, where the Priests and officers of the Temple went with diuers furnitures and ornaments, some casting incense, others singing, and some sounding of mournfull Flutes and Drums, which did much increase the sorrow of his kinsfolkes and subiects. The Priest who did the office was decked with the markes of the Idoll which the Nobleman had represented; for all Noblemen did represent Idols, and carried the name of some one; and for this occasion they were esteemed and honoured. The order of *Knighthood* did commonly carry these foresaid markes. He that should be burnt, being brought to the place appointed, they inuironed him with wood of Pine trees, and all his baggage, then set they fire vnto it, increasing it still with goomie wood, vntill that all were conuerted into ashes, then came there forth a Priest attired like a Deuil, hauing mouthes vpon euery ioynt of him, and many eyes of glasse, holding a great staffe, with the which he did mingle all the ashes very boldly, and with so terrible a gesture, as he terrified all the assistants. Sometimes this Minister had other different habits, according to the quality of the dead.

The fourth & last kinde of Idolatry the Indians vsed, especially the Mexicans to Images and Idols. Chap. 4. Images the fourth kinde of Indian Idolatry.

There hath beene great curiosity at the *Indies* in making of Idols and Pictures of diuers formes and matters, which they worshipped for Gods, and in *Peru* they called them *Guacas*, being commonly of foule and deformed beasts, at the least, such as I haue seene, were so. I beleue verily that the Deuill, in whose honour they made these Idols, was pleased to cause himselfe to be worshipped in these deformities, and in truth it was found so, that the Deuill spake and answered many of these *Guacas* or Idols, and his Priests and Ministers came to these Oracles of the father of lies, and such as he is, such were his Counsels and Prophecies. In the Prouinces of *New Spaine*, *Mexico*, *Tescuco*, *Tlascalla*, *Cholula*, and in the neighbour Countries to this Realme, this kinde of Idolatry hath beene more practised than in any other Realme of the world. And it is a prodigious thing to heare the superstitions rehearsed that they haue vsed in that point, of the which it shall not be vnpleasant to speake something. The chiefest Idoll of *Mexico* was, as I haue said, *Vitziliputzli*. It was an image of wood like to a man, set vpon a stoole of the color of azure, in a brankard or litter, at euery corner was a piece of wood in forme of a Serpents head. The stoole signified that he was set in heauen: this Idoll had all the forehead Azure, and had a band of Azure vnder the nose from one eare to another: vpon his head he had a rich plume of Feathers, like to the beake of a small Bird, the which was couered on the top with Gold burnished very browne: he had in his left hand a white Target, with the figures of five pine Apples, made of white Feathers, set in a crosse: and from aboue issued forth a crest of gold, and at his sides he had foure darts, which (the *Mexicans* say) had beene sent from heauen to doe those acts and prowesses which shall be spoken of: In his right hand he had an Azured staffe, cut in fashion of a wauing snake. All these ornaments with the rest he had, carried this sence as the *Mexicans* doe shew the name of *Vitziliputzli* signifies the left hand of a shining Feather.

The Deuils Penitentiary.

I will speake hereafter of the proud Temple, the Sacrifices, Feasts and Ceremonies of this great Idoll, being very notable things. But at this present we will onely shew, that this Idoll thus richly apparelled and deckt, was set vpon an high Altar, in a small peece or boxe, well couered with linnen cloathes, Jewels, Feathers, and ornaments of Gold, with many rundles of Feathers, the fairest and most exquisite that could be found: he had alwaies a curtaine before him for the greater veneration. Ioyning to the chamber or chappell of this Idoll, there was a peece of lesse worke, and not so well beautified, where there was another Idoll they called *Tlaloc*. These two Idols were alwaies together, for that they held them as companions, and of equall power. There was another Idoll in *Mexico* much esteemed, which was the god of repentance, and of *Iubilies* and pardons for their sinnes. They called this Idoll *Tezcaltipuca*, he was made of a blacke shining stone like to *Iayel*, being attired with some Gentile deuises after their manner; it had earetings of gold and siluer, and through the nether lip a small canon of Christall, in length halfe a foote: in the which they sometimes put a greene feather, and sometimes an azured, which made it resemble sometimes an Emerald, and sometimes a Turquois: it had the haire broided and bound vp with a haire-lace of gold burnished, at the end whereof did hang an eare of gold, with two firebrands of smoake painted therein, which did signifie the prayers of the afflicted and sinners that he heard, when they recommended themselues vnto him. Betwixt the two eares hanged a number of small herons. He had a Jewell hanging at his necke, so great that it couered all his stomacke: vpon his armes bracelets of Gold, at his nauill a rich greene stone: and in his left hand a

Fanne

Fanne of precious Feathers, of Greene, Azure, and Yellow, which came forth of a Looking-glasse of Gold, shining and well burnished, and that signified, that within this Looking-glasse he saw whatsoever was done in the world. They called this Glasse or Chaston of gold *Irachey*, which signifies his Glasse for to looke in. In his right hand he held foure darts, which signified the chastisement he gaue to the wicked for their sinnes. And therefore they feared this Idoll most, least he should discover their faults and offences. At his feast they had pardon of their sinnes, which was made euery foure yeares, as shall be declared hereafter. They held this Idoll *Tescatlipuca* for the god of drought, of famine, barrenesse and pestilence: And therefore they painted him in another forme, being set in great maiesty vpon a stoole compassed in with a red Curtin, painted and wrought with the heads and bones of dead men. In the left hand it had a Target with five Pines, like vnto pine Apples of Cotton: and in the right a little dart with a threatening countenance, and the arme stretcht out, as if he would cast it; and from the Target came foure darts. It had the countenance of an angry man, and in choller, the body all painted blacke, and the head full of Quails feathers. They vfed great superstition to this Idoll, for the feare they had of it. In *Cholula* which is a Commonwealth of *Mexico*, they worshipt a famous Idoll which was the god of *Marchandise*, being to this day greatly giuen to trafficke. They called it *Quetzalcoalt*.

Their Nemesis.

Varro makes this difference betwixt Religion and Superstition. *Qui Deum non vereatur ut patrem timeant ut hostem* Religion. *Indian Mercury.*

Goddesses.

See former Chap.

They sat down to eate and drinke and rose vp to play.

Of a strange manner of Idolatry practised amongst the *Mexicans*. Ch. 16

- This Idoll was in a great place in a Temple very high; it had about it, Gold, Silver, Jewels, very rich Feathers, and habits of diuers colours. It had the forme of a man, but the visage of a little Bird, with a red bill; and aboue a combe full of warts, hauing rankes of teeth, and the tongue hanging out. It carried vpon the head, a pointed myter of painted paper, a sithe in the hand, and many toyes of gold on the legges; with a thousand other foolish inuentions, whereof all had their significations, and they worshipt it, for that he enriched whom he pleased, as *Memnon* and *Plutus*. In truth this name which the *Choluanos* gaue to their god, was very fit, although they vnderstood it not: they called it *Quetzalcoalt*, signifying colour of a rich Feather, for such is the deuill of couetousnesse. These barbarous people contented not themselves to haue gods onely, but they had goddesses also, as the Fables of Poets haue brought in, and the blinde gentility of the *Greekes* and *Romans* worshipt them. The chiefe goddesse they worshipt was called *Tozi*, which is to say, our Grandmother, who as the Histories of *Mexico* report, was daughter to the King of *Culhuacan*, who was the first they slayed by the commandement of *Vitzliputzli*, whom they sacrificed in this sort, being his sister; and then they began to slay men in their sacrifices, and to clothe the liuing with the skins of the sacrificed, hauing learned that their gods were pleased therewith: as also to pul the hearts out of them they sacrificed, which they learned of their god, who pulled out the hearts of such as he punished in *Tulla*, as shall be said in his place. One of these goddesses they worshipt had a son, who was a great hunter, whom they of *Tlascalla* afterwards tooke for a god, and those were enemies to the *Mexicans*, by whose aide the *Spaniards* won *Mexico*. The Prouince of *Tlascalla* is very fit for hunting, and the people are much giuen therunto. They therefore made a great feast vnto this Idoll, whom they painted of such a forme, as it is not now needfull to loose any time in the description thereof. The feast they made was pleasant, and in this sort: They sounded a Trumpet at the breake of day, at the sound whereof they all assembled with their Bowes, Arrows, Nets, and other instruments for hunting: then they went in procession with their Idoll, being followed by a great number of people to a high Mountaine, vpon the top whereof they had made a bower of leaues, and in the middest thereof an Altar richly deckt, where vpon they placed the Idoll. They marched with a great bruit of Trumpets, Cornets, Flutes & Drums, and being come vnto the place, they inuironed this Mountain on all sides, putting fire to it on all parts: by meanes whereof many beasts flew forth, as Stags, Conies, Hares, Foxes, and Woolues, which went to the top flying from the fire. These hunters followed after with great cries and noise of diuers instruments, hunting them to the top before the Idoll, whither fled such a number of beasts, in so great a presse, that they leaped one vpon another, vpon the people, and vpon the Altar, wherein they tooke great delight. Then tooke they a great number of these beasts, and sacrificed them before the Idoll, as Stagges and other great beasts, pulling out their hearts, as they vse in the sacrifice of men, and with the like ceremony: which done, they tooke all their prey vpon their shoulders, and retired with their Idoll in the same manner as they came, and entered the City laden with all these things, very ioyfull, with great store of musick, Trumpets, and Drums, vntill they came to the Temple, where they placed their Idoll with great reuerence and solemnity. They presently went to prepare their venison, wherewith they made a banquet to all the people; and after dinner they made their playes, representations, and dances before the Idoll. They had a great number of other Idols, of gods and goddesses; but the chiefe were of the *Mexican* Nation, and the neighbour people as is said.

AS we haue said that the Kings *Inguas* of *Pern* caused Images to be made to their likenesse, which they called their *Gnacos* or brothers, causing them for to be honored like themselves: euen so the *Mexicans* haue done of their gods, which was in this sort. They tooke a captiue, such as they thought good, & afore they did sacrifice vnto him their Idols; they gaue him the name of

the Idoll, to whom he should be sacrificed, and apparelled him with the same ornaments like their Idoll, saying, that he did represent the same Idoll. And during the time that this representation lasted, which was for a yeare in some Feasts, in others six moneths, and in others lesse: they reuerenced and worshipped him in the same manner, as the proper Idoll; and in the meane time he did eate, drinke, and was merry. When he went through the streetes, the people came forth to worship him, and euery one brought him an almes, with children and sicke folkes, that he might cure them, and blesse them, suffering him to doe all things at his pleasure, onely he was accompanied with ten or twelue men lest he should flye. And he (to the end he might be reuerenced as he passed) sometimes sounded vpon a small Flute, that the people might prepare to worship him. The feast being come, and he growne fat, they killed him, opened him, and eate 10 him, making a solemne sacrifice of him. It followes that we treat of their Religion, or rather Superstition; which they vse in their Sacrifices, Temples, Ceremonies, and the rest.

How the Deuill hath laboured to make himselfe equall vnto God, and to imitate him in his Sacrifices, Religion and Sacraments. Chap. II.

Of the Temples that were found at the Indies. Chap. 12.

Flu. lib. de tract. Iust. in apol. pro christ.

That which God by his wisdom hath decreed for his honour and seruice, and for the good and health of man, the Deuill strues to imitate and to peruert, to be honored, and to cause man to be damned: for as we see the great God hath Sacrifices, Priests, Sacraments, Religious Prophets, and Ministers, dedicated to his diuine Seruice and holy ceremonies: so the Deuill hath his Sacrifices, Priests, his kindes of Sacraments, his Ministers appointed, his secluded and fained holiness, with a thousand sorts of false Prophets.

Beginning then with their Temples, euen as the great God would haue a house dedicated, 20 where his holy name might be honoured, and that it should be particularly vowed to his seruice; euen so the Deuill, by his wicked practises, perswaded Infidels to build him proud Temples; and particular Oratories and Sanctuaries. In euery Prouince of *Peru*, there was one principall *Guaca*, or house of adoration; and besides it, there was one Generall throughout all the Kingdome of the *Inguas*; among the which there hath beene two famous and notable, the one which they called *Pachamama*, is foure leagues from *Lima*, where at this day they see the ruines of a most auncient and great building, out of the which *Francis Pizarro* and his people drew infinite treasure, of vessels and pots of Gold and Siluer, which they brought when they tooke the *Inga Atahualpa*. There are certaine memories and discourses which say, that in this Temple the Deuill did speake visibly, and gaue answers by his Oracle, and that sometimes 30 they did see a spotted Snake: and it was a thing very common and approued at the *Indies*, that the Deuill spake and answered in these false Sanctuaries deceiuing this miserable people. But where the Gospell is entred, and the Crosse of Christ planted, the father of lyes becomes mute, as *Plutarch* writes of his time, *Cur cessauerit Pibias fundere oracula*: and *Iustine Martyr* treats amply of the silence which Christ imposed to Devils, which spake by Idols, as it had beene before much prophesied of in the holy Scripture. The manner which the Infidell Ministers and Inchanters had to consult with their gods, was as the Deuill had taught them. It was commonly in the night, they entred backward to their Idoll, and so went bending their bodies and head, after an vgly manner, and so they consulted with him. The answer he made, was commonly like vnto a fearefull hissing, or to a gnashing which did terrifie them; and all that he did aduer- 40 tise or command them, was but the way to their perdition and ruine. There are few of these Oracles found now, through the mercy of God, and great power of Iesus Christ. There hath beene in *Peru* another Temple and Oratory, most esteemed, which was in the Citie of *Cusco*, where at this day is the Monastery of Saint *Dominicke*. We may see it hath beene a goodly and a stately worke, by the pavement and stones of the building, which remaine to this day. This Temple was like to the *Pantheon* of the *Romans*, for that it was the house and dwelling of all the gods; for the Kings *Inguas* did there behold the gods of all the Nations and Prouinces they had conquered, euery Idoll hauing his priuate place, whither they of that Prouince came to worship it with an exorbitant charge of things which they brought for his seruice. And thereby they supposed to keepe safely in obedience, those Prouinces which they had conquered, holding 50 their gods, as it were in hostage. In this same house was the *Pinchao*, which was an Idoll of the Sunne, of most fine Gold, wrought with great riches of Stones, the which was placed to the East, with so great Art, as the Sunne at his rising did cast his beames thereon: and as it was of most fine mettall, his beames did reflect with such a brightnesse, that it seemed another Sunne. The *Inguas* did worship this for their god, and the *Pachayacha*, which signifies the Creator of Heaven. They say, that at the spoile of this so rich a Temple, a Souldier had for his part this goodly plate of gold of the Sunne. And as play was then in request, he lost it all in one night at play, whence came the prouerbe they haue in *Peru* for great gamesters, saying, that they play the Sunne before it riseth.

Of the proud Temples at Mexico. Cha. 13.

The Superstitions of the *Mexicans*, haue without comparison beene greater then the rest, as well in their ceremonies, as in the greatnesse of their Temples, the which in old time the Spaniards called by this word *Cu*, which word might be taken from the Ilanders of Saint *Dominique*, or of *Cuba*, as many other words that are in vse, the which are neither from *Spaine*, nor

nor from any other language now vsuall among the *Indians*, as is *Mays*, *Chico*, *Vaquiano*, *Chapeion*, and other like. There was in *Mexico*, this *Cu*, the famous Temple of *Vitzliputzli*, it had a very great circuit, and within a faire Court. It was built of great stones, in fashion of Snakes tyed one to another, and the circuit was called *Coatepantli*, which is, a circuit of Snakes: vpon the top of euery Chamber and Oratorie where the Idols were, was a fine Pillar wrought with small stones, blacke as jeat, set in goodly order, the ground rayfed vp with white and red, which below gaue a great light. Vpon the top of the Pillar were battlements very artificially made, wrought like Snailles, supported by two *Indians* of stone, sitting, holding Candle-sticks in their hands, the which were like Croisants garnished and enriched at the ends, with yellow and greene feathers and long fringes of the same. Within the circuit of this Court, there were many Chambers of religious men, and others that were appointed for the seruice of the Priests and *Popes*, for so they call the soueraigne Priests which serue the Idoll. This Court is so great and spacious, as eight or ten thousand persons did dance easily in round, holding hands, the which was an vsuall custome in that Realme, although it seeme to many incredible.

*Mexican
Popes;*

There were foure Gates or Entries, at the East, West, North, and South; at euery one of these Gates began a faire Cawsey of two or three leagues long. There was in the midst of the Lake where the Citie of *Mexico* is built, foure large Cawseys in crosse, which did much beautifie it; vpon euery Portall or Entrie, was a God or Idoll, hauing the visage turned to the Cawsey, right against the Temple gate of *Vitzliputzli*. There were thirtie steps of thirtie fathome long, and they diuided from the circuit of the Court by a street that went betwixt them; vpon the top of these steps there was a walke of thirtie foot broad, all playstered with chalke, in the midst of which walke was a Pallisado artificially made of very high Trees, planted in order a fathome one from another. These Trees were very bigge, and all pierced with small holes from the foote to the top, and there were rods did run from one Tree to another, to the which were chayned or tyed many dead mens heads. Vpon euery rod were twentie Sculls, and these rankes of Sculls continue from the foot to the top of the Tree. This Pallisado was full of dead mens Sculls from one end to the other, the which was a wonderfull mournfull sight and full of horror. These were the heads of such as had beene sacrificed; for after they were dead, and had eaten the flesh, the head was deliuered to the Ministers of the Temple, which tyed them in this sort vntill they fell off by morsels; and then had they a care to set others in their places. Vpon the top of the Temple were two Stones or Chappels, and in them were the two Idols, which I haue spoken of, *Vitzliputzli*, and his companion *Tlaloc*. These Chappels were carued and grauen very artificially, and so high, that to ascend vp to it, there was a staire of stone of sixscore steps. Before these Chambers or Chappels, there was a Court of fortie foot square, in the midst whereof, was a high stone of fise hand breadth, pointed in fashion of a Pyramide, it was placed there for the sacrificing of men; for being laid on their backs, it made their bodies to bend, and so they did open them and pull out their hearts, as I shall shew hereafter. There were in the Citie of *Mexico*, eight or nine other Temples, the which were ioyned one to another within one great circuit, and had their priuate Stayres, their Courts, their Chambers, and their Dortoirs. The entries of some were to the East, some to the West, others to the South, and some to the North. All these Temples were curiously wrought, and compassed in with diuers sorts of Battlements and Pictures, with many figures of stones, being accompanied and fortified with great and large Spurres or Plat-formes. They were dedicated to diuers gods: but next to the Temple of *Vitzliputzli*, was that of *Tescalipuca*, which was the god of Penance and of Punishments, very high and well built.

There were four steps to ascend: on the top was a Flat or Table of sixscore foot broad, and ioyning vnto it was a Hall hanged with Tapistrie and Curtins of diuers colours and workes. The Doore thereof being low and large, was alwayes couered with a vaile, and none but the Priests might enter in. All this Temple was beautified with diuers Images and Pictures most curiously; for that these two Temples were as the *Cathedrall Churches*; and the rest in respect of them as *Parishes* and *Hermitages*: they were so spacious, and had so many Chambers, that there were in them places for the Ministerie, Colleges, Schooles, and Houses for Priests, whereof wee will intreat hereafter.

The Deuill counterfaising the vse of the Church of God, hath placed in the order of his Priests, some greater or superiors, and some lesse, the one as *Acolites*, the other as *Leuites*, and that which hath made me most to wonder, was, that the Deuill would vsurpe to himselfe the seruice of God; yea, and vse the same name: for the *Mexicans* in their ancient tongue called their high Priests *Papas*, as they should say *Soueraigne Bishops*, as it appeares now by their Histories. The Priests of *Vitzliputzli* succeeded by Linages of certaine quarters of the Citie, deputed for that purpose, and those of other Idols came by election, or being offered to the Temple in their infancie. The daily exercise of the Priests was to cast Incense on the Idols, which was done foure times in the space of a naturall day. The first at breakes of day, the second at noone, the third at Sunne setting, and the fourth at mid-night. At mid-night all the chiefe officers of the Temple did rise, and in stead of Bells, they sounded a long time vpon Trumpets, Cornets, and Flutes

Of the Priests
and their
offices. *Ch. 14.*
The Deuill
had his Pops
or Vicars at
Mexico for the
new World, as
at *Rome* for the
old, and now
for both.
Mid-night
Mattins.

very heauily, which being ended, he that did the office that weeke, stepped forth, attyred in a white Robe after the *Dalmatike* manner, with a Censor in his hand full of coales, which hee tooke from the harth burning continually before the Altar; in the other hand he had a Purse full of Incense, which he cast into the Censor, and as he entred the place where the Idoll was, he incensed it with great reuerence, then tooke he a cloth, with the which he wiped the Altar and the Curtins. This done, they went all into a Chappell, and there did a certaine kinde of rigorous and austere penance, beating themselves, and drawing of bloud, as I shall shew in the Treatise of Penance, which the Deuill hath taught to his Creatures; and hereof they neuer fayled at these Mattins at mid-night. None other but the Priests might entermeddle with their sacrifices, and euery one did imploy himselfe according to his dignitie and degree. They did likewise preach to the people at some feasts, as I will shew when wee treat thereof. They had Reuenues, and great Offerings were made vnto them. I will speake hereafter of their Vnction in consecrating their Priests. In *Peru* the Priests were entertayned of the Reuenues and Inheritance of their god, which they called *Chacaras*, which were many, and also very rich.

Of the Monasterie of Virgins which the Deuill hath inuented for his seruice. Chap. 15.

Vestall Virgins, or Nunnes of Peru.

There were in *Peru* many Monasteries of Virgins (for there are no other admitted) at the least one in euery Prouince. In these Monasteries there were two sorts of women, one ancient, which they called *Mamacomas*, for the instruction of the young; and the other was of young Maidens, placed there for a certaine time, and after they were drawne forth, either for their gods or for the *Ingua*. They called this House or Monasterie *Aclaguagi*, which is to say, the *House of the Chosen*. Euery Monasterie had his Vicar or Gouvernour called *Appopanaca*, who had libertie and power to choose whom he pleased, of what qualitie soeuer, being vnder eight yeeres of age, if they seemed to be of a good stature and constitution.

These Virgins thus shut vp into these Monasteries, were instructed by the *Momacommas*, in diuers things needfull for the life of man, and in the customes and ceremonies of their gods; and afterwards they tooke them from thence, being aboue fourteene, sending them to the Court with sure guards, whereof some were appointed to serue the *Gnacas* and Sanctuaries, keeping their Virginities for euer; some others were for the ordinarie sacrifices that were made of Maidens, and other extraordinarie sacrifices, they made for the health, death, or warres of the *Ingua*; and the rest serued for Wiues and Concubines to the *Ingua*, and vnto other his Kinsfolks and Captains, vnto whom hee gaue them, which was a great and honorable recompence: This distribution was vsed euery yeere. These Monasteries possessed Rents and Reuenues for the maintenance of these Virgins, which were in great numbers. It was not lawfull for any father to refuse his daughters when the *Appopanaca* required them for the seruice of these Monasteries. Yea, many fathers did willingly offer their daughters, supposing it was a great merit to be sacrificed for the *Ingua*. If any of these *Momacommas* or *Acllas* were found to haue trespassed against their honor, it was an ineuitable chastisement to burie them aliue, or to put them to death by some other kind of cruell torment.

The Deuill hath euen in *Mexico* had some kinde of religious women, although their possession was but for one yeere, and it was in this sort: Within this great circuit whereof wee haue spoken, which was in the principall Temple, there were two Houses like *Cloysters*, the one opposite to the other, one of Men, the other of Women: In that of women, they were Virgins onely, of twelue or thirteene yeeres of age, which they called the *Maidens of Penance*. They were as many as the men, and liued chastely and regularly, as Virgins dedicated to the seruice of their god. Their charge was, to sweep and make cleane the Temple, and euery morning to prepare meat for the Idoll and his Ministers, of the *Almas* the religious gathered. The foode they prepared for the Idoll were small loaves in the forme of hands and feet, as of March-pane: and with this bread they prepared certaine sawces which they cast daily before the Idoll, and his Priests did eate it, as those of *Baal*, that *Daniel* speaketh of. These Virgins had their haire cut, and then they let them grow for a certaine time: they rose at mid-night to the Idolls Mattins, which they daily celebrated, performing the same exercises the Religious did. They had their Abbesses who imployed them to make cloth of diuers fashions for the ornament of their Idolls and Temples. Their ordinarie habit was all white, without any worke or colour. They did their penance at mid-night, sacrificing and wounding themselves, and piercing the top of their eares, they laid the bloud which issued forth vpon their cheekes: and after (to wash off the bloud) they bathed themselves in a Poole which was within their Monasterie. They liued very honestly and discreetly; and if any were found to haue offended, although but lightly, presently they were put to death without remission, saying, she had polluted the House of their god. They held it for an augure and aduertisement, that some one of the Religious, Man, or Woman, had committed a fault, when they saw a Rat or a Mowse passe, or a Bat in the Chappell of their Idoll, or that they had gnawed any of the vales, for that they say, a Rat or a Bat would not aduenture to commit such an indignitie, if some offence had not gone before, and then they began to make search of the fact, and hauing discovered the Offendor or Offenders, of what qualitie soeuer, they presently put them to death.

None were receiued into this Monasterie, but the daughters of one of the sixe quarters, named for

for that purpose: and this profession continued, as I haue said, the space of one whole yeere: during the which time, their fathers, and they themselves had made a vow to serue the Idoll in this manner, and from thence they went to be married.

I doe not know that in *Pern* there is any proper houses for men, but for the Priests and Sorcerers; whereof there is an infinite number. But it seemeth, that in *Mexico* the Deuill hath set a due obseruation: for within the circuit of the great Temple there were two Monasteries, as before hath beene said, one of Virgins, whereof I haue spoken, the other of young men secluded of eighteen or twentie yeeres of age, which they called religious. They weare shaued crownes, as the Friars in these parts; their haire a little longer, which fell to the middest of their eare, except the hinder part of the head, which they let grow the breadth of foure fingers down to their shoulders and which they tyed vp in tresses. These young men that serued in the Temple of *Vnziputli* liued poore and chastly, and did the Office of Leuites, ministring to the Priests and chiefe of the Temple; their Incense, Lights, & garments; they swept and made cleane the holy places, bringing Wood for a continuall fire to the harth of their god, which was like a lampe that still burnt before the Altar of their Idoll. Besides these young men, there were other little boyes, as novices, that serued for manuell vses, as to deck the Temple with boughs, roses, & reeds, giue the Priests water to wash with, giue them their rasors to sacrifice, and goe with such as begged almes to carry it. All these had their superiors, who had the gouernment ouer them, they liued so honestly, as when they came in publike, where there were any women, they carried their heads very low, with their eyes to the ground, not daring to behold them: they had linnen garments, and it was lawfull for them to goe into the Citie foure or sixe together, to aske Almes in all quarters: and when they gaue them none, it was lawfull to goe into the Corne fields, and gather the eares of Corne, or clusters of Mays, which they most needed, the Master not daring to speake, nor hinder them. They had this libertie, because they liued poorely, and had no other reuenues, but Almes. There might not be aboue fiftie liue in penance, rising at midnight to sound the Cornets and Trumpets to awake the people. Every one watched the Idoll in his turne, lest the fire before the Altar should die: they gaue the Censor, with the which the Priest at midnight incensed the Idoll, and also in the morning, at noone, & at night. They were very subiect and obedient to their superiors, and passed not any one point that was commaunded them. And at midnight after the Priest had ended his censuring, they retired themselves into a secret place, apart, sacrificing, and drawing blood from the calves of their legs with sharpe bodkins: with this blood they rubbed their temples, and vnder their eares: and this sacrifice finished, they presently washed themselves in a little poole appointed to that end. These young men did not annoint their heads and bodies with any *Petum*, as the Priests did: their garments were of course white linnen cloth they doe make there. These exercises and strictnesse of penance continued a whole yeere, during which time they liued with great austeritie and solitarinesse.

It hath beene said that the Priests and religious of *Mexico*, rose at midnight, and hauing cast Incense before the Idoll, they retired themselves into a large place, where there were many Lights; and sitting downe, every one tooke a point of *Manguay*, which is like vnto an awle or sharpe bodkin, with the which, or with some other kindes of Launcets or Rasors, they pierced the calves of their legs neere to the bone, drawing forth much blood, with the which they anointed their temples, and dipt these bodkins or lancets in the rest of the blood, then set they them vp on the batelements of the Court, stickt in gloabes or bowles of straw, that all might see and know the penance they did for the people: they doe wash off the blood in a lake appointed for that purpose, which they call *Exapangue*, which is to say, water of blood.

There were in the Temple a great number of bodkins or lancets, for that they might not vse one twice. Moreover, these Priests and Religious men, vsed great Fastings, of five or ten dayes together, before any of their great Feasts, and they were vnto them as our foure Ember weekes: they were so strict in continence, that some of them (not to fall into any sensualitie) slit their members in the midst, and did a thousand things to make themselves vnable, lest they should offend their gods. They drunke no Wine, and slept little, for that the greatest part of their exercises were by night, committing great cruelties and martyring themselves for the Deuill, and all to bee reputed great fasters and penitents. They did vse to discipline themselves with cords full of knots, and not they onely, but the people also vsed this punishment and whipping, in the procession and feast they made to the Idoll *Texcalipuca*, the which (as I haue said before) is the god of penance; for then they all carried in their hands new cordes of the threed of *Manguay* a fadome long, with a knot at the end, and wherewith they whipped themselves, giuing great lashes ouer their shoulders. The Priests did fast five dayes before this Feast, eating but once a day, and they liued apart from their wiues, not going out of the Temple during those five dayes, they did whip themselves rigorously in the manner aforesaid.

In *Pern* to solemnize the feast of the *Ysa*, which was great, all the people fasted two dayes, during the which, they did not accompanie with their Wiues, neither did they eate any meate with Salt or Garlecke, nor drinke *Chica*. They did much vse this kinde of fasting for some sins, and did penance, whipping themselves with sharpe stinging Nettles, and often they strooke themselves

Of the Monasteries of religious men, that the Deuill hath inuented for superstition. Chap. 16. of the Indian shauens Friars, & their show of sanctitie, with pouerty, chastity, &c.

Of Penance, & the strictnesse the Indians haue vsed at the Deuils perfwasion. Ch. 17.

Their seuerest Fasts.

Monsters of Wil-worship.

themselves over the shoulders with certayne stones. This blind Nation, by the perswasion of the Deuill, did transport themselves into craggie Mountaynes, where sometimes they sacrificed themselves, casting themselves downe from some high Rocke.

Of the Sacrifices the Indians made to the Deuill, & whereof Chap. 18.

Sacrifices of things insensible.

Sacrifices of beasts.

Sacrifices of Birds.

Blacke sheepe.

Extispicia.

Blacke Dogs.

Fasting till stars appeared.

Shell-offerings.

Wee may draw all the Sacrifices the Infidels vse into three kindes, one of insensible things; another of beasts, and the third of men. They did vse in *Pern* to sacrifice *Coca*, which is an hearbe they esteeme much, of *Mays*, which is their Wheate, of coloured feathers, and of *Chaquira*, which otherwise they call *Molla*, of shels or Oysters, and sometime Gold and Silver, being in figures of little beasts. Also of the fine stufte of *Cumbi*, of carued and sweet wood, and most commonly Tallow burnt. They made these Offerings or Sacrifices for a prosperous winde, and faire weather, or for their health, and to be deliuered from some dangers and mishaps. Of the second kind, their ordinary Sacrifice was of *Cuyes*, which are small beasts like Rabbits, the which the *Indians* eate commonly. And in matters of importance, or when they were rich men, they did offer *Pacos*, or *Indian* sheepe, bare, or with Wooll, obseruing curiously the numbers, colours, and times. The manner of killing their Sacrifices, great or small, which the *Indians* did vse according to their ancient Ceremonies, is the same the *Moors* vse at this day, the which they call *Alqubla*, hanging the beast by the right fore-legge, turning his eyes towards the Sunne, speaking certayne words, according to the qualitie of the Sacrifice they sue: for if it were of colour, their words were directed to *Chuquilla*, and to the Thunder, that they might want no water: if it were white and smoothe, they did offer it to the Sunne with certaine words: if it had a fleece, they did likewise offer it him with some others, that he might shine vpon them, and fauour their generation: If it were a *Guanaco*, which is gray, they directed their sacrifice to *Viracocha*. In *Cusco* they did every yeere kill and sacrifice with this Ceremony, a shorne sheepe to the Sunne, and did burne it, clad in a red Waste-coate, and when they did burne it, they cast certayne small baskets of *Coca* into the fire, which they call *Vilcaronca*; for which Sacrifice, they haue both men and beasts appointed which serue to no other vse. They did likewise sacrifice small Birds, although it were not so vsuall in *Pern* as in *Mexico*, where the sacrificing of Quails was very ordinary. Those of *Pern* did sacrifice the Birds of *Puna*, (for so they call the Desert when they should goe to the Warres, for to weaken the forces of their aduerlaries *Guacas*.) They called these Sacrifices *Cuzconicca*, or *Contenicca*, or *Huallanicca*, or *Sophanicca*, and they did it in this manner: they tooke many kinds of small Birds of the Desert, and gathered a great deale of a thorny wood, which they call *Tanli*, the which beeing kindled, they gathered together these small Birds. This assembly they called *Quico*, then did they cast them into the fire, about the which the Officers of the Sacrifice went with certayne round stones carued, whereon were painted many Snakes, Lions, Toades, and Tygres, vttering this word *V-lachum*, which signifies, *Let the victorie be giuen vnto us*, with other words, whereby they sayd the forces of their enemies *Guacas* were confounded. And they drew forth certayne blacke sheepe, which had beene kept close some dayes without meate, the which they called *Prona*, and in killing them they spake these words; As the hearts of these beasts bee weakened, so let our enemies be weakned. And if they found in these sheepe that a certayne piece of flesh behind the hear were not consumed by fasting and close keeping, they then held it for an ill Augure. They brought certayne blacke Dogges, which they call *Apparas*, and sue them, casting them into a Playne, with certayne Ceremonies, causing some kinde of men to eate this flesh, the which Sacrifices they did, lest the *Ingua* should bee hurt by poyson; and for this cause they fasted from morning vntill the starres were vp, and then they did glut and defile themselves like to the *Moors*. This Sacrifice was most fit for them to withstand their enemies Gods: and although at this day a great part of these customes haue ceased, the warres being ended, yet remaines there some Relikes, by reason of the priuate or generall quarrels of the *Indians*, or the *Caciques*, or in their Cities. They did likewise offer and sacrifice shels of the Sea, which they call *Molla*, and they offered them to the Fountaynes and Springs, saying, that these shels were daughters of the Sea, the mother of all waters. They gaue vnto these shels sundry names, according to the colour, and also they vse them to diuers ends. They vsed them in a manner in all kinde of Sacrifices, and yet to this day they put *beaten shels* in their *Chica*, for a superstition. Finally, they thought it conuenient to offer Sacrifices of euery thing they did sow or raise vp. There were *Indians* appointed to doe these Sacrifices to the Fountayne, Springs, and Riuers which passed through the Townes, or by the their *Charcas*, which are their Farmes, which they did after Seed time, that they might not cease running, but alwayes water their grounds. The Sorcerers did conjure, to know what time the Sacrifices should be made, which beeing ended, they did gather of the contribution of the people, what should be sacrificed, and deliuered them to such as had the charge of these Sacrifices. They made them in the beginning of Winter, at such time as the Fountaynes, Springs, and Riuers, did increase by the moistures of the weather, which they did attribute to their Sacrifices. They did not sacrifice to the Fountaynes and Springs of the Desarts. To this day continues the respect they had to Fountaynes, Springs, Pooles, Brookes, or Riuers, which passe by their Cities or *Charcas*, euen vnto the Fountaynes and Riuers of the Desarts. They haue a speciall regard and reuerence to the meeting of two Riuers, and there they

they wash themselves for their health, annoynting themselves first with the flower of *Mays*, or some other things, adding thereunto diuers Ceremonies, the which they doe likewise in their Bathes.

THe most pittifull disaster of this poore people, is their slavery vnto the Deuill, sacrificing men vnto him, which are the Images of God. In many Nations they had vsed to kill (to accompany the dead, as hath beene declared) such persons as had beene agreeable vnto him, and whom they imagined might best serue him in the other World. Besides this, they vsed in *Peru*, to sacrifice young children of foure or fixe yeeres olde vnto ten: and the greatest part of these Sacrifices were for the affaires that did import the *Inguia*, as in sickness for his health: and when he went to the warres for victory, or when they gaue the wreath to their new *Inguia*, which is the mark of a King, as here the *Scepter* and the *Crowne* be. In this Solemnitie they sacrificed the number of two hundred children, from foure to ten yeeres of age, which was a cruell and inhumane spectacle. The manner of the Sacrifice was to drowne them and bury them with certayne representations and ceremonies: sometimes they cut off their heads annoynting themselves with the bloud from one eare to another.

Of the Sacrifices they made of men. *Chap. 19.*

Two hundred children sacrificed.

They did likewise sacrifice Virgins, some of them that were brought to the *Inguia* from the Monasteries, as hath beene said. In this case there was a very great and generall abuse: If any *Indian* qualified, or of the common sort, were sicke, and that the Diuine told him confidently that he should dye, they did then sacrifice his owne sonne to the Sunne, or to *Vrachoça*, desiring them to be satisfied with him, and that they would not deprive the father of life. This crueltie is like to that the holy Scripture speaks of, which the King of *Moab* vsed in sacrificing his first-born Sonne vpon the wall, in the sight of all *Israel*, to whom this act seemed so mournfull, as they would not presse him any further, but returned to their houses.

Parricide.

ALthough they of *Peru* haue surpassed the *Mexicans* in the slaughter and Sacrifice of their Children (for I haue not read nor vnderstood that the *Mexicans* vsed any such Sacrifices) yet they of *Mexico* haue exceeded them, yea all the Nations of the World, in the great number of men which they had sacrificed, and in the horrible manner thereof. And to the end wee may see the great misery wherein the Deuill holds this blind Nation, I will relate particularly the custome and inhumane manner which they haue obserued: First the men they did sacrifice were taken in the warres, neyther did they vse these solempne Sacrifices but of Captiues: so as it seemes therein they haue followed the custome of the Ancients. For as some Authors say, they called the Sacrifice *Uictima*, for this reason, because it was of a conquered thing: they also called it *Hestia quasi ab hoste*, for that it was an Offering made of their enemies, although they haue applied this word to all kinds of Sacrifices. In truth the *Mexicans* did not sacrifice any to their Idols, but Captiues, and the ordinary warres they made, was onely to haue Captiues for their Sacrifices: and therefore when they did fight, they laboured to take their enemies aliue, and not to kill them, to enjoy their Sacrifices. And this was the reason which *Moteczuma* gaue to the

Of the horrible Sacrifices of men which the *Mexicans* vsed. *Chap. 20.*

Captiues only sacrificed. *Uictima & Hestia.*

Manner of humane (inhumane) sacrificing.

Bloudie Rites.

Marquisse du Val, when he asked of him, why being so mightie, and hauing conquered so many Kingdomes, he had not subdued the Prouince of *Tlascalla*, which was so neere? *Moteczuma* answered him, that for two reasons he had not conquered that Prouince, although it had bin easie, if he would haue vndertaken it: the one was for the exercise of the youth of *Mexico*, lest they should fall into idleness and delight: the other and the chiefe cause why hee had reserued this Prouince, was, to haue Captiues for the Sacrifices of their Gods. The manner they vsed in these Sacrifices, was, they assembled within the Palisadoe of dead mens Sculles (as hath beene said) such as should be sacrificed, vsing a certayne Ceremony at the foot of the Palisadoe, placing a great guard about them. Presently there stept forth a Priest, attyred with a short Surplice full of tassels beneath, who came from the top of the Temple with an Idoll made of Paste of Wheate and *Mays* mingled with Honey, which had the eyes made of the graines of greene glasse, and the teeth of the graines of *Mays*; he descended the steps of the Temple with all the speed he could, and mounted on a great stone planted vpon a high Terrasse in the midst of the Court. This stone was called *Quauxicalli*, which is to say, the stone of Eagle, whereon he mounted by a little Ladder, which was in the fore-part of the Terrasse, and descended by another staire on the other side, still imbracing his Idoll. Then did he mount to the place where those were that should be sacrificed, shewing this Idoll to euery one in particular, laying vnto them, *this is your God*. And hauing ended his shew, he descended by the other side of the staires, and all such as should dye, went in procession vnto the place where they should bee sacrificed, where they found the Ministers ready for that Office. The ordinary manner of sacrificing was, to open the stomake of him that was sacrificed, and hauing pulled out his heart halfe aliue, they tumbled the man downe the staires of the Temple, which were all imbrowed and defiled with bloud: And to make it the more plaine, fixe Sacrificers being appointed to this dignitie, came into the place of Sacrifice, foure to hold the hands and feet of him that should be sacrificed, the fift to hold his head, and the sixt to open his stomake, and to pull out the heart of the sacrificed. They called them *Chachala*.

obalmna, which in our Tongue is as much, as the *Ministers of holy things*. It was a high dignitie, and much esteemed amongst them, wherein they did inherit and succeed as in a Fee-simple. The Minister who had the Office to kill, which was the sixt amongst them, was esteemed and honoured as the *Souereigne Priest and Bishop*, whose name was different, according to the difference of times and Solemnities. Their habits were likewise diuers when they came forth to the Sacrifice, according to the diuersitie of times. The name of their chiefe dignitie was *Papa* and *Topilzin*, their Habite and Robe was a red Curtayne after the *Dalmatike* fashion, with tassels below, a Crowne of rich Feathers, greene, white, and yellow vpon his head, and at his eares like pendants of Gold, wherein were set greene stones, and vnder the lip vpon the middest of the beard he had a Peece like vnto a small Canon of an azured stone. These Sacrificers came with their faces and hands coloured with a shining blacke. The other fise had their haire much curled, and tyed vp with Laces of Leather, bound about the middest of the head: vpon their forehead they carried small Roundlets of Paper painted with diuers colours, and they were attyred in a *Dalmatike* Robe of white, wrought with blacke. With this attyre they represented the very figure of the Deuill, so as it did strike feare and terrour into all the people, to see them come forth with so horrible a representation. The Souereigne Priest carried a great Knife in his hand, of a large and sharpe flint: another Priest carried a collar of wood wrought in forme of a Snake: All six put themselves in order, ioyning to this Pyramidall stone, wherof I haue spoken, being directly against the doore of the Chappell of their Idoll. This stone was so pointed, as the man which was to be sacrificed, being laid thereon, vpon his backe, did bend in such sort, as letting the Knife but fall vpon his stomach it opened very easily in the middest. When the Sacrificers were thus in order, they drew forth such as had bene taken in warre, which were to bee sacrificed at that Feast, and being accompanied with a guard of men all naked, they caused them to mount vp these large staires in ranke, to the place where the Ministers were prepared: and as euery one of them came in their order, the six Sacrificers tooke the Prisoner, one by one foote, another by the other, and one by one hand, another by the other, casting on his backe vpon this pointed stone, where the fift of these Ministers put the collar of wood about his necke, and the High Priest opened his stomach with the Knife, with a strange dexteritie and nimblenesse, pulling out his heart with his hands, the which hee shewed smoking vnto the Sunne, to whom hee did offer this heate and fume of the heart, and presently he turned towards the Idoll and did cast the heart at his face, then did they call away the body of the sacrificed, tumbling it downe the staires of the Temple, the stone being set so neere the staires, as there were not two foote space betwixt the stone and the first step, so as with one spurne with their foote, they cast the bodie from the top to the bottome. In this sort one after one they did sacrifice all those that were appointed. Being thus slaine, and their bodies cast downe, their Masters, or such as had taken them, went to take them vp, and carried them away: then hauing diuided them amongst them, they did eate them, celebrating their Feast and Solemnitie. There were euer fortie or fiftie at the least thus sacrificed, for that they had men very expert in taking them. The neighbour Nations did the like, imitating the *Mexicans* in the Customes and Ceremonies of the Seruice of their Gods.

Of other kinds
of Sacrifices
of men which
the *Mexicans*
vsed. Chap. xx.
Flaying Sacri-
fices.

Challenge-sa-
crifices.

Idols-Idol-sa-
crifice.

There was another kind of Sacrifice which they made in diuers feasts, which they call *Racaxipe Velitzli*, which is as much as the *flaying of men*. They call it so, for that in some Feasts they tooke one or more slaues, as they pleased, and after they had slayed him, they with that skinne apparelled a man appointed to that end. This man went dancing and leaping thorow all the houses and Market places of the Citie, euery one being forced to offer something vnto him: and if any one fayled, he would strike him ouer the face with a corner of the skin, defiling him with the congealed blood. This inuention continued vntill the skinne did stinke: during which time, such as went, gathered together much almes, which they employed in necessary things for the Seruice of their Gods. In many of these Feasts they made a Challenge, betwixt him that did sacrifice, and him that should bee sacrificed thus: they tyed the slaue by one foote to a Wheele of stone, giuing him a Sword and Target in his hands to defend himselfe: then presently stept forth hee that sacrificed him; armed with another Sword and Target: if hee that should bee sacrificed defends himselfe valiantly against the other, and resisted him, hee then remayned freed from the Sacrifice, winning the name of a famous Captayne, and so was reputed: but if hee were vanquished, they then sacrificed him on the stone whereunto hee was tyed. It was another kinde of Sacrifice, when as they appointed any slaue to bee the representation of the Idoll, saying that it was his Picture: They euery yeere gaue one slaue to the Priests, that they might neuer want the liuely Image of their Idoll. At his first entry into the Office, after he had bene well washed, they attyred him with all the ornaments of the Idoll, giuing him the same name. Hee was that whole yeere reuerenced and honoured as the Idoll itselfe, and had alwayes with him twelue men for his Guard, lest hee should flye, with which Guard they suffered him to goe freely and where he would: and if by chance he fled, the chiefe of the Guard was put in his place to represent the Idoll, and after to bee sacrificed. This *Indian* had

had the most honourable lodging in all the Temple, where hee did eate and drinke, and whither all the chiefe Ministers came to serue and honour him, carrying him meate after the manner of great Personages. When hee went through the streets of the Citie, hee was well accompanied with Noblemen, hee carried a liitle Flute in his hand, which sometimes hee sounded, to giue them knowledge when he passed: then presently the women came forth with their liitle children in their armes, which they presented vnto him, saluting him as God. All the rest of the people did the like: at night they put him in a strong Prison or Cage, lest he should flye; and when the Feast came, they sacrificed him, as hath beene said.

By these and many other meanes hath the Deuill abused and entertayned these poore wretches, and such was the multitude of those that had beene sacrificed by this infernall crueltie, as it seemes a matter incredible, for they affirme there were some dayes fve thousand or more, and that there were aboue twentie thousand sacrificed in diuers places. The Deuill to entertaine this murther of men, vsed a pleasant and strange inuention, which was, when it pleased the Priests of Satan they went to their Kings, telling them how their Gods dyed for hunger, and that they should remember them. Presently they prepared themselves, and aduertised one another, that their Gods required meate, and therefore they should command their people to bee readie to goe to the Warres; and thus the people assembled, and the companies appointed went to field, where they mustred their forces; and all their quarrell and fight was to take one another for sacrifice, struing on either side to take what Captiues they could, so as in these battels they laboured more to take, then to kill, for that all their intention was to take men aliue, to giue them to their Idols to eate, for after that manner brought they their Sacrifice vnto their Gods. And wee must vnderstand, that neuer King was crowned vntill he had subdued some Prouince, from the which he brought a great number of Captiues for the Sacrifices of their Gods, so as it was an infinite thing to see what blood was spilt in the honour of the Deuill.

Incredible numbers sacrificed.

Deuill hungry for mans flesh.

How the Indians grew weary, and could not endure the crueltie of Satan. Chap. 22.

Spaniards sacrificed.

A man speakes after his heart is out.

Galen lib. 2. de Hip. & Platon. placit. cap. 4.

In

Many of these Barbarians were now wearied and tyred with such an excessiue crueltie, in shedding so much blood, and with so tedious a Tribute, to bee alwayes troubled to get Captiues, for the feeding of their Gods, seeming vnto them a matter insupportable; yet left they not to follow and execute their rigorous Lawes, for the great awe the Ministers of these Idols kept them in, and the cunning wherewith they abused this poore people. But inwardly they desired to be freed from so heauie a yoke. And it was a great prouidence of God; that the first which gaue them knowledge of the Law of Christ, found them in this disposition: for without doubt it seemed to them a good Law, and a good God, to bee serued in this sort. Heereupon a graue religious man in *New Spaine* told me, that when he was in that Countrey he had demanded of an ancient *Indian*, a man of qualitie, for what reason the *Indians* had so soone receiued the Law of Iesus Christ, and left their owne, without making any other prooffe, tryall, or dispute thereon, for it seemed they had changed their Religion, without any sufficient reason to mooue them. The *Indian* answered him, *Beleeue not Father, that we haue embraced the Law of Christ so rashly as they say: for I will tell you, that we were already wearie and discontented with such things as the Idols commanded vs, and were determined to leaue it, and to take another Law. But when as wee found that the Religion that you preached had no cruelties in it, and that it was fit for vs, and both iust and good, we vnderstood and beleeued that it was the true Law, and so we receiued it willingly.* Which answer of this *Indian* agrees well with that we reade in the first Discourse, that *Fernand Cortes* sent to the Emperour *Charles* the fift, wherein hee reports, that after he had conquered the Citie of *Mexico*, being in *Cuyoacan*, there came Ambassadors to him from the Prouince and Common-wealth of *Mechoacan* requiring him to send them his Law, and that hee would teach them to vnderstand it, because they intended to leaue their owne, which seemed not good vnto them, which *Cortez* granted, and at this day they are the best *Indians*, and the truest Christians that are in *New Spaine*. The *Spaniards* that saw these cruell Sacrifices, resolved with all their power to abolish so detestable and cursed a butchering of men, and the rather, for that in one night before their eyes they saw threescore or threescore and tenne *Spaniards* sacrificed, which had beene taken in a battaile giuen at the Conquest of *Mexico*: and another time they found written with a Coale in a Chamber in *Tezcosco* these wordes; *Heere such a miserable man was Prisoner with his Companions whom they of Tezcosco did sacrifice.*

There happened a very strange thing vpon this subiect, and yet true, beeing reported by men worthy of credit, which was, that the *Spaniards* beholding these Sacrifices, hauing opened and drawne out the heart of the lustie young man, and cast him from the top of the stayres (as their custome was) when hee came at the bottome, hee said to the *Spaniards* in his Language, *Knight, they haue slaine mee*, the which did greatly mooue our men to horrqur and pitie. It is no incredible thing, that hauing his heart pulled out, hee might speake, seeing that *Galen* reports that it hath often chanced in the Sacrifice of beasts, after the heart hath beene drawne out, and cast vpon the Altar, the beasts haue breathed, yea, they did bray and cry out aloud, and sometimes did runne.

How the Deuill hath laboured to imitate and counterfeit the Sacraments of the holy Church. Chap. 25. Indian Communion.

In what manner the Deuill hath laboured in Mexico to counterfeit the feast of the holy Sacrament vsed in the Popish Church. Chap. 24.

In the first moneth, which in *Peru* they called *Rayme*, and answereth to our *December*, they made a most solemne feast, called *Capacrayme*, wherein they made many sacrifices and ceremonies, which continued many dayes: during the which, no stranger was suffered to bee at the Court which was in *Cusco*. These dayes being past, they then gaue libertie to strangers to enter, that they might be partakers of the feasts and sacrifices, ministering to them in this manner. The *Mamacomas* of the Sunne, which were a kinde of Nunnes of the Sunne, made little loaves of the flower of Mays, dyed and mingled with the blood of white Sheepe, which they did sacrifice that day; then presently they commanded that all strangers should enter, who set themselves in order, and the Priests which were of a certaine Linage, descending from *Linquiyupangui*, gaue to every one a morsell of these small loaves, saying vnto them, that they gaue these pieces, to the end they should be vnited and confederate with the *Ingua*, and that they aduised them not to speake nor thinke any ill against the *Ingua*, but alwayes to beare him good affection, for that this piece should bee a witnesse of their intentions and will, and if they did not as they ought, hee would discover them and bee against them. They carried these small loaves, in great Platters of gold and silver appointed for that vse, and all did receiue and eate these pieces, thanking the Sunne infinitely for so great a fauour which hee had done them, speaking wordes and making signes of great contentment and deuotion: protesting that during their liues, they would neither doe nor thinke any thing against the Sunne nor the *Ingua*: and with this condition they receiued this foode of the Sunne, the which should remaine in their bodies for a witnesse of their fidelitie which they obserued to the Sunne and to the *Ingua* their King. This manner of deuillish communicating they likewise vsed in the tenth moneth, called *Coyarayme*, which was *September*; in the solemne feast which they called *Cytua*, doing the like ceremonies. And besides this Communion (if it be lawfull to vse this word in so deuillish a matter) which they imparted to all strangers that came, they did likewise send of these loaves to all their *Gnacas*, Sanctuaries, or Idols of the whole Realme, and at one instant they found people of all sides, which came expressly to receiue them, to whom they said (in deliuering them) that the Sunne had sent them that, in signe that hee would haue them all to worship and honor him, and likewise did send them in honor of the *Caciques*. Some perhaps will hold this for a fable and a fiction: yet is it most true, that since the *Ingua Yupangi* (the which is hee that hath made most Lawes, Customes, and Ceremonies, as *Numa* did in *Rome*) this manner of Communion hath continued, vntill that the Gospell of our Lord Iesus Christ thrust out all these superstitions, giuing them the right foode of life, which vnites their soules to God: who so would satisfie himselfe more amply, let him reade the Relation which the Licenciado *Pollo* did write.

It is a thing more worthy admiration, to heare speake of the Feast and solemnitie of the Communion which the Deuill himselfe, the Prince of Pride, ordained in *Mexico*, the which (although it be somewhat long) yet shall it not be from the purpose to relate, as it is written by men of credite. The *Mexicanes* in the moneth of May, made their principall Feast to their god *Vitziliputzli*, and two dayes before this Feast, the Virgins whereof I haue spoken (the which were shut vp and seclused in the same Temple, and were as it were *Religious women*) did mingle a quantitie of the seede of Beetes with roasted Mays, and then they did mould it with honey, making an Idoll of that paste, in bignesse like to that of wood, putting in stead of eyes, graines of Greene glasse, of blue, or white; and for teeth, graines of Mays, set forth with all the ornament and furniture that I haue said. This being finished, all the Noblemen came and brought it an exquisite and rich garment, like vnto that of the Idoll, wherewith they did attyre it. Being thus clad and deckt, they did set it in an azured Chaire, and in a Litter to carry it on their shoulders. The morning of this feast being come, an houre before day, all the Maidens came forth attyred in white, with new ornaments, the which that day were called the sisters of their god *Vitziliputzli*, they came crowned with Garlands of Mays roasted and parched, being like vnto Azahar or the flower of Orange, and about their necks they had great chaines of the same, which went bauldrickwise vnder their left arme. Their cheekes were dyed with Vermillion, their armes from the elbow to the wrist, were couered with red Parrots feathers. And thus attyred, they tooke the Idoll on their shoulders, carrying it into the Court, where all the young men were, attyred in garments of an artificiall red, crowned after the same manner, like vnto the women. When as the Maidens came forth with the Idoll, the young men drew neere with much reuerence, taking the Litter wherein the Idoll was, vpon their shoulders, carrying it to the foote of the staires of the Temple, where all the people did humble themselves, laying earth vpon their heads, which was an ordinarie ceremonie which they did obserue at the chiefe feast of their gods. This ceremonie being ended, all the people went in Procession with all the diligence and speede they could, going to a Mountayne which was a league from the Citie of *Mexico*, called *Chapultepec*, and there they made sacrifices. Presently they went from thence with like diligence, to goe to a place neere vnto it, which they called *Atlachayanaya*, where they made their second station: and from thence they went to another Burgh or Village a league beyond *Cuyacan*, from whence they parted, returning to the Citie of *Mexico*, not making any other station. They went in this sort about foure leagues in three or foure houres, calling this Procession *Xpayna Vitziliputzli*.

liputzli. Being come to the foot of the staires, they set downe the Brancard or Litter with the Idoll, tying great Cordes to the armes of the Brancard, then with great obseruance and reuerence, they did draw vp the Litter with the Idoll in it to the top of the Temple, some drawing aboue, and others helping below, in the meane time there was a great noyse of Flutes, Trumpets, Cornets, and Drummes. They did mount it in this manner, for that the staires of the Temple were very steepe and narrow, so as they could not carry vp the Litter vpon their shoulders, while they mounted vp the Idoll, all the people stood in the Court with much reuerence and feare. Being mounted to the top, and that they had placed it in a little Lodge of Roses, which they held readie, presently came the young men, which strewed many flowers of sundrie kindes, 10 wherewith they filled the Temple both within and without. This done, all the Virgins came out of their Couent, bringing pieces of paste compounded of Beetes, and roasted Mays, which was of the same paste whereof their Idoll was made and compounded, and they were of the fashion of great bones. They deliuered them to the young men, who carried them vp and laid them vp, and laid them at the Idols feete, wherewith they filled the whole place, that it could receiue no more. They called these morsels of paste, the flesh and bones of *Vitzliputzli*. Having laid abroad these bones, presently came all the Ancients of the Temple, Priests, Levites, and all the rest of the Ministers, according to their Dignities and Antiquities, for herein there was a strict order amongst them, one after another, with their vailles of diuers 20 colours and workes, euery one according to his Dignitie and Office, hauing Garlands vpon their heads, and Chaines of flowers about their necks: after them came their gods and goddesses whom they worshipt, of diuers figures, attyred in the same linerie; then putting themselves in order about those morsels and pieces of paste, they vsed certaine ceremonies with singing and dancing. By meanes whereof they were blessed and consecrated for the flesh and bones of this Idoll.

This ceremonie and blessing (whereby they were taken for the flesh and bones of the Idoll) being ended, they honored those pieces in the same sort as their god. Then came forth the Sacrificers, who began the sacrifice of men, in the manner as hath bene spoken, and that day they did sacrifice a greater number then at any other time, for that it was the most solemn feast they obserued. The sacrifices being ended, all the young Men and Maides came out of the Temple 30 attyred as before, and being placed in order and ranke one directly against another, they danced by Drummes the which sounded in praise of the Feast, and of the Idoll which they did celebrate. To which song all the most ancient and greatest noble-men did answere, dancing about them, making a great circle as their vse is, the young Men and Maides remayning alwayes in the midst. All the Citie came to this goodly spectacle, and there was a commandement very strictly obserued throughout all the Land, that the day of the feast of the Idoll *Vitzliputzli*, they should eate no other meate, but this paste with hony, whereof the Idoll was made. And this should be eaten at the point of day, and they should drinke no water nor any other thing till after noone: they held it for an ill signe, yea for sacrilege, to doe the contrarie: but after the ceremonies ended, it was lawfull for them to eate any thing. During the time of this ceremonie, 40 they hid the water from their little children, admonishing all such as had the vse of reason, not to drinke any water; which if they did, the anger of God would come vpon them, and they should die, which they did obserue very carefully and strictly. The ceremonies, dancing, and sacrifice ended, they went to vnclothe themselves, and the Priests and Superiors of the Temple tooke the Idoll of paste, which they spoyled of all the ornaments it had, and made many pieces, as well of the Idoll it selfe as of the Tronchons which were consecrated, and then they gaue them to the Communion, beginning with the greater, and continuing vnto the rest, both Men, Women, and little Children; who receiued it with such teares, feare, and reuerence, as it was an admirable thing, saying, *that they did eate the flesh and bones of God*, wherewith they were grieved. Such as had any sicke folkes demanded thereof for them, and carried it with great reuerence and veneration.

50 All such as did communicate, were bound to giue the tenth of this feede, whereof the Idoll was made. The solemnitie of the Idoll being ended, an old man of great authoritie stept vp into a high place, and with a loud voice preached their Law and Ceremonies.

The father of Iyes would likewise counterfait the (*Romish*) Sacrament of Confession, and in this Idolatries seeke to be honored with ceremonies very like to the manner of Christians. In *Peru* they held opinion, that all diseases and aduersities came for the sinnes which they had committed: for remedie whereof they vsed sacrifices: moreouer, they confessed themselves verbally, almost in all Prouinces, and had Confessors appointed by their Superiors to that end, there 60 were some sinnes reserved for the Superiors. They receiued penance, yea sometimes very sharply, especially when the Offendor was a poore man, and had nothing to giue his Confessor. This office of Confessor was likewise exercised by Women. The manner of these Confessors Sorcerers whom they call *Tchuri* or *Tchuri*, hath bene most generall in the Prouinces of *Collasno*. They hold opinion, that it is a haynous sinne to conceale any thing in confession. The *Tchuri* or Confessors

The Deuill liking that vnchristian, Antichristian prodigious opinion of transubstantiation, and the consequents, eleuation, adoration, reservation, *corpus christi* made solemnities and idolatrous processions, with rites beyond any former paganisme, in disgrace of the true Sacrament, falsely calling this their Idoll an vnbloudy sacrifice, which hath cost so many thousands their blood in fire and otherwise (the Papists at once disputing of Christs natural body and despising and renting his mysticall body) hath found nothing fitter to transport into the Indies, nothing more contrarie to sense, reason, religion, humanity, or wherein more to triumph ouer mankind in all these, then this brutish opinion and bloudie solemnitie, here described. Communicating. Idol. sermon. Of Confessors and Confession which the Indians vsed. Chap. 5. Reserved cases in Papall penance.

Sinnes of omission.

Wicked effect of deuillish diuinations.

Penances.

Iapon confession.

Of the abominable Vnction which the Mexican Priests and other Nations vsed, and of their witchcrafts. Chap. 26.

Confessors discovered by lots, or by the view of some beast Hides, if any thing were concealed, and punished them with many blowes with a stone vpon the shoulders, vntill they had reuealed all, then after they gaue him penance, and did sacrifice. They doe likewise vse this confession, when their children, wiues, husbands, or their *Caciques* be sicke, or in any great exploit. And when their *Ingua* was sicke, all the Prouinces confessed themselves, chiefly those of the Prouince of *Collao*. The Confessors were bound to hold their Confessions secret, but in certaine cases limited. The sinnes that they chiefly confessed, was first to kill one another out of warre, then to steale, to take another mans wife, to giue poyson or sorcerie to doe any harme: and they held it to be a grievous sinne, to be forgetfull in the reuerence of their *Gnacas*, or Oratories, not to obserue the Feasts, or to speake ill of the *Ingua*, and to disobey him. They accused not themselves of any secret acts and sinnes. But according to the report of some Priests, after the Christians came into that Country, they accused themselves of their thoughts. The *Ingua* confessed himselfe to no man, but onely to the *Sunne*, that hee might tell them to *Virachoca*, and that hee might forgiue them. After the *Ingua* had bene confessed, he made a certaine bath to cleanse himselfe in a running Riuer, saying these wordes: *I haue told my sinnes to the Sunne, receiue them, O thou Riuer, and carry them to the Sea, where they may neuer appeare more.* Others that confessed, vsed likewise these baths, with certaine ceremonies very like to those the *Moors* vse at this day, which they call *Gnadoy*, and the *Indians* call them *Opacuna*. When it chanced that any mans children dyed, hee was held for a great sinner, saying, that it was for his sinnes that the sonne dyed before the father. And therefore those to whom this had chanced, after they were confessed, were bathed in this bath called *Opacuna*, as is said before. Then some deformed *Indian*, crooke-backed, and counterfaint by nature, came to whip them with certaine Nettles. If the Sorcerers or Inchanters by their lots and diuinations, affirmed that any sicke body should die, the sicke man makes no difficultie to kill his owne sonne, though he had no other, hoping by that meanes to escape death, saying, *that in his place he offered his sonne in sacrifice.* And this crueltie hath bene practised in some places, euen since the Christians came into that Country. In truth it is strange, that this custome of confessing their secret sinnes, hath continued so long amongst them, and to doe so strict penances, as, *to fast, to giue apparell, gold and siluer, to remaine in the Mountaynes, and to receiue many stripes vpon the shoulders.* Our men say, that in the Prouince of *Chiquito*, euen at this day they meet with this plague of Confessors or *Tchuris*, where as many sicke persons repaire vnto them: but now, by the grace of God, this people begins to see clearly the effect and great benefit of our Confession, whereunto they come with great deuotion.

I will report the manner of a strange confession the Deuill hath inuented at *Iapon*, as appeares by a Letter that came from thence, which saith thus: There are in *Ocaca* very great and high and steepe Rocks, which haue pricks or points on them, about two hundred fathom high. Amongst these Rocks there is one of these pikes or points so terribly high, that when the *Xamabusis* (which be *Pilgrimes*) doe but looke vp vnto it, they tremble, and their haire stares, so fearfull and horrible is the place. Vpon the top of this point there is a great rod of Iron of three fathom long, placed there by a strange deuce, at the end of this rod is a ballance tyed, whereof the scales are so bigge, as a man may sit in one of them: and the *Goguis* (which be Deuils in humane shape) command these *Pilgrimes* to enter therein one after another, not leauing one of them: then with an engine or instrument which mooueth, by meanes of a wheele, they make this rod of Iron whereon the ballance is hanged, to hang in the aire, one of these *Xamabusis* being set in one of the scales of the ballance. And as that wherein the man is set hath no counterpoise on the other side, it presently hangeth downe, and the other riseth vntill it meets with and toucheth the rod: then the *Goguis* telleth them from the Rocke, that they must confesse themselves of all the sinnes they haue committed, to their remembrance, and that with a loud voyce, to the end that all the rest may heare him. Then presently hee beginneth to confesse, whilest some of the standers by doe laugh at the sinnes they doe heare; and others sigh, and at euery sinne they confesse, the other scale of the ballance falls a little, vntill that hauing told all his sinnes, it remaines equall with the other, wherein the sorrowfull penitent sits: then the *Goguis* turnes the wheele, and drawes the rod and ballance vnto him, and the *Pilgrime* comes forth; then enters another, vntill all haue passed. A *Iaponois* reported this after he was christned, saying, that hee had bene in this pilgrimage, and entred the ballance seuen times, where he had confessed himselfe publikely. Hee said moreover, that if any one did conceale any sinne, the emptie scale yeelded not: and if hee grew obstinate after instance made to confesse himselfe, refusing to open all his sinnes, the *Goguis* cast him downe from the top, where in an instant he is broken into a thousand pieces. Yet this Christian, who was called *Iohn*, told vs, that commonly the feare and terror of this place is so great to all such as enter therein, and the danger they see with their eyes, to fall out of the ballance, and to be broken in pieces, that seldom there is any one but discovers all his sinnes. This place is called by another name *Sangenotocoro*, that is to say, *the place of Confession*.

The Priests of the Idols in *Mexico* were anointed in this sort; they anointed the body from the foote to the head, and all the haire likewise, which hung like tresses, or a Horse mane, for that they applied this Vnction wet and moist. Their haire grew so, as in time it hung

- hung downe to their hammes, so heauily, that it was troublesome for them to beare it, for they did neuer cut it, vntill they dyed, or that they were dispensed with for their great age, or being employed in gouernments or some honorable charge in the Commonwealth. They carried their haire in tresses, of sixe fingers breadth, which they dyed blacke with the fume of Sapine, of Firre trees, or Rosin; for in all Antiquitie it hath beene an offering they made vnto their Idols, and for this cause it was much esteemed and reuerenced. They were alwayes dyed with this tincture from the foot to the head, so as they were like vnto shining *Negroes*, and that was their ordinary Vnction: yet when as they went to sacrifice and giue Incense in the Mountaines, or on the tops thereof, or in any darke and obscure Caues, where their Idols were, they vsed an other kinde of vnction very different, doing certaine ceremonies to take away feare, and to giue them courage.
- 10 This vnction was made with diuers little venomous beasts, as Spiders, Scorpions, Palmers, Salamanders and Vipers, the which the Boyes in the Colledges tooke and gathered together, where-in they were so expert, as they were alwayes furnished when the Priests called for them. The chiefe care of these Boyes was, to hunt after these beasts; if they went any other way, and by chance met with any of these beasts, they stayed to take them, with as great paine, as if their liues depended thereon. By the reason whereof the *Indians* commonly feared not these venomous beasts, making no more account then if they were not so, hauing beene all bred in this exercise. To make an ointment of these beasts, they tooke them all together, and burnt them vpon the hARTH of the Temple, which was before the Altar, vntill they were consumed to ashes: then
- 20 did they put them in Morters with much Tobacco or *Petum* (being an herbe that Nation vseth much, to benum the flesh, that they may not feele their traueil) with the which they mingle the ashes, making them lose their force; they did likewise mingle with these ashes, Scorpions, Spiders, and Palmers alieue, mingling all together, then did they put to it a certaine seede being grownd, which they call *Ololechqui*, whereof the *Indians* make a drinke to see visions, for that the vertue of this herbe is to deprive man of sense. They did likewise grinde with these ashes blacke and hayrie wormes, whose haire onely is venomous, all which they mingled together with blacke, or the fume of Rosin, putting it in small pots, which they set before their god, saying it was his meat. And therefore they called it a *diuine meat*. By meanes of this ointment they became Witches, and did see and speake with the Deuill. The Priests being slubbered with
- 30 this ointment, lost all feare, putting on a Spirit of crueltie. By reason whereof they did very boldly kill men in their sacrifices, going all alone in the night to the Mountaines, and into obscure Caues, contemning all wilde beasts, and holding it for certaine and approued, that both Lions, Tigres, Serpents, and other furious beasts which breed in the Mountaines, and Forests, fled from them, by the vertue of this *Petum* of their god.
- And in truth, though this *Petum* had no power to make them flie, yet was the Deuils picture sufficient whereinto they were transformed. This *Petum* did also serue to cure the sicke, and for children: and therefore all called it the *diuine Physicke*: and so they came from all parts to the Superiors and Priests, as to their Sauours, that they might apply this diuine physicke, where-with they anointed those parts that were grieved. They said that they felt hereby a notable ease,
- 40 which might be, for that Tobacco and *Ololechqui* haue this propertie of themselves, to benum the flesh, being applyed in manner of an emplayster, which must bee by a stronger reason being mingled with poysons, and for that it did appease and benum the paine, they held it for an effect of health, and a diuine vertue. And therefore ran they to these Priests as to holy men, who kept the blinde and ignorant in this error, perswading them what they pleased, and making them runne after their inuentions and deuillish ceremonies, their authoritie being such, as their wordes were sufficient to induce beliefe as an article of their Faith. And thus made they a thousand superstitions among the vulgar people, in their manner of offering Incense, in cutting their haire, tying small flowers about their necks, and strings with small bones of Snakes, commanding them to bathe at a certaine time; and that they should watch all night at the hARTH, lest the fire should
- 50 die, that they should eate no other bread but that which had beene offered to their gods, that they should vpon any occasion repayre vnto their Witches, who with certaine graines told fortunes, and diuined, looking into Keelers and Pailles full of water. The Sorcerers and Ministers of the Deuill vsed much to besmeare themselves. There were an infinite number of these Witches, Diuiners, Enchanters, and other false prophets. There remaynes yet at this day of this infection, although they bee secret, not daring publicly to exercise their sacrileges, deuillish ceremonies and superstitions, but their abuses and wickednesse are discovered more at large and particularly in the confessions made by the Prelates of *Pern*.
- There is a kinde of Sorcerers amongst the *Indians* allowed by the Kings *Inguas*, which are as it were Sooth-sayers, they take vpon them what forme and figure they please, flying far through the aire in a short time, beholding all that was done. They talke with the Deuill, who answereth them in certaine stones or other things which they reuerence much. They serue as Conjurers, to tell what hath passed in the farthest parts, before any newes can come. As it hath chanced since the *Spaniards* arrived there, that in the distance of two or three hundred leagues, they haue knowne the Mutinies, Battailles, Rebellions, and Deaths, both of Tyrants, and of

Haire-super-
stition.Vision oint-
ment.Like lips, like
Lettuce.Benumbing
force of To-
bacco.

Diuinations.

Strange Sor-
cerers.

those of the Kings partie, and of priuate men, the which haue beene knowne the same day they chanced, or the day after, a thing impossible by the course of nature. To worke this diuination, they shut themselves into a house, and became drunke vntill they lost their senses, a day after they answered to that which was demanded. Some affirme they vse certaine Vnctions. The *Indians* say, that the old women doe commonly vse this office of witchcraft, and specially those of one Prouince, which they call *Coaillo*, and of another Towne called *Manchey*, and of the Prouince of *Guarochari*. They likewise shew what is become of things stolen and lost. There are of these kindes of Sorcerers in all parts, to whom commonly doe come the *Anaonas*, and *Cyna*, which serue the *Spaniards*, and when they haue lost any thing of their Masters, or when they desire to know the successe of things past or to come, as when they goe to the *Spaniards* Cities for their priuate affaires, or for the publike, they demand if their voyage shall bee prosperous, if they shall be sick, if they shall die, or retorne safe, if they shall obtaine that which they pretend: and the Witches or Conjurers answer, Yea, or No, hauing first spoken with the Deuill, in an obscure place: so as these *Anaonas* do well heare the sound of the voyce, but they see not to whom these Conjurers speake, neither doe they vnderstand what they say. They make a thousand ceremonies and sacrifices to this effect, with the which they mocke the Deuill and grow exceeding drunke, for the doing whereof, they particularly vse an herb called *Villea*, the ioyce whereof they mingle with their *Chica*, or take it in some other sort.

Of other Ceremonies and Customes of the *Indians*, which are like vnto ours. Chap. 27. Mexican Baptisme.

Marriage ceremonies.

300. Mexican Idols. Mangos mangled deuotions.

The *Indians* had an infinite number of other ceremonies and customes, which resembled to the ancient Law of *Moses*, and some to those which the *Moors* vse, and some approached neere to the Law of the Gospell, as their Bathes or *Opacuna*, as they call them: they did wash themselves in water, to cleanse them from their sinnes. The *Mexicans* had also amongst them a kinde of Baptisme, the which they did with ceremonie, cutting the eares and members of young children new borne, counterfainting in some sort the Circumcision of the *Jewes*. This ceremonie was done principally to the sonnes of Kings and Noblemen: presently vpon their birth the Priests did wash them, and did put a little Sword in the right hand, and in the left a Target. And to the Children of the vulgar sort, they put the markes of their offices, and to their Daughters instruments to spin, knit, and labour. This ceremonie continued foure dayes, being made before some Idoll. They contracted marriage after their manner, whereof the Licenciate *Pollo* hath written a whole Treatise, and I will speake somewhat thereon hereafter. In other things their customes and ceremonies haue some shew of reason. The *Mexicans* were married by the hands of their Priests in this sort. The Bridegroome and the Bride stood together before the Priest, who tooke them by the hands, asking them if they would marry; then hauing vnderstood their wills, he tooke a corner of the vaile wherewith the woman had her head couered, and a corner of the mans gowne the which he tyed together on a knot, and soled them thus tyed to the Bridegroomes house, where there was a harth kindled, and then he caused the wife to goe seuen times about the harth, and so the married couple sat downe together, and thus was the marriage contracted. The *Mexicans* were very jealous of the integritie of their wiues: so as if they found they were not as they ought to bee (the which they knew either by signes or dishonest wordes) they presently gaue notice thereof to their fathers and kinsfolks of their wiues, to their great shame and dishonor, for that they had not kept good guard ouer them. When they went to the house they made an Inuentorie of all the man and wife brought together, of prouisions for the house, of land, of jewels and ornaments, which Inuentories euery father kept, for if it chanced they made any diuorce (as it was common amongst them when they agree not) they diuided their goods according to the portion that euery one brought, euery one hauing libertie in such a case, to marry whom they pleased: and they gaue the Daughters to the Wife, and the Sonnes to the Husband. It was defended vpon paine of death, not to marry againe together, the which they obserued very strictly. And although it seeme that many of their ceremonies agree with ours, yet differ they much for the great abomination they mingle therewithall. It is common and generall to haue vsually one of these three things, either Crueltie, Filthinesse, or Slouth: for all their ceremonies were cruell and hurtfull, as to kill men and to spill blood; or filthy and beastly, as to eate and drinke to the name of their Idols, and also to pisse in the honour of them, carrying them vpon their shoulders, to anoint and besmeare themselves filthily, and to doe a thousand sorts of villanies, which were at the least, vaine, ridiculous, and idle, and more like the actions of children, then of men. Whereas the temporall power was greatest, there superstition hath most increased, as we see in the Realmes of *Mexico* and *Cusco*, where it is incredible to see the number of Idols they had: for within the Citie of *Mexico* there were aboue three hundred. *Mango Inqua Tupangui*, amongst the Kings of *Cusco*, was he that most augmented the seruice of their Idols, inuenting a thousand kindes of sacrifices, feasts, and ceremonies. The like did King *Iscoalt* in *Mexico*, who was the fourth King. There was also a great number of superstitions and sacrifices in other Nations of the *Indians*, as in the Prouince of *Guatimala*, at the Ilands in the new Kingdome, in the Prouince of *Chille*, and others that were like Commonwealths and Comminalties. But it was nothing in respect of *Mexico* and *Cusco*, where Satan was as in *Rome*, or in his *Ierusalem*.

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The *Inguas* Lords of *Peru*, had two kindes of Feasts. Some were *ordinarie*, which fell out in certayne moneths of the yeere: and others *extraordinarie*, which were for certayne causes of importance, as when they did crowne a new King, when they beganne some warre of importance, when they had any great need of water or drought, or other-like things. For the ordinary Feasts, wee must vnderstand, that euery moneth of the yeere they made Feasts, and diuers Sacrifices, and although all of them had this alike, that they offered a hundred sheepe: yet in colour, and in forme they are very diuers. In the first moneth which they call *Rayme*, which is the moneth of December, they made their first Feast, which was the principall of all others, and for that cause they called it *Capacrayme*, which is to say, *A rich and principall Feast*. In this Feast they offered a great number of sheepe and Lambes in Sacrifice, and they burnt them with sweet wood, then they caused Gold and Silver to be brought vpon certayne sheepe, setting vpon them three Images of the *Sunne*, and three of the *Thunder, the Father, the Sonne, and the Brother*. In these Feasts they dedicated the *Inguas* children, putting *Guaras*, or Ensignes vpon them, and they pierced their eares: then some old man did whip them with slings, and annoynted their faces with bloud, all in signe that they should be true Knights to the *Inguas*. No stranger might remayne in *Cusco* during this moneth, and this Feast, but at the end thereof they entred, and they gave vnto them pieces of the paste of Mays with the bloud of the Sacrifice, which they did eate in signe of confederation with the *Inguas*, as hath beene said before. It is strange that the Deuill after his manner hath brought a *Trinitie* into Idolatry, for the three Images of the *Sunne* called *Apomti*, *Chiruntti*, and *Intiquaogui* which signifieth *Father and Lord Sunne, the Sonne Sunne*, and the *Brother Sunne*. In the like manner they named the three Images of *Chuquilla*, which is the God that rules in the Region of the *Ayre*, where it Thunders, Raines and Snowes. I remember, that being in *Cuzco*, an honourable Priest shewed me an information, which I had long in my hands, where it was prooued that there was a certayne *Guaca* or Oratory, whereas the *Indians* did worship an Idoll called *Tangatunga*, which they said was *one in three, and three in one*. Comming then to the Feast of the second moneth, which they called *Camey*, besides the Sacrifices which they made, they did cast the ashes into the River, following fve or sixe leagues after, praying it to carry them into the Sea, for that the *Virochobos* should there receiue this present. In the third, fourth and fift moneth, they offered a hundred blacke sheepe, speckled, and grey, with many other things, which I omit for being too tedious. The sixt moneth is called *Haimencuzqui Aymorey*, which answereth to May, in the which they sacrificed a hundred sheepe more, of all colours: in this Moone and moneth, which is when they bring May from the fields into the house, they made a Feast, which is yet very vsuall among the *Indians*, and they doe call it *Aymorey*. This Feast is made comming from the *Chacra* or Farme vnto the house, saying certayne Songs, and praying that the Mays may long continue, the which they call *Mamacora*. They take a certayne portion of the most fruitfull of the Mays that growes in their Farmes, the which they put in a certayne Granier which they doe call *Pirua*, with certayne Ceremonies, watching three nights: they put this Mays in the richest garments they haue, and being thus wrapped and dressed, they worship this *Pirua*, and hold it in great veneration, saying it is the Mother of the Mays of their Inheritances, and that by this meanes the Mays augments and is preserued. In this moneth they make a particular Sacrifice, and the Witches demand of this *Pirua*, if it hath strength sufficient to continue vntill the next yeere: and if it answers No, then they carry this Mays to the Farme to burne, whence they brought it, according to euery mans power; then make they another *Pirua*, with the same Ceremonies, saying, that they renew it, to the end the Seed of Mays may not perish, and if it answers that it hath force sufficient to last longer, they leaue it vntill the next yeere. This foolish vanitie continueth to this day, and it is very common amongst the *Indians* to haue these *Piruas*, and to make the Feast of *Aymorey*. The seuenth moneth answereth to Iune, and is called *Aucaycuzqui Intiraymi*, in it they made the Feast that is called *Intiraymi*, in the which they sacrificed a hundred sheepe called *Guanacos*, and said it was the Feast of the *Sonne*. In this moneth they made many Images of *Quinna* wood carued, all attired with rich garments, and they made their dancings which they doe call *Cayo*. At this Feast they cast flowers in the high wayes, and thither the *Indians* came painted, and their Noblemen had small plates of Gold vpon their beards, and all did sing; we must vnderstand that this Feast falleth almost at the same time, when as the Christians obserue the Solemnitie of the holy Sacrament, which doth resemble it in some sort, as in dancing, singing and representations. And for this cause there hath beene, and is yet among the *Indians* (which celebrated a Feast somewhat like to ours of the holy Sacrament) many Superstitions in celebrating this ancient Feast of *Intiraymi*. The eight moneth is called *Chabua Huarqui*, in the which they did burne a hundred sheep more, all grey, of the colour of *Uiscacha*, according to the former order, which moneth doth answer to our Iuly. The ninth moneth was called *Yapaghis*, in which they burnt an hundred sheepe more, of a Chestnut colour; and they doe likewise kill and burne a thousand *Cuyes*, to the end that neither the Frost, the Ayre, the water, nor the Sunne should hurt their Farmes: and this moneth doth answer vnto August. The tenth moneth was called *Coyarami*, in the which

Feasts celebrated by them of *Cusco*, and how the Deuill would imitate the mystery of the holy Trinitie. Chap. 28. *Rayme-feast.*

Indian Trinitie.

Camey-feast.

Aymorey-feast.

Intiraymi-feast.

Corpus Christi day resembled

the mystery of
the holy Trinity.
the Lord's Prayer.
the Creed.
the Sacraments.
the Church.
the Devil.
the Angels and Devils.
the Resurrection.
the Last Judgment.
the Kingdom of God.
the Beatitudes.
the Parables.
the Lord's Prayer.
the Creed.
the Sacraments.
the Church.
the Devil.
the Angels and Devils.
the Resurrection.
the Last Judgment.
the Kingdom of God.
the Beatitudes.
the Parables.

and the *Inguæ*, as hath beene said.

too much, or too little, or when there is a plague.

making the dances of *Lyamallama*, and of *Guacon*, and of others, according to their ancient Ce-

Chap. 29.

the

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their liues; and free them from the labours they endured therein. Theeues, Adulterers, and Murtherers, and all other offenders had great feare and heavinesse, whilst this Flute sounded; so as some could not dissemble nor hide their offences. By this meanes they all demanded no other thing of their God, but to haue their offences concealed, powring forth many teares, with great repentance and sorrow, offering great store of Incense to appease their Gods. The courageous and valiant men, and all the old Souldiers, that followed the art of Warre, hearing this Flute, demanded with great deuotion of God the Creator, of the Lord for whom we liue, of the Sun, and of other their Gods, that they would giue them victory against their enemies, & strength to take many Captiues, therewith to honour their Sacrifices. This Ceremony was done ten dayes before the Feast. During which ten dayes the Priest did sound this Flute, to the end that all might doe this worship in eating of earth, and demand of their Idoll what they pleased: they every day made their Prayers, with their eyes lift vp to Heauen, and with sighs and groanings, as men that were grieved for their finnes and offences. Although this contrition was onely for feare of the corporall punishment that was giuen them, and not for any feare of the eternall; for they certainly beleued there was no such seuerer punishment in the other life. And therefore they offered themselves voluntarily, to death, holding opinion that it is to all men an assured rest.

No feare but of temporall punishment.

The first day of the Feast of this Idoll *Tezcalipuca* beeing come, all they of the Citie assembled together in a Court, to celebrate likewise the Feast of the Kalender, whereof we haue already spoken, which was called *Toxcoaltli*, which signifies *A dry thing*: which Feast was not made to any other end, but to demand raine, in the same manner that wee solemnize the *Rogations*: and this Feast was alwayes in May, which is the time that they haue most need of raine in those Countreys. They beganne to celebrate it the ninth of May, ending the nineteenth. The last day of the Feast the Priests drew forth a Litter well furnished with Curtaynes and Pendants of diuers fashions. This Litter had so many armes to hold by as there were Ministers to carrie it. All which came forth besmeered with blacke and long haire, halfe in tresses with white strings, and attyred in the livery of the Idoll. Vpon this Litter they set the personage of the Idoll, appointed for this Feast, which they called the resemblance of their God *Tezcalipuca*, and taking it vpon their shoulders, they brought it openly to the foot of the staires: then came forth the young men and Maydens of the Temple, carrying a great coard wreathed of chaines of roasted Mays, with the which they enuironed the Litter, and putting a chaine of the same about the Idols necke, and a Garland vpon his head. They called the coard *Toxcoaltli*, signifying the drought and barrenesse of the time. The young men came wrapped in red Curtaines, with Garlands and chaines of roasted Mays. The Maydes were clothed in new Garments, wearing chaines about their neckes of roasted Mays, and vpon their heads Mytres made of rods covered with this Mays, they had their feet covered with feathers, and their armes and cheekes painted. They brought much of this roasted Mays, and the chiefe men put it vpon their heads, and about their neckes, taking flowres in their hands. The Idoll being placed in his Litter, they strewed round about a great quantitie of the boughes of Manguely, the leaues whereof are large and pricking.

This Litter being set vpon the religious mens shoulders, they carried it in Procession within the circuit of the Court, two Priests marching before with Censors, giuing often Incense to the Idoll; and euery time they gaue Incense, they lifted vp their armes as high as they could to the Idoll, and to the Sunne, saying, that they lifted vp their Prayers to Heauen, euen as the smoke ascended on high. Then all the people in the Court turned round to the place whither the Idoll went, euery one carrying in his hand new coards of the threed of the *Manguely*, a fadome long, with a knot at the end, and with them they whipped themselves vpon the shoulders; euen as they doe here vpon holy Thursday. All the wals of the Court and Battlements were full of boughes and flowres, so fresh and pleasant, as it did giue a great contentment. This Procession being ended, they brought the Idoll to his vsuall place of abode. Then came a great multitude of people with flowres, dressed in diuers sorts, wherewith they filled the Temple and all the Court, so as it seemed the ornament of an Oratory. All this was put in order by the Priests, the young men administering these things vnto them from without. The Chappell or Chamber where the Idoll remayned was all this day open without any Veile.

This done, euery one came and offered Curtines, and pendants of *Sandally*, precious Stones, Jewels, Incence, sweet wood, Grapes, or eares of Mays, Quales: and finally, all they were accustomed to offer in such solemnities. When as they offered Quales (which was the poore mans offering) they vsed this ceremonie, they deliuered them to the Priests, who taking them, pulled off their heads, and cast them at the foote of the Altar, where they lost their bloud, and so they did of all other things which were offered. Euery one did offer meate and fruite according to their power, the which was laid at the foote of the Altar, and the Ministers gathered them vp, and carried them to their Chambers. This solempne offering done, the people went to dinner, euery one to his village or house, leaving the feast suspended vntill after dinner. In the meane time, the yong Men and Maydens of the Temple, with their ornaments, were busied to serue the Idoll, with all that was appointed for him to eate: which meate was prepared by other

other women, who had made a vow that day to serue the Idoll. And therefore such as had made this vow, came by the point of day, offering themselves to the Deputies of the Temple, that they might command them what they would haue done, the which they did carefully performe. They did prepare such variety of meates, as it was admirable. This meate being ready, and the houre of dinner come, all these Virgins went out of the Temple in procession, euery one carrying a little basket of bread in her hand, and in the other, a dish of these meates; before them marched an old man, like to a steward, with a pleasant habit, he was cloathed in a white Surples downe to the calves of his legges, vpon a doublet without sleeues of red leather, like to a iacket, he carried wings instead of sleeues, from the which hung broad ribbands, at the which did hang a small Calibasse or pumpion, which was couered with flowers, by little holes that were made in it, and within it were many superstitious things. This old man thus attyred, marched very humbly and heauily before the preparation, with his head declining: and comming neere the foote of the staires, he made a great obeisance and reuerence. Then going on the one side, the Virgins drew neere with the meate, presenting it in order one after another, with great reuerence. This seruice presented, the old man returned as before, leading the Virgins into their conuent. This done, the yong men and ministers of the Temple, came forth and gathered vpon this meate, the which they carried to the Chambers of the chiefe Priests of the Temple, who had fasted five dayes, eating onely once a day, and they had also abstained from their wiues, not once going out of the Temple in these five dayes. During the which they did whip themselves rigorously with cords; they did eate of this diuine meate (for so they called it) what they could, was it lawfull for any other to eate thereof. All the people hauing dined, they assembled againe in the court to see the end of the feast, whither they brought a captiue, which by the space of a whole yeare, had represented the Idoll, being attired, decked, and honoured, as the Idoll ic selfe, and doing all reuerence vnto him, they deliuered him into the hands of the sacrificers, who at that instant presented themselves, taking him by the feete and hands. The Pope did open his stomacke, and pull out his heart, then did he lift vp his hand as high as he could, shewing it to the Sunne, and to the Idoll, as hath beene said. Hauing thus sacrificed him that represented the Idoll, they went into a holy place appointed for this purpose, whither came the yong Men and Virgins of the Temple, with their ornaments, the which being put in order, they danced and sung with Drummes and other instruments, on the which the chiefe Priests did play and sound. Then came all the Noblemen with ensignes and ornaments like to the yong men, who danced round about them. They did not vsually kill any other men that day, but him that was sacrificed, yet euery fourth yeare they had others with him, which was in the yeare of Iubile and full pardons. After Sunne set, euery one being satisfied with sounding, eating, and drinking, the Virgins went all to their conuent, they tooke great dishes of earth full of bread mixt with hony, couered with small panniers, wrought and fashioned with dead mens heads and bones, and they carried the collation to the Idoll, mounting vp to the Court, which was before the doore of the Oratorie: and hauing set them downe, they retired in the same order as they came, the steward going still before. Presently came forth all the yong men in order, with canes or reedes in their hands, who began to runne as fast as they could to the top of the staires of the Temple, who should come first to the dishes of the collation. The Elders or chiefe Priests obserued him that came first, second, third, and fourth, without regarding the rest. This collation was likewise all carried away by the yong men, as great Relicks. This done, the foure that arriued first were placed in the midst of the Ancients of the Temple, bringing them to their chambers with much honour, praising them, and giuing them ornaments; and from thence forth they were respected and reuerenced as men of marke. The taking of this collation being ended, and the feast celebrated with much ioy and noise, they dismissed all the yong men and maides which had serued the Idoll; by meanes whereof they went one after another, as they came forth. All the small children of the Colledges and Schooles, were at the gate of the court, with bottomes of rushes and hearbs in their hands, which they cast at them, mocking and laughing, as of them that came from the seruice of the Idoll: they had liberty then to dispose of themselves at their pleasure, and thus the Feast ended.

Of the Feast
of Marchants,
which those of
Cholustecas did
celebrate. Ch. 30

Although I haue spoken sufficiently of the seruice the *Mexicans* did vnto their gods; yet will I speake something of the feast they called *Quetzacoalt*, which was the god of riches, the which was solemnised in this manner. Fortie dayes before the Marchants bought a slaue well proportioned, without any fault or blemish, either of sicknesse or of hurt, which they did attire with the ornaments of the Idoll, that he might represent it forty dayes. Before his cloathing they did cleanse him, washing him twice in a lake, which they called the lake of the gods; and being purified, they attired him like the Idoll. During these forty dayes, he was much respected for his sake whom he represented. By night they did imprison him (as hath beene said) lest he should flye, and in the morning they tooke him out of prison, setting him vpon an eminent place, where they serued him, giuing him exquisite meates to eate. After he had eaten, they put a chaine of flowers about his necke, and many nosegaies in his hand. He had

had a well appointed guard, with much people to accompany him. When he went through the Citie, he went dancing and singing through all the streetes, that he might be knowne for the resemblance of their god, and when he beganne to sing, the women and little children came forth of their houses to salute him, and to offer vnto him as to their god. Two old men of the Ancients of the Temple, came vnto him nine dayes before the feast, and humbling themselves before him, they said with a low and submisſe voyce, *Sir, you must vnderstand that nine dayes hence the exercise of dancing and singing doth end, and thou must then dye*; and then he must answer, *In a good houre*. They call this ceremony, *Neyola Maxiltexli*, which is to say, the aduertisement: and when they did thus aduertise him, they tooke very carefull heede whether he were said, or if he danced as ioyfully as he was accustomed, the which if he did not as cheerefully as they desired, they made a foolish superstition in this manner. They presently tooke the sacrificing rasors, the which they washed and clenſed from the blood of men, which remained of the former sacrifices. Of this washing they made a drinke mingled with another liquor made of *Cacao*, giuing it him to drinke; they said that this would make him forget what had bene said vnto him, and would make him in a manner insensible, returning to his former dancing and mirth. They said moreouer, that he would offer himselfe cheerefully to death, being enchanted with this drinke. The cause why they sought to take from him this heauinesse, was, for that they held it for an ill augure, and a fore-telling of some great harme. The day of the Feast being come, after they had done him much honour, sung, and giuen him incense, the sacrificers tooke him about midnight and did sacrifice him, as hath bene said, offering his heart vnto the Moone, the which they did afterwards cast against the Idoll, letting the body fall to the bottome of the staires of the Temple, where such as had offered him tooke him vp, which were the Marchants, whose feast it was. Then hauing carried him into the chiefeſt mans house amongst them, the body was drest with diuers sawces, to celebrate (at the breake of day) the banquet and dinner of the feast, hauing first bid the Idoll good morrow, with a small dance, which they made whilst the day did breake, and that they prepared the sacrifice. Then did all the Marchants assemble at this banquet, especially those which made it a trafficke to buy and sell slaues, who were bound euery yeere to offer one, for the resemblance of their god. This Idoll was one of the most honored in all the Land: and therefore the Temple where he was, was of a great authoritie. There were threeſcore staires to ascend vp vnto it, and on the top was a Court of an indifferent largenesse, very finely drest and plastered, in the midst whereof, was a great round thing like vnto an Ouen, hauing the entrie low and narrow: so as they must stoope very low that should enter into it. This Temple had Chambers and Chappels as the rest, where there were conuents of Priests, yong Men, Maides, and Children, as hath bene said: and there was one Priest alone resident continually, the which they changed weekly: For although there were in euery one of these Temples, three or foure Cutates or Ancients, yet did euery one serue his weeke without parting. His charge that weeke (after he had instructed the children) was to strike vp a Drum euery day at the Sunne-setting, to the same end that we are accustomed to ring to Euenſong. This Drum was such as they might heare the house ſound thereof throughout all the parts of the Citie, then euery man shut vp his merchandise, and retired vnto his house, and there was so great a silence, as there seemed to be no liuing creature in the Towne. In the morning when as the day began to breake, they began to ſound the Drum, which was a signe of the day beginning, so as trauellers and strangers attended this signall to begin their iournies, for till that time it was not lawfull to goe out of the Citie.

There was in this Temple a Court of reasonable greatnesse, in the which they made great dances, and pastimes, with games or comedies the day of the Idols feast; for which purpose there was in the middest of this court a Theatre of thirty foote square very finely decked and trimmed, the which they decked with flowers that day, with all the art and inuention that might be, being inuironed round with Arches of diues flowers and feathers, and in some places there were tied many small Birds, Conies, and other tame beaſts. After dinner all the people assembled in this place, and the Players presented themselves, and plaied Comedies, some counterfeited the deafe, and the rheumatike, others the lame, some the blinde, and without hands, which came to seeke for cure of the Idoll, the deafe answered confusedly, the rheumaticke did cough, the lame halted, telling their miseries and griefes, wherewith they made the people to laugh; others come forth in the forme of little beaſts, some were attired like Snayles, others like Toades, and some like Lizards: then meeting together, they told their offices, and euery one retyring to his place, they ſounded on small flutes, which was pleasant to heare. They likewise counterfeited Butterflies and small Birds of diuers colours, and the children of the Temple represented these formes, then they went into a little Forrest planted there for the nonce, where the Priests of the Temple drew them forth with instruments of musicke. In the meane time they vsed many pleasant speeches, some in propounding, others in defending, wherewith the assistants were pleasantly intertained. This done, they made a Maske or Mummerie with all these personages, and so the Feast ended: the which were vsually done in their principall Feasts.

Stately Temple.

Drums vsed in stead of Bels.

Comedies.

CHAP. VI.

Civill Customes and Arts of the INDIANS taken out of
ACOSTA 6. Booke.

Of the suppu-
tation of times
and the Kalen-
der the *Mexi-*
cans vſed. Cha. 2.

Mexican yeare
& 18. moneths.

New yeares
day.
Their Kalen-
der.

Weeke of 13.
daies, or yeares.
See this in the
Mexican Chro-
nicle in their
owne figures.

New Age.

How the Kings
Inguas accoun-
ted the yeares
and moneths.

Better compu-
tation of times
in *Peru*.



Will first shew in what sort the *Mexicans* counted and diuided their yeere, their moneths, their Kalender, their computations, their worlds and ages. They diuided the yeare into eightene moneths, to which they gaue twentie dayes, wherein the three hundred and threescore dayes are accomplished, not comprehending in any of these Moneths the five daies that remaine, and make the yeare perfect. But they did reckon them apart, and called them *the dayes of nothing*: during the which, the people did not any thing, neither went they to their Temples, but occupied themselves onely in visiting one another, and so spent the time: the sacrificers of the Temple did likewise cease their sacrifices. These five dayes being past, they began the computation of the yeare, whereof the first moneth and beginning was in March, when the leaues began to grow greene, although they tooke three dayes of the moneth of February; for the first day of their yeare was, as it were, the six and twentieth day of February, as appeareth by their Kalender, within the which ours is likewise comprehended and contained with a very ingenious Art, which was made by the ancient *Indians* that knew the first *Spaniards*. I haue seene this Kalender, and haue it yet in my custodie, which well deserueth the sight, to vnderstand the discourse and industrie the *Mexican Indians* had. Euerie one of these eightene moneths had his proper name, and his proper picture, the which was commonly taken of the principall Feast that was made in that moneth, or from the diuersitie of times, which the yeare caused in that moneth. They had in this Kalender certaine daies marked and distinguished for their feasts. And they accounted their weekes by thirteene dayes, marking the daies with a *Zero* or cipher, which they multiplied vnto thirteene, and then began to count, one, two, &c. They did likewise marke the yeares of these wheeles, with foure signes or figures, attributing to euerie yeare a peculiar signe, whereof one was of a House, another of a Conie, the third of a Reede, and the fourth of a Flint. They painted them in this sort, noting by those figures the yeare that did runne, saying of so many Houses, of so many Flints, of such a Wheele, happened such a thing. For we must vnderstand that their wheele, which was an age, contained foure weekes of yeares, euerie weeke containing thirteene yeares, which in all made fiftie two yeares. In the midst of this wheele they painted a Sun, from the which went foure beames or lines in crosse to the circumference of the wheele, and they made their course, euen as the circumference was diuided into foure equall parts, euerie one with his line, hauing a distinct colour from the rest, and the foure colours were, Greene, Blew, Red, and Yellow: euerie portion of these foure had thirteene separations which had all their signes or particular figures, of a House, a Conie, a Reede, or a Flint, noting by euerie signe a yeare, and vpon the head of this signe they painted what had happened that yeare. And therefore I did see in the Kalender mentioned the yeare when the *Spaniards* entered *Mexico*, marked by the picture of a man clad in red, after our manner, for such was the habit of the first *Spaniard*, whom *Fernando Cortes* sent, at the end of the two and fiftie yeares, which finished the wheele. They vſed a pleasant ceremonie, which was, the last night they did breake all their vessels and stuffe, and put out their fire, and all the lights, saying, that the world should end at the finishing of one of these wheeles, and it might be at that time: for (said they) seeing the world must then end, what neede is there to prouide meate to eate, and therefore they had no further neede of Vessels nor fire. Vpon this conceit they passed the night in great feare, saying, it might happen there would be no more day, and they watched verie carefully for the day; when they saw the day begin to breake, they presently beat many Drums, and sounded Cornets, Flutes, and other instruments of ioy and gladnesse, saying, that God did yet prolong the time with another age, which were fiftie two yeares. And then began another wheele. The first day and beginning of this age they tooke new fire, and bought new Vessels to dresse their meate, and all went to the high Priest for this new fire, hauing first made a solemne Sacrifice, and giuen thanks for the comming of the day, and prolongation of another age. This was their manner of accounting their yeares, moneths, weekes, and ages.

Although this supputation of times practised amongst the *Mexicans*, be ingenious enough and certaine, for men that had no learning; yet in my opinion they wanted discourse and consideration, hauing not grounded their computation according vnto the course of the Moone, nor distributed their months accordingly, wherein those of *Peru* haue farre surpassed them: for they diuided their yeare into as manie daies, perfectly accomplished as we doe here, and into twelue moneths or Moones, in the which they imploied and consumed the eleuen daies that remaind of the Moone, as *Polo* writes. To make the computation of their yeare sure and certaine, they vſed this industrie; vpon the Mountaines which are about the Citie of *Cusco* (where the

Kings

Kings *Inguas* held their Court, being the greatest sanctuarie of those Realms, and as we should say another *Rome*) there were twelue Pillars set in order, and in such distance the one from the other, as euerie moneth one of these Pillars did note the rising and setting of the Sunne. They called them *Succanga*, by meanes whereof they taught and shewed, the Feasts, and the seasons fit to sowe and reape, and to doe other things. They did certaine sacrifices to these Pillars of the Sunne. Euerie moneth had his proper name, and peculiar Feasts. They began the yeare by Ianuarie as we doe. But since, a King *Ingua* called *Pachacuto*, which signifies a reformer of the Temple, began their yeare by December, by reason (as I coniecture) that then the Sunne returneth from the last point of Capricorne, which is the tropike neereft vnto them. I know not whether the one or the other haue obserued any Bifexte, although some hold the contrarie. The weekes which the *Mexicans* did reckon, were not properly weekes, being not of seuen daies: the *Inguas* likewise made no mention thereof which is no wonder, seeing the count of the weeke is not grounded vpon the course of the Sunne, as that of the yeare, nor of the Moone, as that of the moneth; but among the *Hebrewes* it is grounded vpon the creation of the world, as *Moses* reporteth; and amongst the *Greekes* and *Latins* vpon the number of the seuen Planets, of whole names the daies of the weeke haue taken their denomination; yet was it much for those *Indians*, being men without bookes and learning, to haue a yeare, seasons, and feasts, so well appointed as I haue said.

12. Pillars of the Sunne.

Letters were inuented to signifie properly the words we doe pronounce, euen as words (according to the Philosopher) are the signes and demonstrations of mans thoughts and conceptions. And both the one and the other (I say the letters and words) were ordained to make things knowne. The voice of such as are present, and letters for the absent, and such as are to come. Signes and markes which are not properly to signifie words, but things, cannot be called, neither in truth are they letters, although they be written, for we cannot say that the picture of the Sunne is a writing of the Sunne, but onely a picture; and the like may be said of other signes and characters, which haue no resemblance to the thing, but serue onely for memorie: for he that inuented them, did not ordaine them to signifie words, but onely to noate the thing: neither doe they call those characters, letters, or writings, as indeede they are not, but rather ciphers, or remembrances, as those be which the Spherists or Astronomers doe vse, to signifie diuers signes or planets of *Mars, Venus, Iupiter, &c.*

That no Nation of the *Indies* hath beene found to haue had the vse of Letters. Chap. 4

Such characters are ciphers, and no letters: for what name soeuer *Mars* may haue in *Italian, France, or Spanish*, this character doth alwaies signifie it, the which is not found in letters: for although they signifie the thing, yet is it by meanes of words. So as they which know not the thing, vnderstand them not: as for example, the *Greekes* nor the *Hebrews*, cannot conceiue what this word *Sol* doth signifie, although they see it written; for that they vnderstand not the Latine word: so as writing and letters are onely practised by them, which signifie words therewith. For if they signifie things mediately, they are no more letters nor writings, but ciphers and pictures: whereby we may obserue two notable things. The one, that the memorie of Histories and Antiquities may be preserued by one of these three meanes, either by letters and writings, as hath beene vsed amongst the *Latines, Greekes, Hebrewes*, and manie other Nations; or by painting, as hath beene vsed almost throughout all the world, for it is said in the second *Niceene* Councell, *Painting is a Booke for fooles which cannot reade*: or by ciphers and characters, as the cipher signifies the number of a hundred, a thousand and others, without noting the word of a hundred, or a thousand. The other thing we may obserue thereby, is that which is propounded in this Chapter, which is, that no Nation of the *Indies* discovered in our time, hath had the vse of letters and writings, but of the other two sorts, Images, and figures. The which I obserue, not onely of the *Indies* of *Pern*, and *New Spaine*, but also of *Iappon*, and *China*.

Three wayes of remembrance to posterity; letters, as we haue; pictures, as the *Mexicans*; characters, as in *China*.

Such fooles did that wise counsell make the *Christi Church*, in decreeing Images not onely to be bookes for such as can not reade, but obiects of worship to learned and vnlearned;

It is difficult to vnderstand how the *Chinois* can write proper names in their tongue, especially of strangers, being things they haue neuer seene, and not able to inuent figures proper vnto them. I haue made triall thereof being in *Mexico* with the *Chinois*, willing them to write this proposition in their language, *Ioseph Acosta is come from Pern*, and such like: whereupon the *Chinise* was long pentiue, but in the end hee did write it, the which other *Chinois* did after reade, although they did vary a little in the pronuntiation of the proper name. For they vse this deuise to write a proper name: they seeke out some thing in their tongue, that hath resemblance to that name, and set downe the figure of this thing. And as it is difficult among so many proper names, to finde things to resemble them in the prolation, so is it very difficult and troublesome to write such names. Vpon this purpose, Father *Allonso Sanchez* told vs, that when hee was in *China*, being led into diuers Tribunall Seates, from *Manderin* to *Manderin*, they were long in putting his name in writing in their *Caphas*, yet in the end they did write it after their manner, and so ridiculously, that they scarce came neere to the name: and this is the fashion of Letters and Writings which the *Chinois* vse. That of the *Iapponois* approached very neere, although they affirme that the Noblemen of *Iappon* that came into *Europe*, did write all things

verie

very easily in their Language, were they of our proper names: yea, I haue had some of their Writing shewed me, whereby it seemes they should haue some kinde of Letters, although the greatest part of their Writings, bee by the Characters and figures, as hath beene said of the *Chinois*.

An *Indian* of *Peru* or *Mexico*, that hath learned to read & write, knowes more then the wisest *Mandarin* that is amongst them: for that the *Indian* with foure and twentie Letters which hee hath learned, will write all the words in the World: and a *Mandarin* with his hundred thousand Letters, will be troubled to write some proper name, as of *Martin*, or *Alonso*, and with greater reason he shall bee lesse able to write the names of things hee knowes not. So as the writing in *China*, is no other thing but a manner of painting or ciphering.

Of the fashion
of Letters and
writings which
the *Mexicans*
vsed. Chap. 7.

Bookes of
leaves of trees
beere folium &
liber, or codex,
from the rinde
in which the
Ancients writ.
Blind zeale.

WE find among the Nations of New *Spaine* a great knowledge and memorie of antiquitie; and therefore searching by what meanes the *Indians* had preserved their Histories, and so many particularities, I learned, that although they were not so subtil and curious as the *Chinois*, and those of *Iappon*, yet had they some kind of Letters and Bookes amongst them, whereby they preserved (after their manner) the deeds of their Predecessors. In the Prouince of *Yucatan*, where the Bishopricke is, which they call *de Honduras*, there were Bookes of the leaves of Trees, folded and squared, after their manner, in the which the wise *Indians* contained the distribution of their times, the knowledge of the Planets, of beasts and other naturall things, with their Antiquities, a thing full of great curiositie and diligence. It seemed to some Pendant that all this was an Inchantment and Magicke Arte, who did obstinately maintayne, that they ought to be burnt, so as they were committed to the fire. Which since not onely the *Indians* found to be ill done, but also the curious *Spaniards*, who desired to know the secrets of the Countrey. The like hath happened in other things: for our men thinking that all was but Superstition, haue lost many memorials of ancient and holy things, which might haue profited much. This proceedeth of a foolish and ignorant zeale, who not knowing, nor seeking to know what concerned the *Indians*, say preiudicately, that they are all but Witch-crafts, and that all the *Indians* are but Drunkards, incapable to know or learne any thing. For such as would be curiously informed of them, haue found many things worthy of consideration. One of our company of Iesuits, a man very wittie and well experienced, did assemble in the Prouince of *Mexico*, the Ancients of *Tescuco*, of *Talla*, and of *Mexico*, conferring at large with them, who shewed vnto him their Bookes, Histories and Kalenders, things very worthy the sight, because they had their figures and Hieroglyphicks, whereby they represented things in this manner: Such as had forme or figure, were represented by their proper Images, and such as had not any, were represented by Characters that signified them, and by this meanes they figured and writ what they would. And to obserue the time when any thing did happen, they had those painted Wheelles, for euery one of them containd an Age, which was two and fiftie yeeres, as hath beene said; and of the side of those Wheelles, they did paint with figures and Characters right against the yeere, the memorable things that happend therein. As they noted the yeere when as the *Spaniards* entred their Countrey, they painted a man with a Hat and a red Ierkin, vpon the signe of a Reed, which did rule then, and so of other accidents. But for that their Writings and Characters were not sufficient as our Letters and Writings be, they could not so plainly expresse the words, but onely the substance of their conceptions. And forasmuch as they were accustomed to rehearse Discourses and Dialogues by heart, compounded by their Oratours and ancient Rhetoricians, and many *Caphas* made by their Poets (which were impossible to learne by their Hieroglyphickes and Characters) the *Mexicans* were very curious to haue their Children learne those Dialogues and compositions by heart. For the which cause they had Schooles, and as it were, Colledges or Seminaries, where the Ancients taught Children these Orations, and many other things, which they preserved amongst them by tradition from one to another, as perfectly, as if they had beene written; especially the most famous Nations had a care to haue their children (which had any inclination to be Rhetoricians, and to practise the Office of Orators) to learne these Orations by heart: So as when the *Spaniards* came into their Countrey, and had taught them to reade and write our Letters, many of the *Indians* then wrote these Orations, as some graue men doe witness that had read them. Which I say, for that some which shall happily reade these long and eloquent Discourses in the *Mexican* History, will easily beleue they haue beene inuented by the *Spaniards*, and not really taken and reported from the *Indians*. But hauing knowne the certaine truth, they will giue credit (as reason is) to their Histories. They did also write these Discourses after their manner, by Characters and Images: and I haue seene for my better satisfaction, the *Pater noster*, *Anie Maria*, and *Symbol*, or generall Confession of our Faith, written in this manner by the *Indians*.

Confession by
picture.

And in truth whosoever shall see them, will wonder thereat. For, to signifie these words, I a Sinner doe confesse my selfe, they painted an *Indian* vpon his knees, at a religious mans feet, as one that confesseth himselfe: and for this, To God most mightie, they painted three faces with their Crownes, like to the *Trinitie*, and To the glorious *Virgin Marie*, they painted the face of

our Lady, and halfe the bodie of a little childe: and for Saint Peter and Saint Paul, heads with crownes, and a Key with a Sword: and whereas Images failed, they did set Characters, as *wherein I haue sinned, &c.* whereby we may conceiue the quicknesse of Spirit of these Indians, seeing this manner of writing of our Prayers and matters of Faith hath not bene taught them by the Spaniards, neither could they haue done it, if they had not had an excellent conception of that was taught them. And I haue seene in Peru, a confession of sinnes brought by an Indian, written in the same sort with Pictures and Characters, painting euery one of the tenne Commandements, after a certayne manner, where there were certayne markes like Ciphers, which were the sinnes hee had committed against the Commandements. I nothing doubt but if any of the most sufficient Spaniards were employed to make memorials of the like things by their Images and markes, they would not attayne vnto it in a whole yeere, no not in tenne.

Before the Spaniards came to the Indies, they of Peru had no kind of writing, either Letters, Characters, Ciphers, or Figures, like to those of China and Mexico: yet preserved they the memory of their Antiquities, and mayntaine an order in all their affaires, of Peace, Warre, and Policie, for that they were carefull obseruers of Traditions from one to another, and the young ones learned, and carefully kept, as a holy thing, what their Superiors had told them, and taught it with the like care to their Posteritie. Besides this diligence, they supplied the want of Letters and Writings, partly by painting, as those of Mexico, (although they of Peru were very grosse and blockish) and partly, and most commonly by Quippos. These Quippos are Memorials or Registers, made of Bowes, in the which there are diuers knots and colours, which doe signifie diuers things, and it is strange to see what they haue expressed and represented by this meanes: for their Quippos serue them instead of Bookes of Histories, of Lawes, Ceremonies, and accounts of their affaires. There were Officers appointed to keepe these Quippos, the which at this day they call Quipocamayos, the which were bound to giue an account of euery thing, as Notaries and Registers doe heere. Therefore they fully beleueed them in all things, for according to the varietie of businesse, as Warres, Policies, Tributes, Ceremonies and Lands, there were sundry Quippos or branches, in euery one of the which there were so many knots little and great, and strings tyed vnto them, some Red, some Greene, some Blue, some White; and finally, such diuersitie, that euen as wee deriue an infinite number of words from the foure and twentie Letters, applying them in diuers sorts, so doe they draw innumerable words from their knots, and diuersitie of colours. Which thing they doe in such a manner, that if at this day in Peru, any Commissary come at the end of two or three yeeres, to take information vpon the life of any Officer, the Indians come with their small reckoning, verified, saying, that in such a Village they giuen him so many Egges which he hath not payed for, in such a house a Henne, in another, twoburthens of grasse for his Horse, and that he hath payed but so much mony, and remaineth debtor so much. The prooffe being presently made with these numbers of knots and handfulls of cords, it remaines for a certaine testimonie and register. I did see a handfull of these strings, wherein an Indian woman carried written a generall confession of all her life, and thereby confessed her selfe, as well as I could haue done it in written Paper. I asked her what those strings meant that differed from the rest: she answered me, they were certaine circumstances which the sinne required to be fully confessed. Beside these Quippos of threed, they haue another, as it were a kind of writing with small stones, by meanes whereof, they learne punctually the words they desire to know by heart. It is a pleasant thing to see the old and the impotent (with a Wheele made of small stones) learne the *Pater noster*, with another the *Aue Maria*, with another the Creed; and to remember what stone signifies, which was conceived by the Holy Ghost, and which, Suffered vnder Pontius Pilate.

It is a pleasant thing to see them correct themselves when they doe erre; for all their correction consisteth onely in beholding of their small stones. One of these Wheelles were sufficient to make me forget all that I doe know by heart. There are a great number of these Wheelles in the Church-yards for this purpose. But it seemes a kind of Witch-craft, to see another kinde of Quippos, which they make of graines of Mays, for to cast vp a hard account, wherein a good Arithmetician would bee troubled with his Penne to make a diuision: to see how much euery one must contribute: they doe draw so many graines from one side, and adde so many to another, with a thousand other inuentions. These Indians will take their graines, and place five of one side, three of another, and eight of another, and will change one graine of one side, and three of another: So as they finish a certaine account, without erring in any point: and they sooner submit themselves to reason by these Quippos, what euery one ought to pay, then wee can doe with the Penne. Heereby wee may iudge if they haue any vnderstanding, or bee brutish: for my part, I thinke they passe vs in those things, whereunto they doe apply themselves.

Of Registers and the manner of reckoning which the Indians of Peru vfed. Chap. 8.

Quippos.

Writing with small stones.

Accounts by graines of Mays.

Of the order
the *Indians*
hold in their
Writings. *Ch. 9.*

Diuers man-
ners of wri-
ting.

IT shall be good to adde hereunto what we haue obserued, touching the *Indians* Writings: for their manner was not to write with a continued line, but from the top to the bottome, or in circle-wise. The *Latines* and *Greekes* doe write from the left hand vnto the right, which is the vulgar and common manner wee doe vse. The *Hebrewes* contrariwise beganne at the right to the left, and therefore their Bookes began where ours did end. The *Chinois* write neither like the *Greekes* nor like the *Hebrewes*, but from the top to the bottome, for as they bee no Letters but whole words, and that euery figure and Character signifieth a thing, they haue no neede to assemble the parts one with another, and therefore they may well write from the toppe to the bottome. Those of *Mexico*, for the same cause did not write in line, from one side to another, but contrary to the *Chinois*, beginning below, they mounted vpward. They vsed this manner of writing, in the account of their dayes, and other things which they obserued: Yet when they did write in their Wheelles or Signes, they began from the middest where the Sunne was figured, and so mounted by their yeeres vnto the round and circumference of the Wheele.

By words, Pictures, and these Memorials, the Kings were often aduertised of that which passed. For this cause there were men of great agilitie, which serued as Curriers, to goe and come, whom they did nourish in this exercise of Running from their youth, labouring to haue them well breathed, that they might runne to the top of a high Hill without wearinesse. And therefore in *Mexico* they gaue the Prize to three or foure that first mounted vp the stayres of the Temple, as hath beene said in the former Booke. And in *Cusco*, when they made their Solemne Feast of *Capacrayme*, the Nouices did runne who could fastest vp the Rocke of *Tnacauri*. And the exercise of running is generall; much vsed among the *Indians*. When as there chanced any matter of importance, they sent vnto the Lords of *Mexico*, the thing painted, whereof they would aduertise them, as they did when the first *Spanish* ships appeared to their sight, and when they tooke *Topanchan*. In *Peru* they were very curious of Footmen, and the *Inguas* had them in all parts of the Realme, as ordinary Posts called *Chasquis*, whereof shall bee spoken in his place.

Diuers formes
of gouern-
ment.

Many Nations of the *Indies* haue not indured any Kings, or absolute and souereigne Lords, but liue in Comminalties, creating and appointing Captaynes and Princes, for certayne occasions onely, to whom they obey during the time of their charge; then after they returne to their former estates. The greatest part of this New World (where there are no settled Kingdomes, nor established Common-weales, neither Princes nor succeeding Kings) they gouerne themselves in this manner, although there bee some Lords and principall men raised aboue the common sort. In this sort the whole Countrey of *Chille* is gouerned, where the *Anracanes*, those of *Tenacapell* and others, haue so many yeeres resisted the *Spaniards*. And in like sort all the new Kingdome of *Granado*, that of *Guatimalla*, the Ilands, all *Florida*, *Bresill*, *Luson*, and other Countreyes of great circuit: but that in some places they are yet more barbarous, scarcely acknowledging any head, but all command and gouerne in common, hauing no other thing, but will, violence, industry and disorder, so as hee that most may most commands.

Whether the
Mexican or *Pe-
ru* Kingdome
was greater.

They haue onely found two Kingdomes or settled Empires, that of the *Mexicans* in New *Spaine*, and of the *Inguas* in *Peru*. It is not easie to be said, which of the two was the mightiest Kingdome, for that *Moteczuma*, exceeded them of *Peru*, in Buildings, and in the greatnesse of his Court: but the *Inguas*, did likewise exceed the *Mexicans*, in treasure, riches, and greatnesse of Prouinces. In regard of Antiquitie, the Monarchie of the *Inguas*, hath the aduantage, although it be not much, and in my opinion, they haue beene equall in feats of Armes and Victories. It is most certaine, that these two Kingdomes haue much exceeded all the *Indian* Prouinces, discovered in this New World, as well in good order and gouernment, as in power and wealth, and much more in Superstition and Service of their Idols, hauing many things like one to another. But in one thing they differed much, for among the *Mexicans*, the succession of the Kingdome, was by election, as the Empire of the *Romanes*, and that of *Peru*, was hereditary, and they succeeded in bloud, as the Kingdomes of *France* and *Spaine*.

Of the govern-
ment of the
Kings and *In-
guas* of *Peru*.
Chap. 12.
Incestuous
Marriages.

THE *Inguas* which ruled in *Peru*, being dead, his lawfull Sonne succeeded him, and so they held him that was borne of his chiefe Wife, whom they called *Coya*. The which they haue alwayes obserued since the time of an *Inguas*, called *Tupangui*, who married his sister: for these Kings held it an honour to marrie their Sisters. And although they had other Wiues and Concubines, yet the succession of the Kingdome appertayned to the Sonne of *Coya*. It is true, that when the King had a legitimate Brother, he succeeded before the Sonne, and after him his Nephew, and Sonne to the first. The *Curacas*, and Noblemen, held the same order of succession in their goods and Offices. And after their manner they made excessive Ceremonies, and obsequies for the dead. Being dead, they presently held him for a God, making Sacrifices vnto him, Images, and such like. By this meanes, there was infinite Treasure in *Peru*: for euery one of the *Inguas*, had laboured to haue his Oratorie and Treasure surpasse that of his Predecessors. The marke or ensigne, whereby they tooke possession of the Realme, was a red roll of Woolle, more then fine filke, the which hung in the middest of his forehead: and none but the *Inguas* alone might weare

Diadem.

weare it, for that it was as a Crowne and Royall Diademe: yet they might lawfully weare a Roll hanging on the one side, neere vnto the eare, as some Noblemen did, but onely the *Inga* might carrie it in the middest of his forehead. At such time as they tooke this Roll or Wreath, they made solempne Feasts, and many Sacrifices, with a great quantitie of vessell of Gold, and Siluer, a great number of small formes or Images of sheepe, made of Gold and Siluer, great abundance of the stufes of *Cumby*, well wrought, both fine and coarser, many shels of the Sea of all sorts, many feathers, and a thousand sheepe, which must bee of diuers colours. Then the chiefe Priest tooke a young Childe in his hands, of the age of fixe or eight yeeres, pronouncing these words with the other Ministers speaking to the Image of *Viracocha*, Lord we offer this vnto thee, that thou mayest mayntayne vs in quiet, and helpe vs in our warres, mayntaine our Lord the *Inga* in his greatnesse and estate, that hee may alwayes increase, giuing him much knowledge to gouerne vs.

There were present at this Ceremonie and Oath, men of all parts of the Realme, and of all *Guacas* and Sanctuaries. And without doubt, the affection and reuerence which this people bare to their Kings *Ingas*, was very great, for it is neuer found that any one of his subjects committed Treason against him, for that they proceeded in their governments, not only with an absolute power, but also with good order and Iustice, suffering no man to bee oppressed: The *Inga* placed Gouvernours in diuers Prouinces, amongst the which, some were Superiours, and did acknowledge none but himselfe, others were of lesse command, and others more particular, with so goodly an order, and such grauitie, as no man durst be drunke, nor take an eare of Mays from his Neighbour. These *Ingas* held it for a Maxime, that it was necessary to keepe the *Indians* alwayes in action: and therefore we see it to this day, long cawties and workes of great labour, the which they say were made to exercise the *Indians*, lest they should remayne idle. When hee conquered any new Prouince, hee was accustomed presently to send the greatest part, and the chiete of that Countrey into other Prouinces, or else to his Court, and they call them at this day in *Pern*, *Mitimas*, and in their places he sent others of the Nation of *Cusco*, especially the *Orreiones*, which were as Knights of an ancient house. They punished faults rigorously. And therefore such as haue any vnderstanding hereof, hold opinion, that there can be no better gouernment for the *Indians*, nor more assured, then that of the *Ingas*.

Exact Iustice.

No idlenesse permitted.

Transmigration.

TO relate more particularly what I haue spoken befoze, you must vnderstand, that the distribution which the *Ingas* made of their vassals, was so exact and distinct, as hee might gouerne them all with great facilitie, although his Realme were a thousand leagues long: for hauing conquered a Prouince, he presently reduced the *Indians* into Townes and Comminalties, the which he diuided into bands, he appointed one to haue the charge ouer euery ten *Indians*, ouer euery hundred another, ouer euery thousand another, and ouer ten thousand another, whom they called *Humo*, the which was one of the greatest charges. Yet aboue all in euery Prouince, there was a Gouvernour of the house of the *Ingas*, whom all the rest obeyed, giuing vnto him euery yeere particular account of what had passed, that is, of such as were borne, of those that were dead and of their troupes and graine. The Gouvernours went euery yeere out of *Cusco*, where they remayned, and returned to the great Feast of *Rayme*, at the which, they brought the tribute of the whole Realme to the Court; neither might they enter but with this condition. All the Kingdome was diuided into foure parts, which they called *Tabuaninsuyo*, that is, *Chinchasuyo*, *Collasuyo*, *Andesuyo*, and *Condesuyo*, according to the foure wayes which went from *Cusco*, where the Court was resident, and where the generall assemblies of the Realme were made. These waies and Prouinces being answerable vnto them, were towards the foure quarters of the world, *Collasuyo* to the South, *Chinchasuyo* to the North, *Condesuyo* to the West, and *Andesuyo* to the East. In euery Towne and Village, there were two sorts of people, which were of *Hanansaya*, and *Vrinsaya*, which is as much to say, as those aboue, and those below. When they commanded any worke to be done, or to furnish any thing to the *Inga*, the Officers knew presently how much euery Prouince, Towne, and Family, ought to furnish: so as the diuision was not made by equall portions, but by Cottization, according to the qualities and wealth of the Countrey. So as for example, if they were to gather a hundred thousand *Fanegues* of Meys, they knew presently how much euery Prouince was to contribute, were it a tenth, a seuenth, or a fift part. The like was of Townes and Villages, *Allos*, or Linages. The *Quipocamayos*, which were the Officers and Intendants, kept the account of all with their strings and knottes, without fayling, setting downe what euery one had payed, euen to a Henne, or a burthen of wood, and in a moment they did see by diuers Registers what euery one ought to pay.

Of the distribution the *Ingas* made of their Vassals. Chap. 13. Gouvernours.Tribute yeerely paid at *Cusco*.

Fourefold prouinciall partition.

THE Edifices and Buildings which the *Ingas* made in Temples, Fortresses, wayes, Countrey houses, and such like, were many in number, and of an excessiue labour, as doth appeare at this day by their ruines and remaynders, both in *Cusco*, *Tyaguanaco*, *Tambo*, and other places, where there are stones of an vnmeasurable greatnesse: as men cannot conceiue how they were

Of the Edifices and manner of building of the *Ingas*. Chap. 14.

Near art in
ioyning huge
stones.

cur, brought and set in their places. There came great numbers of people from all Prouinces, to worke in these Buildings and Fortresses, which the *Inguia* caused to bee made in *Cusco*, or other parts of the Realme. As these Workes were strange, and to amaze the beholders, wherein they vsed no Morter nor Ciment, neither any Iron, or Steele, to cut, and set the stones in worke. They had no Engines or other Instruments to carrie them, and yet were they so artificially wrought, that in many places they could not see the ioyns: and many of these stones are so bigge, that it were an incredible thing, if one should not see them. At *Tiaguanaco*, I did measure a stone of thirtie eight foot long, of eightene broad, and sixe thicke. And in the wall of the Fortresse of *Cusco*, which is of *Moallen*, there are stones of a greater bignesse. And that which is most strange, these stones being not cut nor squared to ioyn, but contrariwise, very vnequall one with another in forme and greatnesse, yet did they ioyn them together without Ciment, after an incredible manner. All this was done by the force of men, who endured their labour with an inuincible patience. For to ioyn one stone with another, they were forced to handle and trie many of them often, being vneuen. The *Inguia* appointed euery yeere what numbers of people should labour in these stones and buildings; and the *Indians* made a diuision amongst them, as of other things, so as no man was oppressed. Although these Buildings were great, yet were they commonly ill appointed and vnfit, almost like to the Mosquitoes or Buildings of the Barbarians.

Arches.

Bridges.

Straw Bridge.

They could make no Arches in their Edifices, nor Morter or Ciment to build them withall: when they saw Arches of wood built vpon the Riuer of *Xaura*, the Bridge being finished, and the wood broken downe, they all began to runne away, supposing that the Bridge which was of stone should presently fall; but when they found it to stand firme, and that the *Spaniards* went on it, the *Cacique* said to his companions; *It is reason we should serue these men, who in truth seeme to be the children of the Sunne*. The Bridges they made were of Reedes pleited, which they tyed the bankes with great stakes, for that they could not make any Bridges of stone or wood. The Bridge which is at this day vpon the current of the great Lake *Chiquitto* in *Collao* is admirable; for the course of that water is so deepe, as they cannot settle any foundation, and so broad, that it is impossible to make an Arch to passe it: so as it was altogether impossible to make a Bridge either of wood or stone. But the wit and industry of the *Indians* inuented a meanes to make a firme and assured Bridge being only of straw, which seemeth fabulous, yet is it very true: For as we haue said before, they did binde together certaine bundles of Reeds, and Weedes, which doe grow in the Lake that they call *Torora*, and being a light matter that sinkes not in the water, they cast it vpon a great quantitie of Reeds, then hauing tyed those bundles of Weedes to either side of the Riuer, both men and beasts goe ouer it with ease: passing ouer this Bridge I haue wondred, that of so common and easie a thing, they had made a Bridge, better, and more assured then the Bridge of Boates from *Senille* to *Triane*. I haue measured the length of this Bridge, and as I remember, it was aboute three hundred foote; and they say that the depth of this Current is very great: and it seemes aboue, that the water hath no motion, yet they say, that at the bottome it hath a violent and very furious course. And this shall suffice for Buildings.

Of the *Inguia*
reuenues, and
the order of
Tributes they
imposed vpon
the *Indians*.
Chap. I.

The *Inguia* riches was incomparable, for although no King did inherit the riches and treasure of his Predecessor, yet had he at command, all the riches of his Realmes, as well Silver and Gold, as the stufte of *Cumbe*, and cattell, wherein they abounded, and their greatest riches of all, was their innumerable number of vassals, which were all imployed as it pleased the King. They brought out of euery Prouince what he had chosen for tribute. The *Chicas* sent him sweet and rich woods; the *Lucanas* sent Brancars to carry his Litter; The *Chumbilucas*, Dancers; and so the other Prouinces sent him what they had of abundance, besides their generall Tribute, whereunto euery one contributed. The *Indians* that were noted to that end, laboured in the Mines of Gold and Silver, which did abound in *Pern*, whom the *Inguia* entertained with all they needed for their expences: and whatsoever they drew of Gold and Silver, was for him. By this meanes there were so great treasures in this Kingdome, as it is the opinion of many, that what fell in the hands of the *Spaniards*, (although it were very much, as wee know) was not the tenth part of that which they hid and buried in the ground, the which they could neuer discover, notwithstanding all the search couetousnesse had taught them. But the greatest wealth of these barbarous people, was, that their vassals were all slaues, whose labour they vsed at their pleasure: and that which is admirable, they employed them in such sort, as it was no seruitude vnto them, but rather a pleasing life. But to vnderstand the order of Tributes which the *Indians* payed vnto their Lord, you must know, that when the *Inguia* conquered any Cities, he diuided all the Land into three parts, the first was, for Religion and Ceremonies, so as the *Pachayachaqni*, which is the *Creator*, and the *Sunne*, the *Chuquilla*, which is the *Thunder*, the *Pachamana*, and the dead, and other *Guacas* and Sanctuaries, had euery one their proper Lands, the fruits whereof were spoyled and consumed in Sacrifices, and in the nourishing of Ministers and Priests; for there were *Indians* appointed for euery *Guaca*, and Sanctuarie, and the

All slaues and
none.

Lands sacred.

the greatest part of this revenue was spent in *Cusco*, where was the *univiersall and generall sanctu-
arie*, and the rest in that Citie, where it was gathered: for that after the imitation of *Cusco*,
there were in every Citie, *Gnacas*, and Oratories of the same order, and with the same functi-
ons, which were served after the same manner and ceremonies to that of *Cusco*, which is an ad-
mirable thing, and they have found it by prooffe in about a hundred Townes, some of them
distant about two hundred leagues from *Cusco*.

Order in their
Religion.

That which they sowed or reapt vpon their Land, was put into houses, as Granaries or store-
houses, built for that effect, and this was a great part of the Tribute which the *Indians* paid. I
cannot say how much this part amounted vnto, for that it was greater in some parts then in o-
ther, and in some places it was in a manner all: and this part was the first they put to profit.

10 The second part of these Lands and inheritances was for the *Ingua*, wherewith he and his hous-
hold were entertained, with his kinsfolks, Noblemen, Garrisones and Souldiers. And there-
fore it was the greatest portion of these tributes, as it appeareth by the quantity of
Gold, Silver, and other Tributes, which were in houses appointed for that purpose, be-
ing longer and larger then those where they keepe the revenues of the *Gnacas*. They brought
this Tribute verie carefully to *Cusco*, or vnto such places where it was needefull for the Souldi-
ers, and when there was store, they kept it ten or twelve yeares, vntill a time of necessitie.

Royall de-
mesnes.

20 The *Indians* tilled and put to profit the *Inguas* Lands, next to those of the *Gnacas*; during which
time they lived and were nourished at the charges of the *Inguas*, of the Sunne, or of the *Gnacas*,
according to the Land they laboured. But the old men, women, and sicke folkes were reserued
and exempt from this Tribute, and although whatsoeuer they gathered vpon those Lands were
for the *Inguas*, the Sunne, or the *Gnacas*, yet the proprietie appertained vnto the *Indians* and their
successours. The third part of these Lands were given by the *Inguas* for the Comminaltie, and they
have not yet discovered, whither this portion were greater, or lesser, then that of the *Inguas* or
Gnacas. It is most certaine they had a care and regard, it might be sufficient for the nourish-
ment of the people. No particular man possessed any thing proper to himselfe of this third por-
tion, neither did the *Indians* euer possesse any, if it were not by speciall grace from the *Inguas*:
and yet might it not be engaged nor diuided amongst his heires. They euerie yeare diuided these
Lands of the comminaltie, inguing to every one, that which was needefull for the nourish-
ment of their persons and families. And as the familie increased or diminished, so did they en-
crease or decrease his portion, for there were measures appointed for euerie person. The *Indi-
ans* paid no tribute of that which was apportioned vnto them: For all their tribute was to till
and keepe in good order the Lands of the *Inguas*, and the *Gnacas*, and to lay the fruits thereof in
their store-houses. When the yeare was barren, they gaue of these fruits thus reserued to the
needie, for that there is alwaies superabundance. The *Inguas* did likewise make distribution
of the cattell as of the Lands, which was to number and diuide them; then to appoint the pa-
stures and limits, for the cattell belonging to the *Gnacas*, and to the *Inguas*, and to euerie Town:
and therefore one portion of their revenues was for religion, another for the *Inguas*, and the third
for the *Indians* themselves. The like order was obserued among the hunters, being forbidden to
take or kill any females. The troupes of the *Inguas* and *Gnacas*, were in great numbers and ve-
rie fruitfull; for this cause they called them *Kapaellama*, but those of the common and publike,
were few in number and of small value, and therefore they called them *Bacchallama*. The *Inguas*
tooke great care for the preservation of Cattell, for that it hath bene, and is yet, all the wealth
of the Countrey, and as it is said, they did neither sacrifice any females, nor kill them, neither did
they take them when they hunted. If the mangie or the scurvie which they call *Carache* take a
nie beast, they were presently commanded to burie it quicke, lest it should infect others. They
did sheare their cattell in their season, and distributed to euerie one to spinne and weaue Stuffs
for the service of his Family. They had *searchers* to examine if they did employ themselves in
these workes, and to punish the negligent. They made Stuffs of the wooll of the *Inguas* cattell,
for him and for his family, one sort very fine, which they called *Cumbi*, and another grosser,
which they likewise called *Abasca*. There was no certaine number of these Stuffs and gar-
ment, appointed, but what was deliuered to every one. The wooll that remained was put in
to the storehouses, whereof the *Spaniards* found them full, and with all other things necessary
for the life of man. There are few men of iudgement but doe admire at so excellent & well settled
a gouernment, seeing the *Indians* (being neither religious, nor Christians) maintained after their
manner, this perfection, nor to hold any thing proper, and to provide for all their necessities, en-
tertaining with such abundance matters of Religion, & that which concerned their King & Lord.

Lands of the
comminaltie
in common.

No proprietie
of Lands.

Their Tribute,
what.

Cattell distri-
bute.

Hunter lawes

Provisions for
cattell.

Negligence
punished.

60 The *Indians* of *Peru* had one perfection, which was, to teach their children all arts and oc-
cupations necessary for the life of man; for that there were no particular Trades-men, as
amongst vs, Taylers, Shoemakers, Weauers, and the rest, but every one learned what was neede-
full for their persons and houses, and provided for themselves. All could weaue and make their
garments, and therefore the *Inguas* furnishing them with wooll, gaue them cloathes. Every man
could till the ground, and put it to profit, without hyring of any labourers. All built their own
houses

Of Arts and
offices which
the *Indians* did
exercise, Ch. 16.
All men of all
trades.

houses, and the women, which vnderstood most were not brought vp in delights, but serued their Husbands carefully. Other Arts and Trades which were not ordinary and common for the life of man, had their proper Companies and workemen, as *Goldsmiths, Painters, Potters, Watermen*, and *players of Instruments*. There were also *Weavers* and workemen for exquisite workes, which the Noblemen vsed: but the common people, as hath beene said, had in their houses all things necessary, hauing no neede to buy. This continues to this day, so as they haue no neede one of another for things necessary: touching his person and family, as shooes and garments, and for their houle, to sowe and reape, and to make Iron workes, and necessarie instruments. It is worthy obseruation, although the *Indians* be simple in their manner and habits, yet doe we see great diuersitie amongst the Prouinces, especially in the attire of their head, for in some places they carried a long peece of cloath, which went often about, in some places a large peece of cloath, which went but once about, in some parts as it were little morters or hats, in some others as it were high and round Bonets, and some like the bottome of sacks, with a thousand other differences. They had a straight and inuiolable law, that no man might change the fashion of the garments of his Prouince, although he went to liue in another. This the *Inguas* held to be of great importance for the order and good gouernment of his Realme, and they doe obserue it to this day, though not with so great a care as they were accustomed.

Diuerfitie of
head-tire.

Vniiformity of
habit.

Of the Posts
and *Chasquis*
the *Indians* did
vse. Chap. 17.

There were many Posts and couriers which the *Inguas* maintained throughout his Realme, whom they called *Chasquis*, and they carried commandements to the Gouvernours, and returned their aduises and aduertisements to the Court. These *Chasquis* were placed at euery course, which was a league and a halfe one from another in two small houses, where were foure *Indians* of euery Country, and they were changed monthly. Hauing receiued the packet or message, they ranne with all their force vntill they had deliuered it to the other *Chasquis*, such as were so runne, being ready and watchfull. They ran fiftie leagnes in a day and night, although the greatest part of that Countrey be very rough. They serued also to carry such things as the *Inguas* desired to haue with speede. Therefore they had alwaies Sea-fish in *Cusco*, of two daies old or little more, although it were about a hundred leagues off. Since the *Spaniards* entred, they haue vsed of these *Chasquis*, in time of seditions, whereof there was great neede. *Don Martin* the Viceroy appointed ordinary Posts at euery foure leagues, to carry and recarry dispatches, which were very necessary in this Realme, though they run not so swiftly as the ancients did, neither are there so many, yet they are well paid, and serue as the ordinaries of *Spaine*, to whom they giue Letters which they carry foure or fise leagues.

Of the Iustice,
Lawes, and pu-
nishments
which the *In-
guas* haue esta-
blished, and of
their mariages
Chap. 18.

Adultery.

Marriage so-
lemnitie.

Incest forbid-
den.

Even as such as had done any good seruice in warre, or in the gouernment of the Commonweale were honoured and recompensed with publike charges, with Lands giuen them in proper, with armes and titles of honour, and in marrying wiues of the *Inguas* linage: Euen so they gaue seuer punishments to such as were disobedient and offenders. They punished murder, theft, and adultery, with death, and such as committed incest with ascendants or descendants in direct line, were likewise punished with death. But they held it no adultery to haue many wiues or concubines, neither were the women subiect to the punishment of death, being found with any other, but onely she that was the true and lawfull wife, with whom they contracted marriage; for they had but one whom they did wedde and receiue with a particular solemnitie and ceremonie, which was in this manner: The Bridegroom went to the Brides house, and led her from thence with him, hauing first put an *Ottoy* vpon her foote. They call the shooe which they vse in those parts *Ottoy*, being open like the *Franciscan* Friars. If the Bride were a maide, her *Ottoy* was of Wooll, but if she were not, it was of Reedes. All his other wiues and concubines did honour and serue this as the lawfull wife, who alone after the decease of her husband carried a mourning weede of blacke, for the space of a yeare; neither did she marry vntill that time were past; and commonly she was younger then her husband. The *Inguas* himselfe with his owne hand gaue this woman to his Gouvernours and Captaines: and the Gouvernours or *Caciques*, assembled all the yong men and maides, in one place of the Citie, where they gaue to euery one his wife with the aforesaid ceremonie, in putting on the *Ottoy*, and in this manner they contracted their mariages. If this woman were found with any other then her husband, she was punished with death, and the adulterer likewise: and although the husband pardoned them, yet were they punished, although dispensed withall from death. They inflicted the like punishment on him that did commit incest with his Mother, Grandmother, Daughter, or Grandchilde: for it was not prohibited for them to marrie together, or to haue of their other kinsfolke for concubines; onely the first degree was defended, neither did they allow the brother to haue the company of his sister, wherein they of *Pernu* were very much deceiued, beleeuing that their *Inguas* and Noblemen might lawfully contract marriage with their sisters, yea by father and mother: for in truth it hath beene alwaies held vnlawfull among the *Indians*, and defended to contract in the first degree; which continued vntill the time of *Topa Inguas Tupangui* father to *Gwaynacapa*, and grandfather to *Atahualpa*, at such time as the *Spaniards* entred

entred Peru; for that *Topa Inga Yupangui*, was the first that brake this custome, marrying with *Mamaoello*, his sister by the fathers side, decreeing that the *Inguas* might marrie with their sisters by the fathers side, and no other.

This he did, and by that marriage he had *Guaynacapa*, and a daughter called *Coya Cussillimay*: finding himselfe at the point of death, he commanded his children by father and mother to marrie together, and gave permission to the Noblemen of his Countrey, to marrie with their sisters by the fathers side. And for that this marriage was vnlawfull, and against the law of nature, God would bring to an end this Kingdome of the *Inguas*, during the raigne of *Guascar Inga*, and *Atahualpa Inga*, which was the fruite that sprang from this marriage. Who so will more exactly vnderstand the manner of marriages among the *Indians* in Peru, let him reade the Treatise *Polo* hath written at the request of *Don Ieronimo Loaisa* Archbishop of Kings: which *Polo* made a very curious search, as he hath done of diuers other things at the *Indies*.

BY the commandement of *Don Phillip* the Catholike King, they haue made the most diligent and exact search that could be, of the beginning, customes, and priuiledges of the *Inguas*, the which was not so perfectly done as was desired: for that the *Indians* had no written Records: yet the haue recouered that which I shall write, by meanes of their *Quippos* and Registers. First there was not in Peru in old time, any King or Lord to whom all obeyed, but they were Comminalties, as at this day there is in the Realme of *Chille*, and in a manner, in all the Prouinces which the *Spaniards* haue conquered in those Westerne *Indies*, except the Realme of *Mexico*. You must therefore vnderstand, that they haue found three manner of Gouvernements at the *Indies*. The first and best, was a Monarchie, as that of the *Inguas*, and of *Moteczuma*, although for the most part they were tyrannous. The second was of Comminalties, where they were gouerned by the aduise and authority of many, which are as it were Counsellors. These in time of warre, made choise of a Captaine, to whom a whole Nation or Prouince did obey, and in time of peace, euery Towne or Comminalty did rule and gouerne themselves, hauing some chiefe men whom the vulgar did respect, and sometime (though not often) some of them assemble together about matters of importance, to consult what they should thinke necessary. The third kinde of Gouvernment, is altogether barbarous, composed of *Indians* without Law, without King, and without any certaine place of abode, but goe in troopes like sauage beasts. As farre as I can conceiue, the first Inhabitants of the *Indies*, were of this kinde, as at this day a great part of the *Bresilians*, *Chiraguas*, *Chunchos*, *Yscingos*, *Pilcocones*, and the greatest part of the *Floridians*, and all the *Chichimaquas* in new Spaine. Of this kinde the other sort of gouernment by Comminalties was framed, by the industry and wisdom of some amongst them, in which there is some more order, holding a more staied place, as at this day those of *Auracano*, and of *Tenacapell* in *Chille*, and in the new Kingdome of *Grenada*, the *Moscos*, and the *Ottomittes* in new Spaine: and in all these there is lesse fiercenesse and inciuilitie, & much more quiet then in the rest. Of this kinde, by the valor & knowledg of some excellent men, grew the other gouernment more mighty and potent, which did institute a Kingdome and Monarchy.

It appears by their Registers, that their Gouvernment hath continued aboue three hundred yeares, but not fully foure, although their Seignorie for a long time, was not aboue five or six leagues compasse about the Citie of *Cusco*: their originall and beginning was in the valley of *Cusco*: where by little and little they conquered the Lands which we call Peru, passing beyond *Quitto*, vnto the riuer of *Pasto* towards the North, stretching euen vnto *Chille*, towards the South, which is almost a thousand leagues in length. It extended in breadth vnto the South Sea towards the West, and vnto the great champains which are on the other side of the *Andes*, where at this day is to be seene the Castell which is called the *Pucara* of the *Inga*, the which is a fortreffe built for the defence of the frontire towards the East. The *Inguas* aduanced no farther on that side, for the abundance of water, Marshes, Lakes, and Riuers, which runne in those parts.

These *Inguas* passed all other Nations of *America*, in pollicie and gouernment, and much more in valour and armes, although the *Canaries* which were their mortall enemies, and fauoured the *Spaniards*, would neuer confesse it, nor yeelde them this aduantage: so as euen at this day, if they fall into any discourse or comparifons, and that they be a little chafed and incensed, they kill one another by thousands vpon this quarrell, which are the most valiant, as it hath happened in *Cusco*. The practise and meanes which the *Inguas* had to make themselves Lords of all this Countrey, was in faining that since the generall deluge (whereof all the *Indians* haue knowledge) the world had bene preserued, restored, and peopled by these *Inguas*, and that seuen of them came forth of the Caue of *Pacaricambo*, by reason whereof, all other men ought them tribute and vassalage, as their progenitors. Besides they said and affirmed, that they alone held the true religion, and knew how God should be serued and honoured: and for this cause they should instruct all men. It is a strange thing, the ground they giue to their customes and ceremonies. There were in *Cusco* aboue foure hundred Oratories, as in a holy land, and all places were filled with their misteries. As they continued in the conquests of Prouinces, so they brought in the like ceremonies and customes. In all this Realme the chiefe Idols they

Of the Originall of the *Inguas* Lords of Peru, with their Conquests and Victories Chap. 19.

Continuance of their Monarchy.

Strife twixt *Inguas* and *Canaries*.

400. Oratories in *Cusco*.

they did worship, were *Viracocha*, *Pachayachachic*, which signifies the Creator of the World, and after him, the *Sunne*. And therefore they said, that the *Sunne* receiued his vertue and being from the Creator, as the other Idols doe, and that they were intercessors to him.

Of the first
Inga, and his
Successors,
Chap. 20.

The first man which the *Indians* report to be the beginning and first of the *Ingas*, was *Mangocapa*, whom they imagine, after the deluge, to haue issued forth of the Caue of *Tambo*, which is from *Cusco* about five or six leagues. They say that hee gaue beginning to two principall Races or Families of the *Ingas*, the one was called *Hanancusco*, and the other *Urincusco*: of the first came the Lords which subdued and gouerned this Prouince, and the first whom they make the Head and Stemme of this Familie, was called *Ingaroca*, who founded a Familie or *Aillo*, as they call them, named *Vicaquirao*. This although he were no great Lord, was serued notwithstanding in vessell of gold and siluer. And dying, he appointed that all his treasure should be imployed for the seruice of his Body, and for the feeding of his Familie. His Successor did the like; and this grew to a generall custome, as I haue said, that no *Inga* might inherit the goods and house of his Predecessor, but did build a new Palace. In the time of this *Ingaroca*, the *Indians* had Images of gold; and to him succeeded *Yaguaruague*, a very old man: they say, hee was called by this name, which signifies *teares of blond*, for that being once vanquished and taken by his Enemies, for grieve and sorrow hee wept blond. Hee was buried in a Village called *Paullo*, which is vpon the way to *Omasugo*: he founded a Familie called *Aocmillipanaca*. To him succeeded his sonne *Viracocha Inga*, who was very rich, and made much vessell of gold and siluer: he founded the Linage or Familie of *Cocopanaca*. *Gonzales Pizarre* sought out his body, for the report of the great treasure buried with him, who after hee had cruelly tormented many *Indians*, in the end he found it in *Xaquixaquana*, whereas they said *Pizarre* was afterwards vanquished, taken, and executed by the President *Gusca*. *Gonzales Pizarre* caused the body of *Viracocha Inga* to be burnt; the *Indians* did afterwards take the ashes, the which they preserved in a small vessell, making great sacrifices thereunto, vntill *Pollo* did reforme it, and other Idolatries which they committed vpon the bodies of their other *Ingas*, the which hee suppressed with an admirable diligence and dexteritie, drawing these bodies out of their hands, being whole, and much imbalmed, whereby hee extinguished a great number of Idolatries which they committed. The *Indians* tooke it ill, that the *Inga* did intitle himselfe *Viracocha*, which is the name of their God: and he to excuse himselfe, gaue them to vnderstand, that the same *Viracocha* appeared to him in his dreame, commanding him to take this name. To him succeeded *Pachacuti Inga Tupangui*, who reigned seuentie yeeres, and conquered many Countries: The beginning of his conquests, was by meanes of his eldest brother, who hauing held the gouernment in his fathers time, and made warre by his consent, was ouerthrowne in a battaile against the *Changwas*, a Nation which inhabiteth the Valley of *Andaguaylas*, thirtie or fortie leagues from *Cusco*, vpon the way to *Lima*. This elder brother thus defeated, retyred himselfe with few men. The which *Inga Tupangui*, his younger brother seeing, deuised and gaue forth, that being one day alone and melancholy, *Viracocha* the Creator spake to him, complayning, that though hee were vniuersall Lord and Creator of all things, and that he had made the Heauen, the Sunne, the World, and Men, and that all was vnder his command, yet did they not yeeld him the obedience they ought, but contrariwise did equally honour and worship the Sunne, Thunder, Earth, and other things, which had no vertue but what he imparted vnto them: giuing him to vnderstand, that in heauen where hee was, they called him *Viracocha Pachayachachic*, which signifieth vniuersall Creator; and to the end the *Indians* might beleue it to be true, he doubted not although hee were alone, to raise men vnder this title, which should giue him victorie against the *Changwas*, although they were then victorious, and in great numbers; and make himselfe Lord of those Realmes, for that hee would send him men to his aide inuisibly, whereby he preuayled in such sort, that vnder this colour and conceit, he began to assemble a great number of people, whereof he made a mightie Armie, with the which he obtayned the victorie, making himselfe Lord of the whole Realme, taking the gouernment from his father and brother. Then afterwards he conquered and ouerthrew the *Changwas*, and from that time commanded that *Viracocha* should be held for vniuersall Lord, and that the Images of the Sunne and Thunder, should doe him reuerence and honor: And from that time they began to set the Image of *Viracocha* aboue that of the Sunne and Thunder, and the rest of the *Gnacas*. And although this *Inga Tupangui* had giuen Farmes, Lands, and Cattell to the Sunne, Thunder, and other *Gnacas*, yet did he not dedicate any thing to *Viracocha*, saying, that he had no neede, being vniuersall Lord and Creator of all things. Hee informed his Souldiers after this absolute victorie of the *Changwas*, that it was not they alone that had conquered them, but certaine bearded men, whom *Viracocha* had lent him, and that no man might see them but himselfe, which were since conuerted into stones; it was therefore necessarie to seeke them out, whom he would know well. By this meanes he gathered together a multitude of stones in the Mountaines, whereof he made choice, placing them for *Gnacas*, or Idols, they worshipped and sacrificed vnto; they called them *Pururancas*, and carried them to the warre with great deuotion, beleeuing for certaine, that they had gotten the victorie by their helpe. The imagination

and

and fiction of this *Ingua* was of such force, that by the meanes thereof hee obtayned goodly victories: He founded the Familie called *Tuacapanaca*, and made a great Image of gold, which hee called *Indijllapa*, which he placed in a Brancard of gold, very rich, and of great price, of the which gold the *Indians* tooke great store to carry to *Xaxamalca*, for the libertie and ranfome of *Atahualpa*, when the Marquesse *Francis Pizarre* held him prisoner. The Licenciado *Polo* found in his house in *Cusco*, his seruants and *Mamacomas*, which did seruice to his memorie, and found that the body had bene transported from *Patallacta* to *Totocache*, where the *Spaniards* haue since founded the Parish of Saint *Blaise*. This body was so whole and preserved with a certaine Rosin, that it seemed alieue, he had his eyes made of a fine cloth of gold, so artificially set, as they seemed very
10 naturall eyes, he had a blow with a stone on the head, which he had receiued in the warres, hee was all grey and hayrie, hauing lost no more haire then if he had dyed but the same day, although it were ieuentie and eight yeres since his decease. The foresaid *Polo* sent this body with some others of the *Ingas*, to the Citie of *Lima*, by the Vice-royes command which was the Marquesse of *Canette*, and the which was very necessarie to roote out the Idolatrie of *Cusco*. Many *Spaniards* haue seene this body with others in the Hospitall of Saint *Andrew*, which the Marquesse built, but they were much decayed. *Don Philip Caritopa*, who was grand-child or great grand-child to this *Ingua*, affirmed that the treasure hee left to his Familie was great, which should bee in the power of the *Tanacanas*, *Amaro*, *Toto*, and others. To this *Ingua* succeeded *Tupangua* *Tupangui*, to whom his sonne of the same name succeeded, who founded the Familie
20 called *Cupac Aillo*.

TO this latter *Ingua* succeeded *Guaynacapa*, which is to say, *A young man, rich and valiant*, and so was he in truth, more then any of his Predecessors, or Successors. He was very wise, planting good orders throughout his whole Realme, he was a bold and resolute man, valiant, and very happy in warre. He therefore obtayned great victories, and extended his Dominions much farther then all his Predecessors had done before him; he dyed in the Realme of *Quitto*, the which he had conquered, foure hundred leagues distant from his Court. The *Indians* opened him after his decease, leauing his heart and entrails in *Quitto*; the body was carried to *Cusco*, the which was placed in the renowned Temple of the *Sunne*. Wee see yet to this day many Caw-
30 seys, Buildings, Fortresses, and notable workes of this King: hee founded the Familie of *Teme Bamba*. This *Guaynacapa* was worshipped of his subiects for a god, being yet alieue, as the old men affirme, which was not done to any of his Predecessors. When hee dyed, they slue a thousand persons of his household, to serue him in the other life, all which dyed willingly for his seruice, insomuch that many of them offered themselves to death, besides such as were appointed: his riches and treasure was admirable. And forasmuch as the *Spaniards* entred soone after his death, the *Indians* laboured much to conceale all, although a great part thereof was carried to *Xaxamalca*, for the ranfome of *Atahualpa* his sonne. Some worthy of credit, affirme that he had aboute three hundred sonnes and grand-children in *Cusco*. His mother called *Mamaoella* was much esteemed amongst them. *Polo* sent her body with that of *Guaynacapa* very well imbal-
40 med to *Lima*, rooting out infinite Idolatries. To *Guaynacapa* succeeded in *Cusco* a sonne of his called *Tuocussigualpa*, who since was called *Guaspar Ingua*, his body was burned by the Captaines of *Atahualpa*, who was likewise sonne to *Guaynacapa*, and rebelled in *Quitto* against his brother, marching against him with a mightie Armie. It happened that *Quisquits* and *Chilicuchi*, Captaines to *Atahualpa*, tooke *Guaspar Ingua* in the Citie of *Cusco*, being receiued for Lord and King (for that he was the lawfull successor) which caused great sorrow throughout all his Kingdome, especially in his Court. And as alwayes in their necessities they had recourse to sacrifices, finding themselves vnable to set their Lord at libertie, aswell for the great power the Captaines had that tooke him, as also, for the great Armie that came with *Atahualpa*, they resolved (some say by the commandement of this *Ingua*) to make a great and solemne sacrifice to *Viracocha Pachayachachic*, which signifieth *uniuersall Creator*, desiring him, that since they could not deliuer their Lord, he would send men from Heauen to deliuer him from prison. And as they were in this great hope, vpon their sacrifice, newes came to them, that a certaine people come by Sea, was landed, and had taken *Atahualpa* prisoner. Hereupon they called the *Spaniards* *Viracochas*, beleeuing they were men sent from God, aswell for the small number they were to take *Atahualpa* in *Xaxamalca*, as also, for that it chanced after their sacrifice done to *Viracocha*, and there-
50 by they began to call the *Spaniards* *Viracochas*, as they doe at this day. And in truth, if we had giuen them good example, and such as we ought, the *Indians* had well applyed it, in saying they were men sent from God. It is a thing very well worthy of consideration, how the greatnesse and prouidence of God, disposed of the entrie of our men at *Pern*, which had bene impossible, were not the dissension of the two Brethren and their Partisans, and the great opinion they had of *Christians*, as of men sent from Heauen, bound (by the taking of the *Indians* Country) to labour to win soules vnto Almighty God.

Of the greatest and most famous *Ingua* called *Guaynacapa*, Ch. 22.

Guaynacapa worshipped for a god.

His 300. sonnes &c.

Spaniards esteemed men sent from God.

Pern could not haue bene conquered but by diuision of themselves.

The

Of the last
Successors
Inguas. Chap. 23.

Pedegree of
Vrincusco.

Of the manner
of the Mexi-
cans Com-
monweale.
Chap. 24.

Royall Dia-
dem. See the
picture storie.

House of li-
ving Crea-
tures.

His Palaces.

THe rest of this subiect is handled at large by the *Spanish* Writers in the Histories of the *In- dies*, and for that it is not my purpose, I will speake onely of the succession of the *Inguas*. *Atabualpa* being dead in *Xaxamalca*, and *Guascar* in *Cusco*, and *Francis Pizarre* with his people having seized on the Realme, *Mangocapa* sonne to *Guaynacapa* besieged them in *Cusco* very straightly: but in the end he abandoned the whole Country, and retyred himselfe to *Vilca Bam- ba*, where he kept himselfe in the Mountaines, by reason of the rough and difficult accesse, and there the Successors *Inguas* remayned, vntill *Amaro*, who was taken and executed in the market place of *Cusco*, to the *Indians* incredible grieve and sorrow, seeing iustice done vpon him pub- liquely whom they held for their Lord. After which time, they imprisoned others of the Linage of these *Inguas*. I haue knowne *Don Charles*, grand-child to *Guaynacapa*, and sonne to *Polo*, who was baptized, and alwayes fauoured the *Spaniards* against *Mangocapa* his brother, when the Marquess of *Canette* gouerned in this Country *Sarritopangua*, went from *Vilcabamba*, and came vpon assurance to the Citie of *Kings*, where there was giuen to him the Valley of *Tucay*, and other things, to whom succeeded a daughter of his. Behold the succession which is knowne at this day of that great and rich Familie of the *Inguas*, whose raigne continued aboue three hundred yeeres, wherein they reckon eleuen Successors, vntill it was wholly extinguished. In the other Linage of *Vrincusco*, which (as we haue said before) had his beginning likewise from the first *Mangocapa*, they reckon eight Successors in this sort: To *Mangocapa* succeeded *Cin- choraca*, to him *Capac Yupangui*, to him *Lluqui Yupangui*, to him *Maytaca* paest *Tarcogumam*, vnto whom succeeded his sonne, whom they name not, to this sonne succeeded *Don Jean Tambo*, *Maytapanaca*. This sufficeth for the originall and succession of the *Inguas*, that gouer- ned the Land of *Peru*, with that that I haue spoken of their Lawes, Government, and man- ner of Life.

Although you may see by the Historie written of the Kingdome, succession, and beginning of the *Mexicans*, their manner of Commonweale and Government, yet will I speake briefly what I shall thinke fit in generall to bee most obserued: whereof I will discourse more amply in the Historie. The first point whereby wee may iudge the *Mexican* government to bee very politike, is the order they had and kept inuolable in the election of their King: for since their first, called *Acamapach*, vnto their last, which was *Moteczuma*, the second of that name, there came none to the Crowne by right of succession, but by a lawfull Nomination and Election. This election in the beginning was by the voice of the Commons, although the chiefe men managed it. Since in the time of *Iscoalt* the fourth King, by the aduise and order of a wise and valiant man, called *Tlacael*, there were foure certaine Electors appointed, which (with two Lords or Kings subiect to the *Mexican*, the one of *Tescuco*, and the other of *Tucuba*) had power to make this election. They did commonly choose young men for their Kings, because they went alwayes to the warres, and this was in a manner the chiefe cause why they desired them so. They had a speciall regard that they should bee fit for the warres, and take delight and glorie therein. After the election they made two kindes of feasts, the one in taking possession of the Royall E- state, for the which they went to the Temple, making great ceremonies and sacrifices vpon the Harth, called *Divine*, where there was a continuall fire before the Altar of the Idoll, and after some Rhetoricians practised therein, made many Orations and Speeches. The other feast, and the most solemne, was at his Coronation, for the which hee must first ouercome in battell, and bring a certaine number of Captiues, which they must sacrifice to their gods; hee entred in triumph with great pompe, making him a solemne reception, aswell they of the Temple, who went all in procession, sounding on sundrie sorts of instruments, giuing Incense, and singing like secular men, as also the Courtiers, who came forth with their deuises to receiue the victorious King. The Crowne or royall Ensigne was before like a Myter, and behinde it was cut, so as it was not round, for the forepart was higher, and did rise like a point. The King of *Tescuco* had the priuilege to crown the King of *Mexico*. In the beginning when the *Mexicans* were but poore and weake, the Kings were very moderate in their expenses and in their Court, but as they in- creased in power, they increased likewise in pompe and state, vntill they came to the greatnesse of *Moteczuma*, who if he had had no other thing but his house of Beasts and Birds, it had bene a proud thing, the like whereof hath not bene seene: for there was in this house all sorts of fish, birds of *Xacamamas*, and beasts, as in an other *Noahs Arke*; for Sea fish, there were Pooles of salt- water; and for Riuer fish, Lakes of fresh-water; birds that doe prey were fed, and likewise wilde beasts in great abundance: there were very many *Indians* employed for the keeping of these beasts: and when he found an impossibilitie to nourish any sort of fish, fowle, or wilde beast, he caused the Image or likenesse to be made, richly cut in precious stones, siluer, or gold, in marble, or in stone: and for all sorts of entertainments, he had his seuerall Houses and Palaces, some of pleasure, others of sorrow and mourning, and others to treat of the affaires of the Realme. There was in this Palace many Chambers, according to the qualitie of the Noble men that serued him, with a strange order and distinction.

The

THe *Mexicans* have beene very curious, to diuide the degrees and dignities amongst the noble men and Lords, that they might distinguish them to whom they were to giue the greatest honor. The dignitie of these foure Electors was the greatest, and most honorable; next to the King, and they were chosen presently after the Kings election. They were commonly brothers, or very neere Kinsmen to the King, and were called *Tlacohecalcatl*, which signifies *Prince of darts*, the which they cast, being a kinde of armes they vse much. The next dignitie to this, were those they doe call *Tlacatecatl*, which is to say, *Circumcisers or Cutters of men*. The third dignitie were of those which they called *Eznabucatl*, which signifies, *A shedder of blood*. All the which Titles and Dignities were exercised by men of warre. There was another, a fourth intituled, 10 *Tlilancalqui*, which is as much to say, as, *Lord of the blacke house, or of darknesse*, by reason of certaine Inke wherewith the Priests anointed themselves, and did serue in their Idolatries. All these foure Dignities were of the great Counsell, without whose aduise the King might not doe any thing of importance: and the King being dead, they were to choose another in his place out of one of those foure Dignities. Besides these, there were other Counsels and Audiences, and some say there were as many as in *Spain*, and that there were diuers Seates and Iurisdictions, with their Counsellors and Iudges of the Court, and others that were vnder them, as *Corrigidors*, chiefe Iudges, Captaines of Iustice, Lieutenants, and others, which were yet inferior to these, with a very goodly order. All which depended on the foure first Princes that assisted the King. These foure onely had authoritie and power to condemne to death, and the rest sent them instructions 20 of the Sentences they had giuen. By meanes wherof they gaue the King to vnderstand what had passed in his Realme.

Of the Titles and Dignities the Indians vsed. Chap. 25. Foure Electors.

Men-cutters, Blood-shedders.

Lord of darknesse.

Other Officers. See the picture historie.

There was a good order and settled policie for the Reuenues of the Crowne, for there were Officers diuided throughout all the Prouinces, as Receiuers and Treasurers, which received the Tributes and Royall Reuenues. And they carried the Tribute to the Court, at the least euery moneth; which Tribute was of all things that doe grow or ingender on the Land, or in the water, aswell of Jewels and Apparell, as of Meat. They were very carefull for the well ordering of that which concerned their Religion, Superstition, and Idolatries: and for this occasion there were a great number of Ministers, to whom charge was giuen to teach the people the custome and ceremonies of their Law. Hereupon one day a christian Priest made his complaint that the 30 *Indians* were no good Christians, and did not profit in the Law of God; an old *Indian* answered him very well to the purpose, in these termes: *Let the Priest* (said he) *employ as much care and diligence to make the Indians Christians, as the Ministers of Idols did to teach them their ceremonies; for with halfe that care they will make vs the best Christians in the world, for that the Law of Iesus Christ is much better; but the Indians learne it not, for want of men to instruct them.* Wherein he spake the very truth, to our great shame and confusion.

Priests and Teachers of the Law.

THe *Mexicans* gaue the first place of honour to the profession of Armes, and therefore the Noble-men are their chiefe Souldiers, and others that were not noble, by their valour and reputation gotten in warres, came to Dignities and Honors, so as they were held for Noble-men. 40 They gaue goodly recompences to such as had done valiantly, who inioyed priuiledges that none else might haue, the which did much incourage them. Their Armes were of Rasors of sharpe cutting flints, which they set on either side of a staffe, which was so furious a weapon, as they affirmed that with one blow, they would cut off the necke of a Horse. They had strange and heauy Clubs, Lances, fashioned like Pikes, and other manner of Darts to cast, wherein they were very expert; but the greatest part of their combate was performed with stones. For defensiuie armes they had little Rondaches or Targats, and some kinde of Motions or Head-pieces inuironed with feathers. They were clad in the skinnies of Tigres, Lions, and other sauage beasts. They came presently to hands with the Enemie, and were greatly practised to runne and wrestle, for their chiefe manner of combate, was not so much to kill, as to take Captiues; the which they vsed in their sacrifices, as hath beene said. *Moteczuma* set Knight-hood in his highest splendor, ordain- 50 ing certaine militarie orders, as Commanders, with certaine markes and ensignes. The most honorable amongst the Knights, were those that carried the crowne of their haire tied with a little red Ribband, hauing a rich plume of feathers, from the which, did hang branches of feathers vpon their shoulders, and rolls of the same. They carried so many of these rolls, as they had done worthy deeds in warre. The King himselfe was of this order, as may be scene in *Chapultepec*, where *Moteczuma* and his sonnes were attyred with those kindes of feathers, cut in the Rocke, the which is worthy the sight. There was another order of Knight-hood, which they called the *Lions* and the *Tigres*, the which were commonly the most valiant and most noted in warre, they went alwayes with their Markes and Armories. There were other Knights, as the 60 *Grey Knights*, the which were not so much respected as the rest: they had their haire cut round about the eare. They went to the warre with markes like to the other Knights, yet they were not armed, but to the girdle, and the most honorable were armed all ouer. All Knights might carry gold and silver, and weare rich Cotton, vse painted and gilt vessell, and carry shooes after their manner; but the common people might vse none but earthen vessell, neither might they carry

How the *Mexicans* made war, and of the Orders of knight-hood. Chap. 26.

Their Armes.

Eagle-ordes.

Order of Lions and Tigres. Gray Knights.

Knights priuiledges.

carry chooes, nor attire themselves but in *Nequen*, the which is a grosse Ruffe. Euery order of these Knights had his lodging in the Pallace noted with their markes; the first was called the *Princes lodging*, the second of *Eagles*, the third of *Lyons and Tigers*, and the fourth of the *grey Knights*. The other common officers, were lodged vnderneath in meaner lodgings: if any one lodged out of his place, he suffered death.

Of the great order and diligence the Mexicans used to instruct their youth: Chap. 27.

See the picture story. Colledges.

Their employments and trials.

benefit to the state.

how the nobles were instructed.

The baine of Plantations is expectation of present and externall gain.

Plaies and dances. Military games.

Idoll games. Exp. 32. a thing vsuall to Heathens, as the Comedies, &c. manifest. Musicke.

Here is nothing that giues me more cause to admire, nor that I finde more worthy of commendations and memory, then the order and care the *Mexicans* had to nourish their youth: for they knew well, that all the good hope of a Common-weale, consisted in the nurture and institution of youth, whereof *Plato* treates amply in his bookes *De Legibus*: and for this reason they laboured and tooke paines to sequester their children from delights and liberties (which are the two plagues of this age) imploying them in honest and profitable exercises. For this cause there was in their Temples, a priuate house for children, as Schooles, or Colledges, which was separate from that of the yong men and maides of the Temple, whereof we haue discoursed at large. There were in these Schooles a great number of children, whom their fathers did willingly bring thither, and which had teachers and masters to instruct them in all commendable exercises, to be of good behauiour, to respect their superiours, to serue and obey them, giuing them to this end, certaine precepts and instructions. And to the end they might be pleasing to Noblemen, they taught them to sing and dance, and did practise them in the exercise of warre; some to shoote an Arrow, to cast a dart or a staffe burnr at the end, and to handle well a Target and a Sword. They suffered them not to sleepe much, to the end they might accustome themselves to labour in their youth, and not be men giuen to delights. Besides the ordinary number of these children, there were in the same Colledges, other children of Lords and Noblemen, the which were instructed more priuately. They brought them their meate and ordinary from their houses, and were recommended to ancients and old men to haue care ouer them, who continually did aduise them to be vertuous and to liue chastely; to be sober in their diet, to fast, and to march gravely, and with measure. They were accustomed to exercise them to trauell, and in laborious exercises: and when they see them instructed in all these things, they did carefully looke into their inclination: if they found any one addicted vnto warre, being of sufficient yeares, they sought all occasions to make triall of them, sending them to the warre, vnder colour to carrie victuals and munition to the Souldiers, to the end they might there see what passed, and the labour they suffered. And that they might abandon all feare, they were laden with heauie burdens, that shewing their courage therein, they might more easily be admitted into the company of Souldiers. By this meanes it happened, that many went laden to the Armie, and returned Captaines with markes of honour. Some of them were so desirous to be noted, as they were either taken, or slaine: and they held it lesse honourable to remaine a prisoner. And therefore they sought rather to be cut in peeces, then to fall captiues into their enemies hands. See how Noblemens children that were inclined to the warres were imployed. The others that had their inclination to matters of the Temple; and to speake after our manner, to be *Ecclesiasticall men*, hauing attained to sufficient yeares, they were drawne out of the colledge, and placed in the Temple, in the lodging appointed for religious men; and then they gaue them the order of *Ecclesiasticall men*. There had they *Prelates* and *Masters*, to teach them that which concerned their profession, where they should remaine being destined thereunto. These *Mexicans* tooke great care to bring vp their children: if at this day they would follow this order, in building of houses & colledges for the instruction of youth, without doubt Christianitie should flourish much amongst the *Indians*. Some godly persons haue begunne, and the King with his Counsell haue fauoured it: but for that it is a matter of no profit, they aduance little, and proceede coldly.

We haue not discovered any Nation at the *Indians*, that liue in comminalties, which haue not their recreations, in plaies, dances, and exercises of pleasure. At *Pern* I haue seene plaies in manner of combats, where the men of both sides were sometimes so chafed, that often their *Paella* (which was the name of this exercise) fell out dangerous. I haue also seene diuers sorts of dances, wherein they did counterfait and represent certaine trades and offices, as shepheards, labourers, fishers, and hunters, and commonly they made all those dances, with a very graue sound and pafe: there were other dances and masks, which they called *Guacones*, whose actions were pure representations of the deuill. There were also men that dance on the shoulders one of another, as they doe in *Portugall*, the which they call *Paellas*. The greatest pars of these dances, were superstitious, and kindes of Idolatries: for that they honoured their Idols and *Guacons* in that manner. For this reason the *Prelates* haue laboured to take from them these dances, all they could: but yet they suffer them, for that part of them are but sports of recreation: for alwayes they dance after their manner. In these dances, they vse sundry sorts of instruments, whereof, some are like Flutes, or little *Canons*, others like Drums, and others like Cornets: but commonly they sing all with the voyce, and first one or two sing the song, then all the rest answer them. Some of these songs were very wittily composed, containing Histories, and others were full of super-

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superstitions, and some were meere follies. Our men that haue conuerſed among them, haue laboured to reduce matters of our holy faith to their tunes, the which hath proficed well: for that they employ whole dayes to rehearse and ſing them, for the great pleaſure and content they take in their tunes. They haue likewiſe put our compositions of Muſicke into their Languages as Octaues, Songs, and Rondels, the which they haue very aptly turned, and in truth it is a goodly and very neceſſary meanes to inſtruct the people. In *Peru*, they commonly call Dances *Tá-gui*, in other Prouinces, *Areittos*, and in *Mexico*, *Mittottes*. There hath not beene in any other place, any ſuch curioſitie of Playes and Dances, as in *New Spaine*, where at this day we ſee *Indians* ſo excellent Dancers, as it is admirable. Some dance vpon a Cord, ſome vpon a long and ſtreight ſtake, in a thouſand ſundry ſorts; others with the ſoles of their feet and their hammers, do handle, caſt vp and receiue againe a very heauy blocke, which ſeemes incredible but in ſeeing it. They doe make many other ſhewes of their great agilitie, in leaping, vaulting, and tumbling, ſometimes bearing a great and heauy burthen, ſometimes enduring blowes able to breake a barre of Iron. But the moſt viſuall exerciſe of recreation among the *Mexicans* is the ſolemne *Mittotte*, and that is a kind of dance they held ſo braue and ſo honourable, that the King himſelfe danced, but not ordinarily, as the King *Don Pedro* of *Arragon* with the Barber of *Valencia*. This Dance of *Mittotte*, was commonly made in the Courts or the Temple; and in thoſe of the Kings houſes, which were more ſpacious. They did place in the miſt of the Court two Inſtruments, one like to a Drumme, and the other like a Barrell made of one piece, and hollow within, which they ſet vpon the forme of a man, a beaſt, or vpon a Pillar.

Curious Dances.

Great agility.

Theſe two Inſtruments were ſo well accorded together, that they made a good harmony: and with theſe Inſtruments they made many kinds of Ayres and Songs. They did all ſing and dance to the ſound and meaſure of theſe Inſtruments, with ſo goodly an order and accord, both of their feet and voyces, as it was a pleaſant thing to behold. In theſe Dances they made two Circles or Wheelles, the one was in the middeſt nere to the Inſtruments, wherein the Ancients and Noblemen did ſing and dance with a ſoft and ſlow motion; and the other was of the reſt of the people round about them, but a good diſtance from the firſt, wherein they danced two and two more lightly, making diuers kinds of paces, with certayne leaps to the meaſure. All which together made a very great Circle. They attyred themſelues for theſe Dances with their moſt precious apparell and Iewels, euery one according to his abilitie, holding it for a very honourable thing: for this cauſe they learned theſe Dances from their infancie. And although the greateſt part of them were done in honour of their Idols, yet was it not ſo inſtituted, as hath beene ſaid, but only as a recreation and paſtime for the people. Therefore it is not conuenient to take them quite from the *Indians*, but they muſt take good heed they mingle not their ſuperſtitions amongſt them. I haue ſeene this *Mittotte*, in the Court of the Church of *Topetzotlan*, a Village ſeven leagues from *Mexico*: and in my opinion, it was a good thing to buſie the *Indians* vpon Feſtiuall dayes, ſeeing they haue need of ſome recreation: and becauſe it is publike, and without the preiudice of any other, there is leſſe inconuenience, then in others which may be done priuately by themſelues, if they tooke away theſe.

To the Reader.

Reader, I here preſent vnto thee the choiſeſt of my Iewels. My travelling fancie hath invited many Readers to my labours in ſtrange birth already. Quæ regio in terris noſtri non plena laboris? Iaponian and China rarities ſo remote from our world, are nere to our worke, and their characters communicated here to the Reader; not their arts alone. Thou haſt here alſo *Indoſtan*, *Arabike*, *Persian*, *Turkiſh*, add other Letters, and not onely the tranſcript from their languages. As for tranſlations and collections, thou haſt them here alſo out of the Hebrew, Auncient and Moderne Greeke, Abaſſine, Tartarian, Ruſſian, Polonian, Egyptian, and innumerable other Nations Chriſtian, Iewiſh, Mahometan, Echnike, Ciuill, Barbarian and Sauage, innumerable wayes diuerſified. Yet all theſe in letters, or characters. In hieroglyphicall myſticall pictures the ancient Egyptians and Ethiopians, haue by way of Emblemes obſcurely and darkly deliuered their obſcure myſteries, vncertaine, maxenly, pliant conceits to the world; ſome of which our Pilgrimage hath mentioned. But a Hiſtorie, yea a Politicke, Echnike, Eccleſiaſticke, Oeconomike Hiſtory, with juſt diſtinctions of times, places, acts and arts, we haue neither ſcene of theirs, nor of any other Nation, but of this, which our light and ſight apprehenſions terme not barbarous alone, but wilde and ſauage. Such an one we here preſent, a preſent thought fit for him whom the ſenders eſteemed the greateſt of Princes; and yet now preſented to thy hands before it could arrive in his preſence. For the Spaniſh Gouverneur hauing with ſome difficultie (as the Spaniſh Preface imports) obtained the Booke of the *Indians*, with Mexican interpretations of the Pictures (but ten daies before the departure of the Ships) committed the ſame to one ſkilfull in the Mexican language to be interpreted; who in a very plaine ſtile and verbatim performed the ſame, vſing alſo ſome Morisco words, as *Altaqui* and *Mezquitas* (for *Prieſt* and *Temples*) imports. This Hiſtorie thus written, ſent to Charles the fifth Emperour, was together with the Shippe that carried it taken by Frenchmen of war, from whom Andrew Theuet the French Kings Geographer, obtained the ſame: after whoſe death,

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Maſter

Sir. Hen. Spelman.

Master Hakluyt (then Chaplaine to the English Embassadour in France) bought the same for 20. French crownes, and procured Master Michael Locke in Sir Walter Raleighs name to translate it. It seemes that none were willing to be at the cost of cutting the Pictures, and so it remained amongst his papers till his death, whereby (according to his last will in that kinde) I became possessour thereof, and have obtained with much earnestnesse the cutting thereof for the Presse. The rather was I eagerly vehement herein, as being a thing desired by that most industrious Antiquary, iudicious Scholler, Religious Gentleman, our Ecclesiastike Secular, the Churches champion, Sir Henry Spelman, Knight; whom for honors sake I name, that his name may honour our ruder lines; a name so fitting to the Man, as one which can, in regard of his wise spell and science in diuine & humane learning, and is ready, with maine courage and alacritie to shew himselfe the Churches Man, and to exhibit himselfe in deede whatsoener any man can spell, out of Spel-man. The commending from such a friend (let the Muses impetrate pardon for so bold a name) was a commanding unto me, which here I againe commend to Him and thee.

It is diuided into three parts; the first being the *Annales* and Mexican Chronicle: the second, their Exchequer or the Accounts of their seuerall Tributes paid them from the Nations and peoples tributary, whereby may be scene the Naturall riches of those parts peculiarly sorted: the third the Mexican Oeconomie and Policie in warre and peace, religious and secular, their priuate and publicke rites from the graue of the wombe, to the wombe of the graue. Obscure places I haue explained (besides what before in Acolta thou hast read) comparing the translation with the originall, adding many of mine owne: and perhaps there is not any one History of this kinde in the world comparable to this, so fully expressing so much without Letters, hardly gotten, and easily lost, that thou maist here finde it.

CHAP. VII.

The History of the Mexican Nation, described in pictures by the Mexican Author explained in the Mexican language; which exposition translated into Spanish, and thence into English, together with the said Picture-historie, are here presented.

§. I.

The Mexican Chronicle.

Ere beginneth the Historie and foundation of the Citie of *Mexico*, founded and inhabited by the *Mexicans*, who at that time were called *Metici*; whose originall beginning of being Lords, and their acts and liues are declared briefly in this Historie, according as it is signified and set out successiue by the pictures and paintings following.

In the yeare 1324. after the comming of our Lord and Sauour Iesus Christ, the Mexican people first arriued at the place of the Citie of *Mexico*, and because they liked not the greatnesse and the scituation of that place, after that they had trauielled in their Iournies, and wandered many yeares from Country to Countrey, & in some of them had made their abode, for some yeares, being come from far Countries in following their Iournies, and not being contented with the other places where they had made their abode, they came and settled themselves in the place of *Mexico*. The which place at that time was all drowned with water, and was couered with great bogs and bankes of moorish shegs and bulrushes, which they call *Tuli*, and it had *Carizales*, and great plats of dry ground couered with shrubbes, bushes, and briars like woods. And through all the space of that place there went a spring & streame of fair cleerer water which was free from all segges and bushes, which water streame went through it crossewise, in manner of Saint *Andrewes* crosse, as it is shewed in the picture: and about the middle of that place of that water-streame, the *Metici* found a great rocke of stone, and growing thereon a great Tree or bush called *Tunal*, wherein a great Eagle *Candal* had her haunt and abode for her foode, so as all about that place was scattered full of bones and feathers of diuers Birds and Fowles of diuers colours. And they hauing gone throughout all that place and Countrey thereabout, and finding it very fruitfull and full of wilde beasts, wilde Fowles, Birds, and Fishes, and things of the water, wherewith to sustaine themselves and to profit themselves in their businesse in dealing with the Townes thereabouts, and finding the water-courses of that place so commodious, and that their Neighbours could not trouble nor hurt them, and for other things and causes to their good liking they determined to passe no further on their iourneyes in traueilling, but to settle them-

themselves and dwell still. And according to their determination, they did settle themselves there effectually. And made themselves a strong Citie of defence with bankes and walles about the waters, and on the plats of ground among the Segges and Bushes of *Tulis* and *Carrizales*. And for a beginning of that their seate and habitation, it was determined by them, to giue name and title to that place, calling it *Tenultitlan*. By reason and cause of the *Tunal* growing out of the *Rocke* (for *Tenuchtitlan* interpreted in our *Cassilian Spanish Tongue* is *Tunal* growing upon a *Rocke*.)

The armie of the *Mexican* people had with them for chiefe *Gouernours* ten persons named, *Ocelopan*, *Quapan*, *Acacitli*, *Ahuexolt*, *Tenuch*, *Tecineuh*, *Xemimtl*, *Xocoyol*, *Xuhcaqui*, *Atototl*, as it is shewed in the Pictures. And hauing so settled themselves, they did chuse *Tenuch* for their chiefe *Gouernour* and *Lord* to gouerne them, as a person especially chosen thereto and fit for it, hauing in him all parts and abilities to exercise *Lordship*. And they appointed the other chiefe *Gouernours*, that they should be *Agents* and *Captaynes*, *Gouernours* vnder him.

And after some yeeres were passed of their dwelling in that place, and the people multiplied, the Citie likewise was named *Mexico*, so named and deriued of the *Mexicans*, calling it the place of settling of the *Mexican* people.

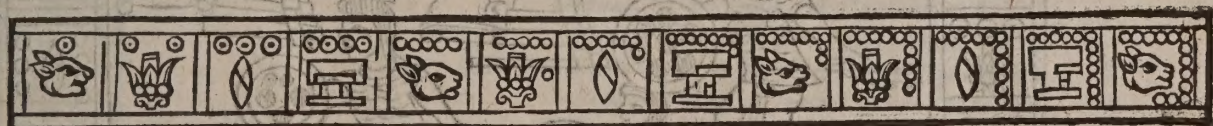
And when the people were somewhat multiplied like bold and warlike people, they tooke beginning of couragious mindes in preuayling ouer their Neighbours, and so shewed themselves in force of armes, whereby they subdued and made tributarie to them two Townes next adioyning to *Mexico*, named *Colhuacan*, and *Tenaycan*; as likewise is set forth in the pictures: the which doings passed in the time of the gouernment of the chiefe *Lord Tenuch*, which was the space of fiftie one yeeres, at the end whereof he died.

Tenuchtitlan.
Mexican Lords
Tenuch chosen
chiefe *Lord.*
Mexico.
Colhuacan and
Tenaycan sub-
dued.

Concerning the Pictures of blew in the margents of this Historie, it is to be vnderstood that euery seuerall space or partition doth signifie one yeare, and they bee the numbring of yeeres: it is to be vnderstood that euery seuerall space or partition signifie the one seuerall yeare, and so they accounted & numbred euery yeare seuerally, proceeding by the number of rundles or pricks therein contained, beginning at one, and proceeding to thirteene rundles. And from thence they began againe at the beginning in their accompt from one point or rundle, and so accordingly they did proceede in numbering againe, till they came to thirteene. And although that in the partitions or spaces seuerally there be diuers seuerall figures, yet the principall accompt of numbering is that accompt of the pictures or rundles therein contained. And although the names of the yeeres that they giue to euery partition from the number of the first point till the thirteenth be to some purpose, yet for to aduertise the Reader thereof; here is made by it selfe a declaration of the names, with their interpretations.

In the order and rule of the partitions which are numbred for yeeres, that partition where there is a branch with a foote like a flower, it doth signifie a bitter and vnfortunate yeare which the *Mexicans* had, and did feare, saying that their predecessours time out of minde did giue them warning that such yeeres which befell euery two and fiftieth yeare were dangerous, and vnfortunate, and bitter yeeres, because that in such yeeres there were floods generally, and likewise darkenesse of the eclips of the Sunne, and vniuersall earthquakes. And likewise in such yeeres they made great sacrifice and ceremonies to their gods, and gaue themselves to repentance, and did abstaine from all vices against the very day and houre of such a yeare. In the which day generally they put out all their lights and fires till that day were past; and being passed they kindled new lights being had out of a Mountaine by a Priest.

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This is a weeke of yeeres after the Mexican computation (all coloured blew, the Mexican names written ouer in red) the first of which they call *Setuchtli*, that is, one *Conie*: the second *Omeacalt*, or two *Canes*: the third *Yeytecpatl*, three *Flints*: the fourth *Macuiltuchtli*, which signifieth foure houses: the fifth *Criquacenacatl*, that is five *Conies*: the sixth, sixe *Canes*: the seventh, seven *Flints*: the eighth, eight Houses: the ninth, nine *Conies*: the tenth, ten *Canes*: the eleventh, eleven *Flints*: the twelfth, twelue Houses: the thirteenth, thirteene *Conies*.

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T i t t

This



This Picture presents the number of 51. yeares : that is, the time of Tenuchs reigne : in this wheele or square (which, as all the like representing yeares, are in the originall picture coloured blew) the pictures of men signifie the ten Lords or Gouvernours before mentioned ; their names are inscribed in the originall pictures, which here we raise by the letters annexed directly to a following glosse. A. Acasitli. B. Quapan. C. Ocelopan. D. Aguexotl. E. Tecinenb. F. Tenuch. G. Xominith. H. Xocoyol. I. Xinh-caqui.

caqui. K Atotl. L Tenochtitlan, representing the armes which they used in the conquest of that place, which they so intituled as M the Tunal (painted greene) growing out of a Rock. N the Eagle. O their setting or habitation. P the people of Colhuacan Q Tenayncan: both which Nations R Tenuch conquered by force of armes, as appeareth S their subiection or bringing under. T is the blue square and Saint Andrewes croffe. The former relation doth more fully lay open these things.



In this figure is represented the raigne of their second Lord or King Acamapich. A is the time of his reigne 21. yeeres. B Acamapichli the successor. C His target and arrows instruments of warre, by force whereof he subdued these foure townes or peoples figured D Quau-nabnac. G Mizquic. H Cuiclahuac. I Xochimilco. E is the same Acamapichli as a conqueror. F by foure faces and ensignes shewing the men of those foure Townes (to each of which is added like ensigne) subdued. This picture therefore doth in figures signifie, that which we in letters shew;

In the yeere 1377. in the said Gouvernement and Lordship succeeded Acamapichli. And during his Lordship he subdued and conquered by force of armes the foure Townes containd and named in the pictures here before, which are these: Quau-nabnac, Mizquic, Cuiclahuac, and Xochimilco, the which were tributaries to him, acknowledging their subiection. In the yeeres that the said Acamapich liued in the said Lordship: his inclination and vse was to haue many wiues, the which were daughters of all the principall men of Mexico, by whom he had many sons which were the beginning and increase of many Caciques, and Captaines, and warlike people, by meanes of whom the Citie of Mexico was enlarged and augmented in great might, as is signified hereafter in the discourses by the pictures,

figures, with their declarations. The two pictures with their titles & names of *Acamapich* be one same thing to diuers effects, for the first sheweth his beginning and succession of the said Lordship, and the second sheweth the yeere after his succession in the said Lordship, when hee began to conquer and subdue the said foure Townes. And in the said Lordship he had his course one and twentie yeeres, at the end whereof the said *Acamapich* dyed and departed this present life, the which said departure was in the yeere 1398.



A 21. yeeres. B Towne and People of Toltitlan. C Quauztitlan. D Chalco. H Tulancingo. I Xaltocan. K Otumpa. L Acolma. M Tezcucoc. E The Cutter bath set letters to diuers figures whereof

whereof I can giue no interpretation: and such is this, except perhaps it signifieth that in his seventh yeere he began his conquests. For I doe here interpret diuers in which the Spanish is silent, if the coniecture seeme easier. F is King Huicilhuicil. G the instruments of warre.

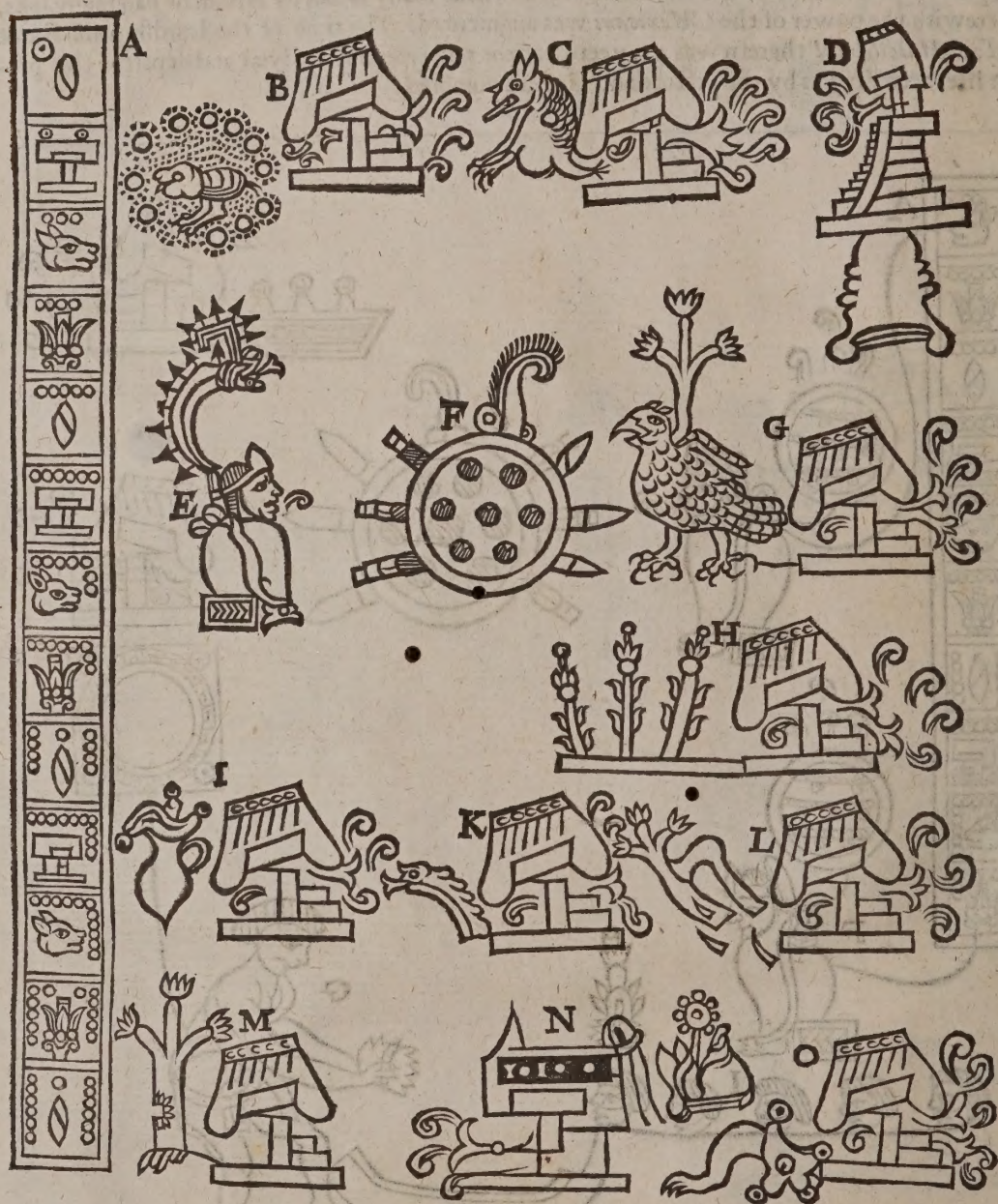
IN the yeere 1396. in the said Lordship succeeded Huicilhuicil sonne of Acamapich, and during the time of his reigne in his Lordship, he conquered by force of armes eight Townes, which are contayned in the pictures here before, with the names of the same Townes intituled, the which were made tributarie to the Mexican Lordship acknowledging seruitude. The said Huicilhuicil was valiant in warres, and inclined to haue many wiues by whom he had many sons, wherewith the power of the Mexicans was augmented. The time of the Lordship and life of the said Huicilhuicil therein was 21. yeeres, at the end whereof he dyed and departed this present life, according as by the pictures of blue are numbered.



A tenne yeeres. B Chimalpupuca. C Target and Darts, to intimate his forcible conquest of D Tequixquiac and E Chalco. F sheweth his death. G the Towne of Chalco in rebellion. H the foure Canoas and I the five men abovesaid of Mexico, which the Rebels slue. You see this King and euery other both King and Towne distinguished by speciall Armes or Scutchions, with other particulars, which here and in all the rest I leaue to each Readers owne industrie and search.

IN the yeere 1470. after the death of Huicilhuicil succeeded Chimalpupuca in the said Lordship of Mexico, sonne of the said Huicilhuicil, and during his time hee subdued by force of armes the Townes of Tequixquiac, and Chalco, which Chalco is a great Towne and acknowledging seruitude

uitude: they paid tribute to the Lordship of *Mexico*, according as the pictures doe shew. And hauing the said Townes thus in subiection, at the end of certaine yeeres the said Towne of *Chalco*, being mightie, rebelled against the *Mexicans*, and in the rebellion there grew danger to the *Mexicans*, insomuch that they slue five of them, and brake them foure Canoas, according as here is signified by the pictures. The time of the life and Lordship of the said *Chimalpupuca* was ten yeeres, at the end whereof hee dyed, according as is numbred by the blue pictures in the margent. And likewise the said *Chimalpupuca*, in the time of his life had many wiues and sons; for it was accounted a matter of reputation.



The explanation of the first Table A 13. yeeres. Yzcoatçi. F by force of Armes (signified by this Target and Darts) subdued the Townes and Territories of B Azcapualco. C Coyvacan. D Tzcalhucyacan. G Guaguacan. H Tlacopan. I Atlacuhayan. K Mixcoac. L Quauximalpan. M Quauhuitlan. N Tupan. O Acolhuacan.

I N the yeere 1427. in the said Dominion of *Mexico*, after the death of *Chimalpupuca*, succeeded Yzcoatçi, Sonne of *Acamapich*, which had beene Lord of *Mexico*, and during his time hee conquered by force of Armes foure & twentie Townes which are here pictured, which Townes he made subiect to the Lordship of *Mexico*, at one inuasion which he made; for he was as valiant and warlike in Armes as the said *Acamapich*, and was a man of good iudgement, and wise in many matters, and by his good industrie he subdued the said Townes which gaue him tribute, and did acknowledge seruitude. The said Yzcoatçi had many Concubines, by whom he had seuen Sonnes and Daughters and he reigned in the said Lordship thirteene yeeres at the end whereof the said Yzcoatçi dyed and departed this present life.

In the other Table (in the original being another Page) follow A Mixquic B Cuiclahuac. C Xochimilco. D Chalco. E Quauhlatōa the Lord of Tlatilco; the Towne also added. F Huicilapan. G Quauhnahuac. H Cuiclan. I Caqualpan. K Iztepec. L Xuhbrepec. M Toalan. N Tepequacnilco.



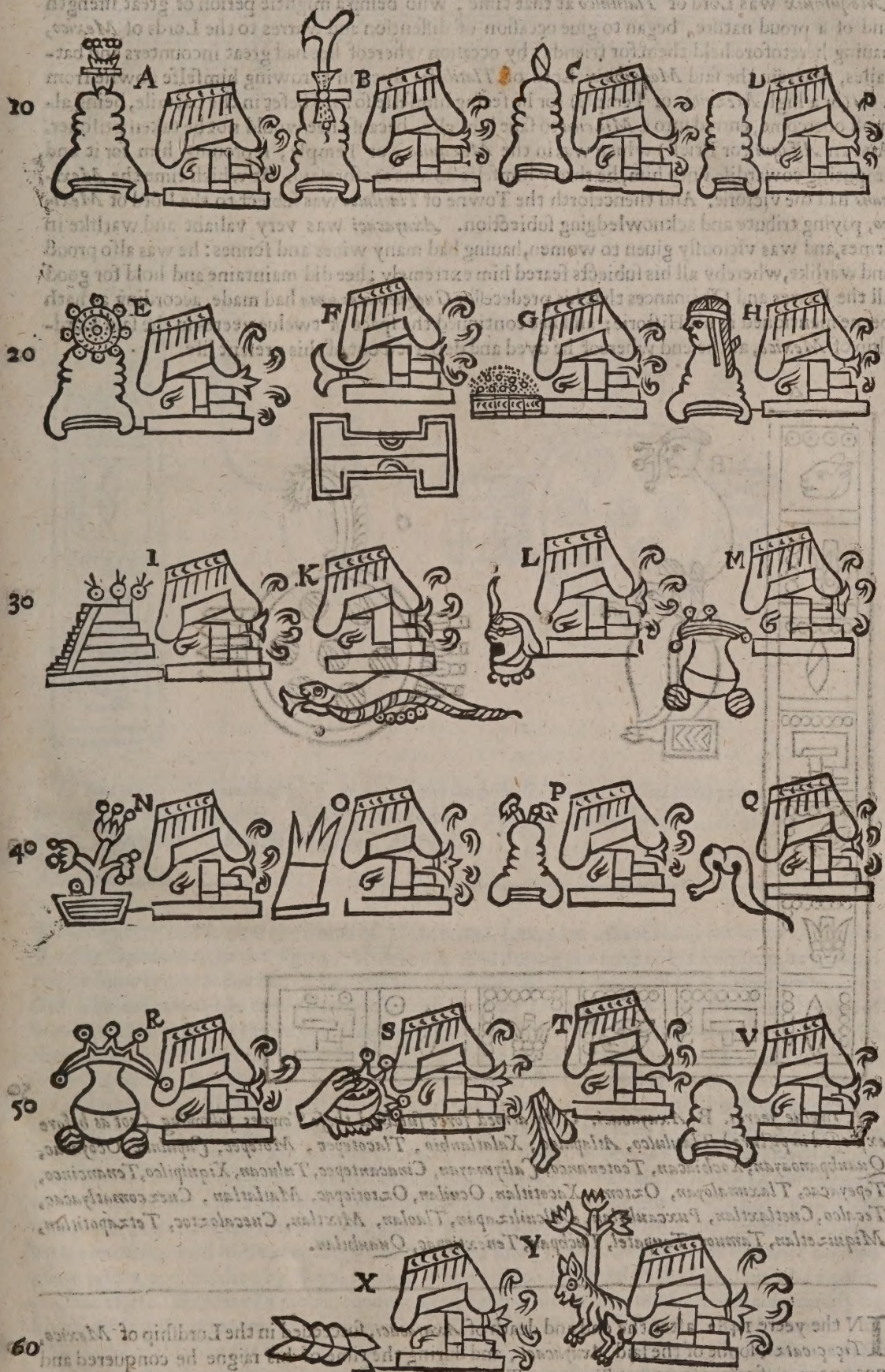
IN the yeere 1440. after the death of Tzcoatzi succeeded Gueguemotēcuma in the Lordship of Mexico, the Sonne of Cuicilahuac which had bene Lord of Mexico: and during his time, he conquered by force of Armes three and thirtie Townes according as they are pictured in that compasse where the Picture of Gueguemotēcuma standeth. And having subdued them to the said Lordship of Mexico, they payed him tribute, acknowledging their subiection.

This Gueguemotēcuma was a very seuer and graue Lord, and giuen to vertue, and was a man of a good nature and vnderstanding, and an enemy to all euill vices: and beeing of a good inclination, set downe Orders and Lawes in his Common-wealth, and to all his Seruants how they ought to liue, and also ordayned grieuous penalties for the breach of them: which penalties were executed without any remission vpon those that brake the Lawes. He was not cruell, but rather gentle, and desirous of the welfare of his Subiects, not vicious in women; hee had two Sonnes, hee was very temperate in drinking, for in all his life time hee was neuer seene to bee drunke as the naturall Indians which are extremely inclined to drunkennesse, but rather he commanded him to be corrected and punished that committed such a fact. And by his seueritie and Iustice and good example of life, hee was feared and reuerenced of all his Subiects, all his life time, which was the space of nine and twentie yeeres. At the end whereof he dyed, and passed out of this present life.

A nine and twenty yeeres. C Huehuetemoteczuma. D by force of Armes subdued. B Lord Atonal and his Towne Coayxtlahuacan. E Mamalhuaztepec. F Tenanco. G Tetachtepec. H Chicouquianhuco. I Ximitepec. K Tzolapan. L Chalco. M Quauhnaahuac. N Atlatlantlaco. O Huaxtepec.



In the second Table. A Tauttepec. B Tepuztlan. C Tepatzcinco. D Tacapihtlan. E Yoaltepec. F Tlachco. G Tlalcocanhtitlan. H Tepegnaculco. I Quiyanteopan. K Chontalcoatlan. L Hucipuchilan. M Atotonilco. N Axocopan. O Tulan. P Xilotepec. Q Tzquincuitlapilco. R Atotonilco. S Tlapacoyan. T Chapolixtla. V Tlatlanbquitepec. X Cuetlaxtlan. Y Quanh-rocheo.



See the first
table in the
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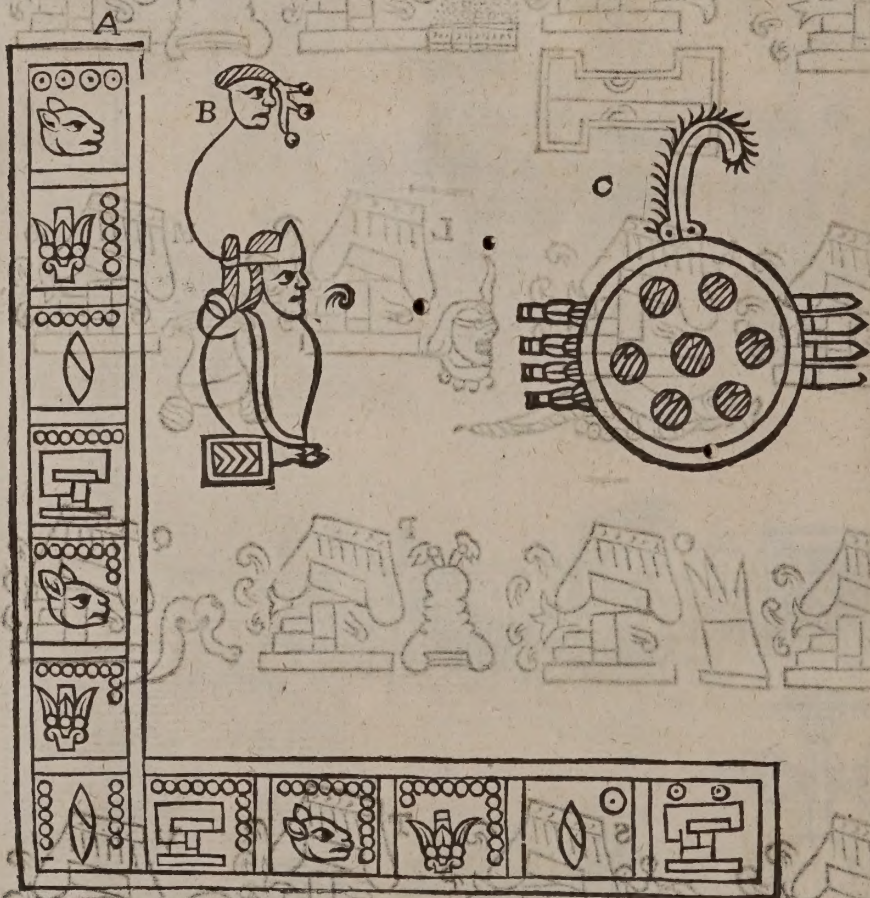
The first
table in the
margin shows
the names of
the places
which were
conquered by
the Spaniards.

The first
table in the
margin shows
the names of
the places
which were
conquered by
the Spaniards.

See the storie
before in A
costa.

Tlatilulco sub-
dued, before
as Acofta faich
the Mexicans
were subiect
to them.

IN the yeere 1479. after the death of *Gueguemotexuma*, succeeded in the Lordship of *Mexico* *Axayacaci* sonne of *Tecoconoetliquieto*, which was the sonne of *Tzacoalt* Lord of *Mexico*. And during the time that the said *Axayacaci* was Lord, he conquered and won by force of armes seuen and thirtie Townes, as hereafter are pictured and named. Amongst which Townes hee subdued vnder his Lordship by force of armes the Towne of *Tlatilulco*, a thing of great importance. *Moquibnix* was Lord of *Tlatilulco* at that time, who being a mightie person of great strength and of a proud nature, began to giue occasion of dissention and warres to the Lords of *Mexico*, hauing heretofore held them for friends: by occasion whereof hee had great incounters and battailes, wherein the said *Moquibnix* Lord of *Tlatilulco* dyed in throwing himselfe downe from a *Cu* (or a high *Mezcita*, or Temple) for he seeing himselfe so hard beset in the battaile, being almost ouercome, entred into a *Mizciti* to saue himselfe, because hee would not be taken prisoner. And an *Alfaqui* (or Priest) which was in the *Mezquito*, or Temple, reprouing him for it and imputing cowardise vnto him, he threw himselfe downe as aforesaid. At which time the *Mexicans* had the victorie. And thenceforth the Towne of *Tlatilulco* was subiect to the Lord of *Mexico*, paying tribute and acknowledging subiection. *Axayacaci* was very valiant and warlike in armes, and was viciously giuen to women, hauing had many wiues and sonnes: he was also proud and warlike, whereby all his subiects feared him extremely: hee did maintaine and hold for good all the Lawes and Ordinances that his predecesor *Gueguemotexuma* had made, according as hath beene mentioned in his Historie; and hee continued the space of twelue yeeres in the said Lordship of *Mexico*, at the end whereof he dyed and departed out of this present life.



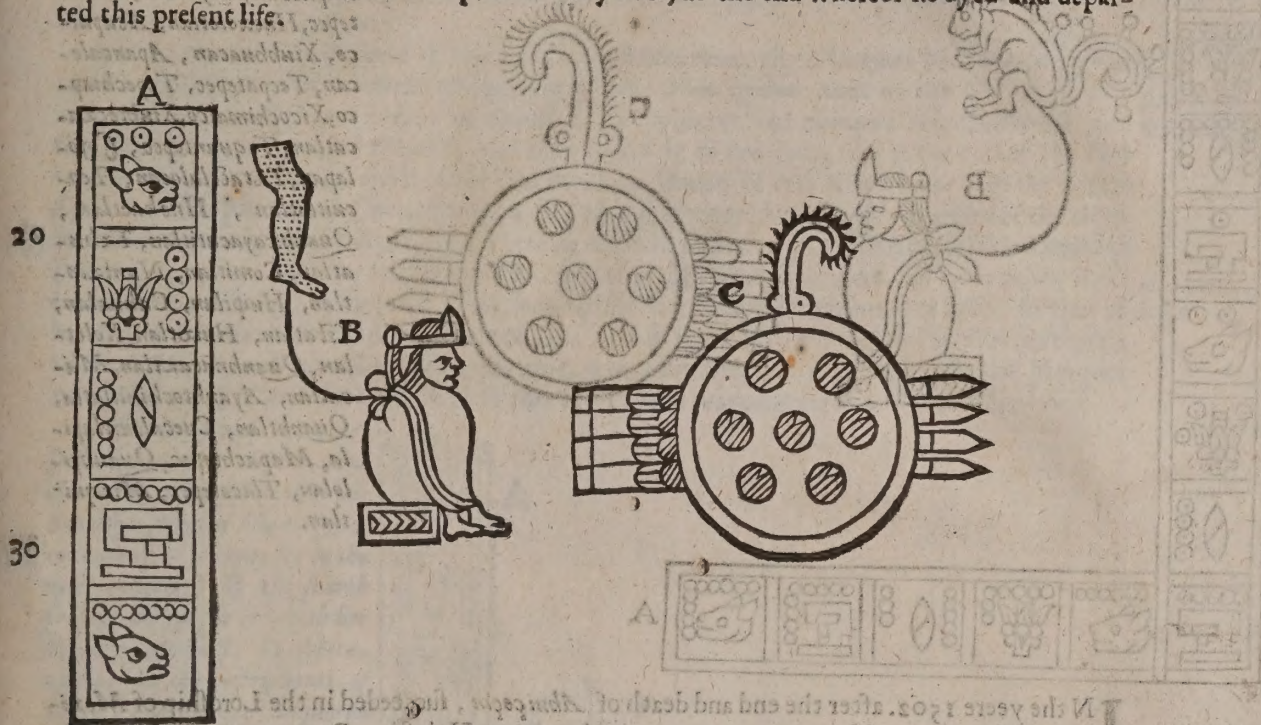
A twelue yeeres. B *Axayacaci*. C by armed force subdued these Townes following (not as before expressed in picture) *Tlatilulco*, *Atlapulco*, *Xalatlanhio*, *Tlacotepec*, *Motepet*, *Capulnac*, *Ocoyacac*, *Quanhpanoayan*, *Xochiacan*, *Teotenanco*, *Caliymayan*, *Cinacantepec*, *Tulucan*, *Xiquipileo*, *Tenancinco*, *Tepeyacac*, *Tlaximaloyan*, *Oztoma*, *Xacotitlan*, *Ocuilan*, *Oztotitpac*, *Matlatlan*, *Cuezcomatlyacac*, *Tecalco*, *Cuetlaxtlan*, *Puxcanchtlan*, *Alcuilixapan*, *Tlaolan*, *Mixtlan*, *Cuecaloztoc*, *Tetzapotitlan*, *Miquizetlan*, *Tamuoc*, *Taupatel*, *Tuchpan*, *Tenextitpac*, *Quanhbilan*.

Ticocicatzi.

Title *Tlacatecatl*
that is, Great
Captaine.

IN the yeere 1482. after the end and death of *Axayacaci*, succeeded in the Lordship of *Mexico*, *Ticocicatzi*, sonne of the said *Axayacaci*, and during the time of his raigne he conquered and got by force of armes fourteene Townes. The said *Ticocicatzi* was very valiant and warlike in armes, and before that he succeeded in the Lordship of *Mexico*, he had done dangerous feates of valiantnesse in his owne person in the warres, whereby hee obtayned the title of *Tlacatecatl*, which

which they esteemed for a Title of great honour and estate: and it was a degree whereby that the Lordship of *Mexico* being vacant, he which had the same degree and title succeeded in the place of the same Dominion of *Mexico*, which title in like manner his Predecessors, Brothers, and Father, and Grand-father had, whereby they came to bee Lords of *Mexico*. Also the said *Ticocicatzi* by the estate and authoritie of the said Lordship of *Mexico*, had many Wiues and Sonnes which hee had by them, and he was a graue and seuerer man in commanding and was feared and reuerenced of his Subjects, hee was likewise enclined to good and vertuous things, and was good for his Commonwealth. He commanded the Lawes and Statutes to bee kept and approued for good, that his Predecessors had amplified and kept since the time of *Gueguemotexuma*. And he was zealous in punishing and chastising the euill vices and offences that his Subjects committed. And so the *Mexican* Commonwealth was well ordered and gouerned the time of his life, which was the space of fve yeeres, at the end whereof he dyed and departed this present life.



A Five yeeres. B Ticocicatzi C by armes subdued these Townes, Tonahmoquezan, Toxico, Ecatepec, Zilan, Tecaxic, Tuluca, Tancuislan, Tlapan, Atzacabacan, Mazatlan, Xochijetla, Tamapachco, Ecatehuapochco, Miquetlan.

IN the yeere 1485. after the death of *Tixizocatz*, succeeded *Abuizoxin*, brother to his Predecessor *Tixizocatz*, in the Signorie of *Mexico*. And during the time of his Lordship, he conquered by force of armes fve and fortie Townes, according as hereafter are pictured and named. The said *Abuizoxin* was like to his Predecessor and Brother *Tixizocatz* in valiantnesse and feates of warre, whereby he got the title of *Tlacatecatl*, which signifieth a great Captaine, and from the same title he came to be Lord of *Mexico*. The said *Abuizoxin* was by nature of a good inclination, and giuen to all vertue, and likewise in the course of his life hee had his Commonwealth ruled and gouerned well, and he fulfilled and kept the Lawes and Statutes that his Predecessors had maintayned since the time of *Gueguemotexuma*. And as the state of the Lordship of *Mexico* was brought to great Majestie, and had the greatest part of this *New Spaine* subiect, acknowledging their seruice, and by the great and rich tributes which they gaue the said *Mexican* Lordship, came to much renoume and mightinesse. And he like a mightie and great minded Prince, gaue great things and preferments to his seruants, and he was temperate of condition and mercifull, whereby his seruants loued him exceedingly, and yeelded him great reuerence. And likewise hee had many wiues, and children by them, because it was a thing adioyned to the Lordship, and a point of great estate. He was of a merrie condition, whereby his seruants did feast him continually in his life time with great and diuers kindes of feasts, and musick, and songs, and instruments, as well in the night as in the day: for in his place the Musicians and Singers neuer ceased with many Instruments of musicke. The course of his life in that Signorie was sixtene yeeres, at the end whereof he dyed and passed out of this present life.



A sixteene yeeres. B A-
huizoxim. C conquered by
armes the townes following.
Tziccoac, Tlappan, Molan-
co, Amaxtlan, Zapotlan,
Xaltepec, Chiapan, Totote-
pec, Xochitlan, Xolochimlan, 10
Cozaquanhrenanco, Coço-
huipilecan, Coymacac, Aca-
tepec, Huexolotlan, Acapul-
co, Ximbhuacan, Apancale-
can, Tecpatepec, Tepechiap-
co, Xicochimalco, Ximbtecca-
catlan, Tequantepes, Coyo-
lapan, Yxtactlalocan, Teo-
cuilatlan, Huehacatlan, 20
Quanhxayacatilán, Yzhu-
atlan, Comitlan, Nantzin-
tlan, Huipilan, Cahualan,
Ystatlan, Huixtlan, Xolot-
lan, Quanhhuacatzlan, Ma-
catlan, Ayanhtochimilatlá,
Quanhbilan, Cuacalcuiclapila,
Mapachtepec, Quanhpi-
lolan, Tlacotepec, Mizqui-
slan. 30

Moteçuma.

His weale and
greatnesse.

Maieftie.

Conquests.

Wisdome and
learning.

Lawes.

Many women,
some wiues,
some Concu-
bines.

IN the yeere 1502. after the end and death of *Ahuizocim*, succeeded in the Lordship of *Mexico*, *Moteçuma*. *Mexico* was now growne into great Majestie, Renowme, and Authoritie: and he by his grauitie and seueritie enlarged exceedingly the State and Dominion of *Mexico*, yea a great deale more then his Predecessors. *Moteçuma* was the sonne of *Axayacati*, which had bene Lord of *Mexico*, and before hee came to the said Lordship hee had the deserts of a worthy Captaine and a valiant man in warres, whereby hee had the title of *Tlacatecatl*, 40
and so hee succeeded in the Lordship of *Mexico*, as is before rehearsed, and being in the said Lordship he did greatly increase the *Mexican* Empire, bearing the rule ouer all the Townes in this *New Spaine*, insomuch that they gaue and payed him great tributes of much riches and value: He was feared very much of all his seruants, and likewise of his Captaines and Principals, insomuch that not one when they had any businesse with him, for the great reuerence they had him in, durst for feare looke him in the face, but that they held downe their eyes and their head low and enclined to the ground, and many other extraordinarie respects and ceremonies they did vnto him for the Maieftie he represented vnto them, not mentioned here for auoyding of tediousnesse. After *Moteçuma* had succeeded in the said Lordship, hee conquered foure and fortie 50
Townes hereafter named; and hee subdued them vnder his Lordship and Empire, and in their acknowledging of seruitude all the continuance of his life, they payed him many and great tributes, as hereafter by their pictures and declarations is made manifest.

Moteçuma was by nature wise, and an Astrologer, and a Philosopher, subtile and skilled generally in all artes, as well of warres as all other matters temporall. And for his grauitie and estate he had of his Lordship the beginning of an Empire, according as his seruants did reuerence him with great honor and power, that in comparison of him, not one of his predecessors came to halfe so much estate and Maieftie. 60
The Statutes and Lawes of his Predecessors, since the time of *Gueguemoteçuma* vntill his time, he commanded to bee kept and wholly fulfilled with great zeale. And because hee was a man so wise, by his good nature he ordayned and made other Statutes and Lawes which he thought defective for the execution of the former, not abrogating any, all which were for the welfare and good gouernment of his Commonwealth and Subjects. Hee was inclined to keepe many houses and women, which were daughters of the Lords his Subjects and Confederates; and by them he had many children; and to haue so many wiues was for to set forth his Maieftie the more, for they hold it for a point of great estate. Among which the daughters of the Lords of great au-
thoritie

thoritie he held for lawfull wiues, according to their rights and ceremonies, and them hee kept within his Palaces and dwelling houses; and the children that came of them were had in reputation as more lawfull children then the others which hee had by the other women. It were a large historie to tell the order he had in keeping of them, and conuersation with them. And because this present historie is but brieue, it is left vnreheard.

See before in Acosta, and after in Gomara more large relations of Motezuma, in a wilde kinde of state and maiestie, equaling in many things, in some exceeding most Princes of the elder world. First notice of the Spaniards.

The quantitie, value, and number of the tributes and kindes of things that his subjects did pay for tribute vnto him, shall be seene and vnderstood hereafter, as by the pictures and declarations is signified. And he made a straight order that the tributes which they payed him, should be fulfilled according as they were leuiued by him; for the fulfilling whereof he had in all his subject-
10 townes his *Calpixques* and Factors, which were as *Gouernors*, that ruled, commanded, and gouerned them; and hee was so much feared that none durst disobey nor transgresse his will and commandement, but that they were kept and wholly fulfilled, because he punished and corrected the rebels without remission.

And in the sixteenth yeere of the reigne of *Motezuma*, the *Mexicans* had knowledge of certaine *Spaniards*, which were discoverers of this *New Spaine*, that at the end of twelue moneths there should come a fleet of *Spaniards* to ouercome and conquer this Country; and the *Mexicans* kept account thereof, and they found it to bee true, for at the end of the said twelue moneths was the arriuall of the said fleet at a Hauen of this *New Spaine*, in the which fleet came *Don Ferdinando Cortes*, Marques del Valle, which was the seuenteenth yeere of the reign
20 of *Motezuma*; and in the eighteenth yeere he made an end of the continuance of his Lordship and Raigne: in the which yeere he dyed and departed this present life. At the time when *Motezuma* came to his gouernment, he was five and thirtie yeeres old little more or lesse, so that at his decease he was three and fiftie yeeres of age. And straightway in the yeere after his death, this Citie of *Mexico*, and other Townes adjoyning, were ouercome and pacified by the said Marques del Valle, and his Confederates. And so this *New Spaine* was conquered and pacified.

Motezumas death.

A The number of 19. yeeres

(18. yeeres of his raigne, and that other which followed in his

Successor, wherein Mexico was

conquered, as you may see in the

next chapter) B the fourth

yeere of his raigne in which hee

began his conquest. C Mote-

zuma. D the instruments of

warre by which hee conquered

Achiutlan, *Zozolan*, *Nochiz-*

tilan, *Tecatepec*, *Zulan*, *Tlaniz-*

tilan, *Huilotepac*, *Tepatepec*,

Tzactlaloacan, *Chichibualtaca-*

cala, *Tecaxic*, *Tlachinoltepec*,

Xoconochco, *Zinacantan*, *Hu-*

iztilan, *Piaztlan*, *Molanco*,

Zaquantepec, *Pipiyoltepec*, *Hu-*

cyapan, *Tecpatlan*, *Amatlan*,

Caltepec, *Pantepec*, *Teozinco*,

Tecozanhila, *Teochiapan*, *Za-*

catepec, *Tlachquiyahco*, *Ma-*

linaltepec, *Quimichtepac*, *Tz-*

quintepec, *Zenzontepec*, *Quet-*

zaltepec, *Cuezcomayxtlahua-*

can, *Huexolotlan*, *Xalapan*,

Xaltianhizco, *Toloxonecuila*,

Atepec, *Mictlan*, *Tzutilan*,

Tliltepec, *Comaltepec*.

These townes were gouerned

by the *Casiques* & Prin-

cipals of *Mexico*, appointed

by the Lords of *Mexico*,

for the good defence and go-

uernment of the naturall

people, and for the securitie of the Townes, that they should not rebell, as also for the charge

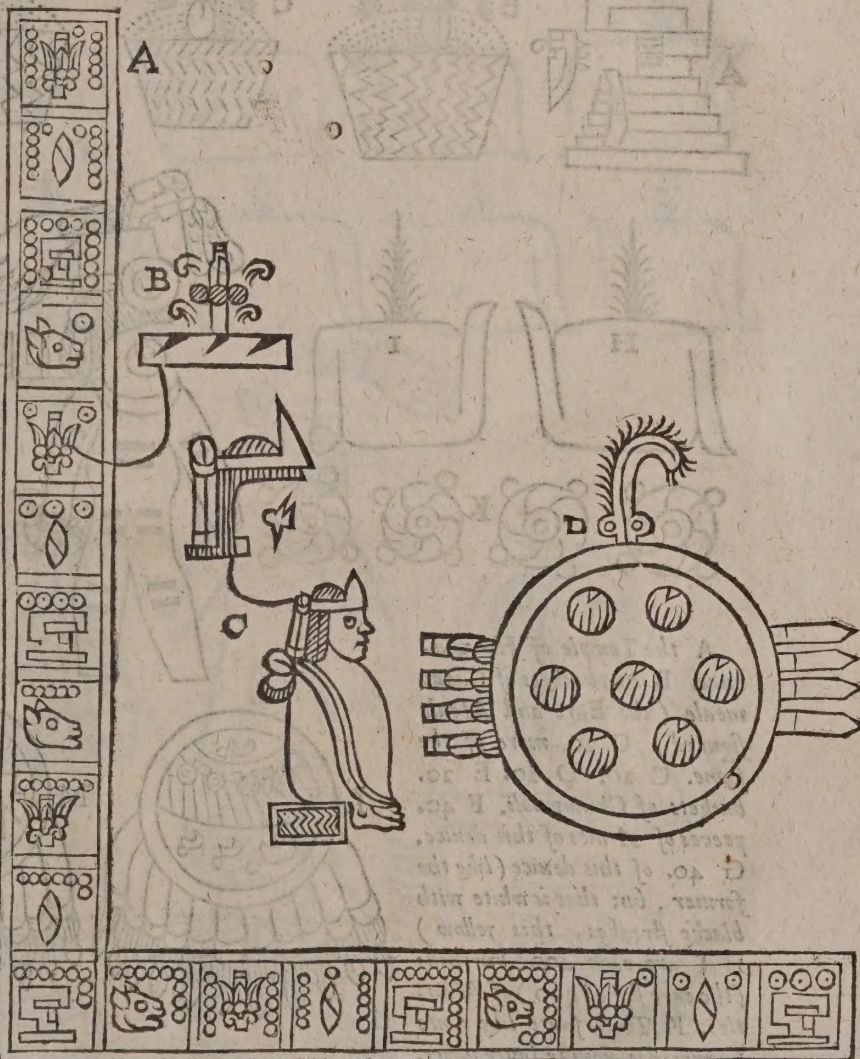
they had to gather, and command to be gathered the Rents and Tributes, that they were bound

to giue and pay to the Dominion of *Mexico*.

Citlattepec, *Quanhochco*, *Mixcoatl*, *Tlacatectli* a Gouernour, *Zonpaneo*, *Xaltocan*, *Tlacatectli* a

Vuuu 2

Go-



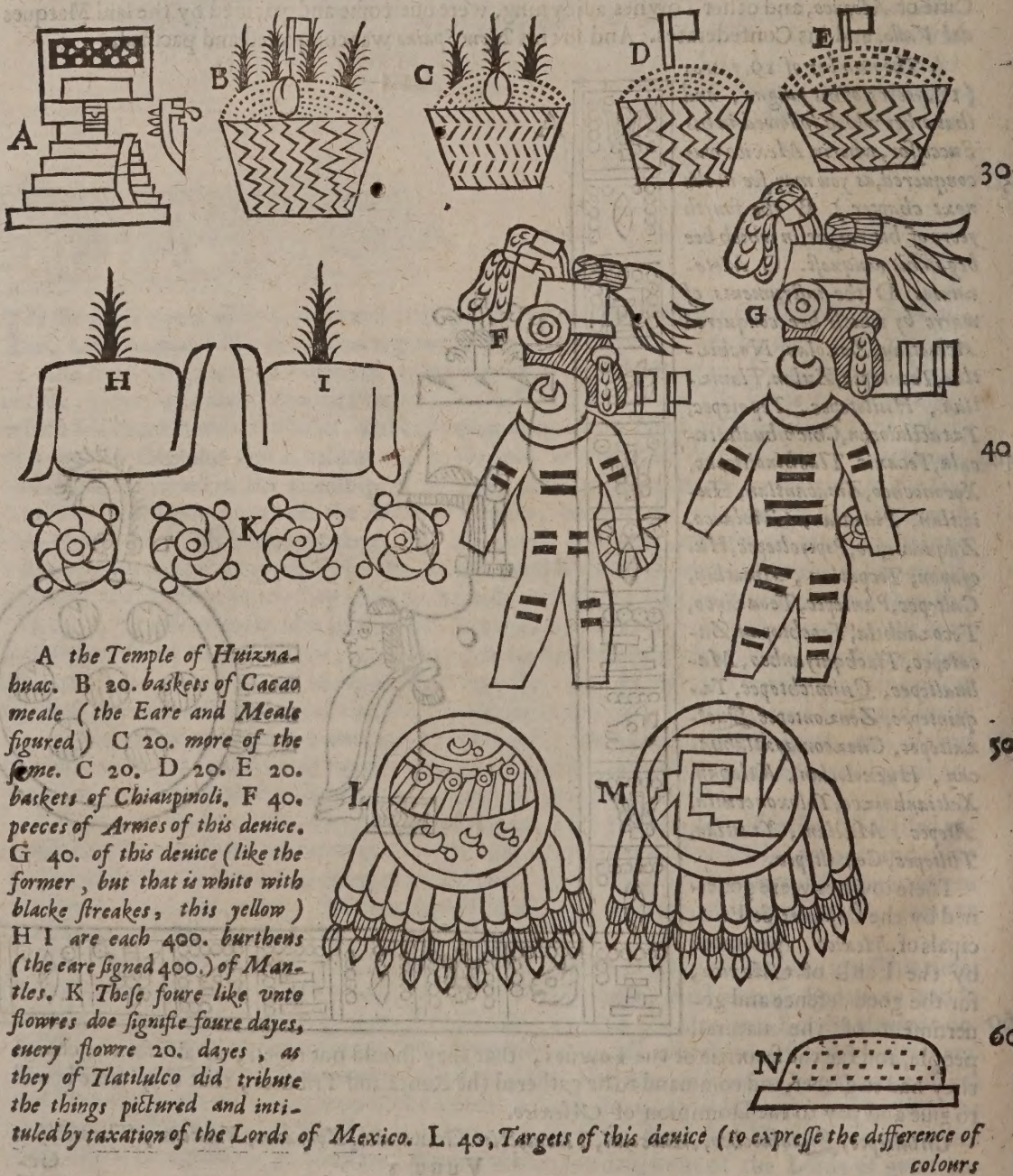
Gouverneur, Acalhuacan, Tlacocheilli a Gouverneur, Huaxac, Tzetyocan, Coatlan, Huixachtlan, Tlacateilli a Gouverneur, Tlacocheilli a Gouverneur, Zozolan, Poetepec, Coatlayarcham, Acolnahuac, Pupulan, Tztacolco, Chalcoatenco, Tlacocheilli a Gouverneur, Tlacatecatl a Gouverneur, Oztoma, Atzacan, Atlan, Omequuh, Tetzacoacatl a Gouverneur, Tlilancalqui a Gouverneur, Xocnocho, Tecaputlan.

¶ II.

The second part of this Booke containyng the particular Tributes which every Towne subdued paid vnto the Lords of Mexico.

Here follow pictured and intituled the kinds of things, that they of Tlatilulco (which at this day is called by the Spaniards, Saint James) did pay in tribute to the Lords of Mexico, and the said tribute summed here, is that which followeth.

They were charged for tribute, alwayes to repaire the Church called Huiznahuac. Item, fortie great Baskets (of the bignesse of halfe a Bushell) of Cacao ground, with the Meale of Maiz (which they called Chianpinoli) and every Basket had sixteene hundred Almonds of Cacao. Item, other fortie Baskets of Chianpinoli. Item, eight hundred burthens of great Mantels. Item, eightie pieces of Armour, of slight Feathers, and as many Targets of the same Feathers, of the deuices & colours as they are pictured. All the which tribute, except the said armes and targets they gaue every 24. dayes, and the said armes and targets they gaue for tribute but once in the whole yeere. The said tribute had his beginning since the time of Quauhtlaton and Moquibnix, which were Lords of Tlatilulco. The Lords of Mexico, which first enioyned to those of Tlatilulco, to pay tribute, and to acknowledge their subiection, were Tzcoatzi and Axiacaçi.



A the Temple of Huiznahuac. B 20. baskets of Cacao meale (the Eare and Meale figured) C 20. more of the same. C 20. D 20. E 20. baskets of Chianpinoli. F 40. peeces of Armes of this deuice. G 40. of this deuice (like the former, but that is white with blacke streakes, this yellow) H I are each 400. burthens (the eare signed 400.) of Mantles. K These foure like vnto flowres doe signifie foure dayes, every flowre 20. dayes, as they of Tlatilulco did tribute the things pictured and intituled by taxation of the Lords of Mexico. L 40. Targets of this deuice (to expresse the difference of colours

colours in each particular were too tedious.) N Tlatilulco. The names of Quauhtlaton and Moquihui Lords of Tlatilulco are added; because in their times it began; as also of Tenuxtulan, Izcacoatl and Apayacan to intimate that these two Lords of Mexico or Tenuxtulan subdued them. The Pictures of them (as of many Townes before) were omitted: being but such descriptions of men and Townes as you haue seene already.

The Townes pictured in the two Pieces following, and summed heere be twentie three Townes as appeareth by their Titles, and they had a chiefe Gouvernour appointed by the Lords of Mexico, called *Petlacacatl*, although neuertheless, every Towne had his *Calpixque*, which is at it were a Steward or Bayliffe, whose charge was to gather the Rents & tributes that the said Townes did tribute to the Dominion of Mexico, and all the said Stewards came to the said *Petlacacatl* as their Gouvernour, and the things and kinds that the said townes did tribute, are these which follow, 2400. burthens of great Mantels of twisted Yarne. Eight hundred burthens of little Mantles, rich attyre, of the colours as they are pictured. Foure hundred burthens of *Maxilac*, which serued for little clothes. Foure hundred burthens of *Huipiles* and *Nagmas*, all the which they gaue for tribute every sixe moneths.

Item, They gaue five pieces of Armour, of rich Feathers, and as many Targets of the colours and deuices as they are pictured.

Item, They did tribute seuentie pieces of Armour of Feathers of small account, and as many Targets of the colours and deuices as they are pictured.

Item, They tributed one *Trox* of *Frisoles*, and another *Trox* of *Chian*, and another *Trox* of *Mayz*, and another of *Guanle*, which is the seed of *Bles*. All the which things of the said Armour and Targets, and *Trox*es of *Frisoles*, and the other seeds the said Townes did pay for tribute once every yeere.



Petlacalca a Governour (the pictures of men and townes are heere and in the following omitted, being no other then as you have already scene) The townes are Xaxalpan, Topica, Tepetlacalco, Tecolapan, Tepechpan, Tequimacan, Huicilo Pucheo, Colhuacingo, Cozotlan, Tepepulan, Olac, Acapan, Cuicahuac, Tezcacoa, Mezquis, Aochpanco, Tzapotitlan, Xico, Toyac, Tecalco, Tlacoximbo, Nexitlan.

A 400. burthens of Maxtlac of this worke, which be little clothes. B 400. burthens of Naguas, and Huipiles of this worke. C 400. burthens of great Mantels. D 400. burthens of great Mantels. E 400. burthens of great Mantels. F 400. burthens of little Mantels, of this worke each division of severall colours, Red, Blue, Yellow, Greene. G 400. burthens of little Mantels of this worke. H 400. burthens of great Mantels. I 400. burthens of great Mantels. K 400. burthens of great Mantels. L A piece of Armour of this device of rich Feathers yeerely. M A Target of rich Feathers of this device. N A piece of Armour of this device of rich Feathers yeerely. O A Target of rich Feathers of this device. P A piece of Armour of rich Feathers of this device yeerely. Q A Target of rich Feathers of this device. R A piece of Armour of rich Feathers, of this device yeerely. S A Target of rich Feathers of this device.



A A piece of Armour of rich feathers of this device yeerely. B A Target of rich feathers of this device. C 20. pieces of Armour of this device yeerely, they were of red feathers. D 20. Targets of feathers of this device. E 20. pieces of Armour of feathers of this device yeerely. F 20. Targets of feathers. G 20. pieces of Armour of this device, blue, of light feathers yeerely. H 20. Targets of feathers of this device. I A Troxe of Frisoles and Chian, one of the one kind and, and another of the other kind. K A Troxe of Maiz and another of Guautli, which is seed of Bletlos.

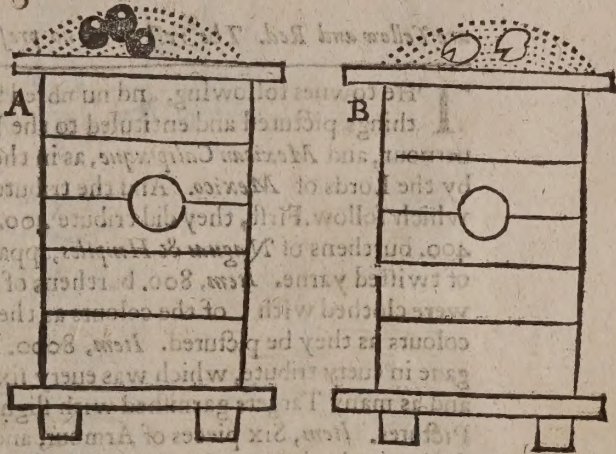
The

These Townes pictured and named, ensuing and summed heere, are fixe and twentie townes, wherein from the time of their conquests by the Lords of Mexico, they had set *Calpixques*, as it were Bayliffes in euery of them, and in the principall Towne a Gouvernour bare rule aboue all the rest, because he should mayntaine them in peace and iustice, and make them performe their tributes, and that they should not rebell. The tributes that all the said townes hereafter contayned, did pay together, are these which follow.

Two thousand burthens of great Mantels twisted. Item, 1200. burthens of *Canabuc*, which be rich Mantels, wherewith the Lords and *Casiques* were clothed of the colours as they are pictured. Item, 400. burthens of *Maxtlatl*, which be little clothes. Item, 400. burthens of *Huipiles* and *Naguis*, all the which they paid for tribute twice a yeere. Item, they gaue more tribute three pieces of Armour garnished with rich feathers, and as many Targets of the colours and deuices as they are pictured, the which they gaue in the space of one yeere. Item, one hundred pieces of Armour garnished with feathers of small value, and as many Targets of the deuices and colours as they are hereafter pictured, the which they tributed once a yeere. Item, foure great *Troxes* of wood, full, the one of *Frisoles*, and another of *Chian*, and another of Maiz, and another of *Guautli*, which is the seed of *Blethos*. Every *Trox* might contayne foure or fise thousand *Hanegas*, the which they tributed once a yeere.

Acolmeca. Calpixque. Acolhuacan, Huicilan, Toloquinco, Tlachyahualco, Tepechpa, Aztequemecca, Teacalco, Tonanula, Zenpoalan, Tepetlaquato, Achuatepec, Tigatep, Comilan, Texquenecan, Matixco, Tenezcacalapan, Tyzaincan, Tepetlapan, Calahualco, Tecoyncan, Tlaquilpan, Quauhqueuetlan, Epagumcan, Ameyalco, Quauhycan, Ecatepec.

A 400. burthens of Mantels of this colour (red) and worke (edged Blue, Greene, Red, and Yellow) B 400. bundles of Mantels of this worke (Blacke and White) C Twentie pieces of Armes of rich feathers of this worke.



A Following two *Troxes* of *Frisoles* and *Chian*. B two *Troxes*, the one of Maiz, the other of *Huautli* (their corne.) The rest are omitted in Picture, being resembled as the former; and for the Historie you haue it before.

The townes pictured and named, and numbred here are fixeene townes, the which townes did pay for tribute to the Lords of Mexico, the things pictured and intituled. And because they should be well ruled and governed, the Lords of Mexico had set *Calpixques* in euery town, and aboue all them for Gouvernour, a principall man of Mexico; the *Calpixques* also were men of Mexico: which was done by the laid Lords for the securitie of the townes, that they should not rebell, and also because they should minister iustice, and liue in policie. And the said Tributes that the said townes gaue as appeareth by the said Pictures, and summed heere, are those which follow.

First, they did tribute twelue hundred burthens of great Mantels of twisted Yarne. Item, Eight hundred burthens of small white Mantels, of the apparell which they did weare. Item, Twelue hundred burthens of small white Mantels, richly wrought, which is apparell that the Lords and *Casiques* did weare. Item, Foure hundred burthens of *Maxtlatle*, which are small clothes that they weare.

Item.

Item, Foure hundred burthens of *Huipiles* and *Naguas*, which is apparell for women, all the which they tribute twice a yeere; so that they gaue tribute euery sixe moneths.

Item, They did tribute eight pieces of Armour, and as many Targets garnished with rich feathers of diuers colours as they are pictured, the which they paid for tribute once a yeere.

Item, Foure great *Troxes* of wood, full of *Maiz* and *Frisoles*, and *Chian*, and *Huantli*, which is the seed of *Blethos*, euery *Trox* might contayne 5000. *Hanegas* or Bushels, the which they did tribute once a yeere.

Item, Eight Reames of Paper, of the Countrey, which they tributed twice a yeere; so that in all it was euery yeere sixteene thousand sheets of Paper.

Item, In euery tribute 2000. *Xicharas*, or drinking Cups, which they gaue twice a yeere.

The Townes were *Quauhnahuac*, *Teocalcinco*, *Chimalco*, *Huicilapan*, *Acatlispac*, *Xochitepec*, *Miacatla*, *Molotla*, *Coatlan*, *Ximitepec*, *Xoxouila*, *Amacoxtulan*, *Tzulan*, *Ocpayucan*, *Tztepec*, *Atlicholoayan*.

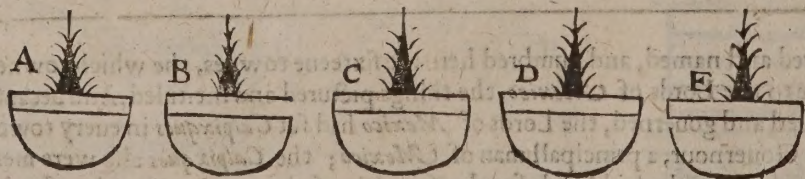


A Eight thousand sheets of Paper, of the Countrey. B Foure hundred *Xicharas*, or Cup-dishes of this worke. C Foure hundred of this worke. D Foure hundred of this worke. E Foure hundred of this worke. F Foure hundred of his worke. The colours

are Yellow and Red. The rest need no presenting in Picture, beeing but as formerly is scene.

The townes following, and numbred here are six and twentie, which did pay tribute of the things pictured and entituled to the Lords of *Mexico*, and likewise there was resident a *Gouernour*, and *Mexican Calpixque*, as in the other townes afore mentioned, which were ordained by the Lords of *Mexico*. And the tributes that they payed, appearing by the Pictures are these which follow. First, they did tribute 400. burthens of *Maxtilatle*, which are little clothes. Item, 400. burthens of *Naguas* & *Huipiles*, apparell for women. Item, 2400. burthens of great Mantles, of twisted yarne. Item, 800. burthens of rich Mantles, that the Lords and Principals of *Mexico* were clothed with, of the colours as they are pictured. Item, 2000. *Xicharas* varnished, of the colours as they be pictured. Item, 8000. Reames of Paper of the Countrey, all the which they gaue in euery tribute, which was euery six moneths. Item, They tributed 40. pieces of Armour, and as many Targets garnished with slight feathers died of diuers colours, as appeareth by the Pictures. Item, Six pieces of Armour, and as many Targets garnished with rich feathers of the deuices and colours as they be pictured. Item, Foure great *Troxes* of wood like those afore said, full of *Maiz* and *Frisoles*, and *Chian*, and *Guanli*, all the which they tributed once a yeere.

The townes names are *Huaxtepec*, *Xoxhmitlacinco*, *Quauhlan*, *Achuehuepan*, *Anenequilco*, *Olintepec*, *Quauhuitlyxco*, *Zonpanco*, *Huizilapan*, *Tlaltincapan*, *Coacalco*, *Tzamatitla Tepoztlan*, *Ximbitepec*, *Tacappichtla*, *Tlayacapan*, *Xaloztoc*, *Tecpazino*, *Nepopoalco*, *Atlatlanca*, *Totolapan*, *Amilzinco*, *Aitihuelic*.



A B C D E are each of them, foure hundred *Xicharas* or Cup-dishes.



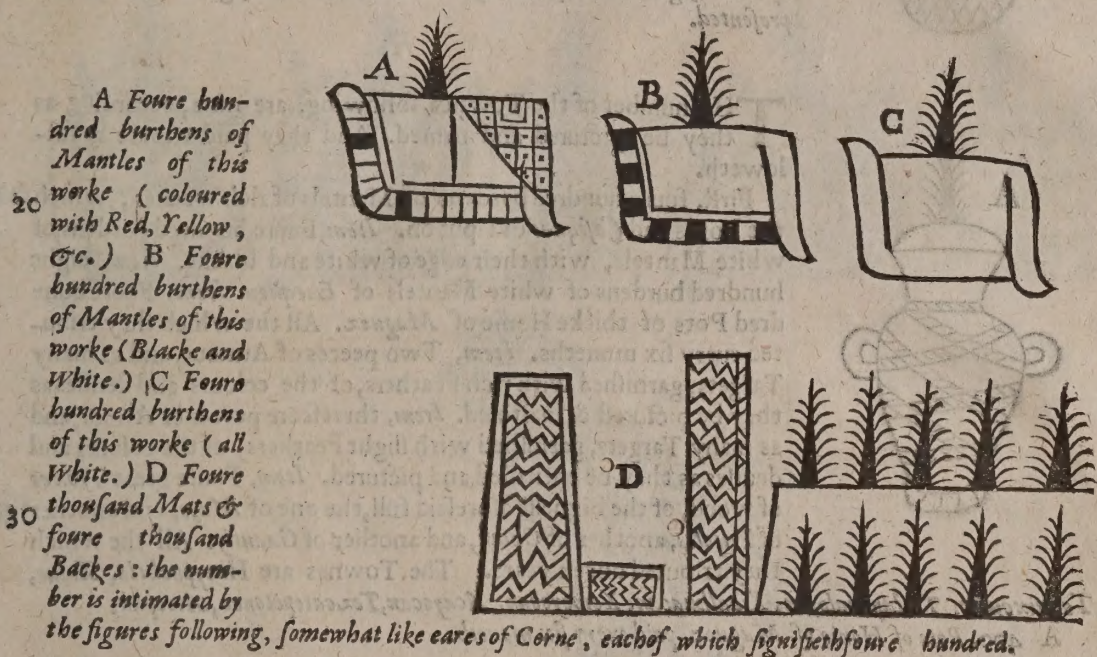
F Eight thousand sheets of Paper, the Pictures of the rest are omitted.

The

The Townes pictured and named here are seven, which paid tribute to the Lords of Mexico, as in the other parts aforesaid haue beene mentioned, and the things they tributed are these that follow.

First, Foure hundred burdens of Mantels of rich workes; and foure hundred burdens of plaine Mantels, of the color as they be pictured. Item, Foure thousand Petates, which are Mats, and other foure hundred backs with their seates made of Segs and other Herbs, the which they did tribute euery six moneths. Item, Two peeces of Armour, and as many Targets garnished with rich Feathers of the deuices and colours as they be pictured. Item, Fortie peeces of Armour, and as many Targets, garnished with sleight Feathers. Item, Foure great Troxes of wood of the bignesse of those aforesaid, full of Maiz, Frisoles, Cbian and Guantly; which they gaue for tribute once a yeare.

The Townes are *Quauhtitlan*, *Tehuilocan*, *Ahuexoyocan*, *Xalapan*, *Tepoxaco*, *Cuezcomo huacan*, *Xiloquinco*.



The Townes pictured and named are tenne, which did paie tribute to the Lords of Mexico, as aforesaid, and the things that they did tribute doe follow.

First, eight hundred burdens of rich Mantles, and wrought as appeareth by the titles and pictures. Item, Foure hundred burdens of white Mantles, with their border of blacke and white. Item, Eight hundred burdens of white Mantles. Item, Foure hundred burdens of *Naguas* and *Huipiles*. Item, Foure hundred great Pots of thicke Honie of *Magues*; all the which they tributed euery sixe moneths. Item, They did tribute two peeces of Armour, garnished with rich Feathers, and as many Targets of rich Feathers, of the deuices as they be pictured and intituled. Item, Fortie peeces of Armour, garnished with slight Feathers, and as many Targets, of the deuices as they are pictured. Item, Foure great Troxes of wood, of the bignesse of those that are signified in the parts before, the one of Maiz, and the other of *Frisoles*, another of *Cbian*, and another of *Guantli* seede of *Bledos*. All the which they tributed once a yeare. The Townes are *Axocopan*, *Atenco*, *Tetepanco*, *Xochichinca*, *Temoahuayan*, *Tezcatepec*, *Myzquianhnala*, *Tzmyquilpan*, *Tlaabnililpan*, *Tecpatepec*.

A Four hundred Pots of thicke Honie of *Magues*: this is, for the nouell figure pictured, the rest not, being as the former in their forme.



The number of the Townes ensuing, are seven, and they did tribute to the Lords of Mexico, after the order declared in the parts aforesaid; and the things which they did tribute are those which follow.

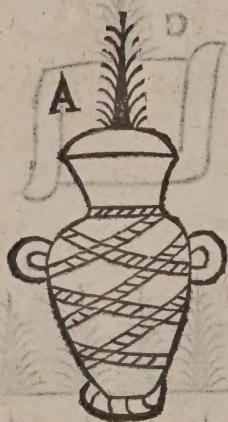
First, Foure hundred burdens of Mantels of rich workes, which was apparell that the Lords and *Caciques* did put on. Item, Foure hundred burdens of white Mantels, with their borders of white



A

white and black. *Item*, Eight hundred burdens of great Mantels of twisted Yarne. *Item*, Four hundred burdens of Chalk; all the which they did tribute euery six moneths. *Item*, they did tribute two peeces of Armour garnished with rich Feathers, and two Targets, as appeareth by the deuices and pictures. *Item*, Fortie peeces of Armor, and as many Targets garnished with slight Feathers, as appeareth by the pictures, deuices and titles. *Item*, Four great Troxes of wood, of the bignesse of those before, the one full of Maiz, another of Frisoles, another of Chian, and another of Guantli; all of the which they did tribute once a yeare. The Townes are Atotonilco, Guapalcalco, Quecalmacan, Acocolco, Tehuchuec, Otlazpan, Xalac.

A 400. burthens of Chalke or Lime: the marke on the top signifieth 400. the figure is the forme of their burthen. Other figures neede not be presented.



A

The number of the Townes following, are nine, according as they be pictured and named. And they paid tribute as followeth.

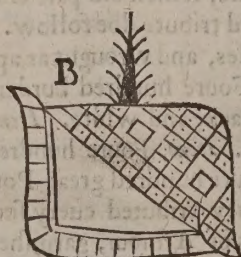
First, foure hundred burdens of Mantels of rich workes, which the Lords and Casiques did put on. *Item*, Four hundred burdens of white Mantels, with their edge of white and blacke. *Item*, eight hundred burdens of white Mantels of Enequen. *Item*, Four hundred Pots of thicke Honie of Maguez. All the which they tributed euery six moneths. *Item*, Two peeces of Armour, and as many Targets, garnished with rich Feathers, of the colours and deuises as they be pictured & intituled. *Item*, threescore peeces of Armor, and as many Targets, garnished with slight Feathers, of the colours and deuises as they be intituled and pictured. *Item*, Four great Troxes of wood, of the bignesse aforesaid full, the one of Mays, and another of Frisoles, another of Chian, and another of Guantli. All the which they tributed once a yeare. The Townes are Hueypuchila, Xalac,

Tequixcuiac, Tetlapanaloyan, Xicalhuacan, Xomeyocan, Acayocan, Tezcatepetonco, Atocpan.

A 400. Pots of Honie of Maguez, paid euery six moneths.



A



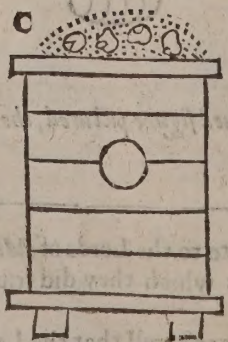
B

The number of the Townes following be six: and they paid tribute as followeth.

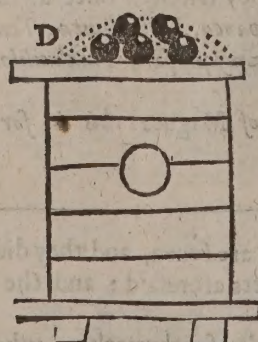
First, Eight hundred burdens of rich Mantels apparel that the Lords of Mexico did cloath themselves with, as appeareth in the said side by the pictures and titles. *Item*, One thousand six hundred burdens of white Mantels of Enequen; all the which they did tribute to the Lords of Mexico euery six moneths. *Item*, Four peeces of Armour, and as many Targets, garnished with rich Feathers of the colours and deuises as they are pictured and intituled. *Item*, Four great Troxes of wood; of the bignesse of the other, full of Maiz, Frisoles, Chian, and Guantli. All the which they did tribute once a yeare. The Townes are Atotonilco, Acaxochitla, Xnachquecaloyan, Hueyapan, Itzibuiquilcan, Tulancingo.

A Four hundred burthens of rich Mantles of this worke. B Four hundred burthens of rich Mantels of this worke. C Two troxes, one of Mays, the other of Chian. D Two troxes, the one of Frisoles, the other of Guantli. Other pictures are omitted, being like the former.

The



C



D

The number of the Townes are seven: and they paid tribute as followeth. First, 400. burthens of very rich *Naguas* and *Huipiles*, which is apparell for women. Item, 400. burthens of rich Mantels, Lords apparell. Item, 400. burthens of *Naguas* wrought. Item, 800. burthens of rich Mantels. Item, 400. burthens of rich small Mantels. Item, 400. burthens of Mantels drawne through the middle with red: all the which they tributed euery fixe moneths.

Item, A liuing Eagle, two, three, or more, according as they could finde them. Item, two pieces of Armour and two Targets, garnished with rich feathers, of the deuice and colour as they are pictured. Item, Foure great *Troxes* of wood, full of *Maiz*, *Frisoles*, *Chian*, and *Gnautls*: all the which they tributed once a yeere. The townes names are *Xilotepec*, *Tlachco*, *Tzayanalquilpa*, *My-shualeyau*, *Tepetulan*, *Acaxochyla*, *Tecocauhlan*.



A 400. burthens of very rich *Naguas* and *Huipiles*. B 400. burthens of rich Mantels of this worke. C 400. burthens of *Naguas* of this worke. D 400. burthens of rich Mantels of this worke. E 400. burthens of rich Mantels of this worke. F A line Eagle that they brought in euery tribute, sometime three, other times foure, and other times more or lesse.

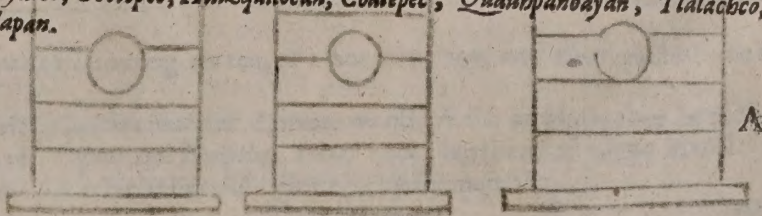
The number of the Townes following are thirteene. And they payed tribute as followeth.

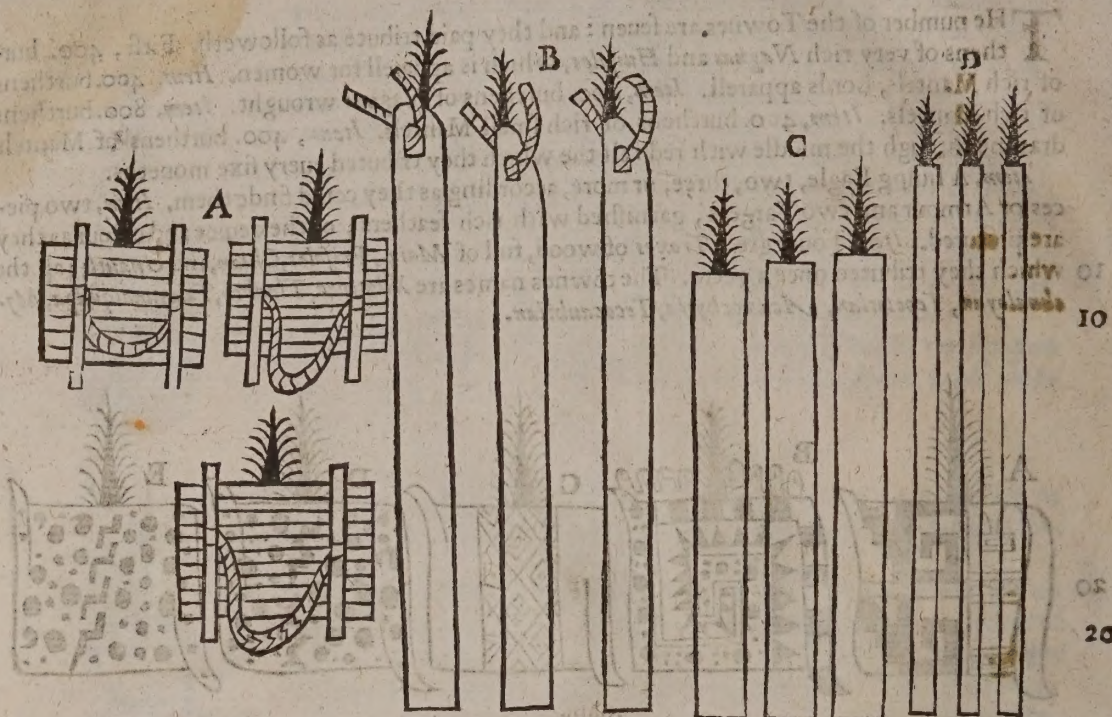
First, 800. burthens of rich small Mantles of this worke, as they be pictured. Item, 800. burthens of small, of *Enequen*: all the which they did tribute euery fixe moneths.

Item, A piece of Armour and a Target garnished with rich feathers. Item, Fortie pieces of Armour and as many Targets garnished with slight feathers: the which Armour they tributed once a yeere.

Item, Foure great *Troxes* of wood of the bignesse aforesaid, full of *Maiz*, *Frisoles*, *Chian*, and *Gnautls*, which likewise they tributed once a yeere.

Item, 1200. burthens of wood, which they tributed euery foure dayes. Item, 1200. great Beames of Timber, which they tributed euery foure dayes. Item, 2400. great Boards or Planks, which they tributed euery foure dayes. The Townes are, *Quabneocan*, *Tecpa*, *Chapolnoloyan*, *Tlalatlauco*, *Acaxochic*, *Ameyalco*, *Ocotepc*, *Huizquilcan*, *Comtepec*, *Quauhpanoayan*, *Tlalachco*, *Chicbciquanhtla*, *Huizquilapan*.

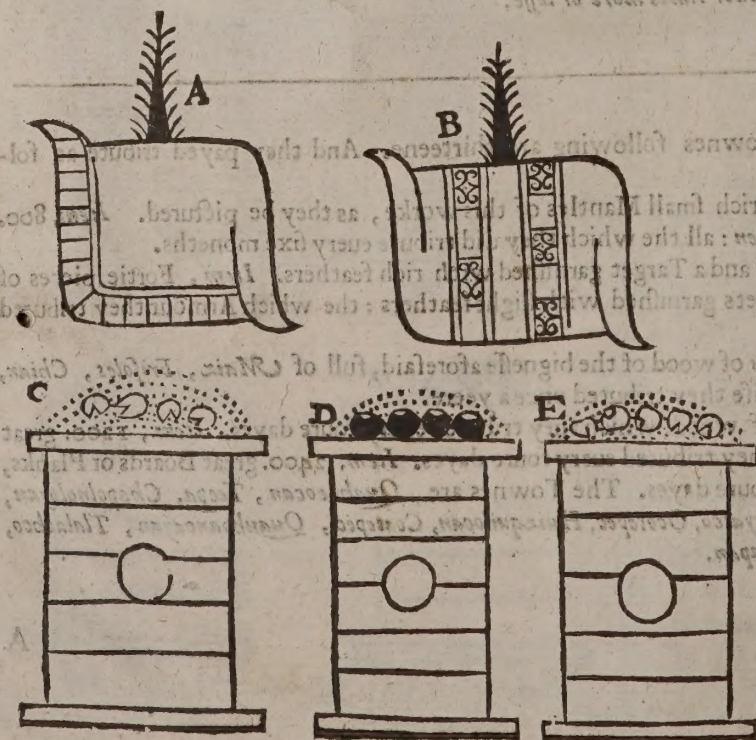




A 400. burthens of wood. A 400. burthens of wood. A 400. burthens of wood. B 400. great beames, or pieces of timber. B 400. great beames. B 400. great beames. C 400. great planks of timber. C 400. great planks of timber. C 400. great boards of timber. D 400. quarters of timber. D 400. quarters of timber. D 400. quarters of timber.

The number of the townes pictured are twelue. And they tributed as followeth. First, 400. burthens of Cotton-wooll. Mantles white with an edge of Greene, Yellow, Red, and Oliue colour. Item, 400. burthens of Mantles of Enequen, wrought and spotted, with Red, White and Blacke. Item, 1200. burthens of white Mantles of Enequen: all the which they tributed euery six moneths. Item, two pieces of Armour, and as many Targets garnished with rich feathers of the colours and deuices as they are pictured. Item, twentie pieces of Armour, with as many Targets, garnished with slight feathers of the colours and deuices as they are pictured. Item, six great Troxes of wood of the bignesse aforesaid, full of Frisoles, Maiz, Chian, and Guaulty: All the which they tributed once a yeere.

The townes names are Toluca, Calixtlahuacan, Xicaltepec, Tepetlhuacan, Mytepec, Capulco-Pan, Mesepec, Cacalomaca, Calymayan, Teotemanco, Zepemaxalco, Zoquitzinco.



A 400. burthens of Cotton-wooll-mantles of this worke. B 400. burthens of Mantles of Enequen, of this worke.

C Two Troxes, the one of Maiz, and the other of Chian. D Two Troxes of Frisoles & Guaulty. E Two Troxes, the one of Maiz, and the other of Chian.

The number of the townes intituled and pictured, are fixe. And they paid tribute as followeth.

First, they did tribute 800. burthens of rich Mantels of *Enequen*, of the worke as they be pictured A.

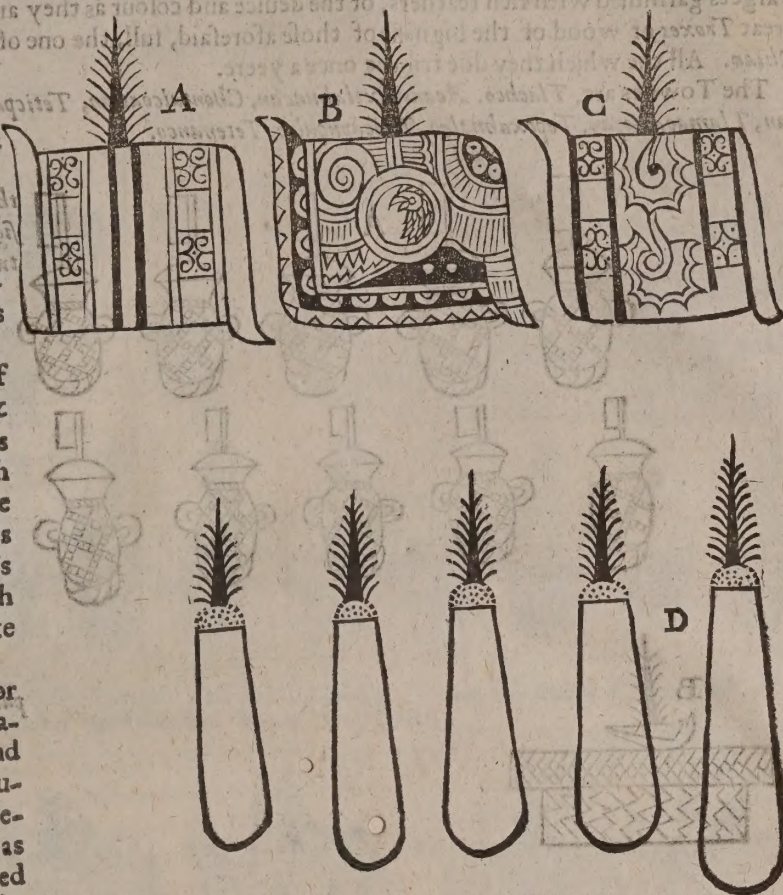
Item, 400. burthens of Cotton-wooll Mantles, rich, of the worke as they be pictured. B.

Item, 400. rich Mantles of *Enequen*, of this worke pictured. C.

Item, 2000. Loaves of fine white Salt refined & made in long moulds, as letter D each of which signifie 400. (as the Eare about declares.) It was spent only for the Lords of *Mexico*, all the which they tributed every sixe moneths.

Item, a piece of Armor with a Target of rich feathers, of the colours and deuices as they be pictured. Item, Twentie pieces of Armour, and as many Targets garnished with slight feathers of the deuices and colours as they are pictured. Item, Foure great *Troxes* of wood, of the bignesse of those before full of *Maiz*, *Frisoles*, *Chian*, and *Guanly*. All the which they tributed once a yeere.

The Townes, *Ocuilan*, *Tenantinco*, *Tequaloyan*, *Tenatinho*, *Contepac*, *Zimcozcar*.



The number of the townes pictured are three. And they paid tribute as followeth. First, 1200. burthens of great white Mantles of *Enequen*, A B C.

Item, 400. burthens of wrought Mantles of *Enequen*, all the which they tributed every sixe moneths.

Item, They tributed once a yeere eight great *Troxes* of wood, of the bignesse aforesaid, two of *Maiz*, two of *Frisoles*, two of *Chian*, and two of *Guanly*. The townes were *Maly-nalco*, *Zonpabnacan*, *Xocomlan*.



The number of the Townes following are ten, of a hot Countrey, and they paid tribute as followeth.

First, 400. burthens of rich Mantles made of Cotton-wooll, of the worke as they be pictured. Item, 400. burthens of *Naguas* and *Huipiles*. Item, 1200. burthens of white Mantles of smooth and safe *Enequen*. All the which they did tribute every six moneths.

X x x x

Item,

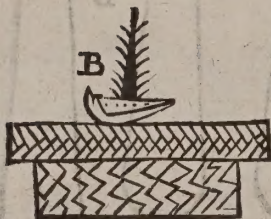
Item, 200. pots of Bees Honey. Item, 1200. Xicaras varnished Yellow. Item, 400. Baskets of white Copale for perfumes. Item, 8000. lumps of vnrefined Copale, wrapt in the leaues of a Palme tree. All the which they tributed euery 400. dayes. Item, Two pieces of Armour, and as many Targets garnished with rich feathers, of the deuice and colour as they are pictured. Item, Two great Troxes of wood of the bignesse of those afore said, full, the one of Maiz, and the other of Chian. All the which they doe tribute once a yeere.

The Townes are, Tlachco, Acamylitlahuacan, Chontalcoatlan, Teticpac, Nochtepec, Teotliztoacan, Tlamacazapan, Tepexahualco, Tzicapuicalco, Tetenanco.

A 200. pots of Honey, the marke ouer each pot signifieth the number of twentie.



B 400. Baskets of Copall refined.



C 8000. lumps of Copall vnrefined, wrapped in the leaues of a Date Tree: the upper Figure signifieth the Copall, the later (like a Purse with three Tassels or Targets annexed) is the Character of eight thousand, as before in the sheets of Paper is seene.



The number of the Townes of the hot Countrey pictured, are fourteene Townes. And they paid tribute as followeth,

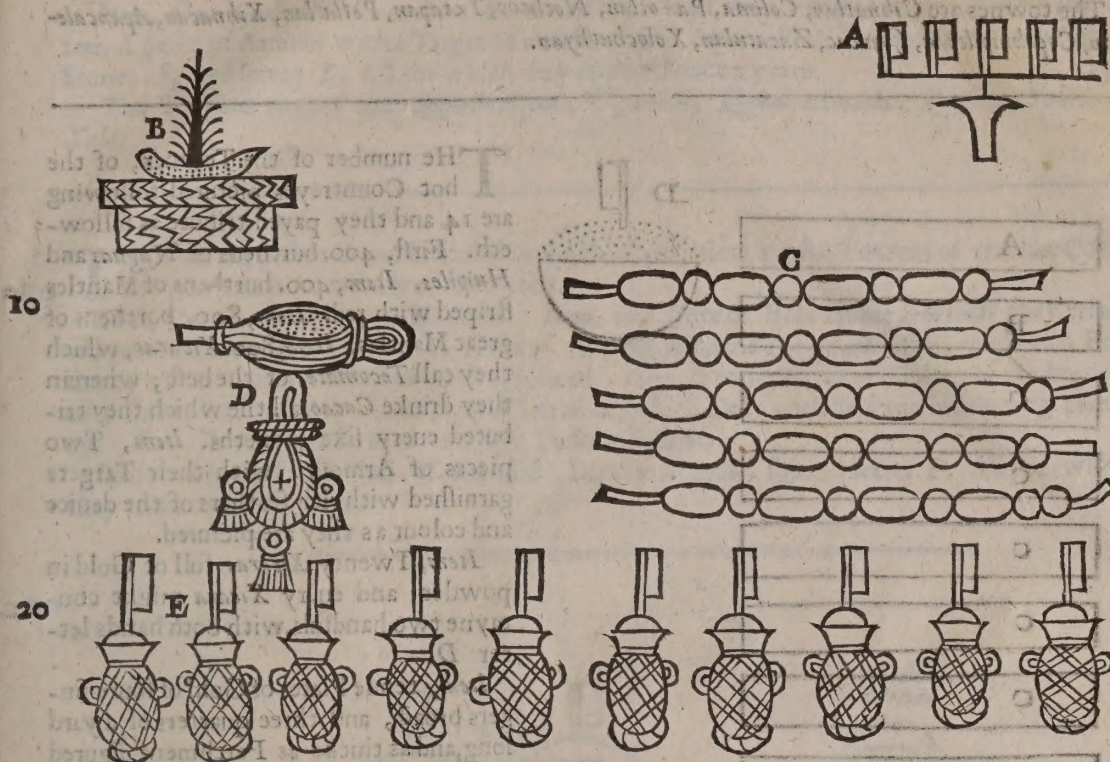
First, 400. burthens of quilted Mantles. Item, 400. burthens of Mantles striped with blacke and white. Item, 400. burthens of rich Mantles. Item, 400. burthens of Naguas and Huipiles. Item, 400. burthens of white Mantles. Item, 1600. burthens of great Mantles. All the which they did tribute euery sixe moneths.

Item, They tributed 100. Hatchets of Copper. Item, 1200. Xicaras of yellow varnish. Item, 200. pots of Bees Honey. Item, 400. little baskets of white Copall for Perfumes. Item, 8000. lumps of Copall vnrefined, which was spent likewise for Perfumes. All the which they tributed euery foure dayes.

Item, Two pieces of Armour, with their Targets garnished with rich feathers of this deuice, as they be pictured. Item, Twentie pieces of Armour with their Targets, garnished with slight feathers.

Item, Five strings of rich Bead-stones, which they call Chalchihuitl. Item, Foure great Troxes of wood, of the bignesse of those before full of Maiz, Frisoles, Chian, and Guautly; all the which they tributed once a yeere.

The Townes names are Tepequacuilco, Chilapan, Ohnapan, Huizoco, Tlachimalacas, Toellan, Cocolan, Atenanco, Chilacachapan, Telogoapan, Oztoma, Tchcliteopan, Alakniztlan, Cuacalan.



A The Hatchets, the forme below, the number above, each signifying 20. B 400. little Baskets of white Copall, C Five strings of stones. D 8000. lumps of Copall unrefined. E 200. Pots of Honey.



30 The number of the Townes of the hot Countreies pictured, and inticuled in the next diuision, are twelue. And they paid tribute as followeth.

40 First, sixtene hundred burthens of great Mantles, listd with Orange-tawnie, as is seene in the letters A B C D each marked

50 400. Item, 1400 burdens of great Mantles of twisted yarne. Item, 400. burthens of Cacao, of brown colour, as in letter E. Item, 400. packes of Cotton-wooll,

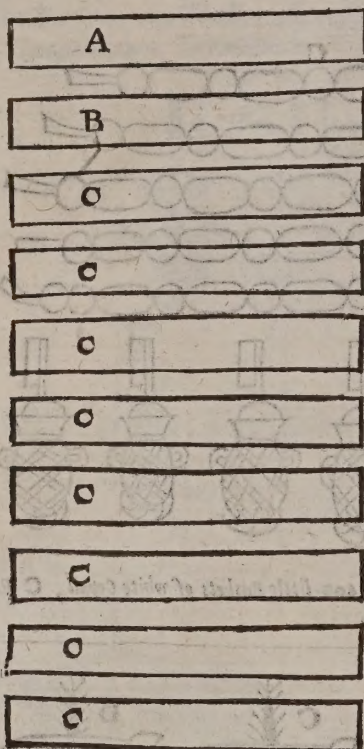
60 marked Letter F. Item, 400. Conchas, which are red shels of the Sea, (marked G H. each 400.) after the fashion of Veneras, all the which they tributed every sixe months.



Xxxx 2

The

The townes are Cihuatlan, Colima, Panotlan, Nochcoc, Tzatan, Petatlan, Xihnacan, Apancalesan, Coghniplacan, Coyucac, Zacatulan, Xolochutlyan.

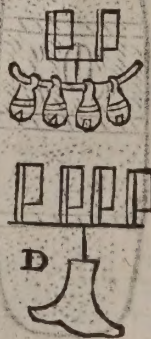


The number of the Townes, of the hot Countreys pictured following are 14. and they payed tribute as followeth. First, 400. burthens of *Naguas* and *Huipiles*. Item, 400. burthens of Mantles striped with red. Item, 800. burthens of great Mantles. Item, 800. *Xicaras*, which they call *Tecomates* of the best, wherein they drinke *Cacao*, all the which they tributed euery fixe moneths. Item, Two pieces of Armour, with their Targets garnished with rich feathers of the deuice and colour as they are pictured.

Item, Twenty *Xicaras* full of Gold in powder, and euery *Xicara* might containe two handfuls, with both hands letter *D*.

Item, tenne Plates of Gold of foure fingers broad, and three quarters of a yard long, and as thicke as Parchment figured heere, *A B C*, all the which they tributed once a yeere.

The townes names *Tlapan*, *Xocatlan*, *Tchcatepecpan*, *Amaxac*, *Ahuacatla*, *Acozapan*, *Toalan*, *Ocoapan*, *Huitzamelan*, *Acutlapan*, *Malinaltepec*, *Totomixtlahuacan*, *Tetenanco*, *Chiptlan*.



The towne named, is called *Tlalcocauhuitlan*, a hotte towne with the other seven townes in the first partition, did 40 pay tribute as followeth.

First, 400. burthens of great Mantles.

Item, 100. pots of Bees hony.

Item, Twentie pannes of *Tecocahuil*, which is a yellow varnish wherewith they painted themselves (here figured, Letter *A*) which they tributed euery six moneths.

Item, A piece of Armour with a Target garnished with rich feathers, which they tributed once a yeere.

The Townes are, *Tlalcocauhuitlan*, *Tolymany*, *Quauhitecoma*, *Tchcatlan*, *Tepoztitlan*, *Achnacincinco*, *Mitzinco*, *Cacatla*.

The Townes pictured and intituled in the second partition, are fixe, and they being of a hot Countrey, tributed as followeth.

First, 400. burthens of great Mantles. Item, Fortie great Belles of Copper. Item, Foure Copper Hatchets: both represented in the Picture, *C* Bels *D* Hatchets.

Item,

CHAP. 7. § 2. Mexican historie in pictures. Tributes paid to Mexico.

Item, One hundred Pots of Bees Honie : all the which they tributed euery six moneths. Item, A peece of Armour with a Target of rich Feathers. Item, A little Panne full of small Turkeys Stones : figured letter B. All the which they tributed once a yeare.

The Townes names are *Quianhtecopan*, *Olynalan*, *Quanhitecomatla*, *Qualac*, *Tchcatla*, *Xala*.

Turkey stones;

10 The Townes pictured and intituled in the third partition, are six Townes of the hot Countrie; and they did tribute as followeth.

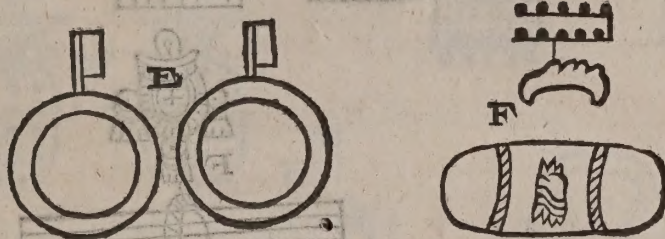
First, 400. burdens of great Mantels. Item, 100. Pots of Bees Honie, which they tributed euery six moneths. Item, A peece of Armour with his Target garnished with rich Feathers, of the deuice and colour as it is pictured. Item, Fortie Plates of Gold, of the bignesse of a Cake, and a finger thicke, figured letter E. Each Cake with his vane intimating twenty. Item, Tenne halfe faces of rich blew Turkey Stones.

Cold.

Turkey stoties;

Item, A great Trusse full of the said Turkey Stones; figured letter F. All the which they tributed once a yeare.

20



30

The sixe Townes are *Toaltepec*, *Xonacales*, *Tailacanpan*, *Patlanalan*, *Txicayan*, *Tchcaatroyac*.

40 The number of the Townes following are six, and they paid tribute as followeth. First, 800. burdens of great Mantels, which they tributed euery six moneths. Item, they tributed two peeces of Armour with their Targets, garnished with rich Feathers of the colours as they are pictured. Item, Eight great Troxes, of the bignesse of those before, full of Maiz, Frisoles, Chian, and Guautly. Item, Foure great Troxes of wood, of the said bignesse, full of Maiz. All the which they tributed once a yeare. The Townes are *Chalso*, *Tecmilco*, *Tepuztlan*, *Xocoyoltepec*, *Malynaltepec*, *Quauxumilco*.

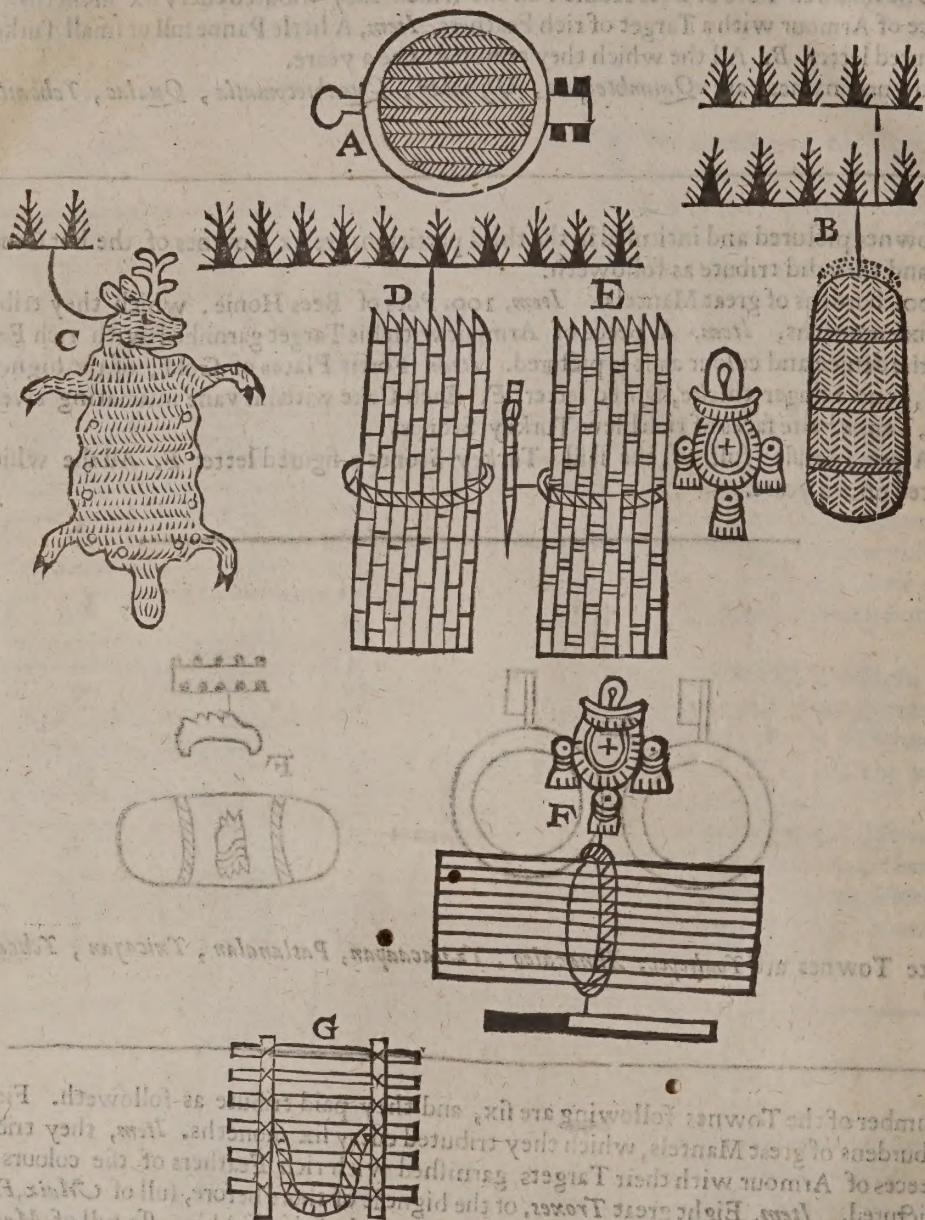
50 The number of the Townes of the hot Countries pictured in the next partition are two and twenty: and in euery Towne there was placed Mexican calpixques, and the same order, rule, and gouernment as in the other Townes and Prouinces heretofore declared. And so is it to be vnderstood was the state and gouernment of all the other Townes hereafter named, though for breuities sake it is not rehearled any more. And the things which these Townes did pay for tribute to the Lords of Mexico, are these following.

First, They tributed 4000. burdens of Lime. Item, 4000. burdens of Masse Cane Staues, which they called *Otlatl*. Item, 8000. burdens of Canes, whereof the Mexicans made Darts for the wars. Item, 800. Deere Skins. Item, 8000. burdens of *Acayatl*, which are Perfumes, which the Indians vse for the mouth. Item, 200. *Cacaxtles*, which are frames like to Pannels, wherewith the Indians carry burdens on their backs: all the which they tributed euery foure dayes. Item, Foure great Troxes of wood of the measures and greatnesse of those before declared, full, two with Maiz and two with Frisoles, the which they tributed once a yeare.

60 The Townes names are *Tepeacan*, *Quechulac*, *Tecamachalco*, *Acatzinco*, *Tecalco*, *Tecohinanco*, *Quauhntinchan*, *Chictlan*, *Quaslatlanhcan*, *Tepixic*, *Tizucan*, *Quauhquechulan*, *Teonochritlan*, *Huechuetlan*, *Tetenanco*, *Coat-Teopanilan*, *zinco*, *Xpatlan*, *Nacochilan*, *Chiltecpintlan*, *Oztotla- pechco*, *Atzcacahuacan*.

X x x x 3

The



A A Target and Club which they used for a Sword, garnished with Rasors points. B 4000. burthens of Lime. C 800. Deere skines. D 4000. burthens of Cane Staues. E 8000. burthens of Canes to make Darts. F 8000. burthens of Acayetl. G 200. Cacaxtles.

The number of the Townes of the warme and temperate Countries pictured and intituled in the next figures are eleven: and that which they did tribute followeth.

First, 400. burdens of quilted Mantels of rich worke. Item, 400. burdens of Mantels striped 50 red and white. Item, 400. burdens of Mantels striped red and blacke.

Item, 400. burdens of Maxtlaetl, which serued the Indians for little cloathes, or girdles.

Item, 400. burdens of Guipiles, and Naguas. All the which they tributed to the Lords of Mexico euery six moneths.

Item, They tributed two pieces of Armour, and as many Targets, garnished with rich Feathers, of the colours and deuises as they are pictured; letter A.

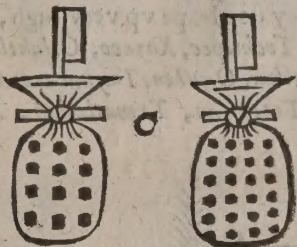
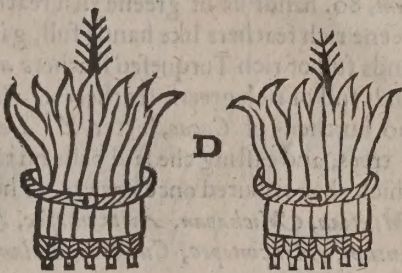
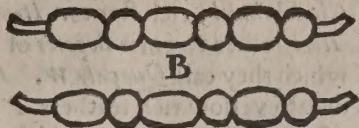
Item, Two strings of the Bead-stones of Chalchihuitl; rich Stones, greene: letter B. Item, 800. hands full of large and rich greene Feathers, which they call Quecaly, letter D. Item, A peece of Tlalpilony of rich Feathers, which serued for a royall Banner, of the fashion pictured: letter F.

Item, Fortie sacks of Graine, which they call the Graine of Cochinilla: Letter C. Item, Twenty Xicaras of Gold in dust, of the finest: letter E. All the which they tributed once a yeare.

Cochinilla.
Gold.

The

The Townes names are Coayxtlahuacan, Texopan, Tamaçolandan, Zancutlan, Tepuzcululan, Nochizilan, Xaltepec, Tamaçolan, Mictlan, Coaxomalo, Cuicatla.



The number of the Townes of warme and temperate Countries, pictured and entituled in the next diuision, are eleven Townes: And they tributed as followeth.

First, They did tribute 400. burthen of quilted Mantels of rich worke. Item, 300. burthens of great Mantels, the which they tributed to the Lords of Mexico euery six moneths. Item

They tributed foure great Troxes of

wood, of the bignesse of those aforesaid, full, two of them with Maiz, another

with Frisoles, and another with Chian. Item, Twenty plates of fine Gold, of

the bignesse of a middle dish, and an inch thicke: letter A. Item, Twenty

sacks of Graine of Cochinilla: letter B. All the which they did tribute

once a yeare. The Townes are Coyolan, Etlan, Quauxilortlan, Guauxacac, Ca-

moltan, Teocuitlatlan, Quantzontepec, Octlan, Tetepac, Tlalcoechahnayan, Ma-

culxochic. Lachquiarico, Achiotlan, and Capot-

lan, are three Townes in the warme Countries. And the things which they

did tribute to the Lords of Mexico, are those that follow. First, 4. burdes of great

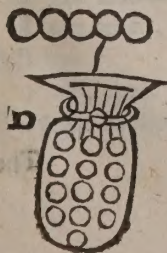
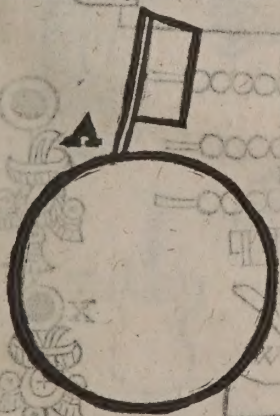
Mantels, which they did tribute euery six moneths. Item, They tributed a piece

of Armor with a Target, garnished with rich Feathers of the colours pictured.

Item, Twenty Xicaras full of fine Gold in powder: letter A. Item, Fiue

Sacks of Graine of Cochinilla: letter D. Item, 400. hand fuls of rich Greene Fea-

thers, which they call Queçaly: letter C al the which they tributed once a yeare.



Gold.

Cochinilla.

Warme Coun-
trie.

Gold.

Cochinilla.

The number of the Townes of warme and temperate Countries, pictured and intituled in the next figure, are two and twentie. And the things which they did tribute to the Lords of Mexico, are these that follow.

Target of gold.

Emerald stones.

Amber. Cristall.

First, they did tribute 1600. burthens of rich Mantels, apparell which the Lords and *Casiques* did weare. Item, 800. burthens of Mantels listd with red, white, and greene. Item, 400. burthens of *Nagras* and *Huipiles*: all the which they tributed euery sixe moneths. Item, They tributed a piece of Armour with a Target garnished with rich feathers, with this deuice of a Bird and colours as are pictured letter A. Item, a Target of gold, letter B. Item, a deuice for Armour like a wing of rich yellow feathers, letter O. Item, a Diadem of gold of the fashion as is pictured letter D. Item, a border of gold for the head of a hand breadth, and of thickeesse as parchment, letter E. Item, two strings of Beades, and a collar of gold F G. Item, three great rich stones of *Chalchihuitl* H I K. Item, three strings of round beades rich stones of *Chalchihuitl*. L M N. Item, foure strings of beades of *Chalchihuitl*, rich stones. Item, twentie *Begotes* of cleere Amber garnished with gold, letter T. Item, other twentie *Begotes* of *Beriles* or cristall V. Item, 80. handfuls of greene rich feathers, which they call *Quegaly W*. Item, foure pieces of greene rich feathers like hands full, garnished with yellow rich feathers P Q R S. Item, 8000. hands full of rich Turquesed feathers a. Item, 8000. hands full of rich red feathers b. Item, 8000. hands full of rich greene feathers c. Item, 100. Pots or Cauters of fine liquid Amber d. Item, 200. burthens of *Cacao*, letter Z. Item, 1600. round lumps like balls of *Oly*, which is a gumme of trees, and casting the said balls on the ground, they doe leape vp very high, letter X. all the which they tributed once a yeere. The Townes are *Tochtepec*, *Xayaco*, *Otlahitlan*, *Coçamaloapan*, *Mixtlan*, *Michapan*, *Ayotzintepc*, *Michitlan*, *Teotilan*, *Oxulan*, *Tzynacanoxtoc*, *Tototepec*, *Chinantlan*, *Ayoçintepc*, *Cuezcomatitlan*, *Puetlan*, *Teteutlan*, *Yxmatlatlan*, *Ayotlan*, *Toztlan*, *Tlacotalpan*.



The

CHAP. 7. §. 2. Mexican historie in pictures. Tributes paid to Mexico.

The number of the Townes of the warme Countries, pictured and intituled in the next partition are eight. And the things which they tributed to the Lords of Mexico, are these that follow.

First, two great strings of Chalchihuitl rich stones. Item, 1400. handfuls of rich feathers blue, red, Greene, turked, red and Greene, as they are pictured in six handfuls, A B C D E F.

Item, Foure whole skinned birds of rich turked feathers, with murry breasts, of the colours as they are pictured G. Item, other foure whole skinned birds of the said birds L. Item, 800. handfuls of rich yellow feathers H M.

Item, 800. hands full of large rich Greene feathers, which they call Queçaly I N. Item, Two Becotes of cleere Amber garnished with gold K O. Item, 200. burthens of Cacao P R.

Item, Fortie Tigres skinned Q S. Item, 800. rich Tecomates wherein they drinke Cacao T V.

Item, Two great pieces of cleere Amber of the bignesse of a bricke W X. All which they Ambets tributed euery sixe moneths.

The Townes names are Xoconochco, Ojetlan, Coyoacan, Mapachtepec, Macatlan, Huizlan, Acapettatlan, Huehuetlan.



The number of the Townes of warme and temperate Countryes in the next picture, are seuen. And the things that they tributed to the Lords of Mexico, are these that follow.

First, 400. burthens of great Mantels, which they tributed euery sixe moneths. Item, Twentie burthens of Cacao.

Item,

Item, 1600. Packs of Cotton wooll (represented *A B C D*. each marked foure hundred) all the which they tributed once a yeere. The Townes are *Quanhrochco*, *Tenbcolizapotlan*, *Tototlan*, *Tuchconco*, *Ahnilyzapan*, *Quanhietelco*, *Yitzeyocan*.



The number of the towns of warme & temperate Countries are fixe, in the next figure. And the things which they tributed to the Lords of Mexico, are these that follow.

First, 400. burthens of *Guipiles & Naguas*, which is womens apparell *A*. Item, 400. burthens of Mantels halfe quilted *C*. Item, 400. burthens of litle Mantels, with a white & black edge *B*. Item, 400. burthens of Mantels of foure *Bracas* every Mantell, halfe listd with black & white, and halfe after the fashion of net vvorke of blacke and white *D*. Item, 400. burthens of great white Mantels, of foure *Bracas* every Mantell. Item, 160. burthens of very rich Mantels wrought, apparell for the Lords & *Casiques*. Item, 1002 burthens of Mantels listd more with white then with blacke: all the which they tributed every sixe moneths. Item, Two rich pieces of Armor with their targets garnished with rich

feathers, according as they are pictured. Item, A string of *Chilchihuitl* rich stones *K*. Item, 400. handfull of rich large greene feathers, which they call *Quecally* *E*. Item, Twentie *Begotes* of *Braciles* or Cristall shadowed blue, and set in gold *F*. Item, Twentie *Begotes* of cleere Amber garnished with gold *G*. Item, 200. burthens of *Cacao* *H*. Item, a *Quezalalpiloni* of rich greene feathers of *Quecally*, which serued to the Lords of Mexico for a Royall Ensigne, of the making as it is pictured *I*. All the which they tributed once a yeere.

Cristall.
Amber.

The

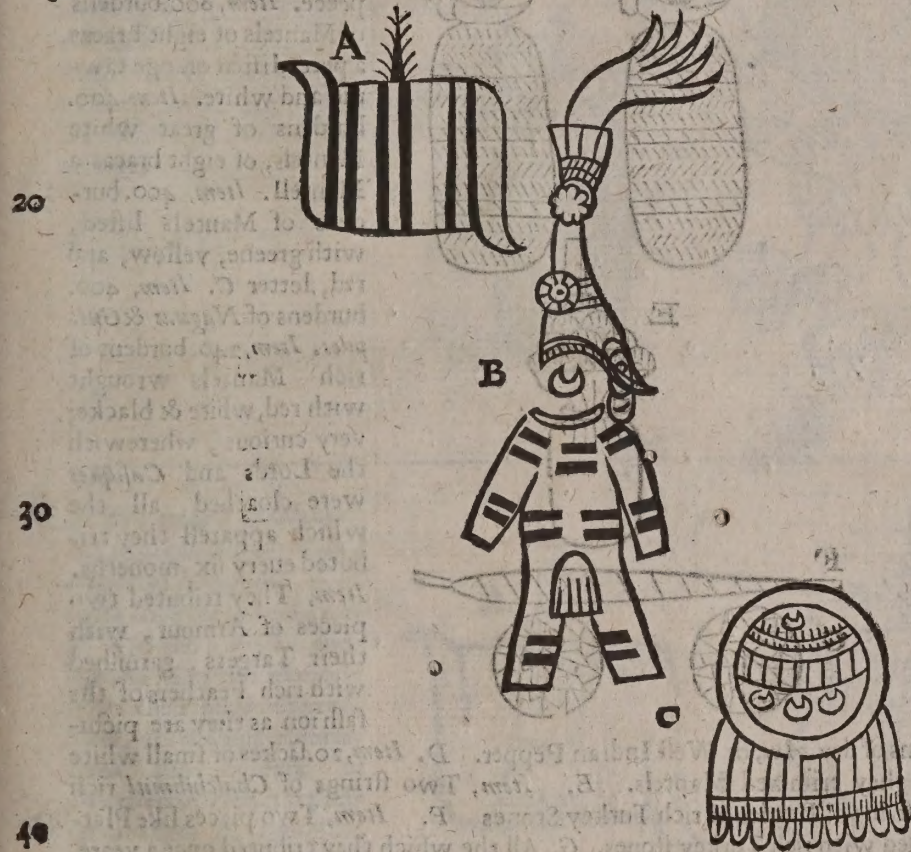
The Townes are *Cueslaxtlan*, *Miclanquauhtla*, *Tlapanicytlan*, *Oxichan*, *Acozapan*, *Teozioacan*.

The number of the Townes, containd, pictured, and intituled in the next diuision, are seuen Townes. And the things which they tributed to the Lords of *Mexico*, are these that follow.

First, 400. burthens of Mantels listd blacke and white *A*. Item, 800. burthens of great white Mantels, the which they tributed euery sixe moneths.

10 Item, They tributed once a yeere two pieces of Armour with their Targets, garnished with rich feathers of the denice and sorts as they are pictured. *B* Armour. *C* Shield.

The Townes are *Tlapacoyan*, *Xoloxochitlan*, *Xochiquauhtitlan*, *Tuchtlan*, *Coapan*, *Aziaapan*, *Acagacatla*.



The number of the Townes pictured next are eleuen. And the things which they tributed to the Lords of *Mexico*, are these that follow.

50 First, 1600. burthens of Mantels listd blacke and white *A*. Item, 8000. loaves or lumps of liquid Amber for perfumes, which they call *Xochiococotl* (*B* is 8000. *C* the lump of Amber) all which they tributed euery sixe moneths.

Item, They tributed two pieces of Armour with their Shields, garnished with rich feathers, of the fashion as they are pictured, which they tributed once a yeere.

The Townes are *Tlatlanhquitepec*, *Atenco*, *Texuistlan*, *Ayntuchco*, *Tayanquitlala*, *Xonocla*, *Teotlalpan*, *Yiztepec*, *Ixcoyamec*, *Taonahuac*, *Caltepec*.



The number of the Townes pictured and entituled in the next side are seven Townes. And the things which they tributed to the Lords of Mexico, are these which follow.



First, 400. burdens of Mantels like nets of black and white. B. Item, 400. burdens of rich Mantels wrought red and white. Lords apparell A. Item, 400. burdens of *Maxtlatle*, which served for small cloathes. Item, 400. burdens of great white Mantels of foure bracas a peece. Item, 800. burdens of Mantels of eight bracas a peece, listd orange tawmie and white. Item, 400. burdens of great white Mantels, of eight bracas a Mantell. Item, 400. burdens of Mantels listd, with greene, yellow, and red, letter C. Item, 400. burdens of *Naguas & Guipiles*. Item, 240. burdens of rich Mantels wrought with red, white & blacke; very curious, wherewith the Lords and *Casiques* were cloathed, all the which apparell they tributed euery six moneths. Item, They tributed two pieces of Armour, with their Targets, garnished with rich Feathers of the fashion as they are pictu-

red. Item, 800. burdens of dry *Axi*, or West Indian Pepper. D. Item, 20. sackes of small white Feathers wherewith they trimmed Mantels. E. Item, Two strings of *Chalchihuitl* rich Stones. Item, One string of Beades of rich Turkey Stones F. Item, Two pieces like Platters deckt or garnished with rich Turkey stones. G. All the which they tributed once a yeare. The towns names are *Tuchpa*, *Tlatzapan*, *Cichnanteopan*, *Papantla*, *Ocelotepec*, *Miachnaapā*, *Mitlā*.

Pepper.
Precious
Stones.



The number of the Townes pictured next are seven. And the things which they tributed to the Lords of Mexico, are these which follow. *Atlan* and *Tecapotalan* take vp next diuision, which they did tribute to the Lords of Mexico. First, 800. burdens of rich Mantels wrought red and white, with an edge of green, red, yellow, and blew. A. Item, 400. burdens of *Maxtlatle*. Item, 400. burdens of *Maxtlatle*. Item, 400. burdens of great white Mantels, of foure bracas a Mantell: all the which they tributed euery six moneths. Item, They tributed once a yeare 1200. packes of Cotten Woll lett. B.

THe Towne of *Oxitipan*, did tribute to the Lords of *Mexico*. First, 2000. burdens of great Mantels of two bracas a Mantell. Item, 800. burdens of great Mantels, listd with yellow, blew, red, and greene, of foure bracas a Mantell. All the which apparel they tributed euey six months. Item, They tributed 400. burdens of *Axi*, which is their Pepper. *A*. Item, A line Eagle, and sometimes two or three, as they could catch them. *B*. All the which they tributed once a yeare.



Pepper

CTzicoac, Molanco, Cozcacsculan, Yebatlan and Xocogocan, paid these tributes to the Lords of *Mexico*. First, 400. burdens of white Mantels with their edge of red, blew, greene and yellow. Item, 400. burdens of *Maxtlatle*, which are lesser cloathes. *B*. Item, 800. burdens of great white Mantels of three bracas euey Mantell. Item, 400. burdens of *Naguas* and *Huipiles*, which is womans apparell, *A*. All the which they tributed euey six moneths. Item, they tributed two pieces of Armour with their Shields decked with rich Feathers of the fashion that they are pictured. Item, 800. packs of Cotten, *D*. *E*. All the which they tributed once a yeare. Item, 400. burdens of *Axi* dried. *C*.



Q. III.

The third part of this Booke containeth the private behaviour in Mariages, education of Children, and Trades; with the Martiall, Ecclesiastike, and Civill policie of the MEXICAN people.

A Relation of the manner and custome that the naturall *Mexicans* had when either a Boy or Girle was borne vnto them. The vse and ceremonies in giuing names to their children, and afterwards to dedicate and offer them either to the Church, or else to the 10 warres, according as by the pictures is signified, and briefly declared.

The Woman being deliuered, they laid the childe in a Cradle, according as is pictured, & foure dayes after the birth of the childe the Midwife tooke it in her armes naked, & brought it forth to the yard of the childe wiues house; and in the yard were prepared Bulrushes or Sedges, which they call *Tule*, and they set vpon them a little pan of water, wherein the said Midwife washed the said childe: after it is washed, three Boyes, which are set by the said Bulrushes, eating toasted *Maiz*, mingled with foddren *Frisoles*, which they called *Txicne* foode, the which foode made

A kinde of Baptisme with the naming of their children.



A The woman that is deliuered. **B** The four Roses signifie foure dayes wherein the Midwife brought forth the childe that was lately borne to wash. **C** The cradle with the childe. **D** The Midwife. **E** The signes, instruments, and the bond (Shield and Darts) **F G H** the three Boyes which name the childe. **I** The Bulrushes with the pan of water. **K** The Broome. **L** The Spindell and the Distaffe. **M** The Basket. **N** The high Priest. **O** The childe in his cradle which his Parents offer in the Temple. **P** The Master or Teacher of boyes and yong men. **Q** The childe's Father. **R** The childe's Mother.

CHAP. 7. §. 3. *Washing and naming of children; their bringing vp and education.*

ready, was set in a little pan before the said Boyes, that they might eate it. And after the said baithing or washing, the said Midwife aduertised the said Boyes, that they should with a loud voice giue a new name vnto the childe that she had so washed, and the name that they gaue it was that which the Midwife would impose,

When the childe was brought forth to wash; if it be a man childe they bring him forth with his signe in his hand, and the signe is the Instrument wherewith his Father did exercise himselfe, as well in the Military art, as other arts, as of a Goldsmith, a Grauer, or any other office whatsoever: And after they had done all the aforesaid, the Midwife brings the childe to his Mother. And if it be a woman-childe, the signe wherewith they bring her to wash, is a Distaffe, a Spindel, a Basket, and a handfull of Broome; which are the things wherewith she should exercise herselfe, being of age thereto.

And the bond of the Manchilde with a Shield and Darts for a signe which he brings with him when they bring him for to wash; they offer it to that part and place where are likely to happen warres with his enemies, where they burie it vnder ground. And so likewise of the Woman-childe, her bond they buried vnder the *Metate*, which is a stone to grinde Cakes vpon.

And after the aforesaid, at the end of twenty dayes, the childe's Parents went with the childe to the Temple or *Mexquita*, which they called *Calmecac*, and in the presence of the Priests they presented the childe with his offering of Mantels, and *Mastelles* and some meate: And after the childe being brought vp by his Parents, and being of age, they committed the childe to the high Priest of the said Temple, because there he might be taught that hereafter he might be a Priest.

And if the childe's Parents were determined that he (being of age) should serue in warlike affaires, then straight way they offered him to the Master thereof, making him a promise of him (the Master of Boyes and yong men they called *Teachcauch* or *Telpachtlatotl*) which offering was made with his present of meate and other things for the celebrating thereof. And the childe being of age, they committed him to the said Master.

30 The declaration of the pictures contained in the deuision following, wherein is declared at what age, and in what manner the naturall Parents shal giue counsell to their children, how they ought to liue, as successiuelly is pictured in foure partitions; and so the foure partitions of this side are declared in order which are these that follow.

1 The first partition, wherein is declared how that the Parents corrected their children, in giuing them good counsell when they were three yeares of age; and the portion of meate that they gaue them euery meale was halfe a cake of bread.

2 The second partition wherein is pictured in what things the Parents did instruct their children when they were of the age of foure yeares, and how they began to exercise them to serue in small things. And the portion of meate which they gaue them at a meale, was a whole Cake.



60 A The Boy his Father. B Three yeares of age. C The Boy. D Halfe a Cake. E The Girl her Mother. F Halfe a Cake. G A Girl of three yeares of age. H The Father of the Boy. I A Boy of foure yeares of age. K A Cake. L The Mother of the Girl. M A Cake. N A Girl of foure yeares of age. O A Spindell with a Locke of cotten woll lying on a Mat.

3 The third partition, wherein is shewed that the Parents did exercise their children in bodily labour at five yeares of age, in loding their Sonnes with Wood and other things in small burdens, of small weight, and to carry packes of small weight to the *Tyangues*, or Market place. And they exercised their Daughters of that age, in shewing them how they should handle the Spindell and Distaffe for to spin. And their allowance of meate was a whole Cake of Bread.

4 The fourth partition, wherein is pictured how the Parents instructed their children of six yeares old, and exercised and occupied them in bodily seruice, that they might profit their Parents in some thing, as in the *Tyangues*, which are Market-places that they might gather from the ground, the cornes of *Maiz* and *Frisoles* that were spilt there by him, and other small things that the buyers and others had left and spilt there. And this was the Boies worke. But the Girles were put to spinne and to doe other profitable seruices, because in time to come, by meanes of the said seruices and occupations, they should not spend their time idelly, and should auoide euill vices that are wont to grow through idlenesse. And the allowance of meate that they gaue to their children was a Cake and a halfe of Bread.



O The Father of the Boyes. P Two Boyes of five yeares of age. Q A Cake. R A Cake
S The Mother of the Girle holding the Spindle and Rocke. T A Cake. V A Girle of five yeares
old. W The Father of the two Boyes. Two Boyes of six yeares old. X A Cake and a halfe. Y The
mother of the Girle. Z A Cake and a halfe. A Girle of six yeares old spinning Cotton wooll.

A Declaration of the figure following, wherein is shewed, at what age and in what things the naturall people of Mexico did instruct their children, and in what manner they corrected them, that they should auoide all idlenesse, and alwayes should be exercised in some profitable things, as successuely is pictured in foure partitions.

1 The first partition, wherein is pictured how the Parents vse their children of seven yeares old that is the men children they applyed them in giuing them their fishing Ners. And the Mothers did exercise their Daughters in spinning and in giuing them good counsell that they should alwayes apply and occupie their time in doing some thing for to auoide idlenesse. And the allowance of meate that they gaue to their children at euery meale was a Cake and a halfe of Bread.



A The Father of the Boyes. B These seven spots of blew signifie seven yeares. C F A Cake and a
halfe. D A Boy of seven yeares old, whose Father sheweth him how he should fish with the net he hath in
his hand. E The mother of the children. G A Girle of seven yeares old, whose mother is reaching
her to spinne.

CHAP. 7. §. 3. Education at 8. 9. and 10. yeeres of age in Mexico.

2 The second partition: Wherein is pictured, how the Parents did chasten their children of the age of eight yeeres, in laying before them with terrors and feares the thornes of *Maguez*, that in being negligent and disobedient to their Parents they should bee chastened with the said thornes, and so for very feare they wept, as by the pictures of this partition is signified. And their allowance for a meale, which they gaue them by measure, was a Cake and a halfe.

3 The third partition: Wherein is pictured, how the parents punished their children of nine yeeres of age, because they were disobedient and rebellious to their fathers, they did chastise them with the said thornes of *Maguez*, binding them naked hand and foot, they thrust the said thornes into their body and shoulders. And they pricked onely the wrists and hands of the 10 Girles with the said thornes, as in the said partition is pictured. And their allowance euery meale was a Cake and a halfe of bread.

4 The fourth partition: Wherein is pictured, how the parents chastised their children of ten yeeres of age, that is, being rebellious they did chastise them in beating them with a cudgell, and threatning them otherwise as in the fourth partition is pictured. And the allowance which they had giuen them at a meale, was a Cake and a halfe.



H The father of the children containd in this row. I These eight spots signifie eight yeeres. K N a cake and a halfe. L a Boy of eight yeeres old, whose father is threatning him that he be not unhappy, because he will chastise him in thrusting thornes of *Maguez* into his body. M The mother of the children containd in this row. O Thornes of *Maguez*. P a Girle of eight yeeres old, whom her mother threatneth her with thornes of *Maguez*, that shee bee not unhappy. Q The father of the children containd in this side. R W a Cake and a halfe. S These nine spots signifie nine yeeres. T a Boy of nine yeeres old, because he is incorreectible, his father thrusteth thornes of *Maguez* into his body. V The mother of the children containd in this row. X a Girle of nine yeeres old, that for her negligence and idlenesse, her mother did chastise her in pricking her hands with thornes of *Maguez*. Y These ten spots signifie ten yeeres. Z The father of the children containd in this row. & a Boy of ten yeeres old, whom his father is chastising with a cudgell staffe. C a Girle of ten yeeres, whom her mother is chastising in beating her with a cudgell staffe.

60 1 A Declaration of the first partition of the picture following. The Boy or Girle of eleuen yeeres old, which would not bee reformed with wordes nor stripes, their parents did chastise, giuing them into the Nose the smoke of *Axi*, which was a grievous and cruell torment, to the intent they should be reformed and not be vicious persons and vagabonds, but should employ and spend their time in profitable things. And to the children of that age they gaue bread, which are cakes, by measure, only a cake & a halfe at a meale, because they should not be gluttons.

2 In the second partition; The Boy or Girle of the age of twelue yeeres, which would not receiue quietly counsell nor correction at their Fathers hands; the Father tooke that Boy and tyed him hand and foot naked, and stretched him on the ground in a dirtie wet place, where he lay so a whole day, because he should be chastised and feared thereby. And the Girle of that age, her Mother made her serue, so that in the night before it were day shee should sweep all the house and the street, and that alwayes shee might be occupied in bodily seruice. And so likewise their Parents gaue them meat by measure a Cake and a halfe every meale.

3 In the third partition, the Boy or Girle of thirteene yeeres old, their Fathers employed in bringing wood from the Mountaine, and with a Canoa-boat to bring boughs and other herbs for the seruice of the house. And the Girles should grinde and make Cakes and other meates for their Parents. And they gaue their children meat by measure, two Cakes every meale.

4 In the fourth partition; The Boy or Girle of fourteene yeeres old, their Parents did imploy in fishing in Lakes and Riuers with his Canoa. And the Girle was set to weaue yarne of whatsoeuer sort for apparell. And they gaue them to eate two Cakes by measure.



A These eleuen spots of blue signifie eleuen yeeres. B The father of the children. C a Boy of eleuen yeeres old, whose father is chastising him, smoking him at the Nose with Axi dried. D a Cake and a halfe. E a fume or smoke of Axi or Pepper, which the Cutter hath not so well exprest. F The mother of the children. G a Girle of eleuen yeeres old, whose mother is chastising her smoking her at the Nose with Axi. H a Cake and a halfe. I a perfume of Axi. K The father of the children. L twelue yeeres. M a Cake and a halfe. N a Boy of twelue yeeres old, tyed hand and foot and laid a whole day on the wet and moist ground. O The mother of the children. P This picture signifieth the night. Q a Cake and a halfe. R a Girle of twelue yeeres old that is sweeping in the night time. S The father of the children. T Thirteene yeeres. V a Boy of thirteene yeeres old laden with Sedges. W a Boy of thirteene yeeres which carrieth Sedges in his Canoa. X a Canoa with burdens of Z Canes or Tule. Y Two cakes. Aa The mother of the children. Bb a Girle of thirteene yeeres, which is grinding and making of Cakes, and dressing meat. Cc Two Cakes. Dd a Porenger. Ee Comaly Ff Two Cakes. Gg a pot of boyled meat. Hh Fourteene yeeres. Ii The father of the children. Kk Ll a Boy of fourteene yeeres which goeth a fishing with his Canoa. Mm Two Cakes. Nn The mother. Oo a Girle of fourteene yeeres weaueing. Pp Two Cakes. Qq The cloth that shee weaueith. 60

CHAP. 7. §. 3. Mexican education of youth. Marriage rites and solemnities.

1 **T**hat which is pictured in the first partition, doth signifie that the Father having two sonnes young men, of yeeres able to serue, brought them to the two houses that are pictured, either to the Masters house that did teach and instruct yong men, or else to the Temple, according as the youths were inclined, and so committed them either to the high Priests, or else to the Master of Boyes to the end they might be taught; the youths being fifteene yeeres of age.

2 In the second partition is pictured, the manner and law they had and kept in their Marriages that they made lawfully. The celebration thereof was, that an *Amantesa* (which is a Broker) carried the Bride on her backe at the beginning of the night, and there went with them foure women with Torches of Pine-tree refined burning, wherewith they lighted her. And being come to the Bridegroomes house, the Parents of the Bridegroome came out to the Court of the house to receiue her, and they carried her into a Hall or some place where the Bridegroome tarried for her. And the betrothed folkes were set on a Mat with their seates neere a pan of fire, and they tyed the one to the other with a corner of their apparell, and made a perfume of *Copale* to their gods, and two old men and two old women were present as witnesses. Then the married folke dined, and afterwards the old folkes. And when dinner was done, the old men and women separated the married folke by themselves, giuing them good counsell how they should behaue themselves and liue, and how they should maintayne the charge and calling they had taken vpon them, that they might liue with quietnesse.



60 **A** The father of the two youths. **B** a youth of fifteene yeeres old committed to an high Alsaqui or Priest. **C** Tlanacazqui, which is an high Priest. **D** a Temple or Mezquita, which they called Calmecac. **E** a youth of fifteene yeeres, whose father putteth him to a Master to be taught. **F** Tacheaub, a Master. **G** a house where youths are taught and brought up in. **H** Fifteene yeeres. **I** An old man. **K** The barth. Copale. **L** The woman. **M** The man. **N** An old woman. **O** The Mat. **P** The meat. **Q** The meat. **R** An old man. **S** A Cauler or pot of pulque. **T** The Cup. **V** An old woman. **W** The Bride. **X** These goe lighting the Bride, whom they goe to leane at the Bridegroomes house in the beginning of the night. **Y** Amantesa which carrieth the Bride on her backe. **Z** These goe lighting of the Bride at the beginning of the night. **1** a torch of Pinetree. **2** a torch. **3** torches of Pinetree. **4** torches of Pinetree. **1** When

1 **V**hen they entred to bee Priests, the elder Priests occupied them straightway in bodily seruices for their Temples, that afterwards they might bee skillfull when they were chiefe Priests, that after the same order as they had serued, they might bring vp the other Nouices that should be after them. These Priests are all painted in ash-colour: Other men in an oliue or tawny.

2 In the second partition is declared wherein the young men were occupied and did serue, that thenceforth when they were of yeeres, they might bee skillfull to take charge and command other youths like themselves, that they should not goe idle nor become vagabonds, but that they should alwayes apply themselves to things of vertue.

3 In the third partition is declared likewise the correction and chastising, that the chiefe Priests did to the Nouice-Priests, which were forgetfull and negligent in their seruices, and for other faults as they committed, chastising them according, as is shewed by the pictures.

4 In the fourth partition, is declared how the Captaines and warlike men exercised the young men which were of age thereto in warlike affaires, according as their fathers did recommend them.

A Tlama-
cazô, A no-
uice Priest
that is char-
ged to sweep.

B A nouice
Priest that
cometh from
the wood lade
with boughes
for to dresse
the Temple.

C A nouice
Priest laden
with thornes
of Maguez,
for to draw
bloud with all
to offer sacri-
fice to the de-
uill. D A

nouice Priest
which is la-
den with green
cane: for the
Temple for to
make Seates
and Toc. E A

which
with
log to
fire in
Temple.

Youthes
ch are la-
den with logs
and for to
fire in
Temple.

A youth

with boughes for to dresse the Temple.

H This chiefe Priest is punishing the nouice Priest because he was negli-

in his office. I The nouice Priest. K The chiefe Priest. L The nouice Priest. M Another elder Priest. They

punishing this nouice Priest, pricking him with thornes of Maguez throughout his body, because he was arebell and

obedient and negligent in that he was commanded to doe. N This house signifieth that if the nouice Priest went to

riour. P The youth. Q The father of the youth that offereth his sonne to the valiant Warriour, to exercise him in

warlike affaires, and to carrie him to the warres. R The youth who is publike seruant to the valiant man that goeth to

the warre with him, carrying his baggage on his backe with his owne Armour. S Tequima, a valiant man that go-

eth armed to the warres.



CHAP. 7. §. 3. Exercises of Priests. Punishments used in Mexico.

1 **H**ere is declared how the chiefe Priests did exercise and occupie themselves in the night time, whereof some occupied themselves in going to the Mountaynes, to offer sacrifice to their Gods, others in Musicke, and others were obseruers of time by the Starres of the Element, and others in other things of their Temples.

2 In the second partition is declared the punishment they did vse to the young men, according as the Pictures doe represent. The which was executed according to the Lawes and Statutes of the Lords of Mexico.

4 The punishment that the Beadles *Telpuchtlatos* did vse to the vicious young men, which went about like Vagabonds according to their Lawes, and the rest pictured and declared in the same partition.



A chiefe Priest which goeth in the night with his fire burning, to a Mountaine to doe penance. And hee carrieth in his hand a purse of Capaly, which is Perfume to offer Sacrifice to the Deuill. And at his backe Poyson in a vessell for the same Sacrifice, and he carrieth his boughesto beset the place of Sacrifice. And haib after him a nouice Priest, which carrieth other things for the Sacrifice. B A nouice Priest. C A chiefe Priest, which is playing on the Teponaztly, which is an Instrument of Musicke, and he exerciseth himselfe thereon in the night. D This Picture with eyes doth signifie the night. E This Picture with eyes doth signifie the night. F A chiefe Priest which is looking on the starres of the Element by night, to see what houre it is in the night, which is his charge and office. G A young man that goeth to warre, laden with stufte and instruments of Armour. H Telpuchtlato. I The youth. K The woman. L Telpuchtlato. The two Telpuchtlato, do signifie Beadles to rule youths, that when any youth did fall in loue with any woman, they chastised the young man, throwing burning fire brands at him, and parted their loue. M A chiefe Priest whose office is to sweepe the Temples, or command them to be swept. N A chiefe Priest. O The nouice Priest. P The woman. Q A chiefe Priest. The declaration of the pictures of these two chiefe Priests is, that if the nouice Priest was negligent or had access to any woman, or fell in loue, the chiefe Priests did chastise him, thrusting thornes of Pine tree made like prickes in all his body. R Telpuchtlato, a Beadle. S The young man. T Teacheaub, the Beadle. By these Pictures is declared that if a young man went about like a Vagabond, the two Beadles did correct him in powling and finding his head with fire. V A young man that is occupied in carrying stones with his Canoe to repaire the Temple. X The Temple.



This Picture expresseth the Priests employments. A A novice Priest occupied in carrying of stones in his Canoe, for the reparation of the Temple. B The Temple called Ayauhcally. C A novice Priest that goeth to the warre with a chiefe Priest carrying his package. D A chiefe Priest that goeth to warre, for to enforce and boulden the Warriours, and to doe other Ceremonies in the Warres.

Their Armes, which signes of Armes were made of more authoritie from degree to degree, according as the worthinesse of the man of warre was knowne, and the number of the Captiues that they tooke. As is shewed sufficiently in the Pictures with their signes and Armes, and fashions of attire, and the degrees whereby they came to be valiant men in Warres. The first degree.

E Tecutylas, Constable and Iustice of the Lords of Mexico. F An Officer that followeth the Tecutly, as his Sergeant. G A Temple called Sibnateocally. H The high way or street with a bridge of wood. I A young man, who if hee tooke any Prisoner in the Warres, they gaue him for reward a Mantle of the fashon, of this quadrati with his followers, in a token of his valiantnesse. K The aboue said Teetli, in these Pictures signifie, that he is occupied in repaying the streets and bridges that goe to the Temple. L A Captiue. M This valiant man all in red, because hee tooke two enemies, they rewarded him with the fashon of Armour he hath on, and more (N) the square Mantle of Orange tawmie with a red twist, in token of his valiantnesse. O A Captiue. P This valiant Champion with a reward of the deuice he hath on, and this (Q) Mantle of rich worke, for a token that he tooke three enemies in the Warres. R A Prisoner. S This valiant Champion with the deuice he hath on, and the square Mantle. T Of two colours (blacke and Orange tawmie) with a list, in token that hee had taken foure enemies in the Wars. V A Captiue. W This valiant man with the deuice of Armour that he hath and his second name Etonati, for his valiantnesse, and because he tooke five or sixe enemies in the Wars, the which valiant man is hee that is aboue commended, who had his beginning of one enemy he tooke in the Wars, and so from degree to degree, he hath come to this degree. X A Captiue. Y This valiant man called Quagchil, with the deuice of Armour that he hath on, shewing that hee had taken five at the Wars of Guexo, besides that in other Wars he tooke many of his enemies. Z A Captiue. And this valiant man named Tlacatecatl, with the fashon of the apparell he hath on, and his tassell and deuice of rich feathers, do shew that he had done all the valiant acts afore pictured and declared, and is knowne to haue more title of valiantnesse of person then afore pictured.

CHAP. 7. §. 3. Mexican Priests military ensignes and degrees of honour.

The chiefe Priests did exercise warlike affaires, & according as they proved in valiant acts, and as the number of the Captiues were that they tooke, so the Lords of *Mexico* gaue them titles of honour, and Blasons of Armes with deuices of their valiantnesse, as is shewed by the Pictures, and by the Armor they haue on. In the third partition are the titles of honour, which they obtrayned by the exercise of war, whereby they came to a higher degree, the Lord of *Mexico* making them Captains and Generals of the Souldiers. And those of the one side serued for Messengers and Executioners of that which the Lords of *Mexico* determined and commanded, as wel in things touching the Common-wealth of *Mexico*, as also in other townes of their dominions.



A A Priest that captiued one enemy in the warres. B The same Priest aforesaid, because he tooke two enemies in the warres, he is rewarded with the deuice of Armour he hath on. C The aforesaid Priest, because through his valiantnesse he tooke three enemies, he is rewarded with the deuice of Armour he hath on. P P P Captiues. D The same Priest aforesaid, because he tooke foure enemies in the warre, for a token of his valiantnesse, he is rewarded with the deuice of Armour he hath on, blacke and white. E The same Priest because he tooke five of his enemies in warres, for a token of his valiantnesse, he is rewarded with the deuice of Armour he hath on, all red. F The same Priest for that he tooke sixe enemies in the warres, for a token of his force and valour, the Lord of *Mexico* rewarded him with the deuice of Armour he hath on. G is p^{er} son yellow feathers greene, target red, greene, yellow. H Quauh^{er}sch^{er} and Officer which put Mandats in execution. I Tlilap^{er}cal^{er}, another kind. J Atlap^{er}becal^{er}, a third kind. K Ez^{er}guagacatl, a fourth sort. These foure in this rowe did serue for Messengers and Executioners of that which the Lords of *Mexico* determined and did command. L Tlacoch^{er}cal^{er}. M Tezcacoacatl. N Tycoc^{er}ahuacatl. O Tequiltecatl. These foure on this rowe are valiant men in warre, and Captaines of the Armes of the Mexicans and persons which executed the charge of Generals ouer the Mexicans Armes.

The *Casique* (that is, a Lord of a Towne) because hee rebelled against the Lordship of *Mexico* by the Executioners afore containned, had a rope cast about his necke wherewith for his rebellion, he was condemned by the Lords of *Mexico* to die, and his wife and children to be taken and brought prisoners to the Court of *Mexico*. And for the accomplishing of the condemnation the officers are executing the penalties wherein he was condemned, as is signified by the pictures.

2 He together with his seruants and townie are condemned to be destroyed. And so the Executioners, by the commandement of the Lords of *Mexico*, are giuing him to vnderstand of the said condemnation, in token whereof they marke him with the signes that they set on his head, and the Target that they present him with, because he should not be ignorant of his destruction. And the pictures of men with mortall wounds, doe signifie that they were Merchants and Occu-
piers of *Mexico*, which came with things to the Countrey and Towne of the said *Casique*; and the seruants of the *Casique* assaulted them on the high-way, killing them and taking away the merchandise they carried, which was the occasion of the destruction of the Towne.

3 In the third partition: The foure Officers or Ambassadors of the Lords of *Mexico*, doe signifie that they haue warned the said *Casique* containned in the second partition before this, as is abouesaid, at the returning of the Executioners towards *Mexico*, there came out to the high-way certaine seruants of the said *Casique* to misse-vse them, shooting arrowes at them in token of war.



A Huiznahuatlan, officer and executioner as a Sergeant. B Executioner. C *Casique*. D Executioner. E The wife of the *Casique* imprisoned, with a yoke of Iron about her necke. F The sonne of the *Casique* taken prisoner with a yoke of Iron. G The seruant of the *Casique*. H The merchant. I a bundell of merchandise. K The merchant. L The seruant of the *Casique*. M Executioner. N Executioner. O *Casique*. P An Executioner or Ambassador of the Lord of *Mexico*. Q An Executioner or Ambassador of the Lord of *Mexico*. R a seruant of the *Casique*. S An Executioner or Ambassador of the Lord of *Mexico*. T An Executioner or Ambassador of the Lord of *Mexico*. V a seruant of the *Casique*. W a seruant of the *Casique* which shooteth at the Ambassadors of the Lords of *Mexico*, for mere occasion of warre.

The

CHAP. 7. §. 3. Mexican Spies, Warring, Captaines and Armes pictured.

1 The *Tequichna* signifieth Spies, sent to the Towne of the *Casique* by the Lord of *Mexico*, that in the night time they might goe and walke it secretly vnkowne to their enemies, to aduertise and giue warning vnto the Souldiers, where they should enter with the battaile. And so the *Tequichna* goe round about the Towne, Houses, Market place, and Church, at the time that they of the Towne are asleepe and at rest, for to finde a place where they may giue the onset with the lesse trouble and resistance.

2 A declaration of the pictures in the second partition. The *Mexican* that is pictured and at his shoulders a Target and Darts, doth signifie the *Mexicans* being moued to destroy a certaine Towne by warres, because they had rebelled against the Lordship of *Mexico*. And the other three that are pictured and set ouer against the *Mexicans* are seruants of the *Casique*, which doe signifie that the whole Towne of the *Casique* being afraid of the warres and destruction that the *Mexicans* would bring vpon them, they come to *Mexico* to entreat a peace, submitting themselves for seruants of *Mexico*, and protesting to acknowledge the Lordship, by meanes whereof they receiue them in friendship and for their seruants, laying aside that which was determined by their counsell.

The foure valiant men pictured and intituled, with their Speares in their hands, and made readie for the warres, and the deuices of Armour that they haue on, doe signifie that they are Captaines of the *Mexicans* armies.



A *Tequichna*.
B *Tequichna*.
C *Tianguas*,
a *Marquet*
place. D *Te-*
quichna. E *E-*
houses. F *Te-*
quichna. G a
Temple.
H *Tequichna*.
I *Tequichna*.
K *Tequichna*.
L *Tequichna*.
* This parti-
tion (al blue)
is the towne
of the *Ca-*
sique afore-
contayned.
M N O
three
nants
Casique
P Ma
Q a T
and Da
R O
Tlac
S
Tlac
castl.
T C
Huitz
bna
V Cap
Ticocya
castl.

Zzzz

He

Mexican Messengers, House-wives, Iustices, pleading pictured. LIB.V.

that is set and at his backe a woman spinning, signifieth that it is his wife new married, and because he had taken the state of matrimonie vpon him, hauing been a Messenger with the rest that are pictured before him, which are five, named *Telpuchty*, which are Messengers likewise. The married man giueth them a reason why hee leaueth the charge of a Messenger by reason of his marriage, and that hee will rest and leave off his seruice past. And to please them more, and that they should grant his request, hee maketh them a banquet in giuing them well to eate and drinke, and moreover the present that hee giueth them is a handfull of perfumes, a copper Hatchet and two Mantels, as by the pictures of these things are intituled. And by this solemnitie the married man is free from the said Office.

2 In the second partition: Hee that is set downe and intituled, doth signifie the Lord of *Mexico*, that when any Messenger *Telpuchty* pictured in the partition before this had giuen a good account of his office, and hauing taken vpon them the state of marriage, the Lords of *Mexico* from that they were but Messengers, did promote them to a better title and degree, in so much that he made them *Tequibna*, which is signified by the pictures and titles of *Tequibna*, with their Spears and Fannes, giuing them authoritie to bee his Ambassadors and Officers in the warres, which they held for an office of great honour.

3 The *Alcaldes* doe signifie Iustices, appointed by the Lords of *Mexico*, that they should heare matters aswell Ciuill as Criminall. And the pictures of men and women which are before them, are Pleaders and Suitors which doe aske iustice. And the foure pictures that are intituled *Teetli*, that are behinde the *Alcaldes*, are principall young men that ioyne with the *Alcaldes* in their audience, to learne and instruct themselves in matters of iudgement, and afterwards to succede in the Offices of the *Alcaldes*. From these *Alcaldes* there was an appellation before the counsell Chamber of *Moteguma*, as hereafter is pictured.

AAAAA The
Telpuchty or yong
men which are of
ficers or messen-
gers. B Two man-
tels. C a handfull
of perfumes. D Ta-
males or bread. E
a copper hatchet.
F a boyled hen. G
Xicara with Ca-
cao to drinke. H
Telpuchty married
I The wife of the
married Telpuchty
K The Lord of

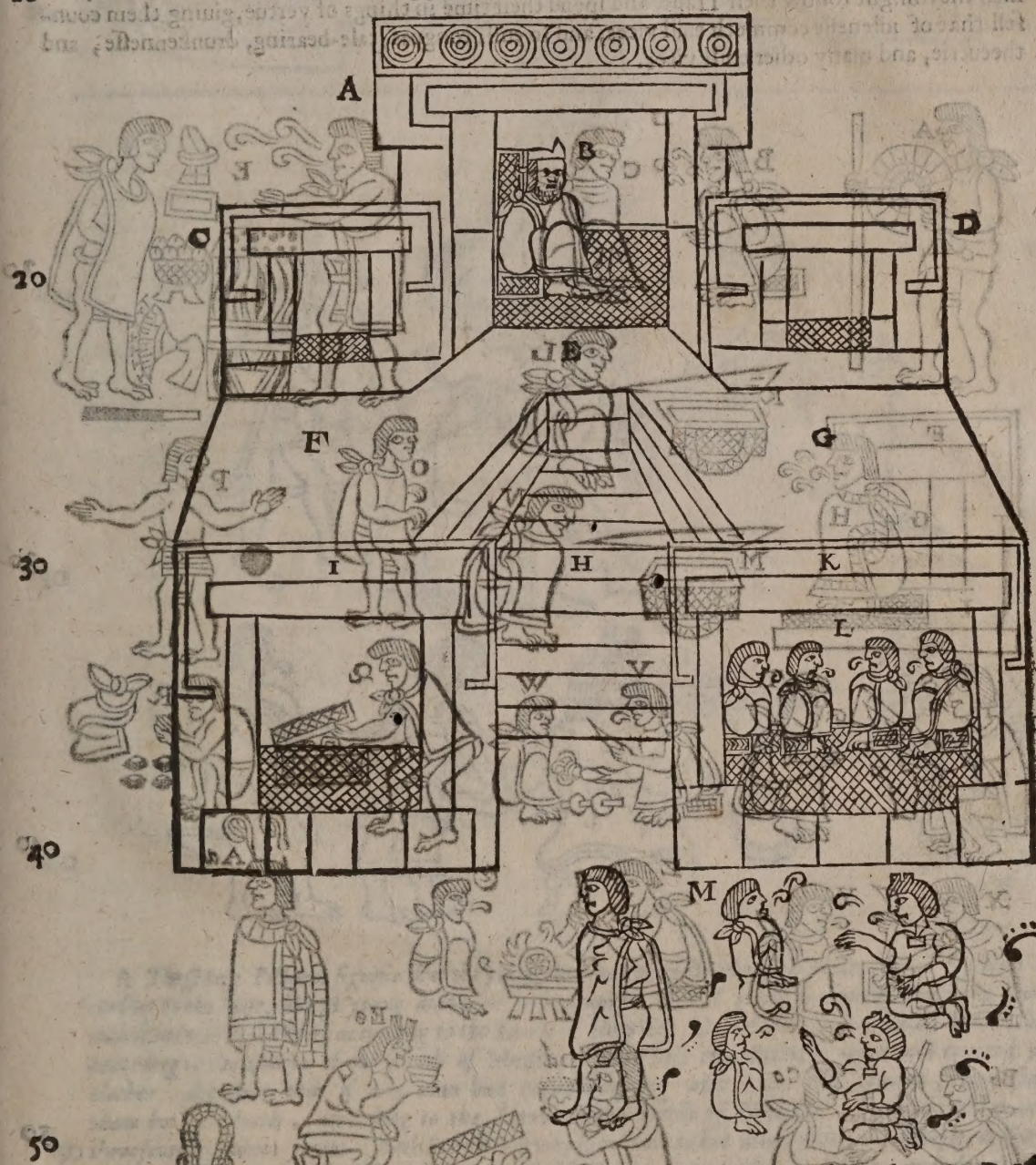
L Te-
N Te-
OOO
P Teetly
laylotlac a
like an Al-
Q Ezgua-
Alcalde. R
capaneatl
S Te-
ahuacatl
T These
ures three
and three
en, are plea-
and suitors
aske Iustice
Alcaldes.



CHAP. 7. § 3. Mexican Palace, Councell chambers and Royall magnificence.

THE fashion of the Councell Chambers of the Lord or King of *Mexico*, and of his Royall Houses and Courts, and the steps where they entred in, and the Throne and Seate of *Moteczuma*, and in the spaces of euery thing is declared and intituled what they signifie, and so in this declaration it is not repeated. But that in one Councell Chamber, when that by way of offence they were agriued, and hauing a iust cause not being sentenced and determined by the *Alcaldes*, then by degree of appellation they appealed from the *Alcaldes* before the Councell. And if it were a matter of importance they appealed from the Councell Chamber before *Moteczuma* the King himselte, where the matter was concluded.

In the Chamber, that is intituled, The Councell Chamber of warre, were prouided Captaines and Armies for the warres, as was appointed by *Moteczuma*.



A The Throne and Maieitie of *Moteczuma* where he saie on Court-dayes, and on indgement. B *Moteczuma*. C a house where the Lords of *Tenayuca*, *Chienauhtla*, and *Colhuacan*, were lodged that were friends and confederates of *Moteczuma*. D a house where the chiefe Lords of *Tezcucoytaca* were lodged that were *Moteczuma* his friends. E F G The Court of the royall houses of *Moteczuma*. H K These lines that goe upward are the steps to the Courts of the royall houses of *Moteczuma*. I The counsell chamber of warre. L These foure are as Auditors of the counsell of *Moteczuma*, wise men. M Pleaders and Sutors that in the degree and appellation from the *Alcaldes*, doe present themselves and appeare before the Auditors of the counsell of *Moteczuma*.

THE father and the sonne that sit against each other face to face, signifie that the father giueth his sonne good counsell, that he be not vicious, laying before him for example, that those which come to vertue come afterwards in credit with the Lords and *Casiques*; in that they giue them

them honest offices, and doe vse them to be their Messengers, and they doe admit Musicians and Singers vnto their feasts and weddings for the credit they beate.

2 The pictured in the house, where they meane to talke and prouide for publike affaires, and the Steward that sitteth therein, doth signifie that there are before him weeping, because it hath happened vnto them to be occupied in bodily labour, that the *Cons* and *Guacales* doe represent. And the Steward is giuing them good counsell, and exhorting them to flee idlenesse, is the cause that they come to be Theeues and players at the Ball, and players at *Patol*, after the manner of Dice, from which Games doe spring theft for to satisfie and fulfill such vices.

3 The Carpenter, Lapidarie, Painter, Gold-smith, and garnisher of feathers, signifie that those Artificers teach their sonnes their occupation from their childhood, that when they are men they might follow their Trade, and spend their time in things of vertue, giuing them counsell that of idlenesse commeth euill vices, and so euill tongues, tale-bearing, drunkennesse, and theuerie, and many other euill vices.



A a Messenger. B C D The father counselleth his sonne to apply himselfe to all vertue. E One hauing a ghost, entertayneth a Musician. F G I a house where they meet for publike affaires. H The Petlacalcail. K M Coa and Guacal. L N Touches. O a vagabond. P a player at the ball. Q a Thiefe. R a player at *Patol* or Dice after their manner. S a Carpenter. T The Carpenters sonne. V a Lapidarie. W The Lapidaries sonne. X a Painter Y The Painters sonne. Z a Goldsmith. & The Goldsmiths sonne. Aa An ill tongued man and tale-bearer. Bb An artificer that garnisheth with feathers. Cc The artificers sonne. Dd a drunkard. Ee a drunkard and thiefe, the last worke like a halter seemes to signifie the euill ends which such come to. The particular punishments follow in the next picture.



A These two Pictures signifie that the young men that were drunke with Wine, dyed for that according to the Law. B A young man that was drunke. C A young woman if shee were drunke with Wine was killed heere according to the Lawes of Mexico. D A Thiefe, they stoned him to death according to the Lawes of the Lords of Mexico. E These two Pictures layed and couered with clothes, doe shew that if any man had carnall dealing with a married woman, they stoned them both to death, according to the Lawes of the Lords of Mexico. F An old man of threescore and tenne yeeres, hath licence to drinke Wine and to bee drunke aswell publikely as secretly because he is so old, and hath Sonnes and Nephewes, at which yeeres Wine and drunkenesse was not forbidden them. G An old woman, wife to the old man aboue pictured, had privilege to bee drunke as well as her Husband, because shee had children, and childrens children, and to all those of the like age, drunkenesse was not forbidden them.

CHAP. VIII.

Conquest of Mexico and New Spaine by HERNANDO CORTES.

a Gomara his
third part of
the Conquest
of the West In-
dies, translated
into English by
T. Nicolson.



Ernando Cortes was borne at Medellin in Andulozia, a Prouince of Spaine, Anno 1485. When he was nineteene yeeres old, he sayled to the Iland of Saint Domingo, where Ouando the Gouvernour kindly entertayned him. He went to the conquest of Cuba in the yeere 1511. as Clerke to the Treasurer, vnder the conduct of Iames Velasques, who gaue vnto him the Indians of Manicorao, where hee was the first that brought vp Kine, Sheepe and Mares, and had heards and

flockes of them: and with his Indians he gathered great quantitie of Gold, so that in short time he was able to put in two thousand Castlins for his stocke, with Andres de Duero, a Merchant. At this time Christopher Morante had sent (Anno 1517.) Francis Hernandes de Cordona, who first discovered Xucatan, whence he brought nothing (except the relation of the Country) but stripes: whereupon Iames Velasques in the yeere 1518. sent his Kinsman Iohn de Grijalua, with two hundred Spaniards in foure ships: he traded in the Riuer of Tanasco, and for trifles returned much Gold, and curious workes of feathers, Idols of Gold, a whole harness or furniture for an armed man of Gold thin beaten, Eagles, Lions, and other pourtratures found in Gold, &c. But while Grijalua deferred his returne, Velasques agreed with Cortes to bee his partner in the Discouery, which he gladly accepted, and procured licence from the Gouvernours in Domingo, and prepared for the Voyage.

b Of this voy-
age Reade P.
Martyrs fourth
Decade: and
Gomara part. 1.
& of all which
followes in
this Chapter.
P. Mart. Dec. 5.
Gom. ubi supra.
and Cortes his
owne large
narration to
the Emperour,
ap. Ramus.
Vol. 3.

Velasques afterward vsed all meanes to breake off, in so much that Cortes was forced to engage all his owne stocke, and credit, with his friends in the Expedition, and with five hundred and fiftie Spaniards in eleuen ships, set saile the tenth of February 1519. and arriued at the Iland of Acensamil. The Inhabitants at first fled, but by the kind entertainment of some that were taken, they returned, and receiued him and his with all kind offices.

They told him of cerryne bearded men in Yucatan, whither Cortes sent; and one of them, Geronimo de Aguilar came vnto him, who told him, that by shipwracke at Iamaica, their Caruell being lost, twentie of them wandred in the Boat without sayle, water or bread, thirteene or fourteene dayes, in which space the violence of the current had cast them on shoare in a Prouince called Maia, where, as they trauelled, seuen dyed with famine; and their Captayne Valdinia and other foure were sacrificed to be Idols by the Cacike, or Lord of the Countrey, and eaten in a solemne Banquet, and he with sixe other were put into a Coope or Cage, to bee fatned for another Sacrifice. But breaking Prison, they escaped to another Cacike, enemy to the former, where all the rest dyed, but himsele, and Gonsalo Guerres a Mariner. Hee had transformed himsele into the Indian cut, boring his nose full of holes, his eares jagged, his face and hands painted; married a Wife, and became a Captaine of name amongst the Indians, and would not returne with this Aguilar.

Cortes with this new Interpreter passed vp the Riuer Tanasco, called of the former Discoverer, Grijalua; where the Towne that stood thereon, refusing to victuall him, was taken and sacked. The Indians herewith intraged, assembled an Armie of fortie thousand, but Cortes by his Horse and Ordnance preuayled; the Indians thinking the Horse and Rider had beene but one creature, whose gaping and swiftnesse was terrible vnto them, whereupon they submitted themselves. When they heard the Horses ney, they had thought the Horses could speake, and demanded what they said: the Spaniards answered, These Horses are sore offended with you, for fighting with them, and would haue you corrected: the simple Indians presented Roses and Hens to the beasts, desiring them to eate, and to pardon them.

Cortes purposed to discover further Westward, because hee heard that there were Mines of Gold, hauing first receiued their Vassallage to the King his Master, to whom (he said) the Monarchie of the Vniuersall did appertayne. These were the first Vassals the Emperour had in New Spaine. They named the towne, where these things were done, Victorie, before called Potonchan, contayning neere five and twentie thousand houses, which are great, made of Lime, and Stone, and Bricke, and some of mud-wals and rafters, couered with straw; their dwelling is in the vpper part of the house, for the moystnesse of the soyle. They did eate mans flesh sacrificed.

The Spaniards sayled Westward, and came to Saint Iohn de Vltua, where Tendills the Gouvernour of the Countrey, came to him with foure thousand Indians. Hee did his reuerence to the Captayne, burning Frankincense (after their custome) and little strawes, touched in the blood of his owne bodie: and then presented vnto him victuals and Jewels of Gold, and other curious workes of feathers; which Cortes requited with a Collar of Glasse, and other things of small value. A woman-slaue, giuen him at Potonchan, vnderstood their language, and shee with Aguilas, were his Interpreters. Cortes professed himsele the seruant of a great Emperour, which had

sent him thither, whose power he so highly extolled, that *Teudilli* marvelled, thinking there had beene no such Prince in the World, as his Master and Soueraigne, the King of *Mexico*, whose Vassall he was, named, *Mutezuma*. To him he sent the representations of these bearded men, and their Hories, Apparell, Weapons, Ordnance, and other Rarities, painted in Cotton-clothes, their ships and numbers. These painted Cottons he sent by Posts, which deliuered them from one to another with such celeritie, that in a day and night the message came to *Mexico*, which was two hundred and ten miles distant. *Cortes* had demanded, whether *Mutezuma* had Gold? *Teudilli* affirmed, and *Cortes* replied, That he and his fellowes had a disease of the heart, whereunto Gold was the best remedie.

Spanish incurable sicknesse.

10 *Mutezuma* sent him many Cotton-clothes of diuers colours, many tuftes of Feathers, two Wheelles, the one of Siluer, with the signe of the Moone, and the other of Gold, made like the Sunne; which they hold for Gods, and giue vnto them the colours of the Metals most like them. Each Wheele was two yards and a halfe broad. These with other parts of the Present were esteemed worth twentie thousand Duckets. *Mutezuma* also professed ioy, to heare of so great a Prince, & so strange people, & promised prouision of all necessaries, but was very vnwilling that *Cortes* should come to see him, as he pretended. Yet *Cortes* persisted in that his desire of seeing *Mutezuma*, that he might further acquaint himselfe with the knowledge of those parts.

20 The silly *Indians* hauing neuer seene such strange sights, came daily to the Campe to see them and when they heard the Ordnance discharged, they fell downe flat, thinking the Heauens had falne: the ships they thought were the God of the Ayre, called *Quetzalcoatl*, which came with the Temples on his backe, for they daily looked for him. Amongst the rest, or rather aloofe off from the rest, were certayne *Indians* of differing habite, higher then the other, and had the gristles of their Noses slit, hanging ouer their mouthes, and Rings of Iet and Amber hanging thereat: their neather lips also bored, and in the holes, Rings of Gold and Turkeesse-stones, which weighed so much, that their lips hung ouer their chinnes, leauing their teeth bare. This vgliness they accounted gallantry, and such vncouth deformitie to be the only brauery. And thou Gallant, that readeest and deridest this madnesse of *Fashion*, if thine eyes were not dazeled with lightnesse (light I cannot call it) of selfe-reflected Vanitie, mightest see as Monster-like fashions at home, and a more fashionly Monster of thy selfe; thy clothes and oathes, thy gestures and vestures, make thy naked Deformitie worse then their thus deformed nakednesse: both indeed seeme to haue received some hellish Character (if there may bee bodily representation) of that olde Serpent in these new fashions, struing who shall shape himselfe, neerest to that misse-shapen vgliness, wherein the *Indian* jagges himselfe out of humane lineaments, the other swaggers himselfe further out of all Ciuill and Christian ornaments. But these Fashion-mongers haue made mee almost out of my fashion, and so forget my selfe, in remembring their forgetfulness.

Note for fashion-mongers.

30 These *Indians* of this New-cut, *Cortes* caused to come to him, and learned that they were of *Zempoallan*, a Citie distant thence a dayes journey, whom their Lord had sent to see what Gods were come in those *Tencallis*, that is Temples (so, it seemeth, they called the ships;) which held no conuersation with the other *Indians*, as being not subject to *Mutezuma*, but onely as they were holden in by force. He gaue them certaine toyes, and was glad to heare that the *Indians* of *Zempoallan*, and other their Neighbours were not well affected to *Mutezuma*, but readie, as farre as they durst, to entertayne all occasions of warre with him. Hee sayled from thence to *Panuco*, and passed the Riuer farther, till he came to a little Towne, where was a Temple, with a little Towre, and a Chappell on the top ascended by twenty steps, in which they found some Idols, many bloody Papers, and much mans blood, of those which had beene sacrificed, the blocke also whereon they cut open those Sacrifices, and the Razors made of flint, wherewith they opened their breasts, which strucke the *Spaniards* with some horror and feare. They passed a little further, and there hauing taken possession, in the Emperours name, of the whole Countrey, they founded the Towne *De la vera Cruz*, *Cortes* resigning his authoritie, and Officers being elected; and lastly, all with generall consent appointing *Cortes* their Captaine.

Zempoallan.

40 *Cortes* went forward to *Zempoallan*, where hee was solemnely receiued and lodged in a great house of lime and stone, whited with playster, that shined in the Sunne, as if it had beene Siluer; so did the Siluer-conceits of the *Spaniards* imagine, the desire of that Metall hauing made such an impression in their imagination, that they told *Cortes* before hee came at it, they had seene a house with wals of Siluer. Here, and at *Chianiztlan*, *Cortes* incited them to rebell against *Mutezuma*, and to become seruants to the *Spaniards*, which they did: and he vnder-hand so wrought, that *Mutezuma* tooke him for his friend.

Panuco.

Vera

50 All his intent was to fish in troubled waters, and to set them both by the eares, that hee might watch oportunitie to benefit himselfe. His owne people rebelled, some of whom he chastised with the halter and the whip for example to the rest: and after caused all his ships to be sunke closely, that they should not minde any returne. He left 150. men for the guard of the new Towne, vnder *Pedro de Henrico*, and with 400. *Spaniards*, fiftene Horfes, and sixe Peeeces of Artillery, and 1300 *Indians*, they went from *Zempoallan*, and came to *Zacatlan*, the Lord whereof was *Olintler* the subject of *Mutezuma*; who to testifie his ioy, and to honour *Cortes*, commanded fifty men to be sacrificed, whose blood they saw, new and fresh.

They

sacri-
fices.

STUENT OF THE
ALL HONOURABLE

Tlaxcallan a
great Citie.

Chololla.

Store of Tem-
ples and deuot-

re a
hill.

They carried the Spaniards on their shoulders, sitting on Beeres, such as whereon they vse to carry dead men. He bragged as much of the power of *Mutezuma*, as their Spaniards of their Emperour. He said he had thirty Vassals, each of which was able to bring into the field an hundred thousand men of Warre, and sacrificed 20000. men yearly to the gods; in this he somewhat exceeded; the other was true, although some yeares, the Sacrifices also were thought to amount to 50000. This Towne was great, and had thirteene Temples, in each of which were many Idols of stone, of diuers fashions, before whom they sacrificed Men, Doves, Quails, & other things with great perfumes and veneration. Here *Mutezuma* had 5000. Souldiers in Garrison. *Cortes* passed from thence to *Mexico* by the Frontiers of *Tlaxcallan*, which were enemies to *Mutezuma*, whom he might easily haue ouercome, but reserued, partly for the exercise of his Subiects to the Warre, partly for the Sacrifices to his gods.

These ioyned an hundred and fifty thousand men against *Cortes*, taking him for *Mutezuma's* friend: and yet every day sent him Guinney-cockes and Bread, partly to espie his strength, and partly in a brauery, lest their glory should be obscured in the conquest of men already starued. But when in many skirmishes and fights they could not preuaile against that handfull of Spaniards, they thought they were preserued from harme by enchantments: and sent him three presents with this message: That if he were that rigorous god which eateth mans flesh, he should eate those five slaues which they brought him, and they would bring him more: if he were the meeke and gentle god, behold Frankinsence, and Feathers: if he were a mortall man, take here Fowle, Bread, and Cherries. At last they made peace with him, and submitted their City to him. Their City *Tlaxcallan* was great, planted by a Riuer side, which issued into the South-Sea. It had foure Streetes, each of which had their Captaine in the time of Warre. The gouernment was an Aristocracy, hating Monarchy, no lesse then tyranny. It had eight and twenty Villages, and in them an hundred and fifty thousand Housholds, very poore, but good warriors. They had one Market-place so spacious, that thirty thousand persons in a day came thither to buy and sell by exchange: for money they had none.

Mutezuma had sent before to *Cortes*, and promised tribute to the Emperour, whatsoever should be imposed; onely he would not haue him come to *Mexico*. And now he sent againe, that he should not trust that new friendship with the beggerly Nation of *Tlaxcallan*; and they againe counselled him not to aduenture himselfe to *Mutezuma*. *Cortes* held his determination for *Mexico*, and being accompanied with many of the *Tlaxcaltexas*, he went to *Chololla*, a little from whence *Mutezuma* had prepared an Army to intrap him in the way; but he finding the trechery, it redounded vpon the *Cholollois*, the same day they had thought to haue executed the same vpon him. For this end they had sacrificed ten children, five males, and as many females, three yeares old, to *Quezalcoatl*, their god, which was their custome when they began their Wars. He out-going them in their owne art of subtilty, intrapped their Captains in Counsell, and sent his Army to spoile the City, where were slaine thousands. There were twenty Gentlemen, and many Priests which ascended vp to the high towre of their Temple, which had an hundred and twenty steps, where they were burned, together with their gods and Sanctuary.

This Citie had twenty thousand Housholds within the Walls, and as many in the Suburbs. It shewed outward very faire and full of Towres, for there were as many Temples as dayes in the year, and every one had his Towre. The Spaniards counted foure hundred Towers. It was the Citie of most deuotion in all *India*, whither they travelled from many places farre distant in Pilgrimage. Their Cathedrall Temple was the best and highest in all *New-Spaine*, with an hundred and twenty steps vp to it. Their chiefe god was *Quezalcoatl*, god of the Ayre, who was (they say) founder of their Citie being a Virgin, of holy life and great penance. He instituted fasting, and drawing of blood out of their eares and tongues, and left precepts of Sacrifices. He neuer ware but one garment of Cotten, white, narrow, and long, and vpon that a Mantle, beset with certaine red crosses. They haue certaine greene stones which were his, and are kept for great relikes: one of them is like an Apes head. Eight leagues from *Chololla* is the hill *Popocatepec*, or smoake-hill, which the Earth seemeth to haue erected as a Fort to encounter and assault the Ayre: now with smoky mists endeououring to choake his purer breath, another while with violent flames, and naturall fire-workes threatening to ioyne league with his elder and superiour brother to disinherit him: sometimes with showers of ashes and embers, as it were, putting out the eyes, and sometimes with terrible and dreadfull thunders, rending the eares of that Airy Element; alwayes (such is the euent of warre) hurting and waisting it selfe, to indamage the enemy. The *Indians* thought it a place of Purgatory, whereby tyrannicall and wicked Officers were punished after their death, and after that purgation passed into glory. The Spaniards aduentured to see it, but two onely held on their iourney, and had there beene consumed, had they not by a Rocke bin shadowed from the violent eruption of the fire which then hapned. It chanced that the Earth, weary it seemeth of the warre, as hauing spent her store and munition, agreed on a truce which continued ten yeares: but in the year 1540. it brake forth into more violent hostility then before, quaking and renting it selfe with vnbridled passion: and whereas the Ayre had alwaies a snowie Garrison about her high tops and frontiers, to coole and quench

CHAP. 8. Corteses entertainment. Mutezumas Religion, Oration, death.

quench her fiery showers, yet these did but kindle a greater flame, the ashes whereof came to *Huexotzinco, Quexacopon, Tepiacac, Chololla* and *Tlaxcallan*, and other places, ten, or as some say, fiftene leagues distant, and burned their hearbs in their Gardens, their fields of Corne, Trees and cloathes that they laid a drying. The *Vulcan, Crater*, or mouth whence the fire issued, is about halfe a league in compasse. The *Indians* kissed their garments (an honour done vnto their gods) which had adventured themselves to this dreadfull spectacle.

Cortes drawing neere to *Mexico*, *Mutezuma* feared, saying, These are the people which our gods said should come and inherit this Land. He went to his Oratory, and there shut vp himselfe alone, abiding eight daies in praier and fasting, with sacrifice of many men, to asslake the fury of his offended deities. The *Devill* bids him not to feare, and that he should continue those bloody Rites, assuring him that he should haue the god *Vitziliputzli* and *Tescalipuca* to preserve him, saying, That *Quezalcoatl* permitted the destruction at *Chololla*, for want of that bloody sacrifice. *Cortes* passed a Hill six miles in height, where, by the difficulty of the passage, and of the cold (being alway couered with Snow) the *Mexicans* might easily haue prevented his passing further. Hence he espied the Lake, whereon *Mexico* and many other great Townes did stand, *Ixtacpallapana* Towne of 10000. houholds, *Coyacan* of six thousand, *Vizilopuchili* of five thousand. These Towns are adorned with many Temples and Towres, that beautifie the Lake. From *Ixtacpallapana* to *Mexico* is two Leagues, all on a fair causey, with many draw-bridges, thorow which the water passeth.

Mutezuma received *Cortes* with all solemnity on the eight of *November 15 19*, into this great Citie, excusing himselfe of former vnkindnesse the best he could. Of his house, and Maiestie, and the diuine conceit the people had of him, we shall speake after more fully, as also of the Temples, Priests, Sacrifices and other remarkable things of *Mexico*.

Mutezuma provided all things necessary for the *Spaniards* and *Indians* that attended them: euen beds of flowers were made, in place of litter for their Horses. But *Cortes* disquieted with those thoughts which commonly attend Ambition (discontent in the present, hopes and feares of the future) vsed the matter so, that he tooke *Mutezuma* prisoner, and detained him in the place appointed for the *Spaniards* lodging, with a *Spanish* Guard about him, permitting him otherwise to deale in all priuate or publike affaires as before. Hereupon *Cacama*, Lord of *Texcoco*, Nephew to *Mutezuma*, rebelled, but by treachery of his owne people, was presented prisoner to *Mutezuma*.

He, after this summonsd a Parliament, where hee made an Oration vnto his Subjects, saying, That He and his Predecessours were not Naturals of the Countrey, but his Fore-fathers came from a farre Countrey; and their King returned againe, and said, he would send such as should rule them. And he hath now sent these *Spaniards*, saith he. Hereupon he counselled them to yeelde themselves Vassals to the Emperour, which they did at his command, though with many teares on his part and theirs, at this breuall of their liberty. *Mutezuma* presently gaue to *Cortes*, in the name of tribute, a great quantity of Gold and other Jewels, which amounted to sixteene hundred thousand Castlins of Gold, besides Silver.

Cortes had hitherto a continuall victory in *Mexico* without any fight: but news was brought him of *Pamphilo de Naruaes*, who was sent with eighty Horse, and some hundred of *Spaniards* by *Velasques*, to interrupt the proceedings of *Cortes*: who leauing two hundred men in *Mexico*, with two hundred and fifty other came suddenly in the night, and tooke *Naruaes* prisoner, and returned to *Mexico* with *Naruaes* his Company, now his followers also, where he found his men exceedingly distressed by the *Cirizens* for a murder committed in the great Temple at a solemne Feast, wherein a religious dance they were slaine, for the rich garments and Jewels they ware, by the *Spaniards*. *Cortes* came in good time for the reliefe of his men: and *Mutezuma* caused the *Mexicans* to bridle their rage, which presently was renewed; and when *Mutezuma* was againe by his Guardians, the *Spaniards*, caused to speake to the people, a blow of a stone on his Temples wounded him, whereof threedayes after he died.

Cortes had some thousands of the *Tlaxotecs* to helpe him, but was driuen to flye from *Mexico* with all his *Spaniards* and *Indians*, which he did closely in the night, but yet an alarme was raised, and the Bridges being broken, much slaughter of his people was made by the *Mexicans*, and all his treasure in manner lost. They pursued after him also, and had two hundred thousand in the field: when it was *Cortes* his good hap to slay the Sandarbearer, whereupon the *Indians* forsooke the field. This battell was fought at *Orumpan*.

At *Tlaxcallan*, he and his were kindly entertained; they had prepared before 50000. men to goe to *Mexico* for his helpe, and now they promised him all offices of loyalty and seruice. With their helpe he subdued *Tepeacac*; and built certaine Brigandines, or Frigats, which were cartied many leagues on the backes of those *Indians*, and there fastned and finished, without which he could neuer haue won *Mexico*.

In *Tezcucio* certaine *Spaniards* had beene taken, sacrificed and eaten, which *Cortes* now reuenged on them. Eight thousand men had carried the loose peeces and timber of this Nauie, guarded with twenty thousand *Tlaxcallans*, and a thousand *Tamemez*, or Porters (which carried viatuals) attending. They calked them with Towe, and for want of Tallow and Oyle, they vsed

Mutezumas religion.

The like speech he had made at first to *Cortes*, who easily wrought on that aduantage, applying this Tradition to the *Spaniards*, *Cortes* *Narrat.*

Mutezuma

Mans

Mans Grease, of such as had beene slaine in the Warres. For so the *Indians* vsed, to take out the Grease of their Sacrifices. Cortes had here nine hundred *Spaniards*, of which fourescore and six were Horle-men, three cast peeces of Iron, fiftene small peeces of Brasse, and a thousand weight of Powder, and 100000. *Indian* Souldiers on his side. He made a sluice or trench about twelue foot broad, and two fathome deepe, half a league long, in which 40000. men wrought fifty dayes. He lanchd his Vessels, and soone ouercame all the Canoas of the Lake, of which were reckoned in all fise thousand. The *Spaniards* brake the Conduits of sweet water, wherewith the City was wont to be serued.

Quahutimoc, now the new King of Mexico, receiuing incouragement from the Deuillish Oracle, caused to breake downe the Bridges, and to exercise whatsoeuer wit or strength could doe in defence of his Citie, sometimes conquering, sometimes (as is doubtfull chance of warre) conquered. Cortes had in Texcoco ordained a new King, a Christian Indian, of the royall blood, who much assisted him in this siege. The *Spaniards* being Lords of the Lake, and of the Causeyes, by helpe of their Galliot and Ordinance, they fired a great part of the Citie. One day the *Mexicans* had gotten some aduantage, and thereupon celebrated a Feast of Victory. The Priests went vp into the Towers of Tlatelulco, their chief Temple, and made there perfumes of sweet Gums, in token of victory, and sacrificed forty *Spaniards* (which they had taken captiues, opening their brefts, and plucking out their hearts) sprinkling their blood in the Ayre; their fellowes looking on, and not able to reuenge it. They slew likewise many *Indians*, & foure *Spaniards* of Aluado's company, whom they ate in the open sight of the Army. The *Mexicans* danced, drank themselves drunke, made bonafires, stricke vp their Drums, and made all solemne expressings of ioy. Dread, Disdaine, and all the Furies that Passion or Compassion could coniure vp, had now filled the *Spaniards* hearts and their *Indian* partakers: and Cortes, that hitherto had hoped to reserve some part of the Citie, now did the vtmost that Rage and Reuenge could effect, helped no lesse with in with Famine and Pestilence, then with Sword and Fire without. At last Mexico is razed, the Earth and Water sharing betwixt them what the Fire had left; and all which had sometime challenged a lofty inheritance in the Ayre. Their King also was taken; all that mightie State subuerted. And as the *Mexicans* before had prophesied, That the *Tlaxantleca's* should againe build the Citie, if conquered, for them; if conquerors, for the *Spaniards*: It was re-built with a hundred thousand houses, fairer and stronger then before. The Siege lasted three Moneths, and had therein two hundred thousand *Indians*, nine hundred *Spaniards*, fourescore Horses, seuentene Peeces of Ordinance, thirteene Galliot, and six thousand Canoas. Fiftie *Spaniards* were slaine, and six Horses: of the *Mexicans*, a hundred thousand, besides those which died of Hunger and Pestilence.

This was effected Anno 1521. on the thirteenth day of August, which for that cause is kept festiuall every yeare. For the Description of the Country wherein Mexico is situate. Cortes in his second Narration to the Emperour saith, It is surrounded with hills: (He telleth of some hills also in his iourney, wherein diuers of his people died with cold) in the midst is a plaine of 70. leagues compasse, and therein two Lakes which extend the circuit of 50. leagues; the one salt, which ebberth and floweth (an argument for *Pavimus* his opinion, that saltnesse is a chiefe cause of that vicissitude of ebbing and flowing, in the Ocean) the other fresh: When the water of the Salt Lake increaseth, it runneth like a violent streame into the fresh Lake, which when it decreaseth, is repaired againe by the like issue of this into the former.

Nunno di Gusman hath written his expedition into Mechoacan and other Countries of New Spaine 1530. subduing and taking possession for the Emperour: He found some of them Sodomiters, others Sacrificers of mens flesh, and some eloly practising this butchery after they had professed themselves Christians: none of them which durst looke a Horse in the face, but were afraid that that Beast would eate them. The several peoples by him reckoned, would here be tedious to name: which we may say of the like mad by Godoy and Aluado. Of the Customes of the Auntient *Mexicans*, one of Cortes his Gentlemen hath written a Treatise extant in Ramusius, wherein are described their Citie, Temples, Rites of Sacrifice, and the like; as after followeth out of him and others.

CHAP. IX.

Larger Relations of things most remarkable observed by the Spaniards at their first coming : Cholollas holis; Popocatepecs ashes. Mutezummas multiforme magnificence and maiestic. Mexican Citie and Temple, with other antiquities gathered out of the Third part of the Historie of Francis Lopez * de Gomara.

* This part Lopez was long since translated and published by Tho. Nichols. I haue here in diuers places amended it by the Italian translation of Agostino di Craualiz : for the Spanish originall I haue not.



Chololla is a Citie as *Tlaxcallan*, and hath but one person who is *Gouernour* and generall Captaine, chosen by the consent of all the Citizens. It is a Citie of twenty thousand households within the wals, and in the suburbs as much more. It sheweth outwards very beautifull, and full of Towers, for there are as many Temples as dayes in the yeare, and euery Temple hath his Tower. Our men counted foure hundred Towers. The men and women are of good disposition, well fauoured, and very wittie. The women are Goldsmiths and also Caruers, the men are warriors, and light fellowes, and good Maisters for any purpose : they goe better apparelled then any other *Indians* yet seene. They weare for their vpper garment, cloakes like vnto *Morisces*, but after another sort. All the Countrey round about them is fruitfull and errable ground, well watered, and so full of people, that there is no waste ground, in respect whereof, there are some poore which begge from doore to doore. The *Spaniards* had not seene any beggers in that Countrey before they came thither.

Chololla is a Citie of most deuotion and religion in all *India*, it is called the Sanctuary, or holy place among the *Indians*, and thither they trauelled from many places farre distant in Pilgrimage, and for this cause there were so many Temples. Their Cathedrall Temple was the best and highest of all the *New Spaine*, with a hundred and twenty steps vp vnto it. The greatest Idoll of all their gods was called *Quezalcoatl*, God of the Aire, who was (say they) the founder of their Citie, being a Virgin of holy life, and great penance. He instituted fasting, and drawing of blood out of their eares and tongues, and left a precept, that they should sacrifice but onely Quails, Doves, and other fowle. He neuer ware but one garment of Cotten, which was white, narrow, and long, and vpon that a mantle beset with certaine red crosses. They haue certaine greene Stones which were his, and those they keepe for relickes. One of them is like an Apes head. Here they abode twenty dayes, and in this meane while there came so many to buy and sell, that it was a wonder to see. And one of the things that was to be seene in those faires, was the earthen vessell, which was exceeding curious and fine.

The hill called Popocatepec.

There is a hill eight leagues from *Chololla*, called *Popocatepec*, which is to say, a hill of smoake, for many times it casteth out smoake and fire. *Cortes* sent thither ten *Spaniards*, with many *Indians*, to carry their victuall, and to guide them in the way. The ascending vp was very troublesome, and full of craggie rocks, They approached so nigh the top, that they heard such a terrible noise which proceeded from thence, that they durst not goe vnto it, for the ground did tremble and shake, and great quantity of ashes which disturbed the way : but yet two of them who seemed to be most hardie, and desirous to see strange things, went vp to the top, because they would not returne with a sleeuelesse answer, and that they might not be accounted cowards, leauing their fellowes behinde them, proceeding forwards. The *Indians* said, what meane these men ? for as yet neuer mortall man tooke such a journey in hand.

These two valiant fellowes passed through the Desert of Ashes, and at length came vnder a great smoake very thicke, and standing there a while, the darkenesse vanished partly away, and then appeared the vulcan and concauity, which was about halfe a league in compasse, out of the which the ayre came abounding, with a great noise, very shrill, and whistling, in such sort that the whole hill did tremble. It was to be compared vnto an Ouen where Glasse is made. The smoake and heate was so great, that they could not abide it, and of force were constrained to returne by the way that they had ascended : but they were not gone farre, when the vulcan began to lash out flames of fire, ashes, and imbers, yea and at the last, stones of burning fire : and if they had not chanced to finde a Rocke, where vnder they shadowed themselves, vndoubtedly they had there beene burned. When with good tokens they were returned where they left their fellowes, the other *Indians* kissed their garments as an honour due vnto gods. They presented vnto them such things as they had, and wondred much at their fact.

The simple *Indians* thought, that that place was an infernall place, where all such as gouerned not well, or vsed tyrannie in their offices, were punished when they died, and also beleueed, that after their purgation, they passed into glory. This Vulcan is like vnto the Vulcan of *Sicilia*,

Purgatory.

it is high and round, and neuer wanteth snow about it, and is seene afarre off in the night, it la-
sheth out flames of fire. There is neere about this Hill many Cities, and *Huexoxinco* is one of the
highest. In tenne yeeres space this strange hill of working did expell no vapour or smoke: but
in the yeere 1540, it began againe to burne, and with the horrible noyse thereof, the Neighbours
that dwelt foure leagues from thence were terrified, for the especiall strange smoakes that then
were seene, the like to their Predecessors had not bene seene. The ashes that proceeded from
thence came to *Huexozinto*, *Quelaxcopan*, *Tepiacas*, *Quauhqueholla*, *Chololla*, and *Tlaxcallan*,
which standeth ten leagues from thence, yea some say, it extended fifteene leagues distant, and
burned their hearbes in their Gardens, their Fieldes of Corne, Trees, and cloathes that lay
a drying.

He left the way that the *Mexicans* had perswaded him to come, for it was both euill and
dangerous, as the *Spaniard* which went to the Vulcan had seene, he went another plainer way,
and neerer. He ascended vp a Hill couered with snow, which was sixe miles of height, where
if the 30000. Souldiers had waited for them, they might easily haue taken them, by reason of the
great cold: and from the top of that Hill, they discovered the Land of *Mexico*, and the great
Lake, with his Villages round about, which is an exceeding goodly sight. But when *Cortes*
saw that beautifull thing, his joy was without comparison.

There came twelue Lords from *Mexico*, among whom was *Cacama*, Nephew to *Mutezuma*,
who was Lord of *Tezcucan*, a young man of fise and twentie yeeres of age, whom the *Indians* did
much honour: he was carried vpon their shoulders, and when they set him downe, one went be-
fore with a Broome to sweepe the dust out of his way. In this order hee came to *Iztacpallapan*.
Euery two houres came messengers betwixt *Cortes* and *Mutezuma*: then came *Cuexlanac* Lord
of that Towne, with the Lord *Culhuacan* his Kinsman to receiue him, who presented vnto him
slaves, garments, and feathers, and to the value of foure thousand Duckets in Gold. *Cuexlanac*
receiued all the *Spaniards* into his owne house, which hath very faire Lodgings all of stone, and
Carpenters worke, exceeding well wrought, with high and low roomes, with all kind of ser-
uice: The chambers were hangd with cloth of Cotton very rich, after their manner. There
were faire Gardens replenished with many sweet flowres, and sweet trees garnished with Net-
worke, made of Canes, and couered with Roses and other fine hearbes, with sundry ponds of
sweet water. There was another Garden very beautifull of all sorts of fruits and hearbes, with
a great pond walled with lime and stone, and was foure hundred paces square, made with faire
steps to descend vnto the bottome in many places, and was full of diuers kinds of fishes, and ma-
ny kind of water Birds, which sometimes couered the pond, as Gulls, and Mewes, and such like.
Iztacpallapan is a Towne of 10000. households, and is planted in a Lake of Salt-water, the one
halfe of the Towne built on the water, and the other on the Land.

The solemne
pompe where
with *Cortes* was
receiued into
Mexico.

From *Iztacpallapan* to *Mexico* is two leagues all vpon a faire Calsey, vpon the which eight
Horsemen may passe on ranke, and so directly straight as though it had bene made by line. And
who soeuer hath good eye-sight might discerne the gates of *Mexico* from thence. *Coyoacan* is a
Towne of sixe thousand dwellers, *Vizilopuchtl* is of fise thousand. These Townes are planted
in the Lake, and are adorned with many Temples, which haue many faire Towres, that doe
beautifie exceedingly the Lake. There is great contraction of Salt, which is made there, and
from thence is carried abroad to Faires and Markets, which thing was a great rent to *Mutezuma*.
Vpon this Calsey are many drawne Bridges built vpon faire arches, that the water passeth
thorow.

Cortes passed this Calsey with 400. *Spaniards*, and 6000. *Indians* his friends: their passage was
with much adoe, by reason of the great multitude of *Indians* which came to see him, and com-
ming neere the Citie, there adjoynd another Calsey with a broader passage, where standeth a
strong Bulwarke of stone, of the heighth of two fathome with two Towres on each side, and two
gates very strong. Here at this Fort came three thousand Courtiers and Citizens to receiue him,
and euery of them touched the ground with his right hand and kissed it, and passed forwards in
the order as they came. These salutations endured an houre and more. From the Bulwarke the
Calsey lyeth directly, and before the entrance into the street there is another draw Bridge made
of timber ten paces broad, vnder the which the water passeth too and fro. At this Bridge came
Mutezuma to receiue *Cortes* vnder a Canopie of greene feathers and gold. At this Bridge came
hanging thereat, which Canopie foure Noble-men did carrie. And the two Princes *Cuexlanac*
and *Cacama* his Nephewes, did leade him by each arme: all three were rich apparelled and all
of one fashion, except *Mutezuma*, which had a paire of shooes of gold beled with precious
Stones, and the soles were tyed to the vpper part with latches, as is painted of the Antikes.
His Gentlemen went by two and two, laying downe and taking vp Mantles and Couerlets vpon
the ground, because his feet should not touch the same: then followed him as in Procession, 200.
Noblemen bare-footed, with garments of a richer Liurey then the first three thousand. *Mute-*
zuma came in the middest of the street, and the others came behind him as nigh the wall as they
might, their faces towards the ground, for it was a great offence to looke him in the face. *Cortes*
alighted from his Horse, and according to our vse went to embrace him, but the Princes who led
him

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